HISTORY OF CHESS,

FROM THE TIME OF THE

EARLY INVENTION OF THE GAME IN INDIA,

TILL THE PERIOD OF

ITS ESTABLISHMENT IN WESTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPE.

BY

DUNCAN FORBES, LL.D.,

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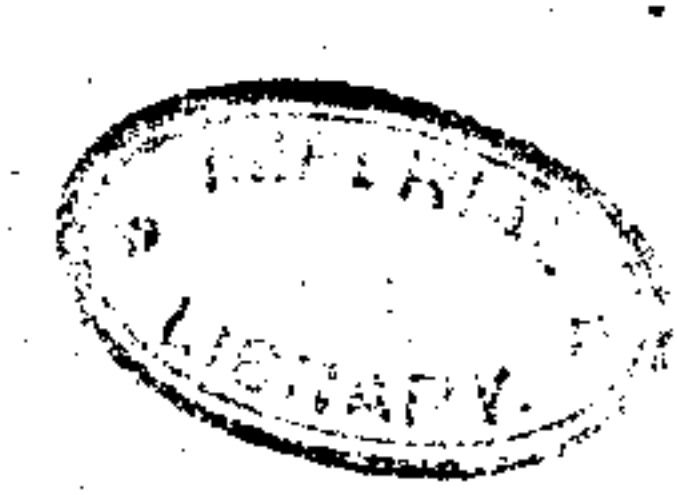
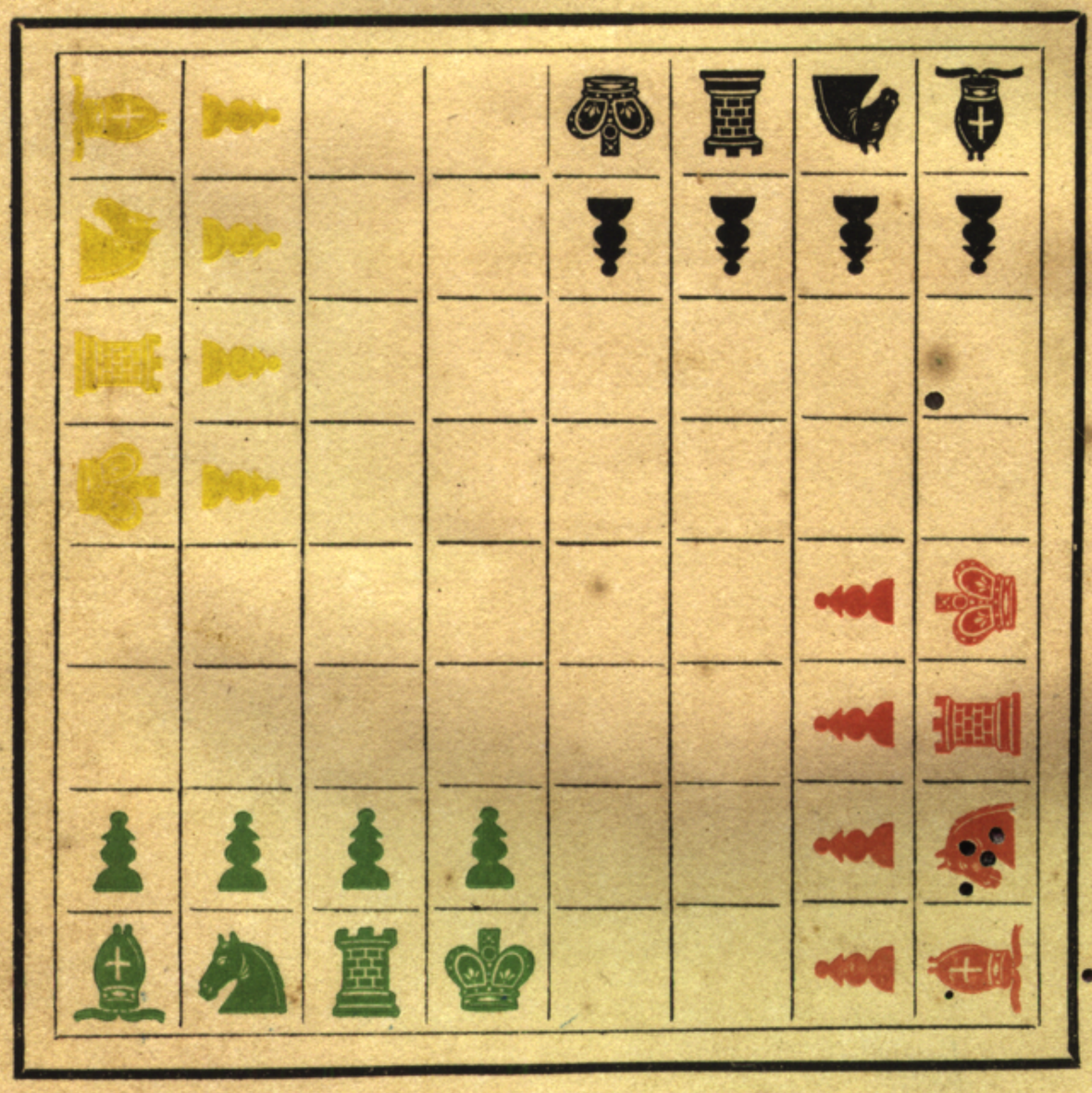
THE HISTORY OF CHESS



CHATURANGA.

The Primæval Hindū Chess,

With the Pieces arranged on the Board as they stand at the commencement of the Game.



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TO

SIR FREDERIC MADDEN, K.H., F.R.S.,

KEEPER OF THE MSS. IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM,

AND TO

HOWARD STAUNTON, Esq.,

OF STREATHAM, SURREY.

GENTLEMEN,

There are two excellent reasons why I should have dedicated to you the following chapters on Chess. In the first place, you have, each of you, done the Good Cause, "some yeoman service," and, if I well recollect, you have *promised* to do *something* more. Secondly, you are, in a remote degree, the authors, or, at all events, the prompters of this work of mine; barring, of course, its faults and shortcomings, which are all my own.

You will recollect, that, some six years ago, I drew up, at your suggestion, a few Essays on the Eastern origin of the Royal Game, which, from time to time, appeared in the columns of the "Illustrated London News." Those hasty sketches were then favourably received, by the lovers of Chess literature, both in this country and abroad. They were subsequently reproduced in our own "Chess Player's Chronicle;" and

were even deemed not unworthy of being translated into the manly and energetic language of our kinsfolk of Germany.

Within the last two years, I have, at leisure times, carefully revised my original sketches; and, to use the words of Dr. Johnson, I have endeavoured "to make them better," in three ways,—"by *putting out*, by *adding*, and by *correcting*." The *adding* process, (whether an improvement or not, I must leave you to judge), is certainly the most conspicuous; for the octavo tome now before you is at least seven times the size of the original brochure. I am quite sensible, however, that the work has still many faults, both of omission and commission; and all I can say is, that I believe the design to be good. I think I have proved that the GAME OF CHESS was invented in India, and nowhere else, in very remote times; and from that source I have endeavoured to trace its diffusion throughout the various regions of the Old World.

In my account of the "Modern Oriental Chess" (chapters XVI. & XVII.), you will perceive that there still remain some blanks to be filled up. For obvious reasons, I have been unable to procure any reliable description of the game as now played in the Japanese Empire, which, for more than two centuries, has been closed against all good Christians. I may say the same respecting the vast regions inhabited by the Tartars and Mongols, extending from the Caspian Sea to the Great Chinese Wall; also of the countries situated between India and China (with the exception of Burmha), which, though not absolutely forbidden ground, are rarely

visited by Europeans, and these visitors not necessarily Chess-players. Such deficiencies, however, may be supplied in the course of time, especially those regarding the Japanese Game, now that we have established a friendly intercourse with the government and people of that interesting country.

It remains for me briefly to notice my mode of spelling Oriental words and phrases in the following work. I have adopted the admirable system propounded nearly eighty years ago, by the eminent Sir William Jones, viz.—"pronounce the vowels as in German or Italian, and the consonants, as in English." Thus the three vowels, *a*, *i*, and *u*, if unaccented, have the same sounds as in the English words "fat," "fit," and (oo in) "foot" respectively. The same, accented, are sounded long, as in "far," "police," and "rule." The vowel *e*, is always sounded as *ea* in "bear;" and *o* as *oa* in "boat." The consonants require very little notice. The combinations *kh* and *gh* are the only sounds that differ from our own; *kh* is the German "*ch*" in "buch," and *gh* is the German *g* in the word "sagen." The Oriental scholar will at once perceive the object of distinguishing some letters, such as *ḳ*, *ṣ*, *ṭ*, &c. by a dot underneath, but this does not in any perceptible degree affect their sound. A few words have become so inveterately established in our language, by evil custom, that it would be sheer pedantry to disturb them; such for instance are "Caliph," and "Caliphate," instead of *Khalīfa*, and *Khilāfat*.

By rigidly following Sir William Jones's system in

Oriental words and phrases, I have been enabled altogether to discard Asiatic characters from my work. To the Oriental scholar, such characters would be superfluous—to the *non*-Oriental, useless. Besides, I am not the least ambitious of obtaining for myself that sort of vulgar reputation for profound learning which consists in merely exhibiting one's knowledge of a multitude of uncouth alphabets.

GENTLEMEN, I commenced, as you may observe, with a DEDICATION; but I find that I am imperceptibly drifting into a PREFACE, which *last*, they say, nobody ever reads. I will, therefore, at once conclude, wishing you long life and prosperity; and hoping that you will bring down to the present day, from the points at which I have stopped short, the History of the "most excellent game that the wit of man has yet devised."

I am, Gentlemen,

Yours sincerely,

D. FORBES.

58, *Burton Crescent*,

AUGUST, 1860.

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HISTORY OF CHESS.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

It was acutely observed by the late Ensign O'Doherty [1] in his ninety-eighth maxim, that "the reason why many important matters remain in obscurity and doubt is, that nobody has adopted the proper means for having them cleared up." This judicious remark on the part of the philosophic standard-bearer, appears to me to be most applicable to the present state of our information respecting the origin and progress of the game of Chess. Modern writers on the subject, with a few distinguished exceptions, merely repeat the puerile legends handed down to us by Carrera, Ruy Lopez, and Salvio—men who, undoubtedly, were first-rate Chess-players, but rather deficient in general scholarship and antiquarian accuracy. Since the times of those early luminaries of the South, two of our most eminent Orientalists of this country,[2] Dr. Hyde and

[1] This was written shortly after the death of Professor Wilson of Edinburgh, the Author of the far famed "Noctes Ambrosianæ." v. Blackwood's magazine.

[2] Hyde—"De Ludis Orientalibus," 12mo. Oxonii, 1694; also an edition in 4to. by Dr. Gregory Sharpe, forming the Second Volume of Hyde's whole works. The 12mo. edition is the more correct, and is the one to which I always refer.

Sir William Jones,[1] both of Oxford, arrived at the conclusion, which I hold to be the correct one, that Chess was invented in India, and thence introduced into Persia and other Asiatic regions during the sixth century of our era. This view has been adopted, solely on its own intrinsic merits, by Mr. Francis Douce[2] and Sir Frederic Madden,[3] in their more recent communications on the subject to the "Transactions of the Archæological Society."

In the following Chapters, it is my intention to advance still farther on the path already pointed out by the Orientalists of Oxford. I happen to possess sources of information which to the latter were either altogether inaccessible or imperfectly known. I think I can clearly show that the game originated in India, and nowhere else. I do not mean to say that I can intimate anything like the precise time when, or the exact spot where, the invention took place; nor is this at all requisite for the investigation. In fact, many of our noblest discoveries, even of comparatively recent date, are still involved in obscurity. We know not to a certainty who it was that first applied the magnetic needle, so as to serve as a guide to the adventurous mariner across the pathless surface of the "vasty deep." The art of printing with moveable types—an art by which the secrets of the remote past are transmitted to the remotest future—is little more than four centuries old, yet are we still in a state of uncertainty as to the precise time *when*, the place *where*, and the person *by whom* this divine discovery was made. This much, however, we may safely say, that the art had its birth somewhere in the Rhineland, either at Strasbourg or Maintz, or still lower down at the city of Haerlem. On the other hand,

[1] "Asiatic Researches," London edition, 8vo. 1801, page 189, &c.
[2] "Archæologia," 4to. London, vol. xi. page 397, &c.
[3] "Archæologia," &c., &c., vol. xxiv. page 203, &c.

if any one were to assert, as some shallow-brained visionaries do, in the case of Chess, that printing originated among the Scythian shepherds or the Arabs of the desert, the idea would at once be scouted by all people of sense.

Precisely in like manner we have ample historical evidence, native and foreign, that Chess was invented in India, but not a single reliable scrap tending to prove that it was either invented or known in any other country previously. It may be asked, then—how came so many writers to ascribe the invention to so many other countries? The answer is simple: it resulted from sheer error of judgment on their part, and the causes of such error are worth noticing. In the first place, the Greeks had a rude and primitive game played on a board, by means of pebbles, called πεττεια or πεσσοι which bore no resemblance whatever to Chess. Then the Romans had two distinct games, something like our draughts and backgammon, derived, as is believed, from the Grecian, and respectively called "Ludus Latrunculorum," and "Ludus Calculorum," neither of which had the least affinity to Chess.[1] Now, during the middle ages, whilst Latin was the literary language of Europe, when a writer had occasion to mention the game of Chess, we find that, to save himself trouble, he employed the unwarrantable term, "Ludus Latrunculorum," taking it for granted that Chess was identcial with the game of the Romans.[2] Bye and bye, when the modern

[1] Since this Chapter was written for the "Illustrated London News" about the middle of 1854, a series of valuable papers on "Greek and Roman Chess" appeared in *The Chess Player's Chronicle*, for the months of March, &c., in 1855. In these the reader will find all that can be said on a subject on which our information is so scanty. The author modestly signs himself H. C.; but assuredly he has no occasion for withholding from us his full length name. He is a most sound reasoner, deeply read in classic lore; and I am proud to say that the results of his able researches amply verify what I had previously stated.

[2] For instance, Burton, in his "Anatomy of Melancholy," page 349, Edition

languages of Europe became a little cultivated, and translations from the classical writers began to be made for the use of the people at large, the "Ludus Latrunculorum," or "Ludus Calculorum," was generally translated as "the game of Chess," in order to give the thing the greater dignity.[1] Now, we here see how one error re-acts upon another so as to multiply itself beyond any assignable limit, the refutation of which would now be mere waste of time.

In the second place, a host of writers of respectable literary abilities have, each according to his own preconceived notions (founded absolutely on *nothing*), attributed the paternity of Chess to various nations and tribes who themselves never laid any claim to the honour. For example: one man writes a quarto[2]—to prove that Chess was invented by the Scythian shepherds, nobody knows how long ago; and that, in the course of time, this game was communicated to Palamedes, at the siege of Troy, who quietly took to himself the honour of the invention. All this is sheer imagination. Who were the Scythian shepherds? Why, they were the fathers of the savage Cossacks. Had he taken the Chaldean shepherds instead,

1836, 8vo., says, alluding to Chess, "Latrunculorum ludus inventus est a duce (quodam) ut, cum miles, intolerabile fame laboraret, altero die edens, altero ludens, famis oblivisceretur." The passage is quoted from Bellonius, an author with whose works I am unacquainted.

[1] Of this second species of hallucination here follow two specimens. In the Translation of Seneca's work by Dr. Thomas Lodge—Folio, London, 1614, we have—"He was playing at Chess, (ludebat Latrunculis,) at such time as the centurion who led a troop of condemned men to death, commanded him likewise to be cited," &c. &c.—Again, Du Cange the great mediæval antiquarian gravely says, "Lucanus in Paneg. ad Pisonem a decrit elegamment le jeu des Eschecs"!!! Now it is well known that the poem alluded to has nothing whatever to do with Chess; and this is the way by which errors arise and spread.

[2] "An Inquiry into the ancient Greek game supposed to have been invented by Palamedes," &c. &c. 4to., London, 1801. The work is said to be the production of a Mr. Christie, an auctioneer of that time. It may be characterized as "more fanciful than sound."

there would be a little less absurdity in the matter : but the Scythian shepherds ! this is too ridiculous. Another writer insists that Chess was invented either at Babylon or Palmyra—I forget which—because the queen has such great power in the game.[1] This is the greatest dreamer of the whole host. He evidently did not know that the word Queen was never heard of in Oriental Chess ; and even if she were, the piece so called by us was one of the weakest on the board, even in Europe, till the beginning of the sixteenth century, as may be seen in any of the old writings on the game. Finally, another writer[2] of higher qualifications than all the rest put together, tries hard to confer the honour on the Persians, an honour to which not one single author of that nation lays claim. I pass over the pretensions of the Irish,[3] the Welsh,[4] and the Jews, as "matters well worthy of confirmation," to use an expression borrowed from our Transatlantic cousins.

It is evident, then, that these two causes, to which others might be added, have tended to render the history of Chess an inextricable labyrinth. An ordinary writer intending to give a popular lecture on the subject, is compelled, as it were, to give the following stereotype paragraph, or something like it, in commencing his discourse :—"Some historians have referred the invention of Chess to the philosopher Xerxes ; others to the Grecian Prince Palamedes ; some to the brothers Lydo and Tyrrheno ; and others, again, to the Egyptians. The Chinese the Hindūs, the Persians, the Arabians, the Irish, the

[1] In honour of Semiramis, or of Zenobia.

[2] "Persian Chess," &c., by N. Bland, Esq., M.R.A.S., 8vo., p. 70.

[3] The Irish and Welsh pretensions will be noticed in the Appendix.

[4] I do not think the Welsh absolutely claim the invention of the Game. It is mentioned in the "Laws of the Howel Da," &c., that is, if it be Chess which is there alluded to, a point on which the learned of Cambria by no means agree.

Welsh, the Araucanians,[1] the Jews, the Scythians, and finally, their fair Majesties, Semiramis and Zenobia, also prefer their claims to be considered as the originators of Chess. But the testimonies of writers in general prove nothing except the remote antiquity of the game.[2]

Now if, instead of echoing each other, writers were to reflect for a moment on what they are saying, or rather repeating, they would soon find theirs is far from being the proper course "for having the matter cleared up," as the "Standard-bearer" has it. A brief inquiry after the truth would convince them that the "philosopher Xerxes," and the "brothers Lydo and Tyrrhene," were, like Mrs. Harris, persons of questionable existence, the mere myth of some jovial mediæval monk. They would have found, moreover, that there is not a particle of evidence that either the Grecian Prince Palamedes, or any other Grecian prince or peasant of ancient times, knew anything of Chess; and that neither the Persians, nor the Egyptians ever did possess or prefer any claim whatever to the invention. Finally, they would have found, on a very small degree of reflection, that the presumed antiquity of Chess among the Irish, the Welsh, the Jews, the Araucanians, and all other such enlightened and civilized communities, is nothing else than the "baseless fabric of a vision."

If we calmly inquire into such plain facts as come within our reach, setting aside all foolish prejudices and partialities, we shall find that the history of Chess naturally falls under three distinct periods. The first is that of the ancient Hindū game, called Chaturanga, in which

[1] The claim of the Araucanians, being a little curious and highly *suspicious*, shall be noticed in the Appendix.

[2] The germ of this *stock* paragraph is to be found in a work entitled "The Inconparable Game of Chess."—London, 1820. It is an imperfect translation from the Italian of Ponziani, by J. S. Bingham, Esq. as he styles himself.

the moves and powers of all the pieces employed were the same that prevailed in Asia, and Europe, down to the close of the fifteenth century of our era. The origin of this form of the game is lost in the depths of remote antiquity; but there can be no question, as we shall afterwards show, that it was invented in India. The board consisted then, as it does now, of sixty-four squares. The game was played by four persons, each having a King, a Rook, a Knight, and, lastly, a Bishop (then represented by a Ship,) together with four Pawns. The two opposite players were allied against the other two, and the moves were decided by the turn of an oblong die having four faces marked with the numbers two, three, four and five; the two and five being opposites, as were the three and four. The only peculiarity in this primæval game was that the King might be captured as well as any other piece, as we shall see in our third Chapter. This, we must remember, was merely Chess in its infancy, and the capture of the King was certainly in conformity with the usages of actual warfare, though we may look upon it as having a tendency to spoil the game. The very simplicity and imperfection of this primitive Chess, furnish the best possible proofs of its being the original. Its duration may have been from three to four thousand years before the sixth century of our era.

The second, or mediæval period, in the history of Chess, occupies a space of about one thousand years—that is, from the sixth to the sixteenth century of our era. At the commencement of this period the improvement made in the game is very decided. The board and the powers of the pieces still remain the same, but the two allied forces have each united on one side of the board, whilst the adversaries have done the same on the other. One of the allied Kings then becomes a subordinate

piece, called by the Persians and Arabs Farzīn or Wazīr, *i.e.*, counsellor or minister—with only half the power that he had previously possessed as an independent Sovereign. At the same time the Rook and Bishop change places, the former being transferred to the corner of the board, and the Bishop to the place he now occupies. Finally, the die is dismissed, and the whole game is reduced to a pure trial of mental power and intellectual skill.

The third, or modern period, commences with the sixteenth century. The change made here consists, first, in extending the power of the Bishop, allowing him to command the whole diagonal, instead of every third square as formerly; secondly, in giving the Queen or Minister the enormous power of the Rook and Bishop combined; and, lastly, in allowing the Pawns to advance one or two squares at pleasure, at the first move. To these improvements we may add that of castling the King, either according to the Italian method or that of the Anglo-French school. It is just probable that our go-ahead posterity will introduce some further modifications—such, for instance, as giving the Queen the additional power of the Knight. This, like our modern improvements in the implements of war, will tend to shorten the duration of a game, "a consummation," sometimes, "most devoutly to be wished."

In the following chapters it is my intention to trace the origin, and to describe the precise state of the Game of Chess both in the primæval and mediæval periods. This is a task hitherto unaccomplished, simply because it has never been undertaken by a person who happened to know something of Chess and of Oriental languages at the same time. Hyde, for example, commits several mistakes, owing to his ignorance of Chess. Sir William

Jones also fails both from his then slight acquaintance with Sanskrit, and from his crotchet about the Game of Chess being the "glorious and grand conception of one single mind." I beg, however, that it be distinctly understood, that I do not herein claim unto myself any extraordinary degree of merit. The task is much easier for me at the present day, than it must have been to Sir William Jones in his time. He had, most probably, a single and imperfect Sanskrit manuscript to work upon; whereas I have the choice of two printed texts, besides sundry other minor advantages which it were needless to enumerate.

That the reader may understand the difficulties that Sir William Jones had to encounter, I may mention that from the earliest times on record till towards the close of the last century, the Sanskrit language continued to be the sacred and jealously guarded depository of the ancient stores of knowledge possessed by the Hindūs. This learned language, which is the key to these treasures, the Brāhmans, with tenacious hands, long withheld from all those not of their own faith and caste. Not all the threats and promises of their Muslim conquerors could induce them to unveil the secrets of their ancient Shāstras. Even the mild and enlightened Akbar was obliged to have recourse to a little artifice[1] in order to gain some information respecting

[1] There is a pretty little romance, as we are told, connected with the stratagem here alluded to. Akbar had, in his young days, placed under the care of a learned Brāhman, a very promising Muslim boy named Faiẓī, giving out that this youth was the son of a Hindū of high rank who had been killed in battle. The Brāhman was enjoined to spare neither pains nor expense in training him up in all the learning of the Hindūs. So far every thing went on well, till Faiẓī, in due time, fell in love with his master's daughter, and then confessed that he had all along been a Muslim. The Brāhman's mistake was now, however, past remedy, the lovers were united, and Faiẓī ever after held a high place at Akbar's court. He also translated from Sanskrit into Persian several of the Hindū scientific and philosophic works with which he had become acquainted. Yea, further, Akbar and himself, by comparing the Muḥammadan and Hindū

the religion of the most numerous portion of his subjects. Little more than eighty years ago, Mr. N. B. Halhed, the first Englishman who was enabled to acquire even the slightest smattering of Sanskrit, states "that very lately only, and that altogether by accident, he had been enabled to procure even the slender information he possessed; that the Pandits were resolute in rejecting all his solicitations for instruction in this language; and that the persuasion and influence of the Governor-General were in vain exerted to the same purpose."

The Honourable Warren Hastings so far prevailed on the Brāhmans as to get them to compile a digest of their laws, or of such of them as they were pleased to communicate, in the Persian language. This work was then translated from the Persian into English, by Mr. Halhed, under the title of "A Code of Gentoo Laws, &c.," and published in London, 1781, 8vo. Shortly after the completion of this task, Mr. Halhed states, (Preface xxxv.) "that he had been happy enough to become acquainted with a Bramin of liberal sentiments, and of a more communicative disposition than his brethren, joined to an extensive knowledge acquired both by study and travel; he eagerly embraced the opportunity of profiting by the help of so able a master, and exerted all his diligence upon so curious and uncommon a subject."

religions, concocted a novel and philosophic system of their own, dismissing all that was absurd in the other two. This new religion, as might be expected, met with little favour from either Muslim or Hindū, with the exception of a few of the more intelligent, or indifferent, among the courtiers.

CHAPTER II.

CHATURANGA.

THE term *Chaturanga* is compounded of the two Sanskrit words, *chatur*, "four;" and *anga*, "a member," or "component part." As an adjective it is very nearly equivalent to our word "quadripartite," and is generally applied to an army composed, in certain proportions, of four distinct species of forces. These were, anciently, elephants, horses, ships (or more recently chariots), and infantry. In this sense we find it used adjectively by the ancient Hindū poet, Vālmīki, in his celebrated epic the "Rāmāyana," book ii. cap. 51. "*Chaturangam hyapi valam su-mahat prasahemahi*," *i.e.*, "we may, indeed, subdue this most mighty quadripartite force."

Chaturanga, as a neuter substantive, denotes the "Game of Chess," which originally represented an image of ancient Hindū warfare; the mimic forces therein employed being precisely the four species above described. It has been objected to this primitive game that the introduction of the ship or boat is an anomaly; but the objection is more plausible than valid; and, in fact, it forms one of the best proofs that the game is of Indian origin. It is well known that the vast alluvial plains of the Panjāb, as well as those bordering on the Ganges, are, for nearly one-third of the year, flooded with water, arising, in the first place, from the melting of the mountain snow in spring;

and secondly, from the torrents of rain that fall in summer. It is obvious, then, that in such a country ships and boats must have formed a very important item in the *matériel* of an army, whether for offensive or defensive purposes. On this point the reader will find ample confirmation in the fifth and sixth books of Arian's History, which so graphically detail the expedition of Alexander from Kābul across the Panjāb, and thence downwards along the Indus till his return to Persia. The etymological proof of the Indian origin of Chess is still more incontrovertible. It is only in Sanskrit that the term Chaturanga, the name given to the ancient game I am about to describe, fully and clearly conveys to the mind an idea of the thing represented. The term Shatranj, used by the Persians, Arabs, and Turks, is a pure exotic in their respective languages, defying all the ingenuity of their grammarians to make it their own, and clearly proving that it is merely a modification or corruption of the word Chaturanga. But it is needless to dwell more on this point at present. We are, then, inevitably led to infer that the game of Chaturanga was invented by a people whose language was Sanskrit, which brings the invention home to India; and further, it is the representation of a mode of warfare that was most peculiarly adapted to that country in ancient times.

The ancient Hindū account of the origin of the game is not unlike that of many more modern versions of the same tale. But, as I have already observed, the mere *occasion* of its invention is a point of little or no real importance; our main object at present is to determine the region where, and approximately the time when, it was invented. Sir William Jones states, on the authority of his friend the Brāhman Rādha Kant, "that this game is

it was invented by the wife of Rāvaṇ, King of Lankā (the capital of Ceylon), in order to amuse him with an image of war, while his metropolis was closely besieged by Rāma, in the second age of the world." Here again we find an excellent reason why ships are admitted into the game, as being matters of the utmost importance in such an expedition as this, which bears no remote resemblance to that of the Greeks against Troy. In short, whether we consider the game to have been invented in Ceylon during the siege of Lankā, or subsequently in Central India, the admission of the ship, as one part of the four forces, is quite in accordance with the time, place, and circumstances.

The period of the siege of Lankā, according to Hindū authorities, would carry us too far back to meet with the reader's belief; but, in what we may call the heroic or poetic age of Hindū history, we find the game familiarly spoken of in the Purānas, as then known and practised. The authenticity of these poetic histories is much on a par with that of the works of Homer, Hesiod, and Apollonius Rhodius. They are all most probably founded on something of the nature of fact, only the details are highly coloured. The best original account of this very ancient game to which we have yet obtained access, is to be found in the Sanskrit Encyclopædia, entitled "Shabda-Kalpa-Druma," published at Calcutta in seven volumes, 4to, within the last twenty years (*vide* vol. i., under the article "Chaturanga"); also, in a work published at Serampore, in two vols. 8vo., 1834, entitled, "Raghu-Nandana-Tatwa," or "Institutes (of the Hindū Religion, &c.,) by Raghu Nandana" (*vide* vol. i., page 88). In both of these works, the text, with very slight variations, is identical, and evidently taken from the same original, viz.,

the "Bhavishya Purāna," (*vide* "Asiatic Researches," octavo edition, vol. ii., p. 160). We may here state, however, that Sir William Jones has given us only a very incorrect abridgement of the extract in question, and that he has at the same time deduced from it several inferences not warranted by the original, of which more hereafter. In the following Chapter, I shall lay before the reader what I believe to be a faithful translation of such portions of the Sanskrit text as bear upon our immediate inquiry. I must mention, however, that the original, is, in many places, so extremely concise in its style, that a mere verbal translation into English would convey no meaning. In such cases I have endeavoured to give the author's sense as clearly as I can, by adopting some slight degree of circumlocution.

It may be proper here to state that the Hindūs are possessed of an immense collection of works in verse, entitled the *Purānas*. These are eighteen in number, and are partly Theological or Mythological, and partly Historical. They rank next the four Vedas in point of sanctity. As a general rule each Purāna treats of the creation of the Universe, its progress and dissolution or renovation, the genealogy of the Gods, and interminable legends of fabulous heroes and warriors.

Next to the Purānas may be classed the two celebrated historical poems of India, the *Rāmāyana*, by Vālmīki; who is styled "the father of Hindū poetry," and the *Mahābhārata* by Vyāsa Deva Muni. These, like portions of the Purānas, are probably founded upon real facts, though highly coloured with the extravagant mythology of the country. At the same time, they are greatly to be admired for the elegance of the language in which they are written, and the faithful representation which they exhibit of the

The events narrated in the Purānas and Mahābhārata, respecting the five sons of Pandu, of whom Yudhishṭhira was the eldest and most renowned, are supposed to have occurred a little more than 3,000 years before our era. The game of Chaturanga had by that time become popular in the country, and seems to have attracted the notice of Yudhishṭhira, who applied to the sage Vyāsa, the Nestor of the day, for the benefit of his instructions on a subject so well adapted to his own peculiar disposition; for the youthful warrior, like a certain eminent military veteran of recent times, was strongly addicted to gambling; and in its infancy even Chess itself was a gambling game, if I may use such an expression. But unquestionably the favourite game among the ancient Hindūs was that of dice, a knowledge of which, in those primitive times, formed one of the requisite accomplishments of a hero, just as skill in Chess was considered among us in the palmy days of chivalry. In Ward's "View of the History, &c., of the Hindūs," vol. iv., p. 433, where the author gives an analysis of the contents of the great epic poem of the Mahābhārata, we have the following notice of Yudhishṭhira:—"This game (of dice) is sanctioned by the Shāstra. Yudhishṭhira first lost his estates, then, in succession, all the riches in his treasury, his four brothers, and his wife, Draupadī. The conqueror's father, Dhritarāshtra, was so pleased with Draupadī that he told her to ask what she would and he would grant it. She first asked for her husband's kingdom; this was granted. She was permitted to ask other blessings, till all that her husband had lost was restored. Yudhishṭhira again encounters Shakuni at Chess, and again loses all." Thus it would appear that Yudhishṭhira fared no better at Chess or Chaturanga than he had done with the plain dice. It is to be inferred that he ventured on the game too soon

CHAPTER III.

CHATURANGA CONTINUED.

Translation of the Sanskrit Text. Moves and Powers of the Pieces, &c.

Yudhishṭhira said to Vyāsa, "Explain to me, O thou super-eminent in virtue, the nature of the game that is played on the eight-times-eight squared board. Tell me, O my master, how the Chaturājī[1] may be accomplished."

Vyāsa thus replied: "O my Prince, having delineated a square board, with eight houses on each of the four sides, then draw up the red warriors on the east; on the south array the army clad in green; on the west let the yellow troops be stationed; and let the black combatants occupy the north.

"Let each player place his Elephant on the left of his King; next to that the Horse; and last of all the Ship; and in each of the four armies let the infantry be drawn up in front. The ship shall occupy the left-hand corner; next to it the Horse; then the Elephant; and lastly, the King; the foot soldiers, as already stated, being drawn up in front.[2]

[1] Sir William Jones has erroneously stated that this game is more frequently called "Chaturājī." Now the term Chaturājī is not applied to the game at all; it only denotes a certain position or contingency that may arise in the course of play, which ensures the most complete species of victory, equivalent to our Check mate. The precise nature of the term Chaturājī is clearly described in the text.

[2] It would seem, at first sight, that this is a mere repetition of the last sentence; but such is not the case: the former sentence would have remained vague and indefinite without the latter.

precisely the same moves and powers as they have with us at this day, except that the Pawn could move only one square at starting. The Bishop moves diagonally to any third square, passing over the square next to him, which he does not command or attack. His move is no ways impeded by any piece placed in the intermediate square. His power is very limited, as it will be found that there are only seven particular squares of the board, besides the one on which he stands, where he can possibly be moved. This, however, is all the power the Bishop possessed both in Asia and Europe down to the beginning of the sixteenth century. It will also be found, on examination, that there are thirty-two squares on the board, which no Bishop could possibly cover![1] Another peculiarity attending this piece is, that not one of the four Bishops, allied or hostile, can attack any of the squares on which the three others are allowed to move; hence we see clearly the meaning of a verse in the Latin poem given by Hyde, from a MS. of the twelfth century, preserved in the Bodleian, viz., "Firmum pactum Calvi tenent, neque sibi noceant," *i.e.*, "The Bishops maintain a solid compact not to hurt each other." Vide Hyde, "De ludis Orientalibus." Tome I. p. 180.

[1] See the diagram explanatory of the term *Vrihannaukā*, in next chapter, page 24.

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[2] It would seem, at first sight, that this is a mere repetition of the last sentence; but such is not the case: the former sentence would have remained vague and indefinite without the latter.

"If, on throwing the die,[1] the number should turn up *five*, the King or one of the Pawns must move; if *four*, the Elephant; if *three*, the Horse; and, if the throw be *two*, then, O Prince, the Ship must move.

On the Moves of the Pieces.

"The King moves one square in all directions; the Pawn moves one square straight forward, but smites an enemy through either angle, in advance; the Elephant, O Prince of many lands, moves (so far as his path is clear) in the direction of the four cardinal points,[2] according to his own pleasure; the Horse moves over three squares in an oblique direction; and the Ship, O Yudhishṭhira, moves two squares diagonally.

[1] The die alluded to is an oblong, four-sided one, used by the natives of India to this day in some of their own peculiar games, such as the game of Chaupar, in which, according to Abu-l-Faẓl's description in the "Āyīni Akbarī" the dice used had "on one side, one spot; on the second, two; on the third, five; and on the fourth, six." In the second volume of Hyde's work, page 68, we have a brief account of this game, together with a figure of the board and dice, agreeing on the whole with that of Abu-l-Faẓl, save that the dice are marked, one, three, six and four; the ace being opposite the six, and the three on the reverse side of the four. In a similar manner, the dice for the Chaturanga had the four numbers, two, three, four, and five; the three and four, as also the two and five, being opposite each other, so as to make the amount seven, as in our own cubic die.

[2] Sir William Jones, and his learned friend the Brāhman Rādha Kant, have fallen into a very serious error respecting the move and power of the Elephant. They have translated the passage, "the Elephant moves in *all directions* as far as the driver pleases;" and, further on, it is added, "the Elephant, we find, has the powers of our Queen, as we are pleased to call the *minister* or *general* of the Persians." Now it so happens that the expression used in the original admits of no doubt as to the Elephant's move. It is the adverb *chatushṭayam* which simply means *in the four cardinal directions—i.e.*, east, west, south, and north. Had the author intended to indicate the power of our Queen, he would have used the expression *sarvatah—i.e.*, *in all directions*, which term he applies to the move of the King, a few lines before. The Elephant, then, in the game of Chaturanga, had precisely the move of our Rook; and we may add, once for all, that the present move of our Queen is not, generally speaking, of older date than three and a half centuries back.

General Directions for Play.

"Let each player preserve his own forces with excessive care, and remember that the King is the most important of all. O Prince, from inattention to the humbler forces, the King himself may fall into disaster. The Ship (from a central position) commands only four squares, but the Horse commands eight; therefore, the Horse bears the higher value.[1] The Pawns and the Ship assail the foe without subjecting themselves to capture; the King, the Elephant and the Horse slay the foe without subjecting themselves to destruction.[2] O Prince, never let a player place his Elephant in front (*en prise*) of a hostile Elephant; if any man of sense should do so, he will be deemed guilty of imprudence. Only in those cases where there is no other resource should a player place one Elephant *en prise* of another; such is the decree of the sage Gotama.[3] Should

[1] We shall afterwards see, when treating of the Shatranj, or mediæval game of Chess, that the powers and value of the Rook, Knight and Bishop, which remained the same as in the ancient Chaturanga, were to one another, respectively, in the following proportion. The Pawn was reckoned *one*, as the unit of measure; then the Rook counted *six*; the Knight *four*, and the Bishop *two*. In the Chaturanga however, the value of the Bishop may have been slightly modified owing to the probable occurrence of the peculiar situation of the four Bishops called Vrihannaukā of which more hereafter.

[2] The text of this stanza is, at first sight, a little puzzling, if not absolutely unintelligible. I take the author's meaning to be, that the Ships and Pawns mutually capture each other, but are not allowed to capture a superior piece. The King, Elephant and Knight, however, being of higher rank, are allowed certain special privileges: viz., the King can take any piece whatever belonging to his two adversaries; but he is not himself liable to be taken, except by a King, Elephant or Knight. In a similar manner, the Elephant could capture any of the adverse forces at pleasure, and was liable to be captured only by a King, Elephant or Knight. Lastly, the Knight could take any of his adversaries within his range, but was himself subject to be captured only by a Knight, Elephant or King.

[3] Gotama, as Sir William Jones has already observed, was an eminent legislator and philosopher. That he should have condescended to record his decision on the merits of certain moves in Chess, is probably a license on the part of the poet, in order to confer the more honour on the game.

a player have it in his power to capture either of the hostile Elephants, it is preferable to slay that on the left hand.[1] In order to attain those situations on the board, called the Singhāsana and the Chaturājī, the King is to be preserved at the expense of the whole army, the Elephant even included."

Peculiar Situations of the Pieces, conferring certain Privileges, &c.

"I will now explain to you, O Prince, the nature of certain situations, &c., that may occur in the course of play, viz., *Singhāsana, Chaturājī, Nripākrishṭa Shaṭpada, Kākakākāshṭa Vrihannaukā*, and *Gāḍhāvaṭi*.

"*Singhāsana.*—When a King moves to the square of another King, O Yudhishṭhira, then he is said to have

[1] Sir William Jones, in commenting on this passage, says, "the last rule is extremely obscure." Now, it so happens, that, instead of being obscure, it affords us a ray of light of no small importance. We learn from it that the adverse forces of each party were those on the right and left of the board; consequently those opposite, at the top, were the allied forces. Thus, the Green and Black were allies, as also the Red and Yellow. Indeed, we should have inferred as much, although the author nowhere expressly asserts it, from the nature of the game. Were we to suppose, for instance, that the Red and Green were allies, the brunt of the battle and almost the whole of the danger would fall chiefly, if not entirely, on the Green. The Red would merely have to move forward his Pawns, in comparative security, to the opposite side, through his ally's quarters; but, by making the opposite forces allies, the risk to be incurred is precisely the same for all parties. As to the mere propriety of slaying the Elephant, on the *left hand*, it is obvious enough. For example, Green has to pass his Pawns forward, under the protection of his pieces, on the left-hand side of the board, where the Yellow Elephant is directly in their way, and much more likely to give them a rough reception than the Elephant of the Red, which is on the right hand, and less able to gain their range, owing to his own Pawns, which stand in front of him. To this we may add, that the very approach of his own allies impedes the movements of the Red for attacking the Green when further advanced. Finally, the Red is obliged to keep a sharp look out on his right, from which quarter the hostile Black are threatening to take him in flank.

gained a Singhāsana (*i.e.* a throne). When he gains a Singhāsana by slaying either of the adverse Kings, he then wins a double stake, otherwise it shall be a single stake. When a King, O Prince, mounts the throne of his own ally, then also he gains a Singhāsana, and thenceforth he commands the allied forces along with his own.[1]

"2. *Chaturājī*.—When a player, after having attained possession of his ally's throne, succeeds in capturing the two adverse Kings, his own King still remaining on the board, then he is said to have gained the Chaturājī. When the Chaturājī is attained, on the part of a player, by the latter's King slaying the last of the hostile Kings, then he is entitled to a twofold stake, otherwise it shall be a single stake. O Prince, when, in the game of Chaturanga, a king slays the last of the two adverse Kings on his own square, then he is entitled to a fourfold stake; and when thus a Singhāsana and a Chaturājī occur both at the same time, then, O Prince, it shall be deemed only a Chaturājī, but not the Singhāsana likewise.

"3. *Nripākrishṭa*.—When a player has got the two adverse Kings into his possession, his own King still remaining on the board, then, should his allied King have been previously captured by the adverse forces, he has the right of reclaiming his ally without any ransom, which procedure is called Nripākrishṭa; but, so long as the two adverse Kings are not in his possession, the captured ally is to be deemed defunct, or *hors du combat*. An allied King may also be ransomed or exchanged for *one* of the adverse Kings; but this is entirely at the option of the last player, who may either claim the exchange, or consider both Kings defunct.

[1] Hence it must have occasionally happened, that only one player on each side remained, to conduct the whole allied forces, and this result very naturally gave rise to the mediæval game of Shatranj, of which more hereafter.

"4. *Shaṭpada.*—When either of the two middle Pawns has reached the opposite end of the board, he is then distinguished with the title of Shaṭpada,[1] and assumes the power of that piece (Rook or Knight,) whose square he may have attained; a Pawn having reached the corner square, or that of the King, is not entitled to the rank of Shaṭpada. O son of Pandu, the player who is still in possession of three Pawns is not entitled to a Shaṭpada; so it has been decreed by Gotama.

"5. *Kākakāshṭa.*—When, towards the end of a game, a King remains alone, after all his forces have been captured, such a situation is called Kākakāshṭa; and the King, thus bereaved, according to the decision of all the Rākshasas,[2] is neither entitled to victory, nor liable to defeat.

"6. *Vrihannaukā.*—When three Ships happen to be in contiguous squares, and the fourth Ship can be played into the remaining contiguous square, the situation is called Vrihannaukā; and the last player takes possession of all the others.[3]

"7. *Gāḍhāvaṭi.*—When, in course of the game, a player is left with only the Ship and a single Pawn, the

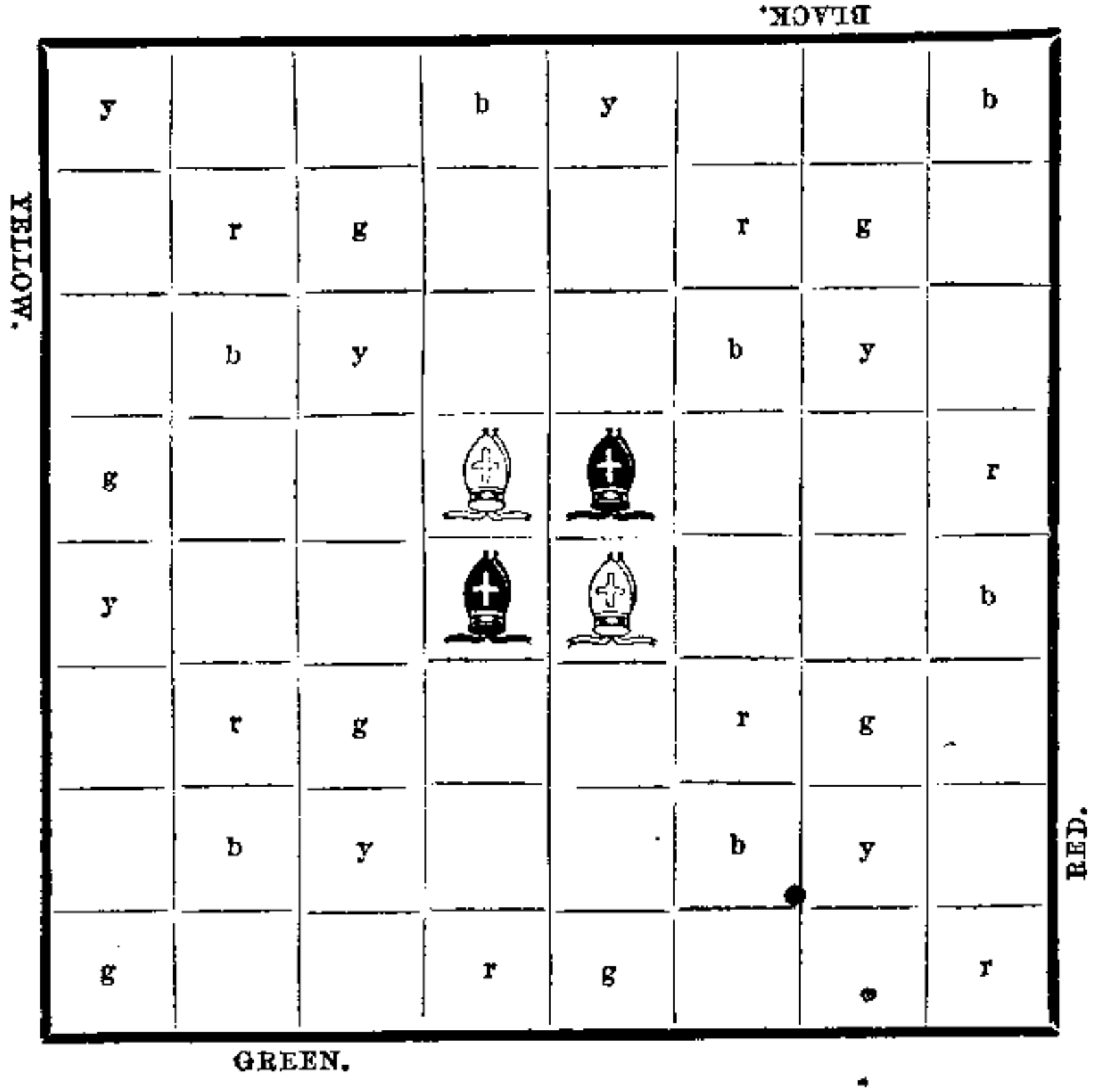
[1] The term *shaṭpada* denotes *six steps*, and corresponds with what we commonly call *queening* a Pawn. In the Chaturanga, as stated above, a Pawn could only (with one exception) become a Knight or a Rook; in the Shatranj, as we shall see hereafter, a pawn on reaching the extremity of the board, was compelled to become a farzīn, or "counsellor," and nothing else.

[2] The Rākshasas literally signify demons or giants; but the term was applied to the inhabitants of Lankā, or ancient Ceylon, probably from the gallant and desperate defence they offered against their northern invaders under Rāma, the King of Ayodhya, the Oude of our day. It is further evident from this stanza that the situation called Kākakāshṭa was equivalent to what we call a drawn game: though in the Shatranj as we shall hereafter see, the party so reduced was considered as defeated.

[3] The curious situation called Vrihannaukā, or "concourse of the ships," can occur only in five particular portions of the board, viz., in the four central squares, and also within a square of each of the four corners, as will appear from the diagram in the following page.

Pawn is then called Gādhāvaṭi,[1] and is not subject to any restriction on the score of becoming a Shaṭpada."

Before we conclude this Chapter it may be proper to explain more fully the nature of the situation called Vrihannaukā which is best done by means of a diagram, thus :—



Let the letters g, y, b and r, represent the *green*,

[1] The term Gāḍhāvaṭi means "strong" or "secure" Pawn. This privilege seems to have been a species of chivalrous courtesy that was shown towards the losing party ; of which some traces remain, though of a different kind, in the modern Indian game at this day. It is a rule observed among the natives of India, when playing their own game, that, when the weaker party has only one piece left, that piece cannot be taken so long as he acts merely on the defensive, in protecting his own King. It would further appear that some such rule also prevailed in the Levant during the middle ages, as may be inferred from Twiss, Vol. ii. p. 14, where he states—"Piacenza mentions that in the Levant it is sometimes customary to play with a *Pezzo di Tregua* (Piece of Truce), which Damiano calls *Pezzo Fidato* (Trusted Piece) to which is given the privilege of not being liable to be taken except when it actually attacks the enemy." In

yellow, *black* and *red* ships respectively; then we see at a glance the respective squares on which each of them acted. Let each ship make two moves towards the centre, and the result is a Vrihannaukā, or *concourse* of *ships*, which we here represent by the four Bishops. This done, suppose each ship to make one move more in the direction of any of the four corners, we get four additional Vrihannaukās, where it may be observed the ships always fall into the same relative position, so that altogether there is a possibility that this situation may occur in one of five different parts of the board in the course of a game.

It may be further observed that exactly one half of the squares on the board were altogether inaccessible to any of the ships; but in the ancient game, when dice were used, the Ship, though in general the weakest of the pieces for attack, yet from the probability of the occurrence of a Vrihannaukā, was of greater importance than it more recently became in the Shatranj. He who had the good fortune to bring up his Ship last, so as to complete the *concourse*, destroyed the two hostile ships, and applied that of his ally to his own use. This Oriental alliance, then, seems to have been rather of a passive kind, and certainly not over cordial; for we have seen two instances in which a player might be coolly plundered by his ally, first of his throne, and secondly of his Ship.

CHAPTER IV.

CHATURANGA CONTINUED.

Theory and Practice of the Game.

In the last chapter we gave the reader as full and complete a description of the game of Chaturanga as our original materials would permit; and although sundry minute points have necessarily remained unexplained, yet the account, on the whole, is far more satisfactory than that of any of the Grecian and Roman games of a sedentary nature that has come down to us. In the Chaturanga we have before us all the elements of the game of Chess, for every individual piece has precisely the same move and the same power which it continued to have in the mediæval game of Asia and Europe. * The transition of the Chaturanga into the latter modification is of the simplest and most natural kind, being merely a step in advance on the high road of improvement, similar to the change from the mediæval into the common game of the present day, which took place near the time of Damiano, in the early part of the sixteenth century.

Let us now examine a little into the practical working of this primæval game. Its elements are so few and simple, that almost any four persons may play it, provided one of the four be acquainted with the moves of our

rably adapted for a social family game, being, like backgammon, a mixture of skill and chance—the choice of the move being greatly restricted by the turn of the die. Whoever is already in possession of two sets of common chessmen—one of wood, and another of bone or ivory—may easily convert the same into two complete sets for the Chaturanga, in this wise,—the wooden set will furnish the King, Rook, Knight and Bishop, together with their Pawns, for the Yellow and the Black; whilst those of bone or ivory will furnish the armies of Red and Green—or, instead of Green, White will do equally well. Thus we have got one set for the Chaturanga, but the convenience of it is that we have still another set in reserve, by making the four Queens, who never had any place in either of the Oriental games, whether Chaturanga or Shatranj, act the part of Kings. As to the die, nothing can be easier; any ivory turner may make it by slightly rounding the two faces of the common cubic die, now marked *six* and *ace* respectively; or, in fact, a common teetotum with the numbers *two*, *three*, *four* and *five* marked thereon, will be quite sufficient. The board and men being thus prepared, I shall suppose myself addressing the player of the Green (or White, as the case may be,) with a view to inculcate, in the simplest manner, the principles of the game, as far as my imperfect knowledge of it extends.

"Your main object is, in the first place, to convey your two centre Pawns to the opposite ends of the board, in order that they may be promoted to the rank of Knight or Rook, which will nearly double your strength. Another object, of equal, if not superior, importance, is to convey your King, by a series of careful moves, to the square of the Black King, your trustworthy ally. This gives you the command of the allied forces, which now

by vastly increased, owing to the entire unity of action which will thenceforth prevail in your camp; a point of the utmost consequence in warfare. In the meanwhile, you are to avail yourself of every safe opportunity in order to damage or exterminate the hostile forces; and this, for your own sake, if not for that of your ally; for, as I already mentioned, the alliance in this case is not altogether free from selfishness. Having gained your ally's throne, and consequently the command of his forces, the main point then is to capture the hostile Kings, thus, gaining the Chaturāji, or, in other words, completely winning the game."

These appear to me to be the general principles of the game of Chaturanga; but, as I have already stated, there are a number of minor points, not touched upon in the text, which are open to mere conjecture; at the same time, it is my belief, that if four intelligent Chessplayers were to play over, and carefully observe a few of these primitive games, they would soon be able to provide fixed laws for every contingency that might occur. The points I allude to do not in the least affect the nature of the game, which is simply Chess in its oldest and rudest form. They are mere matters of detail, which the ancient poet (supposed to have been Vyāsa himself) did not deem it necessary, or becoming his high dignity, to enter upon. I may here mention a few of those doubtful points, and I have reason to believe that several others may present themselves in the course of play.

Cases of Uncertainty.

In the first place, we shall suppose a player on his first throw turns up four; the text says, in such case,

the Elephant cannot, just then, move. The question is, what was to be done? Was the throw forfeited, as is sometimes the case at backgammon; or was it allowed in such case to move the Elephant's Pawn instead? Again, suppose a player, for his first move, has pushed Elephant's Pawn one square, and on his second move the die turns up *two*, in which case the Ship ought to move —what is he then to do? The Ship's path is clearly blocked up by the Elephant's Pawn. Perhaps the simplest mode of settling all such contingencies is, to suppose that the throw went for nothing, and passed on to the next player, as happens in backgammon, when "you cannot enter." Another query presents itself thus: What became of the King's Pawn and Ship's Pawn on reaching the opposite extremity of the board? Was their career then finished? or were they allowed a minor sort of promotion, like the farzīn, in the Persian game? We have seen that a Pawn reaching the Elephant's square or the Knight's square, became an Elephant or Knight accordingly; and as the book says nothing about the original Elephant or Knight having been previously removed, we are left to infer that they immediately received their promotion; and consequently each of the four players must have been furnished with a spare Elephant and Knight to meet such favourable conjunctures. With regard to the King's Pawn and Ship's Pawn, I think we may venture to infer that they attained the rank of King, but only in those cases where the latter may have been already captured, not otherwise. According to Oriental notions, "two kings in one kingdom are inadmissible;" and the promoting of the Ship's Pawn into a Ship would be an absurdity as it would have to run on the precise path of a hostile ship. We have seen already that in the case of the situation called Gādhāvati the Pawn was unrestricted

as to the rank it assumed; we may infer then that it became a King, Rook or Knight, according to circumstances.

All these, and some others I might add, are minor points, on which I do not despair of obtaining clear specific information in the course of time, from India, where the game is, no doubt, still cherished among the Brāhmans. Rādha Kant told Sir William Jones, seventy to eighty years ago, "that the Brāhmans of Gaur, or Bengal, were once celebrated for superior skill in this game; and that his father, together with his spiritual preceptor, Jagannāth, then living at Tribeni, had instructed two young Brāhmans in all the rules of it, and had sent them to Jayanagar, at the request of the late Rājā, who had liberally rewarded them."[1] Since the days of Sir William Jones a great change has taken place in India. Many of the higher classes of Hindūs are now well versed in English literature; and, by consequence, readers of our new publications. Should these unaided and necessarily imperfect efforts of mine meet the notice of any such, I trust they will kindly communicate to me any further information they may possess on the subject. It is not to be for a moment supposed that the Brāhmans of the present day have altogether lost sight of the very ancient and national game of Chaturanga, although our modern European game, at which they are proficients, may have gradually diminished their interest in the former, as the Shatranj, or mediæval game, must have done to a great extent, many centuries previously.

In the preceding chapter I have taken the liberty to point out freely the errors into which Sir William Jones has fallen—errors which arose partly from his imperfect acquaintance at that period with the Sanskrit language,

[1] Asiatic Researches, 8vo. London, 1801, p. 161.

but chiefly from his having been very little versed in the history and practice of the game of Chess. Sir William entirely misunderstood the description of the simple and primitive Chaturanga, which, in consequence, he considers to be "more complex and more modern than the simple Chess of the Persians." Above all, he was himself misled by a strange paradox, savouring infinitely more of the poet than the philosopher. He states, in his discourse delivered to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, about 1788, "The beautiful simplicity and extreme perfection of the game, as it is commonly played in Europe and Asia, convince me that it was invented by one effort of some great genius—not completed by gradual improvements; but formed, to use the phrase of Italian critics, *by the first intention.*"

In a paper more recently written on the same subject, in the "Asiatic Researches," vol. vii. page 481, by Captain Hiram Cox, the latter very justly remarks on the above passage:—"But it appears to me, that all he (Sir William Jones) afterwards adduces on the subject is so far from corroborating, that it is in direct contradiction of this opinion; and I trust my further combating it will neither be deemed impertinent nor invidious. The errors of a great mind are, of all others, the most material to be guarded against; and Sir William himself, had he lived to reconsider the subject, I am sure would have been the first to expunge a passage of so unqualified construction. Perfection has been denied us, undoubtedly for wise purposes; and progression is necessary to the happiness of our existence. No human invention is so perfect but it may be improved; and no one is, or has been, so great, but another may be greater."

Sir William Jones's mistake arose simply from the

CHAPTER V.

CHATURANGA CONCLUDED.

Gradual change into the Shatranj, or Mediæval Game.

I WOULD now beg leave to hazard a few conjectures respecting the mode in which the ancient Chaturanga became gradually changed into the Shatranj, or mediæval game. We have seen that, in playing the former, it was an object of importance with each of the four players to gain possession of his ally's throne—a step which thenceforth secured to him the undivided command of the allied forces. It must, therefore, have often happened, that, after some twenty or thirty moves, the contest remained to be concluded between two players only; and this circumstance of itself was sufficient to have given rise to the mediæval game. But this is not all; it is evident the Chaturanga might have been, and frequently was, played by only one person on each side, and that, too, from beginning to end. Of this fact we have a noted instance in the case of Yudhishṭhira (as stated in Chapter II.,) who lost the whole of his possessions in a premature encounter with Shakuni at this very game. Nay, further, it is extremely probable—for reasons immediately to be assigned—that the game of Chaturanga was generally played by either four or two persons, without admitting the use of the dice at all, except merely for the purpose of determining

whose language was Sanskrit, is evident on the most unerring etymological grounds, in addition to the direct testimony of the Puranic poems, and also that of all the old writers of Arabia and Persia who have in any way alluded to the subject; consequently, that the invention belongs to the Hindūs only.

3rd. That the Chaturanga, whether judged by its own intrinsic nature, or by the testimony of ancient writers, existed long before that modification of it called Shatranj, or the mediæval game.

4th. That the Chaturanga is the most ancient game, not only of Chess, but of anything approaching the nature of Chess, of which any account has been handed down to us. It claims an antiquity of nearly 5,000 years; and, with every allowance for poetic license, there is margin enough left to prove that it was known and practised in India long before it found its way to any other region, not excepting the very ancient empire of China—even on the showing of the Celestials themselves.

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which party should have the first move. If we examine into the principles of the game, and, so far as we have the means, into its practical working, we shall find that the dice do not in any way constitute an essential element. On the contrary, it is evident that, after having determined who is to have the first move, the dice may be wholly laid aside, and the struggle becomes a mere matter of wary tactics and strategic skill.

Now we have excellent reasons for believing that at a very early age the use of the dice must have been altogether discontinued; otherwise the game could not have been played at all, except in secret amongst regular gamesters. In order to understand the validity of these reasons, let us examine into the state of the oldest and most rigid of the Hindū laws, such as those of Manu, &c. The law and religion of the ancient Hindūs strictly prohibited two species of gaming—1st, that species called "Dyūta," which is equivalent to our games of chance or hazard, including pure dice, or dice combined with skill, as in the ancient games of Chaupar and Chaturanga. The other class of gaming, as defined by Manu, was called "Samāhwaya," and included all matches between male animals, such as cock-fighting, ram-fighting, &c. Against both these classes Manu is clear and explicit in his denunciations. For instance, in his 9th Book, he says—"Let the King punish corporally, at discretion, both the gamester and the keeper of a gaming-house, whether they play with inanimate (Dyūta) or animated things (Samāhwaya)."

The law and religion of the Hindūs being thus clear and positive against the game of Chaturanga, as explained by Vyāsa to Yudhishṭhira, what was to be done by the contemplative and sedentary Brāhmans? The answer is

falls under the category of "Dyūta," or game of chance. Besides, in the purer period of the Hindū religion, the Brāhmans really had no interest in gambling, for an excellent reason—they were understood to be possessed of no property to lose, and consequently they had no temptation to win worldly wealth. Hence we have every reason to conclude that the game of Chaturanga was generally played amongst the strictly religious and orthodox Hindūs, by two or four persons, as the case might be, without the aid of dice, and that in the course of time this game was changed into the still more intellectual contest of the Shatranj, or mediæval game. It must be confessed, however, that the severe and rigid laws of Manu in latter times became considerably relaxed, and that both sorts of games might at all times be played by special license from the magistrate—on condition that half the winnings should be paid over to the worthy magistrate aforesaid, (to be applied, of course, like the gains of more *modern indulgences*, to pious purposes), and the remaining half into the pockets of the winner (*vide* "Halhed's Code of Gentoo[1] Laws," 8vo edition, London, 1781, page 254). This merely shows that mankind have ever been, and ever will be, the same, whether they dwell on the banks of the Ganges or on those of the Rhine; for in either locality we find that the rigour of the laws against gambling might be relaxed for certain *weighty* reasons.[2]

[1] This very vulgar term, "Gentoo," was applied to the Hindūs by our older writers. It is of Portuguese origin, and means "Gentile" or "Heathen." No writer of the least respectability now uses it.

[2] In Scotland there is a very sensible law applicable to gamesters, which appears to be still in force. A few years back I remember reading in the "Times" of a case of gambling, or rather *fleecing*, which took place in a railway carriage on its way from Edinburgh to Glasgow. The *plucked pigeon* had the *Rooks* up before a magistrate, who made the scoundrels disgorge the whole of their ill-got gain, which he handed over to the Kirk Session for the benefit of the poor. Verily this Baillie, whose name I did not learn, is a worthy successor of

The historians of Arabia and Persia are unanimous on the following points, viz. :—First, that the game of Chess, as known in the middle ages, was invented in India, some time previous to the sixth century of our era ; and secondly, that the game was introduced from India into Persia during the reign of Kisrā Naushīrawān, the Chosroes of the Byzantine historians, and the contemporary of Justinian. We have shown, however, that the game virtually existed in India, some thousands of years previously ; and we have every reason to believe that the "invention of Chess," alluded to by the Arabs and Persians, simply meant the final establishment of that modification of the Chaturanga which we call the mediæval game, and which in Asia, on this side of the Chinese empire, goes under the name of Shatranj. In fact, one anonymous writer (of whom more in due time), repeatedly asserts that the common game brought into Persia, from India in the reign of Naushīrawān, was not an invention of the Hindūs at that time, but merely an abridgment and modification of a more ancient game, previously introduced into India, from Greece, by Alexander the Great. This theory has at least the merit of *novelty* to recommend it, and shall be thoroughly examined hereafter ; at present it is enough to say that the anonymous writer, by the Greek game, which is altogether visionary, undoubtedly meant the Chaturanga, of which the Muhammadan writers had never heard. The reader will bear in mind that, till the reign of the enlightened Akbar, the contemporary of our Queen Elizabeth, the classical writings of the Brāhmans were, in the strictest sense, a sealed book to all men existing out of the pale of the Hindū creed, and even the small knowledge then attained by the Muslims, was owing to a clever stratagem on the part of the Emperor. (vide note (1) page 9th). We need not

wonder, then, at the circumstance of the Chaturanga's being unknown to the earlier Muslim writers.

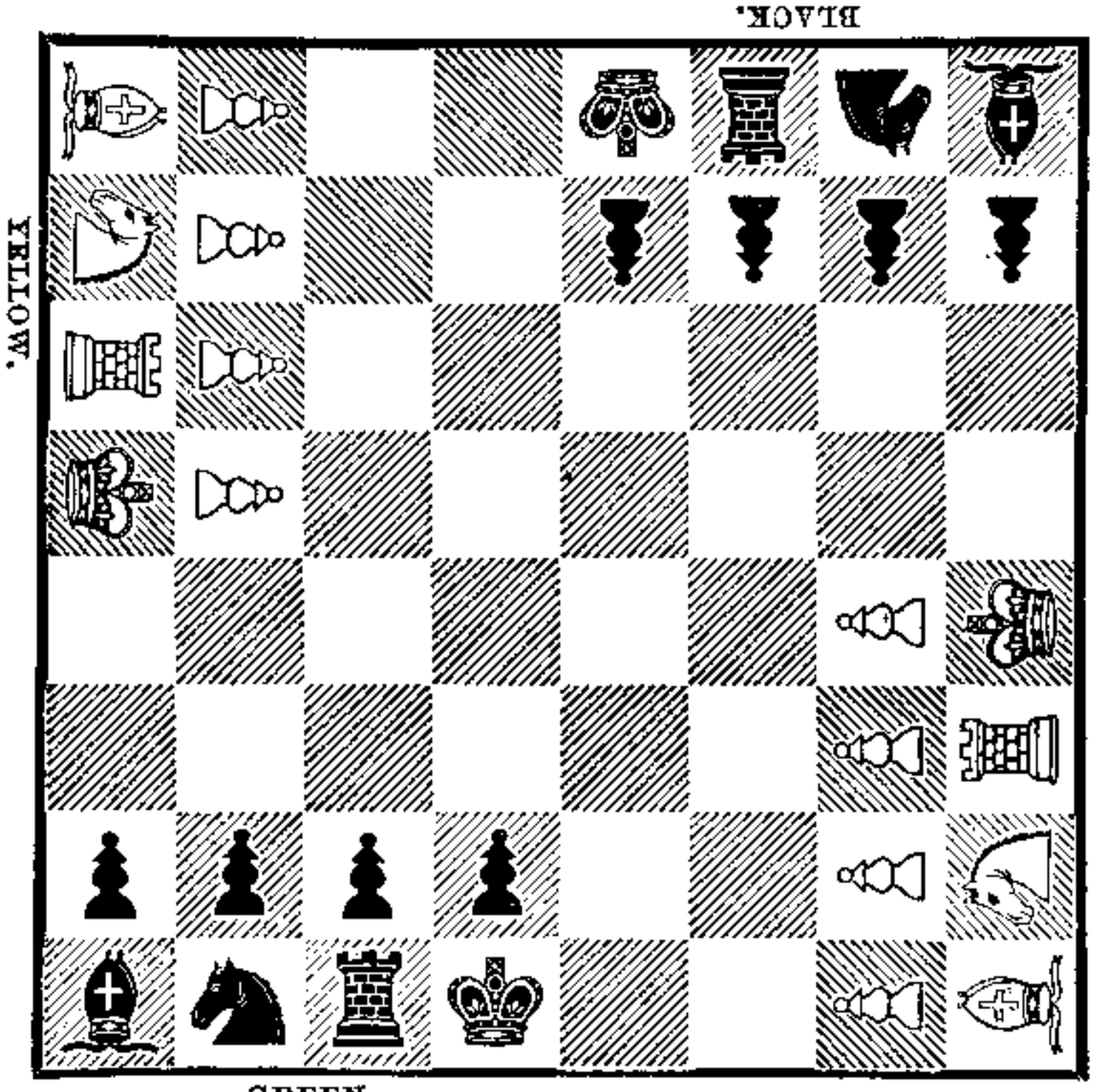
Before we proceed further, it will be well to lay before the reader a diagram of each of the boards with the men placed as described in the book. On both boards the number of the pieces, their modes of moving, and their powers are precisely the same, save that in the Shatranj, one of the two allied Kings has become a minister with only half his former authority. The Bishop and Castle have changed places though they still retain their old names. The Bishop is to this day called the Elephant by the people of India, the Persians, and the Arabs; and the Rukh is nothing more or less than the Sanskrit Roka, "a boat," whence came (through the Persian) our word *Rook* which is after all no great deviation from the original.

Let us now for a moment examine, for example, the Green army, as arranged in the Chaturanga. We see the Elephant (*i.e.* our Rook) stand next the King; and the Ship (*i.e.* the mediæval Bishop) placed in the corner of the board. The first alteration effected, then, is to make the Rook and Bishop change places—a step which gives the Bishop more freedom, as he will then be able immediately to attack or command two squares of the board; whereas, when placed in the corner, he could only attack one square. The next step is to call over the Black allies, and array them in like manner on the right of the Green—the Rook and Bishop of course having changed places. Now, one of the allied Kings—it matters not which—is reduced to a subordinate situation, called in the Sanskrit, "Mantrī,"[1] and in the Persian "Farzīn"—both of which mean precisely the same thing, viz., "Monitor," or "Counsellor." Thus, we shall sup-

[1] The Sanskrit word mantrī is of the same meaning and derivation as the Latin Monitor and the Greek μεντωρ.

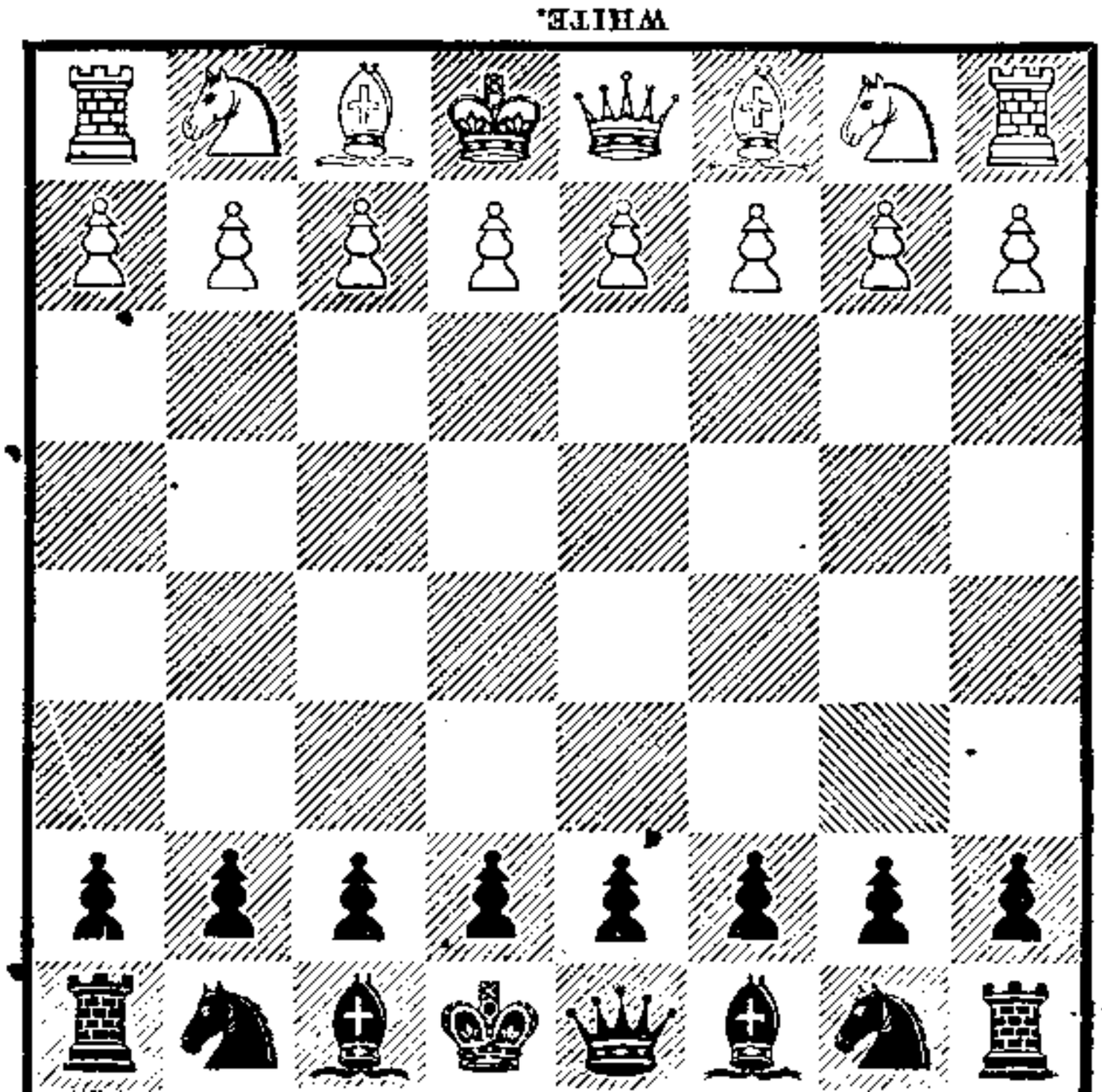
CHATURANGA.

The Primæval Hindū Chess.



SHATRANJ.

The Mediæval and Modern Chess.



pose the Black King, on taking his station beside the Green monarch, becomes a Farzīn, shorn of half the power he possessed when free and independent. Thus, by a very slight alteration in *form*, but none whatever in *principle*, we have the men drawn up on the side of the board next to us, the same as we at this day arrange our Black men. In a similar manner let the Red and Yellow forces unite on the further side of the board, so that King may be opposite to King, and Farzīn to Farzīn, &c., and we have what we now call the White men. This is the precise state in which the game was introduced into Persia, the powers of the pieces being the same as in the Chaturanga; and thus the game continued to be played in Asia and Europe for nearly a thousand years afterwards.

In this transition of the Chaturanga into the Shatranj, we see a curious instance of the tenacity with which the ancient names are still retained, although two of the pieces have changed places. Thus, the piece next the King is still called in Sanskrit, "Hastī," and in the Persian, "Pīl," or "Fīl;" which, among the Western nations, received various denominations, such as "Alphin," "Bishop," "Fool," "Leaper," &c. Again, the piece still retaining the power of the original Elephant when stationed in the corner, rejoices in the ancient name of the "Ship," or "Chariot;" in Sanskrit, "Roka," or "Ratha;" and, in Persian, "*Rukh*." The latter term, as well as our own Rook, are evidently derived from the Sanskrit Roka; although neither the Persians nor ourselves, in all probability, have ever known or thought of its original meaning. Sir William Jones derives the Persian Rukh from the Sanskrit "Ratha," a chariot, pronounced Roth in Bengālī. This derivation is inadmissible for two reasons; in the first place it is too far-fetched; and, secondly, the word Ratha is never mentioned in the

ancient account of the Chaturanga; add to this, that there is no proof that the Bengālī dialect existed for centuries after the time of Naushīrawān. I shall henceforth, for the sake of distinctness, continue to use the term Chaturanga for the ancient game of the Purānas, and Shatranj for the mediæval game; but the reader will be pleased to bear in mind that in reality both of these, as well as our modern game, are the same in principle. When the Chaturanga was modified into the Shatranj, the powers of the pieces remained unaltered; it was merely a change of form. Again, at the end of a thousand years, when the Shatranj was modified into the modern game, the form of everything remained the same, but the powers of the Queen and Bishop were greatly extended. Hence, in the Sanskrit language, the game under all its phases is called Chaturanga, and nothing else; for, throughout all its varieties, "the four species of forces" are the same numerically, though changed in a few instances as to their names. Thus latterly among the Hindūs, the Ship was changed into the War Chariot;[1]

[1] When I wrote the substance of the foregoing chapters a few years ago, for the "Illustrated London News," it did not occur to me that I ought to have quoted authorities in *proof* of all my assertions; a course altogether unusual if not inadmissible in newspaper writings. Soon after the above paragraph was printed a query appeared in that world-wide paper on this subject, which I shall here insert, together with my answer to it.

A CHESS QUERY.

In the very interesting papers of Dr. D. Forbes, on the "Origin of Chess," which he clearly proves to have been invented in India, he states that in the original Hindū game of "Chaturanga," the pieces consisted of Kings, Elephants, Horses, Ships, and Pawns; but that "latterly, among the Hindūs, the Ship was changed into the War Chariot." What proof is there of this change? Dr. Forbes adduces none; yet surely, if such a change took place before the game passed over to Persia, some Sanskrit works would be found to allude to it. The passage in the "Amaracosha," quoted by Sir William Jones, does not refer to the game of Chess at all, but simply to the component parts of an army.—ALPHA.

for the Chariot on dry land has the same importance as the Ship on the water.

On receiving the game from India the Persians changed the word "Roka" into *Rukh*, which in their language means a "Hero," or "Warrior;" also a swift and fierce species of camel; and, as we shall show in our next chapter, the first of these meanings seems to be the sense attached to the word by the poet Firdausī. From the Persians the game passed on to the Greeks and Arabs; and, in the language of the latter, the word *Rukh* has but one meaning, viz., that of the celebrated fabulous bird so called. This bird, according to the best accounts of all who have *not* seen it, was furnished with two heads, and he could with ease carry to his nest by way of breakfast for his young ones, four full-grown Elephants at a time—viz., one in each of his two beaks, and one in each

ANSWER TO OUR LAST NUMBER'S CHESS QUERY.

Sir,—In your number of last Saturday there is a Chess Query, signed "Alpha," to which I hasten to reply. Alpha asks "What proof is there that latterly among the Hindūs the Ship (of the old game) was changed into the Chariot?" I answer, that the proofs are innumerable. To adduce a few:—My principal authority is the great Colebrooke, undoubtedly the first Sanskrit scholar of his day. In a note to a paper on Chess, by Captain Hiram Cox, in the seventh volume of the "Asiatic Researches," 8vo edition, p. 504, Colebrooke says, "I find also, in an ancient 'Treatise of Law,' the Elephant, Horse, and Chariot mentioned as pieces of the game of Chaturanga." In the same paper Alpha will find that in the common Hindustānī game the piece which we call Rook is there called Rukh, or Rath—showing that the Indian people used at that time both the Persian and Sanskrit term: in all probability the former was in use among the Musalmāns, and the latter among the Hindūs. Furthermore, in the Burmese game, which was undoubtedly derived from that of the Hindūs, the Rook is called Ratha—the Sanskrit word itself, pure and unchanged. This proves two things at once, viz., that the Burmese game came from India; and that, at whatever period that event took place, the Hindūs had the Chariot, and not the Ship. Lastly, the Malays, &c., to this day have the Chariot in the place of our Rook; as may be seen in an extract from "Rajah Brooke's Journal," published in the ninth volume of the *Chess-player's Chronicle*. I may further observe that Colebrooke, in the same note, states that the people of Bengal, in his time, still used the Boat for the Rook; whereas

claw. I think this belief in the two-headed bird among the Arabs gave rise to the older form of the piece, on its introduction into Europe, as shown by Sir Frederic Madden, in his "Dissertation on the Chessmen found in the Island of Lewis," p. 239, &c. Last of all, we call this piece a "Rook," the meaning of which term is, I believe, very vague. Whether the chess-player imagines it to signify literally the pilfering black bird of that name, or figuratively the *respectable* character that is said to prey on *pigeons*, are points on which I am altogether unable to give a decided opinion. But to conclude, I think, from all the evidence I have laid before the reader, I may safely say, that the game of Chess has existed in India from the time of Pandu and his five sons down to the reign of our gracious Sovereign Queen Victoria (who now rules over those same Eastern realms)—that is, for a period of five thousand years; and that this very ancient game, in the sacred language of the Brāhmans, has, during that long space of time, retained its original and expressive name of Chaturanga.

We have no means of ascertaining the exact era at which the Chaturanga passed into the Shatranj, or, in other words, at what period, as the Muhammadans view it, the Hindūs *invented* the latter form of the game. The earlier writers of Arabia and Persia do not agree on the point—some of them placing it as early as the time of Alexander the Great, and others as late as that of Naushīrawān. Even the poet Firdausī, the very best authority among them, though he devotes a very long and a very romantic episode to the occasion of the invention of the Shatranj, is quite silent as to the exact period: all that he lets us know on that point is that it took place in the reign of a certain prince who ruled over northern India, and whose name was Gau, the son of Jambūr. The

Brāhmans are silent on the subject, partly because the change was a matter of no importance in their eyes, or most probably because it took place after the Sanskrit had become a dead language; consequently we need not feel any surprise at what Sir William Jones states when alluding to the Shatranj, which, by the way, he fancies to be the same as the game played by Philidor. In his discourse already cited, he says—"Yet, of this simple game, so exquisitely contrived, and so certainly invented in India, I cannot find any account in the classical writings of the Brāhmans." Now, the reason for Sir William's disappointment is obvious enough; "the classical writings of the Brāhmans" had been, in all probability, composed many centuries before the separate existence of the mediæval game. Sir William then states—"At present I can only exhibit a description of a very ancient game of the same kind (the Chaturanga); but more complex, and, in my opinion, more modern, than the simple Chess of the Persians." Here we see an instance of a great mind's falling into an inconsistency from having hastily adopted a paradoxical opinion at the outset. We are told that the Chaturanga is "a very ancient game," and yet "more complex and more modern than (the Shatranj) the simple Chess of the Persians;" and this was stated by Sir William when he had before him written authority in favour of the remote antiquity of the former, and none whatever respecting the latter!

The change of the original word Chaturanga into the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish term "Shatranj," has been satisfactorily explained by Sir William in the same discourse, where he states—"By a natural corruption of the pure Sanskrit word, it was changed by the old Persians into Chaturang, or more commonly Chatrang; but the Arabs, who soon after took possession of their country,

had neither the initial nor final letters of that word in their alphabet, and consequently they altered it further into Shatranj, which found its way presently into the modern Persian, and at length into the dialects of India, where the true derivation of the name is known only to the learned." I cannot agree, however, with Sir William in his next sentence, where he states—"Thus has a very significant word in the sacred language of the Brāhmans been transformed by successive changes into *axedras*, *scacchi*, *échecs*, *chess*, and, by a whimsical concurrence of circumstances, given birth to the English word 'check,' and even a name to the 'Exchequer' of Great Britain." Now, I maintain that it is not the Sanskrit word Chaturanga from which *scacchi*, *échecs*, *chess*, &c., are derived; but the Persian word, "Shāh" (King) which we find in use to this day among the Arabs and Persians, in the same sense as our word "check." In fact, we ourselves frequently use the literal translation of "Shāh" in actual play, when, instead of "check," we say "the King," or simply "King." So the French often say, "Au Roi;" and the Germans beat us all in exactness, for they really possess the identical word, "Schach," which they employ to denote the game itself, as well as our word "Check; while the term Schach-matt (which we have corrupted into Check-mate), is, both in pronunciation and meaning, the Persian and Arabic expression, "pur et simple."

CHAPTER VI.

SHATRANJ.

Introduction of the Game into India, in the Reign of Nau-shīrawān. Arrangement of the Pieces on the Board. Their Moves and Powers.

The earliest and best account of the Shatranj, or mediæval Chess, to which we have as yet attained access, is that given by the poet Firdausī, who flourished in the latter half of the tenth century. We know, however, that during the eighth and ninth centuries of the Christian era, the acute Arabs, under the munificent patronage of the Caliphs of Bagdad, had made rapid and distinguished progress in the theory and practice of the game. A physician named Abul 'Abbās, who died A.D. 899, wrote a treatise on Chess; and within the next half-century lived the celebrated Al Sūlī, who may be considered as the Arabian Philidor, distinguished at once as the finest player of his time, and also as the author of the best work, till then existing, on the game. We also read of Lajlāj and 'Adalī, among the early masters, each of whom wrote a treatise on the subject; but it is very doubtful whether any of these works be now extant, their merits being superseded by performances of more recent date. It is possible, however, that one or other of them may

still exist in the Imperial Library of Constantinople,[1] or in the Libraries of Delhi and Lakhnau.[2]

To return to Firdausī. It may be proper to premise that the great epic poem, called the "Shāhnāma," or "Book of Kings," is really a versified history of the Persian empire, from the earliest times down to our seventh century. In fact we have similar works of our own, though on a much smaller scale—viz., "Albion's England," by the good olden poet Warner; and the "Scottish Chronicle," by Wyntoun. The authenticity of the "Shāhnāma," as a mere history, is not liable to any objection which may not equally apply to the works of Homer and Herodotus, or to those of Virgil and Livy. We know, from various authorities, that the more enlightened of the Persian kings, from time to time caused to be compiled the annals of the monarchy down to their own respective reigns. Naushīrawān, in particular, attended to this duty, so worthy of a Prince; and the compilation, thus carried on at uncertain intervals, was brought to a close under the reign of Yazdijird, the last of the Sassanian race, near the middle of the seventh century. The work was called by the Persians "Bāstān-nāma," or "Book of Antiquity." This is most probably

[1] I remember distinctly, when the Turkish ambassador and his secretary visited the Westminster Chess Club somewhat over twenty years ago, they both told me that they had, in the Imperial Library of Constantinople, many manuscript works on chess, almost all in the Arabic language. The secretary played a *little*, and I remember helping him to beat a member of the club, by telling him the best moves when at a loss. We conversed in Persian, which every well-educated Turk speaks, more or less pure, as we do with regard to French.

[2] Since the above sentence was penned, the Spirit of evil has been at work both in Delhī and Lakhnau. It is greatly to be feared that the valuable libraries of both places have been destroyed or scattered to the four winds of the heavens. It it to be hoped, that of Constantinople will have a better fate, should the cloud now lowering in the north, ever burst over that devoted city.

the work alluded to by Agathias,[1] as having been in his time translated into Greek, by the interpreter Sergius.[2] It would seem, also, that it was known to the Arabs, under the title of "Siyaru-l-Mulūk," or "History of the Kings." Towards the close of the tenth century, the renowned Mahmūd of Ghazni commanded the poet Firdausī to versify the Bāstān-nāma, which was accordingly done; and this stupendous poem, consisting of one hundred and twenty thousand verses, the labour of thirty years, was entitled the "Shāhnāma." The Greek and Arabic versions, as well as the original "Bāstān-nāma," are probably now lost to us for ever; but the "Shāhnāma"—like the "Iliad," the "Æneid," and the "Paradise Lost"—is immortal.

I have been thus particular in describing the nature and character of the Shāhnāma, that the reader may perceive the exact degree of credit due to the extracts which I am about to translate from that work. Be it observed that the events narrated had been registered, in plain prose, in the annals of Persia, at the time when they took place, some 450 years before Firdausī wrote. That the poet has embellished them is quite natural and probable;

[1] Vide Agathiæ Historia Lib. IV. cap. 30, &c.

[2] Sergius, I mean the scribe, not the saint of that name, was eminently skilled in the Greek and Persian languages, and held the rank of First Interpreter at the court of Naushīrawān. At the request of his friend, Agathias the historian, he asked permission of the Persian authorities to have access to their historical records, preserved in the Royal archives, that he might translate the same into Greek. This was readily granted by Naushīrawān, by whom he was held in high estimation; and, accordingly a Greek version of the history of Persia was transmitted to Byzantium. Now I would ask, is it not probable, or at least possible, that the game of Chess, which created such sensation at the Court of Chosroes, may have been known to so inquisitive and distinguished a man as Sergius? During this period, when there existed such a close intercourse between the two courts, may not the game have reached Byzantium even before it found its way among the roving Arabs? I do not assert this as a fact, for I have no historical evidence to bear me out; I therefore throw out the hint as

but that he has either falsified or forged them we have no reason to believe. With regard to the translation, I have merely to say that my main object has been to give the author's meaning, without servilely following his exact words and endless repetitions. I may also mention that no two MSS. of the poem are exactly alike, especially in the arrangement of every couplet, though the discrepancies are of no serious import. I have been careful in making a collation of half a dozen MSS. in the British Museum,[1] and I think I have succeeded in giving something resembling what the author would have said were he writing in plain English.

TRANSLATION.

"Once upon a time the victorious Kisrā Naushīrawān was seated upon his lofty throne, in the gorgeous hall of audience. Around him stood the noble, the brave, the learned, and the virtuous, assembled from Balkh and Bukhārā, and from all the other provinces of his extensive dominions. Meanwhile entered the watchful sentinel from the gate, and said, 'Sire, there approacheth an ambassador from the Sovereign of Hind.[2] He is accompanied by a train of elephants, with rich canopies, together with a thousand camels heavily laden; the whole escorted by a numerous and gallant array of Scindian

[1] I have chiefly followed MS. No. 18,188, being the oldest and the most beautifully written in the whole collection, transcribed A.D. 1486. It was once the property of the late Dr. Scott, of Bedford Square. Also MS. No. 7,724, which formerly belonged to the celebrated collector, Mr. Rich, British Resident at Bagdad. A still older Manuscript has been purchased for the Museum, since the above remarks were written; but it differs in no material respect from the others.

[2] India is so called by the Arabs to this day. The word Hindūstān, "the abode of the Hindūs, or dark coloured people," is generally used by the Persian and Indian historians of the last four or five centuries.

cavalry. He seeks access into the presence of the just and the renowned Sovereign of Irān.[1]

"When Kisrā Naushīrawān heard the words of the sentinel, he forthwith despatched a chosen body of his finest troops, both horse and foot, in order to receive with due honour the embassy from the King of Hind. At length the ambassador reached the palace-gate, and was introduced into the presence of the Persian King. To the latter he made a low obeisance, after the manner observed in Indian courts, and then he ordered the costly presents sent by his Sovereign to be displayed before the Royal assembly. First of all, in front of the gate, stood the train of elephants, each furnished with a gorgeous canopy overlaid with gold and silver, and studded with gems the most brilliant and rare. Then, in the midst of the spacious hall, the rich bales were opened, containing numerous caskets of jewels the most precious. There were diamonds, and rubies, and emeralds; also strings of pearls of incalculable value. There were various perfumes of surpassing fragrance—of musk and ambergris, and wood of aloes; also chests full of Indian scimitars, of keenest edge; together with many other valuables too numerous to describe, the peculiar productions of Kanoj[2]

[1] The name by which the whole Persian empire is generally designated in the Shāhnāma. The more modern name, Fārs, is, strictly speaking, applicable only to a single province in the south of Persia.

[2] Kanoj or Kanauj—commonly written Canoge—during the earlier centuries of our era was the capital of the great kingdom, extending along the Ganges, on the western banks of which river the city was built, and where its ruins are still to be seen, somewhat more than a hundred miles due east from Agra. It is supposed to have been built more than 1000 years before the Christian era, and to have been the capital of King Fūr or Porus, who fought against the Macedonian hero, Alexander. The Indian histories are full of the accounts of its grandeur, extent and populousness, so much so that in the sixth century of our era.—that is, about the time of Naushīrawān—it was said to contain no fewer than 30,000 shops, in which the Indian luxury, called "Pān-supārī," a peculiar preparation of the areca or betel-nut, was sold. This drug is highly

and Māy. Then the Ambassador presented a letter richly illumined, written by the hand of the Sovereign of Hind to Naushīrawān. Last of all, he displayed before the King and the astonished Court, a CHESSBOARD, elaborately constructed, together with the chessmen, tastefully and curiously carved from solid pieces of ivory and ebony."

The Letter from the King of Hind "to Kisrā Naushīrawān the Just and the Great."

"'O King, may you live as long as the celestial spheres continue to revolve! I pray of you to examine this chessboard, and to lay it before such of your people as are most distinguished for learning and wisdom. Let them carefully deliberate, one with another; and, if they can, let them discover the principles of this wonderful game. Let them find out the uses of the various pieces, and how each is to be moved, and into what particular squares. Let them discover the laws which regulate the evolutions of this mimic army, and the rules applicable to the Pawns, and to the Elephants, and to the Rukhs (or warriors), and to the Horses, and to the Farzin, and to the King. If they should succeed in discovering the principles and expounding the practice of this rare game, assuredly they will become entitled to admission into the number of the wise; and in such case, I promise to acknowledge myself, as hitherto, your Majesty's tributary. On the other hand, should you and the wise men of Irān collectively fail in discovering the nature and principles of this cunning game, it will evince a clear proof that you

fragrant, refreshing and stomachic, and is in much use to this day among all classes of the people of India. The expression is the same as if we were to say, in order to convey an idea of the grandeur of a continental city, that it contained thirty thousand cafés, or as many tobacco shops.

are not our equals in wisdom ; and consequently, you will have no right any longer to exact from us either tribute or impost. On the contrary we shall feel ourselves justified in demanding hereafter the same tribute from you ; for man's true greatness consists in wisdom, not in territory, and troops, and riches, all of which are liable to decay.'

" When Naushīrawān had perused the letter from the Sovereign of Hind, long did he ponder over its contents. Then he carefully examined the Chessboard and the pieces, and asked a few questions of the Envoy respecting their nature and use. The latter, in general terms, replied,—'Sire, what you wish to know can be learned only by playing the game ; suffice it for me to say, that the board represents a battle-field, and the pieces the different species of forces engaged in the combat.' Then the King said to the Envoy,—'Grant us the space of seven days for the purpose of deliberation ; on the eighth day we engage to play with you the game, or acknowledge our inferiority.' Here the Indian Ambassador made his obeisance, and withdrew to the apartments provided for himself and suite.

" In the meanwhile the Persian King commanded the attendance of all the learned and intelligent men of his Court. He placed before them the chessboard and the pieces, and explained to them the purport of the letter brought to him from the Sovereign of Hind. Then the sages of Irān, each according to his abilities, betook themselves to discover the mystery of this seemingly insoluble enigma. One man suggested one thing, and another something different. They made numberless experiments with the chessmen, and moved them about in all directions on the board. Every man asked questions which no one could answer ; and thus they persevered

till the seven days were nearly elapsed. At length, Buzurjmihr, the King's chief counsellor, who had hitherto stood aloof, stepped forward, and said, 'O King, I will undertake, in the space of a night and a day, to discover the hidden secret of this rare and wonderful game.' The King, rejoicing, replied, 'Let this task be thine, for well do I know that thou excellest all men in brightness of understanding and acuteness of judgment. The King of Kanoj boastfully implies that we have not in our dominions men who are capable of unfolding the mystery of this marvellous game. To be compelled, as it were, to acknowledge our inferiority, would leave an everlasting stain on the learned and the wise of Irān.'

"Then Buzurjmihr had the chessboard and pieces conveyed into a private chamber; and there he sat for the space of a day and a night, applying the irresistible powers of his penetrating intellect to the investigation of the principles and practice of the game. He examined with care the probable bearing of each piece, till at length the full light burst upon him. Then he hastened from his solitary chamber to the presence of Naushīrawān, and thus spoke, 'O King of victorious destiny, I have carefully examined this board, and these pieces, and at length by your Majesty's good fortune, I have succeeded in discovering the nature of the game.[1] It is a most shrewd

[1] I am afraid that all those who know something of the game of Chess will be inclined to smile at the poet's assertion respecting the penetration and wisdom of Buzurjmihr. Yet it is not quite so absurd as Sir William Jones's idea, "that some great genius conceived in his mind the construction of the board, and the various moves and powers of the pieces, and the whole conduct of the game from beginning to end, all 'by the first intention.'" One of our late Chess celebrities—undoubtedly the first of his time—M. Deschapelles, appears by his own assertion, to have very nearly equalled the Persian sage in precocity. A very amusing account of the eminent French player's *début* in Chess is given in the *Chess Player's Chronicle*, 1848, p. 87, translated from the

and faithful representation of a battle-field, which it is proper that your Majesty should inspect in the first place. In the mean time let the Indian Ambassador be summoned into the Royal presence, together with the more distinguished among his retinue, also a few of the wise and learned of our own Court, that they may all bear witness how we have acquitted ourselves in accomplishing the task imposed upon us by the King of Kanoj."

"Kisrā Naushīrawān was delighted to hear the words of his wise and enlightened Minister. He embraced him as his friend, the ornament of his realm, and the brightest gem of his Court. Then he sent a deputation of the wise, the virtuous, the noble and the brave, to conduct into his presence the Envoy from the Sovereign of Hind. When the latter arrived, Buzurjmihr requested of him to declare in public the message entrusted to him by his own Sovereign. Here the Ambassador repeated in detail the purport of the letter addressed to Naushīrawān. When he had done speaking, Buzurjmihr placed the chessboard and the pieces before the King and the learned of the Court then present, and thus addressed them :— 'You have all heard the words of the Ambassador from the King of Kanoj, now pay attention to what I am going to explain to you.' Here the sage counsellor pointed out to them how the board of sixty-four squares represented a battle-field, and thus he proceeded to draw up in battle array the ebony and ivory forces."

I would, with due submission, just hint as a probability, that an able diplomatist —such as the Persian counsellor must have been—might have come to a *satisfactory* understanding with the Indian Envoy on this intricate affair, while the men of wisdom were elsewhere puzzling their brains in vainly trying to solve the enigma. Deschapelles says of himself, "Three sittings were all that I required to learn the march of the game, to defend myself, and then beat the strongest players!" It is said that Deschapelles persisted in this assertion so perseveringly that he at last *believed* it to be true.

Arrangement of the Pieces.

"The King occupied the centre of the line in the rear; and by his side stood an intelligent Counsellor, ready to guide him in the path of victory, and to defend him in the midst of the combat. Next to the King and Counsellor stood the furious Elephants, impatient to rush forward into the deadly strife. Next in order stood the War Steeds, ready to spring forth to the aid and rescue of the King. On either flank stood the irresistible Rukhs,[1] the chosen champions and guardians of the King and the army. In front of these stood the Foot Soldiers, whose task it was to open the combat, at the command of their King."

Moves of the Pieces.[2]

"The King moved one square in all directions. The Counsellor moved one square diagonally around his

[1] It would be out of place here to trace the various transformations of the Sanskrit "Roka" into the Persian "Rukh," then into the Arabic "Rukhkh," thence into the "Bifrons Rochus" of the mediæval Latin writers, down to our own "Rook," *i.e.*, "*cornix frugivora*," as Hyde hath it. Suffice it to say, that the meaning attached to the word by Firdausī is evidently that of "Champion," or "Warrior," *par excellence*, and in more places than one he uses, instead of "Rukh," what he seems to consider a synonymous term, viz., "mubāriz," a "hero." He describes him mounted on horseback, as in the following couplet—

"Mubāriz ki asp afganad bar do rū,
Ba dasti chap o rāst, parkhāsh-jū."

"A warrior who urged on his steed in both directions,
To the left hand and to the right, seeking for combat."

Of course the "Champion" would differ in armour, equipment, and appearance from the Knight. It is a curious fact that the Russians to this day call this piece by the same name that it originally had in Sanskrit, viz., "Lodia," or "Lodya" (a "ship" or "boat"); a circumstance which would lead us to infer that the game reached them from India, direct through Turān or Tartary, and not by way of Persia and Arabia, as in the case of the other European nations. *See* further on, Chapter XIV.

sovereign. The Elephant, with head reared aloft, moved three squares diagonally, but attacked only the last of

when writing to a popular periodical such as the "Illustrated London News," to clog the subject with notes and explanations. Soon after this Chapter appeared in print the following query was addressed to me through the same channel by Alpha—

CHESS QUERY.

"A point of the greatest interest in the history of Chess is the description given by Firdausī in the Shāhnāma of the position and moves of the pieces when the game was first introduced into Persia. I should, therefore, be extremely glad to know from what manuscripts (their date, &c.) Dr. Forbes derived his translation describing the "moves of the pieces," in Chapter vi. of his 'Observations.' He informs us that he has chiefly followed the MSS. Add. 18,188 (written A.D. 1486) and 7724 (written A.D. 1621), preserved in the British Museum; but I am assured by a competent authority, that this account of the moves does not occur in either of the above MSS.; nay, more, that it is not to be found in any of the copies of the 'Shāhnāma' in the British Museum (including a copy of great antiquity recently acquired, written A.H. 675=A.D. 1276); nor is it even in the text of 'Firdausī,' published at Calcutta in 1829, by Macan. It is true, however, that Hyde ('Hist. Shahlud.' p. 63) quotes some lines from a copy of the 'Shāhnāma,' in which the moves are noticed; but this text does not agree with the version given us by Dr. Forbes; and the MS. from which it was taken can scarcely be relied on, since it contains some interpolated lines, in which two Camels are added to the other pieces on the board."—ALPHA.

The reader may easily conceive that this pithy communication gave me some temporary annoyance, that is, an annoyance of a week's duration, till the next day of publication, on which I sent the following reply:—"My answer to Alpha is that the MSS. from which I *made* (not *derived*) my translation, "describing the moves of the pieces" are precisely those I mentioned, viz., No. 18,188 and No. 7724, preserved in the British Museum. At the same time I briefly consulted some nine or ten other MSS. of the Shāhnāma in the British Museum, as well as Macan's printed edition; yea, more, I consulted the so-called 'copy of great antiquity' alluded to by 'Alpha,' before it came to the Museum. Well, in all of these, with I believe only one exception, the account of the moves *does occur* exactly as I have given them; always excepting, or rather excluding, a couplet about the two *camels*—which I agree with 'Alpha' in viewing it as an interpolation. Now we join issue, as the lawyers say. Alpha denies the existence of 'the account of the moves,' in every copy of the Shāhnāma in the Museum, as well as in Macan's printed edition. I, on the other hand, pledge my truth and honour that 'the account of the moves' DOES OCCUR (with, at most, one exception) in every one of the manuscripts of the Shāhnāma in the Museum, as well as in Macan's printed edition; and I am quite ready to point out the passage in all of them to any gentleman and scholar who may have the least doubt on the matter.

58, Burton-crescent, 19th Nov., 1855. DUNCAN FORBES.

the three. The War Horse could spring three squares obliquely, clearing the square next to him. The heroic Rukh, longing for combat, rushed on in each of the four directions: woe to the enemy that crossed his path, for he commanded the whole range of the battle-field. The Foot Soldier, from either side, advanced straight forward at the King's command, in order to attack the hostile forces; and in his onward march he slew the enemy obliquely, to the right hand and to the left. When he had traversed the whole field, as far as the opposite extremity, he was rewarded with the rank of Counsellor, and thenceforth took his stand by the side of his Sovereign.[1]

"When Buzurjmihr had thus explained the evolutions of the ebon and ivory warriors, the whole assembly stood mute in admiration and astonishment. The Indian Am-

The misconception on the part of Alpha arose from a very simple circumstance. In Firdausī's account of the game the story happens to be interrupted in the middle by the insertion of two other long stories, as we often see in the "Arabian Nights." The conclusion of the Chess history, where the "moves of the pieces" are given, appears to have escaped the notice of Alpha altogether. In justice to myself I have here reproduced the correspondence. I am quite convinced that no offence was intended, as, most assuredly none was taken. In matters of this sort, it is only the *truth* that *offends*.

[1] In the Shatranj, or mediæval game, a Pawn, on reaching the opposite extremity of the board, instantly became a Farzīn or Counsellor only, but never a Rukh, a Knight, or a Fīl. Such appears to have been the law in Europe down to the end of our fifteenth century: and, if we may trust Sarratt, it seems to have lingered in Italy to a more recent period. In his New Treatise on Chess, 1821, vol. i., p. 51, Sarratt says: "In Italy you may have *two* Queens, but you are restricted to *Queens*; you are not allowed to call for *any other piece*." Sarratt, to be sure, is not a first rate authority, still he must have had some ground for his assertion. What is more surprising, however, is, that Mr. George Walker, in the very last edition of his "Art of Chess-Play," *improves* considerably on Sarrat. In page 24, Mr. Walker states, "In Italy, the law requires that the Pawn should be replaced with a Queen, whether or not the orignal Queen is defunct, and with no other piece. It were well to adopt the same regulation here, as most conducive to order and uniformity!" Now, if this *is* the law in Italy *at present*, as Mr. Walker would lead us to suppose, it must be one of *very recent* enactment. It was unknown in that country in the days of Ercole del Rio, of Lolli, and of Ponziani,—writers, from whose works Mr. Walker pretends to have "gathered blossoms." It is a pity he did not at the same time gather some of their fruits.

bassador was filled with mingled vexation and surprise; he looked upon Buzurjmihr as a man endowed with intelligence far beyond that of mere mortals: and thus he pondered in his own mind:—'How could he have discovered the nature and principles of this profound game? Can it be possible that he has received his information from the sages of Hind? Or is it really the result of his own penetrating research, guided by the acuteness of his unaided judgment? Assuredly Buzurjmihr has not this day his equal in the whole world.' In the meanwhile Naushīrawān in public acknowledged the unparalleled wisdom of his favorite counsellor. He sent for the most costly and massive goblet in his palace, and filled the same with the rarest of jewels. These, together with a war steed, richly caparisoned, and a purse full of gold pieces, he presented to Buzurjmihr."

CHAPTER VII.

SHATRANJ CONTINUED.

On the Invention of Chess in India—according to the Arabs and Persians.

I HAVE already expressed my conviction that what the Arabs and Persians consider as the "Invention of Chess," means merely the very natural modification of the "Chaturanga" into the "Shatranj." It is curious, too, that in this conviction I am confirmed in an indirect way by the author of a Treatise on Chess, an imperfect MS. of which is now in the possession of the Asiatic Society. Unfortunately, this work is incomplete, and the author's name is not known.[1] It is evident, however, that he lived either during the reign of Tīmūr or somewhat later; for he gives in his work eighteen problems (of which some will appear hereafter,) which occurred in actual play to "Khwāja 'Alī Shatranjī," the Philidor of Tīmūr's Court. This anonymous author has given the three following different accounts of the Invention of Chess, which I have slightly abridged. He differs from all other writers in this:—"That Sassa, the son of Dāhir, did not invent the game of Chess; but that he merely modified an older, and—as he thinks—a more perfect form of the game. He is also singular in asserting that the Hindūs

[1] An account of this MS. will be given in our next Chapter.

did not invent the older game; giving as his sole reason for thus differing from all previous writers, "that the Hindūs were a dull and stupid race, incapable of doing such a thing." This he repeats in, I believe, half-a-dozen places, without the least variation. He, for some reason or other, like Mill the historian of India, entertained a morbid antipathy towards the Hindūs, and conferred the honour of the invention on the Greeks!!! It must be said in his favour, however, that he nowhere claims it for his own nation, as Mr. Bland in his "Persian Chess," *very rashly* asserts.[1] But let us allow the author to speak for himself.

FIRST ACCOUNT OF THE INVENTION OF CHESS.

"They relate that immediately after the invasion of Alexander the Great, there reigned in India a King, by name Kaid. He was very powerful and wealthy, and liberal and brave. He was passionately addicted to war, and always proved victorious over his enemies. In the course of time he became sole master of the whole of the land of Hind; nor did there remain in that extensive region a single King or Prince inclined to dispute his authority. At length, when he no longer had an enemy left to conquer, he was necessarily compelled to cease from war, which to him had become a second nature. Now this King was endowed with high principles of justice, honour, and truth, for which noble qualities he was adored by his servants and subjects. While occupied in subduing the neighbouring kingdoms, his ruling passion was fully gratified in the pursuit of conquests, and in the acquisition of fame, which he considered as the only means of happiness in this world. To him, now that no enemy remained,

[1] For a review and critique on Mr. "Bland's Essay," *see* Appendix A.

peace became intolerably irksome; but his sense of justice would not permit him to involve in the miseries of war those who had already submitted to his authority. All his people, from the very highest to the lowest, passed their days in the enjoyment of peace and prosperity, while he himself had fallen a prey to sorrow and affliction to such a degree that he lost all relish for food and drink, and looked upon death as his only relief.[1]

"This King had a Minister, by name Sassa, a man of profound wisdom and penetration, to whom he communicated his miserable condition, saying, 'Day and night my mind is harassed with the thoughts of war and strife; when in the hours of the night sleep overpowers me, I dream of nothing but battle-fields and conquests; and in the morning, when I awake, I still think over my imaginary combats and victories. Now you are well aware that I have no longer one single enemy or rebel in my whole dominions with whom to contend. It is utterly repugnant to justice and commom sense, to go to war without any cause. If I were to do so God would be displeased with me, and a severe retribution for my evil deeds would soon overtake me, even in this world; for is it not said that 'a kingdom governed by falsehood and oppression is void of stability, and it will soon pass away?' Tell me, then, O Sassa, for great is thy wisdom, what am I to do in

[1] Sir Thomas Erpingham, the hero of Colman's "Merrie Tale" of "The Knight and the Friar" seems to have been similarly affected after he had returned from his wars and victories in France. The Christian Knight however appears to have hit upon a remedy of his own, somewhat different from that of the Hindū man of battles.

"What's to be done," Sir Thomas said one day,
"To drive ennui away?
How is the evil to be parried?
What can remind me of my former life?
Those happy days I spent in noise and strife!"
The last words struck him—"Zounds," says he, "a Wife"—
And so he married.

order to regain my peace of mind, and obtain relief from my present state of weariness and disgust?"

"When the wise Sassa had heard from his Sovereign this detail of his grievances, he instantly bethought him of a rare game, known to him by report, the invention of an ancient Grecian sage, by name Hermes, which had recently been introduced into India by Alexander and his soldiers, who used to play at it at times of leisure. This was, in truth, the 'Shatranji Kāmil,'[1] or 'Perfect Chess' of which the Hindūs had acquired a crude notion; but not one of them could play it correctly, because *they were a stupid and ignorant race of people*. This much, however, Sassa had learned, that the Game of Chess, the invention of Hermes, the Grecian sage, represented an exact image of war, such as might have been carried on between two Kings; and consequently that it might, in reality, prove to be a seasonable remedy in the case of his own Sovereign. Then said Sassa to the King, 'Sire, grant me a little time in this important business, and I believe I shall be able to accomplish something in your behalf, so that you may still enjoy all the excitements of war, and the delights of victory, while at the same time your servants and subjects may live safe and secure in the enjoyment of peace and prosperity.' At this proposal the King was highly pleased; he granted the Minister the time required, and said to him, 'On that day when you shall have relieved my mind from its present state of misery, I will freely confer upon you whatever boon you may ask.'

"Sassa immediately sent messengers in quest of the chess-board and men, which were accordingly procured

[1] By the so-called "Perfect Chess," the anonymous writer means the Great Chess, commonly known as Tīmūr's game, of which an ample account will be

for him. Inasmuch as he was a man of great penetration, he soon succeeded in discovering the moves of the pieces, and the nature of the game. This done, he said to himself, 'Verily the inventor of this game was a profound philosopher; the sages of Hind could never have accomplished this; nor are they capable of understanding it. Now, if I were to present the game in this perfect state, before my own sovereign, assuredly he would never learn to play it, neither would his mind find any delight therein. Let me then simplify this rare invention of the Grecian sage, so that it may fall within the scope of the Royal understanding and capacity; for hath not our prophet Muhammad (on whom be peace), said to one of his companions, 'you must address yourself to mankind in accordance with the nature of their intellects and the extent of their capacities.'[1]

"Hereupon, Sassa, the wise Minister, reduced the fifty-six pieces of the 'Perfect Chess' to thirty-two in number; having thus discarded twenty-four pieces from the great board of the Grecian sage. All that had been difficult in the original game he rendered easy; and he conferred on all the Pawns the very same privileges, viz., that of becoming Farzīns only, on reaching the opposite extremity of the board; and not that of becoming a Rook, a Knight, or a Fil, according to circumstances, as in the older game. And he made the board to consist only of eight squares by eight, that is altogether sixty-four squares—the form in which it is now used; and then he presented it to the King. The latter soon acquired the theory and practice of the game, and night and day it formed his supreme delight, so that he thenceforth gave

[1] The author overlooks the trifling circumstance, that Muhammad his prophet (on whom be peace), was not born till some seven or eight centuries after the period here alluded to.

up all thoughts of war and bloodshed in the real battle-field. One day he thus addressed his wise Minister, 'O Sassa, did I not promise you that I would give you as a boon whatever you would be pleased to ask of me? Now is your time to claim your reward. I am a King of my word; for base and contemptible is that Sovereign who dealeth in falsehoods, and who shrinketh from the fulfilment of his promise.'

"The sage Minister replied, 'O, my Sovereign, may you live a thousand years; I merely ask as my reward that for the first square on the board you give me one silver diram, two for the second square, four for the third, and so on, doubling the number for each square, till the sixty-fourth square is attained.' To the King this demand seemed very insignificant, and thus he spoke, 'Friend Sassa, I have hitherto looked upon you as a man of wisdom; why will you render me ridiculous by limiting your demand to such a contemptible and trifling sum? You ought to have asked for something worthy at once of my munificence and of your own merit.' The Minister made his obeisance and said, 'Sire, I am quite satisfied with what I have asked, nor would it be becoming in your servant to alter his demand, merely because your Majesty is bountiful and liberal.' Once more the King said, 'Sassa, have you ever found me backward or niggardly in rewarding the faithful services of my friends? Your wits have altogether forsaken you; ask me at least to make you ruler over one of my kingdoms, or possessor of one of my well-stored treasuries.' To this Sassa replied, 'Sire, I will thus far comply with your commands, that if, after my present demand is settled, you should think that aught further is due to me, I will freely accept the same as a mark of your Majesty's bounty and liberality.'

"To this proposal the King readily agreed. He then

sent for his treasurer, and said to him, 'Take with thee the sage Sassa, and pay to him from our treasury the small sum he hath demanded of us.'

'Hereupon the treasurer, together with the accountants and the sage Sassa, went to the Royal Treasury, and betook themselves to the calculation of the 'gross sum.' At first matters went on smoothly and rapidly, and the accountants indulged in sundry facetious remarks, not overcomplimentary to Sassa, on the score of his worldly wisdom. But by the time they had passed the thirty-second square or so, their mirth was changed into gravity. The treasurer clearly perceived that all the dirams on the face of the earth, if multiplied millions of times over, would not suffice to satisfy Sassa's demand.[1] This astounding fact was explained to the King; who, after due reflection, said, 'I now perceive the full extent of Sassa's profound wisdom. Verily I know not which I ought most to admire, the ingenuity of the game itself or that of the Minister's demand. It is evident that what he asks is not in my power to give; but all that I possess in the

[1] I have a distinct recollection of having calculated the amount of this sum at school. It is merely an affair of patience, requiring no higher degreeof *science* than *simple multiplication* by *two*. For the delectation of the curious, I here subjoin the result on the authorities, both of the Arabian writers and of Augustus, Duke of Luneburg, (better known as Gustavus Selenus,) which I have no doubt are quite correct. The whole number of silver dirams then, amounted to 18,446,744,073,709,551,615, (assuming the silver dīnār or diram to be equal to our sixpence, the above sum if melted into a solid mass would form a silver cube of nearly fifteen miles for its basis), and supposing the relative value of gold and silver, to have been, *then* and *there*, the same as with us, i.e., about $14\frac{1}{4}$ to 1, the amount would form a cube of gold, having nearly six miles for its basis; a very pretty *nugget* truly. Sometimes the reward is said to have been in grains of wheat; in which case I have an impression of having once calculated that the heap of grain thus *realised*, would suffice to cover the whole of our globe, both sea and land, eight times over. My friend Mr. Bland, in his Essay, quotes a Persian writer, who asserts "that the whole sum amounted to *two thousand four hundred times* the size of our whole globe in gold!!" Pretty *strong* that; there must be a very serious mistake somewhere; but whether on the part of the author or on that of the translator I cannot say.

way of territories and treasures I will freely bestow upon him. The whole of my possessions are henceforth his, and in the disposal of them his commands shall be paramount; all I ask is, to be allowed to pass the remainder of my days under his shadow, in the enjoyment of the game of Chess.'

"Here Sassa thus spake:—'Sire, I will have none of your territories and treasures; I am far happier in what I already enjoy—that is, your Majesty's esteem. As to mere worldly wealth, of what use is it to me? Have I not hitherto lived upon your bounty? Your property has at all times been to me as my own; and, should I ever want aught, I will freely ask it of your Majesty, without any fear of disappointment. Sire, you have been pleased to acknowledge that I possess some wisdom; and that is the only wealth I really covet. It is a species of property which no one can take from me by force or fraud; while territories and treasures, and palaces and thrones, are all liable to decay.'"

SECOND ACCOUNT.

"It is related that once upon a time there reigned in Hind a certain King, whose name was Fūr. He possessed great wealth, extensive territories, and a numerous army. On his death he was succeeded by an only son, then under age; and the consequence was, that the neighbouring Kings, who had stood in awe of the father, endeavoured to wrest his territories from the youthful and inexperienced son. From all quarters of the kingdom tidings arrived of the approach of enemies from without, and of the insolence of rebels within. In this state of things the elders of the people assembled together and said—'O, Prince,

wrest from you your kingdom, your treasures, and your life.' The Prince said, 'I am very young, and as yet without experience; I pray of you to advise me as to what you consider best to be done.' They answered, 'It behoveth your father's son to draw the sword, and lead forth our gallant troops against the enemy.' The young Prince replied, 'Assuredly my hand is ready to draw the sword; but, alas! I have never seen war. How, then, can I presume to become the leader of brave men?' They said, 'Fear nothing, you shall be surrounded by able and experienced warriors, and by wise counsellors, who will soon instruct you how to conduct your forces in the battle-field. All your faithful subjects will support you with their lives and fortunes. But time presses, and the foe must be encountered before he has had time to enter your territories, to slay your people, and to burn your towns.' Now they say that Sassa, the son of Dāhir was this Prince's Prime Minister and chief counsellor. He abridged the 'Perfect Chess,' as already mentioned, and brought the board and men to the Prince, saying, 'Here you have an exact image of war, which is conducted on principles similar to those which regulate this wonderful game. The same caution in attack, and coolness in defence, which you have to exercise here, you will have occasion to put in practice on the battle-field.' The Prince with eagerness availed himself of Sassa's instructions until he made himself fully acquainted with the principles of the game. He then assembled his army, and went forth in full confidence, to encounter his enemies, whom he utterly defeated at all points. He then returned home in triumph, and ever after he cherished his love for the game of Chess; to a knowledge of which he considered himself indebted for the preservation of his

THIRD ACCOUNT.

"In Firdausī's epic poem, the Shāhnāma, it is related, that about the time of Naushīrawān the Just, there reigned in Northern India a King by name Jamhūr, whose sway extended from Bust[1] to the confines of China. On his death he left an infant son whose name was Gau; and as usual in such cases, the people conferred the sovereignty on the late King's younger brother, who, in course of time, married the elder brother's widow, by whom he had a son named Talkhand. In a short time this King also died, and the people then conferred the sovereignty on the widow. This state of things continued till her two sons became of age. As these two Princes were equally ambitious of sovereign power, they one day went to their mother, and said, 'Which of us two do you deem best qualified to become your successor?' The mother at this question was greatly distressed, for she loved both her sons alike, and she could not name one of them her successor without grieving the other. She, therefore, answered, 'That one of you shall be my successor, who will prove himself the bravest in battle, the wisest in council, and the most beloved by the people and the army.' At this reply the brothers withdrew, but frequent and angry altercations used to take place between them. Talkhand, the younger, maintained that the sovereignty was his as his father's inheritance. Gau would say in reply, 'The kingdom was given to your father merely on trust, as my guardian; he was only to act as Regent during my minority. Besides, I am your mother's eldest son; and in every

[1] Bust was, of old, a flourishing city in Kābul, situated on the river Helmund, to the westward of Kandahār.

view of the case I am the rightful heir to the throne.' The mother, on hearing of these disputes, was sadly perplexed, for she was really desirous of retaining the love and affections of both her sons, which now appeared to be altogether impossible. She therefore proposed that the people and the army should be appealed to for their decision, a measure to which the Princes agreed. Unfortunately the people and the army were divided in their sentiments; some declared for the elder brother and some for the younger; so that at last the matter terminated in a civil war. The elder brother, being the more humane and intelligent of the two, used every exertion in his power in order to restore peace and reconciliation. He said to the younger, 'Let our mother's kingdom, in the first place, be divided into two equal parts, then you shallchoose for yourself that half which may best please you.' To this fair and generous proposal the younger brother would by no means listen; for he attributed the elder's forbearance and moderation solely to his timidity and cowardice. In short, Talkhand openly took the field with such forces as he could assemble; and Gau, however peacefully inclined, was compelled to go to war with his own brother in self-defence. In the very first engagement Talkhand's forces were totally defeated, and he himself, mounted on a superb white elephant, was hurried from the field in the midst of the flight. The victorious army, mounted on swift horses, gave instant pursuit, with strict orders to make Talkhand prisoner, but not to hurt one hair of his head. At last the victors completely surrounded the young Prince, conspicuous from the white Elephant which he rode. The sagacious animal stood motionless as a statue, and as they began to assist the Prince to alight, they found that his heart had been broken and his spirit had departed. Thus died Talkhand, without any wound

from his adversaries, but solely because he had too much pride to survive the utter ruin of his army, the triumph of his conquerors, and the humiliation he must have to undergo in the presence of his brother.

"When the mournful tidings reached the Queen-mother, she became inconsolable for the loss of her younger son. She even upbraided the survivor, Gau, as the cause of his brother's death. In vain did the Prince assert his innocence, and offered to prove, by numberless witnesses, that he was in no ways accountable for the death of his brother. The mother disbelieved them all, and refused to be comforted; nor would she even suffer her surviving son to appear in her sight. On this occasion it was that Sassa, the son of Dāhir, modified the ancient Game of Chess, as we have already stated in our 'first account.' He brought the board and pieces into the presence of the Queen, both as the means of distracting her sorrow, and with a view to explain to her how the battle had been conducted on both sides. He showed her how the two forces stood on the field, and how at length Talkhand, surrounded by his opponents, died of a broken heart, on which occasion those around him exclaimed 'Shāh māND,'[1] which signifies 'The Prince is reduced to the last extremity.' The Queen felt a mournful interest in this rare game, which she daily played with Sassa, and at length she became convinced of her surviving son's veracity and innocence."

In concluding this chapter, I may briefly state that Sassa and Dāhir were real personages, both having figured in history as Princes of the Brāhman dynasty that reigned

[1] *Shāh-māND*," is the genuine old Persian term, which the Arabs changed into "*Shāh Māt*," "the King is dead." The latter expression is less correct, for in reality the King at Chess is *not* killed; however, from the term *Shāh Māt*, as used by the Arabs, comes, by various corruptions, our "*Check-Mate*."

in Sind about the commencement of the Muhammadan era. In fact Sassa was the first Indian Prince with whom the Arabs came in contact, when, in order to propagate their newly-adopted religion, they carried their victorious arms towards the banks of the Indus.

Hence, without much examination, they conferred on Sassa the honour of having invented Chess, or (as our anonymous scribe will have it) of having modified the older game. It so happens, also, as we know from Indian histories, that Sassa was the older, and Dāhir the son, or nephew; though this point is of very little importance, as both of them lived nearly a century after Naushīrawān.

The three accounts of the invention of Chess given by our anonymous author are fair samples of the traditions on the subject current among the Arabs and Persians; always excepting the conclusion, where he says that "Sassa the son of Dāhir simplified the ancient game," which idea is entirely his own, and not mentioned by any other writer. He repeatedly asserts that Sassa was not the inventor, but merely the improver of an older game of the kind; nor is he very scrupulous on the score of perverting his authorities in order to suit his own purpose. For instance, in the third account—which, as he states, he has abridged from the poet Firdausī—he, with the coolest effrontery, falsifies that eminent author's statement. The great poet says not a word about Sassa, nor of the game of the Greeks. He merely states that Gau summoned into his presence all the wise men of his kingdom, and desired them to draw up a plan of the battle, that it might be shown to his mother the Queen. The wise men sat in deliberation for a day and a night, and the result was the invention of the game of Chess. He mentions no name in particular, as he attributes the invention to the collective wisdom of the Indian sages. The story of Sassa is a more

recent legend of the Arabs, devised merely to give the invention a sort of "a local habitation and a name."

I believe, however, with the anonymous author, that what the writers of Western Asia considered as the original *invention* of Chess, really meant the *change* of the Chaturanga into the Shatranj. The existence of the game of Hermes, the Grecian sage, played by Alexander the Great, his officers and soldiers, is really too absurd to deserve a moment's consideration, as every one conversant with Greek literature and the game of Chess will readily admit. To those not so qualified to judge, one story is just as good as another; so I make them heartily welcome to their own opinions. At the same time, I think it is not altogether impossible to account for the anonymous author's perversions and falsehoods. He apparently lived at Tīmūr's Court; for in his book he has given eighteen problems or positions that occurred in actual play to 'Alī-Shatranjī—the finest player of that period, and probably one of the best that ever lived. He not only gives the problems, but a great number of minute particulars respecting them, such as the odds given, the party who was the opponent, and whether 'Alī played with or without seeing the board—all of which particulars could have been noticed only by one who was present, or one who lived not long after the event. Well, the Great Tīmūr was partial to the "Perfect Chess" (as our author calls it), that is, the board of eleven squares by ten—of which more hereafter. Tīmūr detested the Hindūs because they were idolators, and despised them, both Hindū and Muslim, because they had allowed him to overrun their country. Hence our author, in order to gratify his patron's humour, gives out that the Great Chess was the original, and patronised by Alexander, the Macedonian

Hindūs were "too stupid to comprehend it," till Sassa simplified it so as to make it square with their weak capacities. Such a gross fabrication would easily pass current with Tīmūr, who was more conversant with arms than with books; and the obsequious courtiers would readily subscribe to such doctrines as appeared to gratify their Sovereign.[1]

[1] Tīmūr invaded India in the year of grace, 1398, simply for the very vulgar purpose of plunder. His panegyrists say that his object was to propagate the *true faith* among the heathen, which he did in the good old way, by causing at least a million of those same harmless heathen to be slaughtered. Having loaded himself and his army with booty, he quietly returned home in the course of six months. Ferishta, an accurate Indian historian, speaks of this invasion as follows. "The historians (of Tīmūr's invasion) have gone into some details, of the amount of the silver, the gold, and the jewels captured on this occasion, particularly rubies and diamonds; but their account so far exceeds all belief, that I have refrained from mentioning it!"

CHAPTER VIII.

SHATRANJ CONTINUED.

Account of Oriental Manuscript Works on Chess in the British Museum, and in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, &c.

Before I come to discuss the principles of Mediæval Chess, it may be well to give a brief account of the manuscript works which I follow as my authorities. These are four in number ; and, fortunately, they are public property, easily accessible to those able and willing to examine their contents ; and not, like the MSS. of some good natured private individuals, liable to be *lent* and *not returned*. The first is an Arabic manuscript (No. 7515) in the British Museum. It is a quarto volume of 132 leaves, and averaging 16 lines to each page—that is, where no diagrams occur. It was written, or, more properly speaking, copied, in A.D. 1257 ; and, consequently, is now upwards of 600 years old. The author's name is not given ; but, from circumstances to be mentioned, we may safely infer that he lived within a century previous to the above date. The authorship of the volume is absurdly attributed to "Hasan of Basra," one of the early Muhammadan doctors, who died A.D. 728. The only authority for this fiction is, that in the preface there is a quotation of a general nature from the "sage of Basra."

recommending to people "some innocent amusement after the mind has been fatigued with care or much study," which pithy advice will be found to apply as much to leap-frog or to blindman's-buff, as to Chess. On this slender foundation, however, the knavish book-dealers entitled the work "Shatranj al Basrī," which they construe into "a treatise on Chess, by Hasan of Basra." Yea, further, in order to conceal the trick, they have had the precaution to erase from the preface the name of the Prince to whom the book was dedicated. However, we know from the titles employed in the dedication, that the Prince was one of the Ayūbite dynasty, that ruled for a brief period over Egypt and Syria; that is, he was either the renowned Saladin himself, or one of his immediate successors.

In the East, as of late among ourselves, the Princes of certain dynasties were addressed by certain peculiar titles and epithets whereby they might be known, just as we a century or two ago used to read of "His Most Christian Majesty of France," or "His Most Catholic Majesty of Spain," or their "High Mightinesses of Holland."[1] With regard to the contents of this volume, they may be briefly described, for unfortunately a large and valuable portion of it is missing. The first seven leaves, which are merely introductory, may be passed over as containing nothing of importance. The eighth leaf commences the main business, by enumerating the five classes into which Chess-players may be divided, of which very sensible division more hereafter. Between the 8th and 9th folio there is what the learned call a *hiatus valde*

[1] To these altisonant designations, it would be unpardonable in me, not to add that of the Austrian Kaiser, who, according to the "Times," is addressed as "his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty." The exact meaning and real aptness of the term *Apostolic*, I do not pretend to understand, though I dare

deflendus. Folios 9th and 10th treat of the equality of force at the end of a game, together with the relative values of the various pieces; and, from the minuteness and fulness with which the author explains this part of his subject, we may infer that the missing portion contained an account of everything relating to the theory and practice of the game on the same ample scale. The rest of the volume consists of some 200 diagrams, containing "openings of games," eleven in number, and positions or problems, in which either mate is forced in a certain number of moves, or the weaker party, by skilful play, draws the game. These are accompanied with solutions at full-length; and this work alone, even if we had none else, would have sufficed to give us a fair idea of the manner in which chess was played in the East six hundred years ago.

My second authority is a Persian manuscript (No. 16,856) in the British Museum. It is an octavo volume containing sixty-three leaves, ten lines to the page. It was copied A.D. 1612, and the author lived in the time of the Emperor Humāyūn, of Delhi, to whom it is dedicated, somewhat more than 300 years ago. It is a translation and abridgment of an older work in the Arabic language, entitled "*Munjih fi'ilmi-l-Shatranj*,"[1] or the "Chess-player's Monitor." It is divided into twelve chapters, of which the first five contain brief notices of those among the companions and followers of the Prophet Muhammad, who were Chess-players, thence deducing arguments in proof of the lawfulness of the game. It then details the numerous benefits of Chess, mental and

[1] Mr. Bland has more fully described this MS. in his "Essay on Persian Chess." He has, however, given us a wrong title viz., "*Manhaj fi ilmi-l Shatranj*" or "the Guide to the knowledge of Chess." This is all very well for a

physical—the inventor of the game, and the occasion of its invention. The 6th and 7th treat of the morals and amenities of Chess, together with a few judicious advices to the players; the 8th, on drawn games; the 9th, on the openings; the 10th, on the curiosities of Chess, such as the well-known feat of the Knight covering the sixty-four squares in so many moves, &c.; the 11th is valuable, as it gives an excellent selection of end-games on diagrams, together with their solutions. The 12th contains directions for playing without seeing the board. This work is decidedly the neatest and plainest compendium of the theory and practice of the mediæval game that I have yet seen or heard of.

In the third place, I have had recourse to two copies, in the British Museum, of a Persian work in Manuscript, entitled "*Nafā,isu·l-Funūn*" or the "Treasures of the Sciences." It is a compendious Encyclopædia, and consequently the article devoted to Chess and other games, consisting of three chapters, is necessarily more concise than either of the two treatises above mentioned. The second Chapter gives a brief history of the invention of the game in India, and enumerates five different varieties of Chess, or rather five distinct forms of the chessboard, for the principle is the same in all. The concluding chapter contains some fifteen problems or positions which offer no particular novelty, being, as we might expect, all selected from previous works on the subject. To these are added some amusing and sensible remarks respecting the morals and social observances or *amenities* of the "Royal game." The following is especially worthy of remark—"In India they test a person's fitness for the duties of Wazīr or Minister by making two people play chess in his presence. If he looks on and speaks not a word, they put confidence in him; but if he indulges in

remarks on the moves, and gives advice to the players, he is considered to be deficient in discretion, and unfit for the office."[1]

My fourth authority is a Persian manuscript (No. 260,) belonging to the library of the Royal Asiatic Society.[2] It consists of 64 leaves, quarto size, finely written, 15 lines to the page. One half consists of diagrams of very interesting positions, without any solutions, and the other half of descriptive writing. The work is both imperfect and misarranged, there being scarcely one leaf placed where it ought to be. On careful perusal, however, I have found that twenty-eight of the leaves, if properly arranged, would form a complete sequence without any break, and the other four are uncertain. The following is the order of the subjects as intended by the author: first, a detached leaf forming part of the preface, the purport of which is to convince the reader of the author's prodigious merits, especially in Chess. Then follow 12½ folios on the beneficial effects of Chess: this subject is complete, with the exception of a few lines at the commencement.

[1] It is curious to observe, that the early Scandinavians applied the game of Chess to a similar purpose in order to discover a man's temper and moral disposition. From an English abridgement of the "History of the Goths, Swedes and Vandals," by Olaus Magnus we read that "It was a custom amongst the most illustrious Goths and Swedes, when they would honestly marry their daughters that in order to prove the disposition of their suitors that came to them and to know their passions especially, they used to play with such suitors at Chess and Tables. For at these games their angor, love, peevishnesse, covetousnesse, dulnesse, idlenesse, and many more mad pranks, passions, and motions of their minds, and the forces and properties of their fortunes are used to be seen; as whether the wooer be rudely disposed, that he will indiscreetly rejoyce, and suddenly triumph when he wins; or whether when he is wronged, he can patiently endure it, and wisely put it off."

[2] This manuscript is the ground work of Mr. Bland's Essay on Persian Chess in which *brochure* a very detailed but unsatisfactory description of it will be found. Mr. Bland seems to have failed in arranging the detached leaves of the work, so as to form a sequence. His essay, of which some notice will be taken hereafter, is more to be commended on the score of its ingenuity and *hardiesse* than for the soundness of its logic.—Vide Appendix, A.

Then we have $7\frac{1}{2}$ folios including a very neat diagram, giving a complete account of the "Perfect Chess," or "Tīmūr's Great Game." This Chapter is fortunately entire, and it is, probably, the only account we have of that curious innovation, the substance of which we shall give in our eleventh chapter. Then we have $7\frac{1}{2}$ folios on the invention of the common game in India. This chapter, also is complete, and the substance of it has been already given in our Chapter VII. Two chapters on the relative value of the pieces, and on the gradations of odds, are also complete as to the subjects, though they do not apparently contain all that the author wrote thereon. Lastly, a folio and a-half on drawn games, &c., incomplete, and partly illegible.

The diagrams are 64 in number, and consist chiefly of end-games won or drawn by force. The first two diagrams are illegible, but fortunately they merely contained openings, of which we have abundance in the Arabic manuscript of the British Museum. Of the end-games the most valuable are eighteen positions by Khwāja 'Alī Shatranjī, most of which occurred in actual play. All the rest are said to have been invented by various eminent players (whose names are given), from the Caliph Al-M'utasim Billāh downwards. It is a curious fact, however, that among the number there is not one of the author's own invention, although in his preface he boasts of having made wonderful improvements in every department of Chess, and of having discovered and corrected several errors in problems composed by eminent masters before his own time. In truth, the author must have been a singular character, and, had we received his book entire, it would undoubtedly have proved an extraordinary production. In justice to this writer, I shall here give a literal translation of what remains of his own preface,

which, it must be confessed, is a very *promising* one. It may also lead to the discovery, in India or Persia, of a complete copy of the work.

The author seems to have (in the missing portion) been recommending Chess as an excellent medicine both for the body and mind; and then he proceeds to tell the reader what he has himself done in the royal game, and also what he is going to write thereon. There is a quaint vein of godliness that runs throughout the fragment, such as to lay claim to our conviction of the good man's sincerity, although his style does occasionally approach that of the Baron Munchausen :—

PREFACE.

"* * * And many a one has experienced a relief from sorrow and affliction in consequence of this magic recreation; and this same fact has been asserted by the celebrated physician 'Muhammad Zakaria Rāzī,'[1] in his book, entitled 'The Essences of Things;' and such is likewise the opinion of the physician 'Alī Bin Firdaus, as I shall notice more fully towards the end of the present work, for the composing of which I am in the hope of receiving my reward from God, who is Most High and Most Glorious.

"I have passed my life since the age of fifteen years among all the masters of Chess living in my time; and since that period till now, when I have arrived at middle

[1] Rāzī, called by our mediæval writers Rhasis, was a celebrated physician of Bagdad where he died about A.D. 922. Burton in his very amusing book entitled "The Anatomy of Melancholy" thus speaks of him, and of Chess together.—"Chess-play is a good and witty exercise of the mind, for some kind of men, and fit for such melancholics, (Rhasis holds,) as are idle, and have extravagant and impertinent thoughts, or troubled with cares; nothing better to distract their mind, and alter their meditations."

age, I have travelled through 'Irāk-'Arab, and 'Irāk-'Ajam, and Khurāsān, and the regions of Māwarā-al-Nahr (Transoxania,) and I have there met with many a master in this art, and I have played with all of them, and, through the favour of Him who is Adorable and Most High, I have come off victorious.

"Likewise, in playing without seeing the board, I have overcome most opponents, nor had they the power to cope with me. I, the humble sinner now addressing you, have frequently played with one opponent over the board, and at the same time I have carried on four different games with as many adversaries without seeing the board, whilst I conversed freely with my friends all along, and through the Divine favour I conquered them all. Also in the Great Chess I have invented sundry positions, as well as several openings, which no one else ever imagined or contrived.

"There are a great number of ingenious positions that have occurred to me in the course of my experience, in the common game, as practised at the present day; and many positions given as won by the older masters I have either proved to be capable of defence, or I have made the necessary corrections in them, so that they now stand for what they were originally intended to be. I have also improved and rendered more complete all the rare and cunning stratagems hitherto recorded or invented by the first masters of Chess. In short, I have here laid before the reader all that I have myself discovered from experience, as well as whatever I found to be rare and excellent in the labours of my predecessors.

"In the first place, I will make clear to you that the 'Perfect Chess' is the original; I will then inform you who invented it, and where it was invented, and on what occasion the invention took place. I will also detail to you

in full how it found its way into India, and at what period they abridged it there, so that all men may know that the people of India are not the inventors of Chess, for they have not in them sufficient knowledge and wisdom to have done so, and they never had. I will also present you with the best modes of opening the game, for therein consists the very root and foundation of good play; and I will instruct you how to conduct your game after it is opened, and I will lay before you a great variety of the most rare and ingenious stratagems, whereby you may be enabled either to win or draw in situations which to the uninitiated might appear desperate. I will also instruct you as to the exact value of the pieces, without knowing which you cannot be a player. I will tell you, too, the various grades of odds which people give and receive; and I will unfold unto you the nature of such situations as lead to a drawn game, which may occur towards the end of a combat; and I will point out to you what piece or pieces draw against certain other pieces, so that you may not uselessly prolong the contest in such circumstances. Finally I will show you how to move a Knight from any individual square on the board, so that he may cover each of the remaining squares in as many moves and finally rest on that square whence he started. I will also show how the same thing may be done by limiting yourself only to one half, or even to one quarter[1] of the board."—Here the preface abruptly terminates, the following leaf being lost.

In conclusion, I have to express my regret that I have been unable to avail myself of two very valuable Arabic

[1] I question much whether the problem be possible when limited to *one quarter* of the board. I have repeatedly tried it, and got on well enough till I reached the fifteenth square, but then I could never get that *fifteenth* within a Knight's move of the square from which I started. I am not aware that it has ever been done in Europe; and we are deprived of the oriental writer's solution, (supposing that he fulfilled his promise) in consequence of

MSS. on Chess[1] belonging to John Lee, Esq., LL.D., of Doctors Commons, London, and of Hartwell in Buckinghamshire. Some four years ago, on looking through the Doctor's valuable collection at Hartwell House, we could nowhere find the works in question. At last it was remembered that they had been some years previously *lent* and not as yet *returned*.

As a preliminary step to the "Theory and Practice" of the Shatranj in our next two chapters, it may be well to lay before the reader, as a specimen of Oriental play, the two following problems in which most of the peculiarities of the game may be seen. For this purpose we have selected, in the first place, the most ancient problem on record, the composition of Mu'tasim Billāh who was Caliph of Bagdad, and reigned from A.D. 833 to A.D. 842. "He was the third son and third successor of the far famed Harūn al-Rashīd,[2] so well known to the readers of the "Arabian Nights." The mode of play differs from ours simply in this. The Queen in the Shatranj commands, attacks, or may be moved merely to the four squares next to her on the diagonal, and consequently of her own colour. The Bishop commands, attacks and can be moved to the four squares next to him but one on the diagonal. He has no influence whatever over the square next to him; but his power extends through or over any piece or pawn placed on that square, as will be more fully explained in our next chapter.

[1] A few days ago, while this sheet was in the printer's hands, I once more wrote to Dr. Lee respecting the MSS., and he informed me that they are not *yet* returned. I am afraid that, owing to certain unfortunate circumstances, which I need not here mention, there will be some difficulty in recovering them. There is, however, a bare possibility that I may have the use of them before we print off the "Appendix."

[2] Harūn al Rashīd, his three sons, and his grandson, were all enthusiastic lovers of Chess. Not only were they devotedly fond of the game, but, at the same time, they were the liberal and munificent patrons of talented chess-players, as well as of all men, no matter of what country or creed, who distinguished themselves in arts, sciences, or literature. Of this more in our twelfth chapter.

PROBLEM I. BY THE CALIPH MU'TASIM BILLAH.

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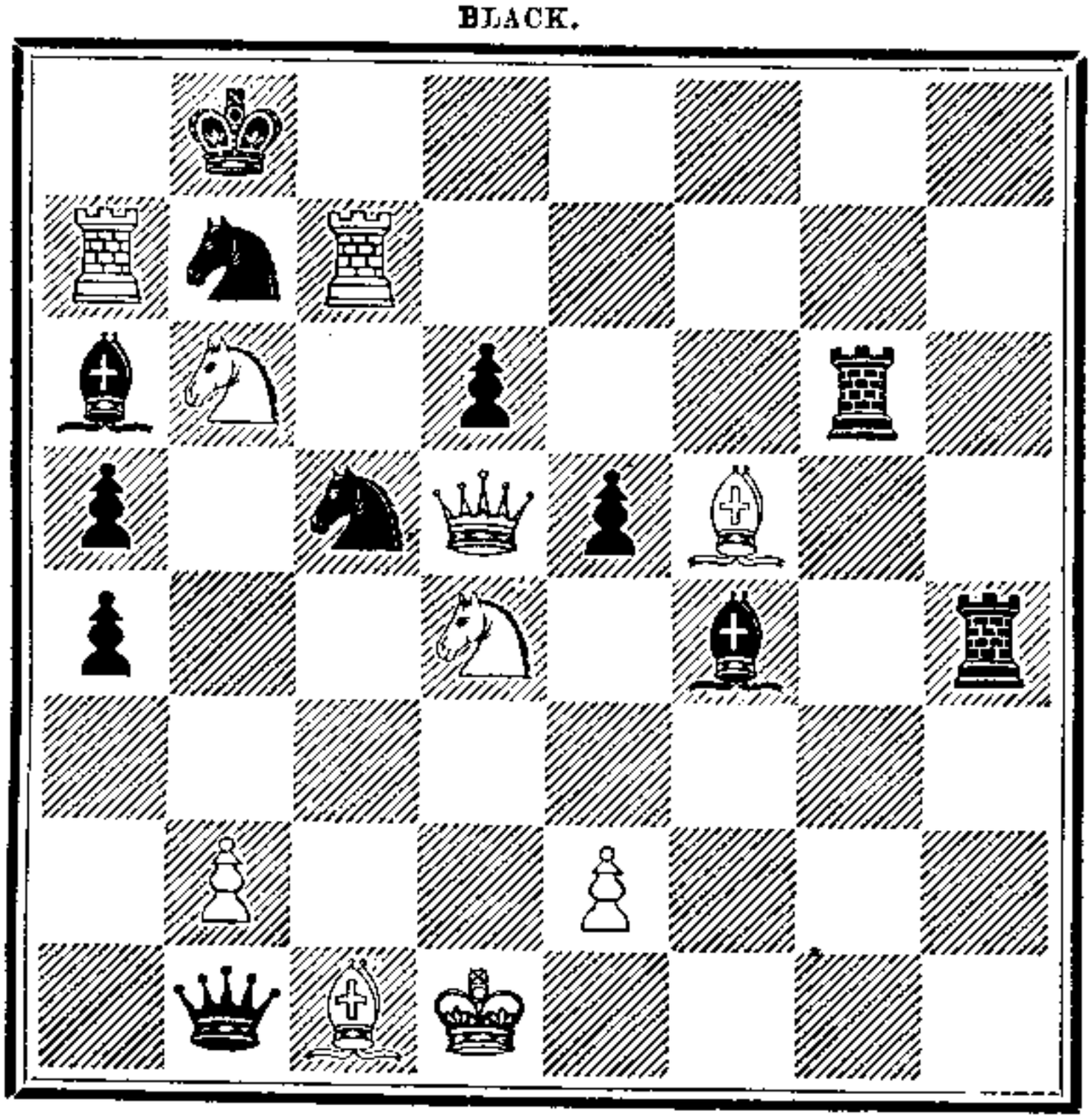

WHITE.

White to move, and to give checkmate at the ninth move.

SOLUTION.

WHITE.	BLACK.
1. Q. R. takes Kt. (check)	1. Kt. takes R.
2. R. to Q. B 8th. (check)	2. K. to his Q. R. second (best)[1]
3. Kt. to Q. Kt. 5th (check)[2]	3. K. must take Kt.
4. R. to Q. B. 6th (check)	4. K. must take Kt.
5. K. B. to Q. 7th (check)[3]	5. K. to his Q. Kt. 5th
6. R. to Q. Kt. 6th (check)	6. K to his Q. B. 4th[4]
7. R. to Q. Kt. 5th (check)[5]	7. K. to his Q's. 5th[6]
8. P. to K's. 3rd (check)[7]	8. K. to his Q's. 6th.
9. B. to K. B. 5th Mate[8]	

[1] Should black B take R with his Bishop, which he can do by vaulting over his own Knight, Black King will be mated in two moves by the White Knights. The rest of the moves, after Black's second, are all forced.

[2] It will be observed that the Bishop does not command the square next to him.

[3] Here we see at once the Bishop's power of moving and attacking; he checks the adverse King *through* or over his own Rook.

[4] A square not commanded by the adverse Queen.

[5] Here the Rook is secure from the adverse Bishop; it at once checks the adverse King and defends the Queen.

[6] A square which the adverse Queen cannot touch.

[7] Protected by his own Bishop, and secure from the adverse B.

We shall conclude this chapter with one of the eighteen problems given in the Royal Asiatic Society's MS. as those by Khwāja 'Alī Shatranjī. It will be found in fol. 11B, and is said to have occurred to 'Alī when playing against an opponent to whom he had given the odds of the Queen's Rook. The position is quite simple and natural. 'Alī had the White, and we see that already he has gained two Pawns of his opponent. There must have been a good deal of manœuvring with the Knights and Rook on the part of 'Alī so as to have brought the game to this state. It is now White's move, and we see that his Rook can take the Black Queen at once, for the Black Bishop does not command the square she is on—but checkmate is of course far preferable; for Khwāja 'Alī appears to have been one of those fastidious players who, when a *good* move presented itself, looked out for, and not unfrequently found, a much *better* move; a mode of play which, we humbly submit, is not altogether unworthy of the reader's imitation.

Of Khwāja 'Alī Shatranjī I shall have occasion to speak more in a future chapter. In the mean time I may here state what is said of him by the author of the Habību-l-Siyar—a well known Persian history. "Khwāja 'Alī, of Tabrīz, surnamed Shatranjī, was an expounder of the Word of God (*i.e.* the Kurān), and an authority on all matters relating to traditions. In the science of Chess his knowledge was so profound that both the high and the low of his time unanimously proclaimed him their master. He played without seeing the board as well as if he were looking over it. He was in high favour with Tīmūr, at whose court he passed much of his time, and with whom he frequently played."

PROBLEM II. BY 'ALI SHATRANJI.

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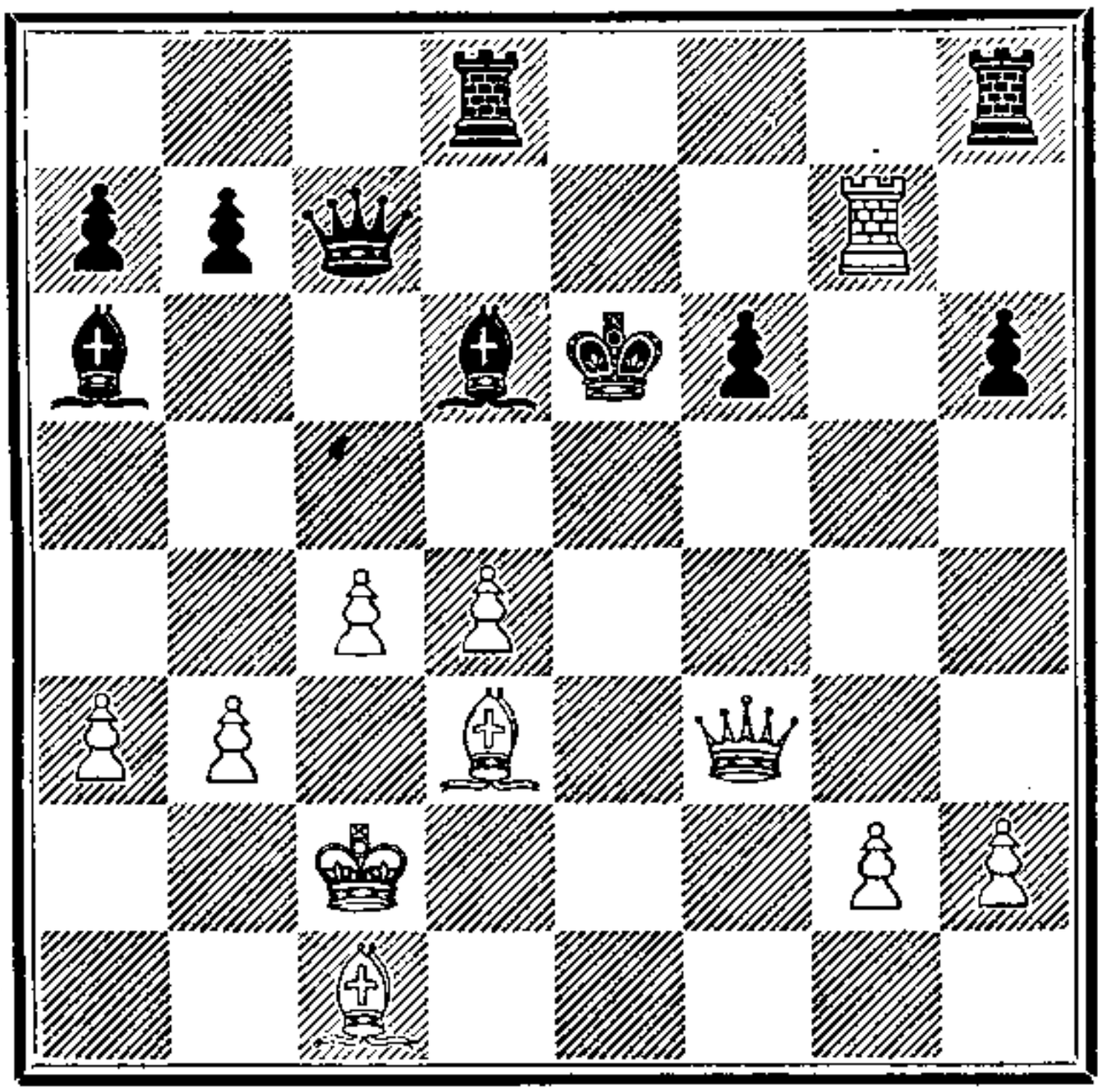

WHITE.

White to play and mate in eight moves.

SOLUTION.

WHITE.	BLACK.
1. Pawn gives check.	1. King to his fourth square.[1]
2. Rook to his King's 7th checking.[1]	2. King to his Bishop's 5th (best)[2]
3. Rook to King's 4th checking.	3. King to Knight's 4th.[3]
4. Rook to K's. Kt. 4th checking.	4. King to his Rook's 4th.
5. Rook to K's. Kt. 7th (coup de repos.)	5. King's B pawn one square (best).[4]
6. Bishop takes K. B. pawn.	6. King to his Rook's fifth square.
7. Q. to King's Kt's. 4th.[5]	7. Black plays anything he can.
8. Knight's pawn *mates*.	

[1] His Bishop's fourth square is commanded by White Bishop.

[2] Should he move to his Queen's fifth square, vide Variation A.

[3] He cannot go to his Bishop's fourth which is commanded by White Bishop notwithstanding the intervention of the Rook.

[4] If he did not move this pawn, the Queen would check next move at King's Knight's fourth square; and next move King's Knight's pawn would mate.

[5] He may, instead, check with King's Knight's pawn, and mate with Queen

VARIATION A.

First and second moves as before.	2. King to his Queen's 5th.
3. Rook to King's 4th check.	3. King to Q. B 4th.
4. Queen's Knight's pawn checks.	4. King to his Q's Kts. 3rd.
5. Q's Bishop's pawn *Mates*.[1]	

[1] Black Bishop cannot take the pawn, for he has no power over the square immediately next to him.

After a careful study of the two foregoing positions, the reader will be fully qualified to follow us in what we have to state in the following chapters, which will contain all that is known to us respecting the Theory and Practice of the Shatranj. There are only two points defective, which, though not of paramount importance, would still be very interesting to us,—I mean the "Laws of Mediæval Chess," and a few specimens of "Actually played Games." Unfortunately, neither of these desiderata is to be met with, so far as I know, in any work on Chess, previous to the sixteenth century. The mediæval manuscript Treatises on the Game, whether Oriental or Occidental, content themselves by giving us a few precepts of a general nature, together with a selection of Openings and End Games. These are all very excellent in their way; but, at the same time, I am inclined to think that a single *well annotated* game, from the hands of each of the three great Oriental masters, viz., Al Sūlī, Al 'Adālī, and 'Alī Shatranjī, would have been of more service to us than all the Treatises that have been written before the invention of printing. In the days of those heroes of the chequered field, there does not appear to have attended them a faithful, patient, and admiring esquire, such as our late William Greenwood Walker, who, like a shadow, every where followed our illustrious

champion's prowess. The Oriental heroes, then, like those who "lived before Agamemnon," though not altogether *illacrimabiles*, yet are doomed to remain under some shade of obscurity—"*carent quia vate sacro*," that is because in those days there were wanting a D'Arblay to celebrate their combats in verse, and a Greenwood Walker[1] to chronicle the same in humble prose.

[1] To this gentleman's enthusiastic industry we are indebted for the preservation of the splendid series of games between Macdonnell and De la Bourdonnais, played at the Westminster Chess Club, in 1834. A very clever poem on one of the games won by Macdonnell—perhaps the boldest and most brilliant ever played—was written soon after by the Reverend Mr. D'Arblay, a talented member of the club, entitled "Caissa Rediviva," in which Mr. W. G. W. is thus alluded to.

"Old W———, whom all tongues confess
The Boswell of the realms of Chess,
Who from the dark Lethean wave
Laboured Macdonnell's fame to save."

CHAPTER IX.

Theory and Practice of the Shatranj, or Mediæval Game of Chess.—Relative Value of the Pieces.—On the Giving of Odds.—Of the Five Classes of Chess Players.

I AM now entering on a subject which, I think, has hitherto been very imperfectly understood in Europe, at least in modern times. From the sources of information alluded to in our last chapter, I am enabled to lay before the reader a tolerably correct view of the mode in which Chess was played on this side of the Celestial Empire from the sixth to the sixteenth century of the Christian era. I may further mention that, with regard to the various Oriental MSS. which I have already briefly described, it luckily so happens that what is either omitted or lost, or summarily discussed, in one MS. is treated of more fully in one or all of the others.

The ancient board on which the primæval game of Chaturanga was played had no variety of colours; in fact, a chequered board in that case would have been rather objectionable than otherwise. When the game was modified into the Shatranj, the board, so far as we know, still remained unspotted; although the division into black and white would, in the latter case, have

been a decided improvement.[1] Hyde (p. 60) gives a drawing of a splendid ivory chess-board presented to him by Daniel Sheldon, Esq., an East India merchant, nearly two centuries ago, on which the squares are, indeed, ornamented, but not of different colours. The oldest representation of a chequered board in the East, that I have yet seen, is in a copy of the Shāhnāma, in the British Museum (No. 18,804, folio 260), transcribed about 150 years ago. It is a picture of the scene where Buzurjmihr is unfolding the mysteries of the game in the presence of Naushīrawān and the Indian Ambassador. The Persian sage has a chequered board of *sixty-four* squares placed before him, with the pieces arranged thereon, and a white spot to the right. However, in none of the MSS. mentioned in our last chapter is there any allusion to the squares being of different colours. In the mediæval game of Europe the board appears to have been coloured in the thirteenth century; for in the Latin poem, sup-

[1] While this sheet is under correction, my friend, Mr. Staunton's valuable work, entitled "Chess Praxis," (London, 1860), is just come to hand, from which I subjoin the following very sensible note on the subject of colouring :—

"The colour of the squares on a Chess Board is not material to the game. The moves, powers, and relative operation of the Men would remain the same if the squares were all of one colour, and were merely described by intersecting lines. Indeed, the practice of colouring the Board is of modern introduction. But the alternation of light and dark in the colour of the squares is of great service in point of convenience. The move of the Bishop is rendered much more easy when the Piece can only glide along squares of the same colour, and the peculiar move of the Knight would be a source not only of additional trouble, but of frequent mistakes, were it not assisted and checked by the invariable change which the Piece makes in the colour of the squares whenever it is played. The same observation applies, though in a less degree, to the other Pieces, and also to the Pawns. The legality of their march and of their capture would be much more liable to violation, and the cause of many more disputes, if both the player and the adversary were not assisted by the alternating colour of the squares, in making and watching the moves."

These apt remarks apply to the mediæval game even more than to that of the

posed to be of that period, given in Hyde (p. 181), we have—

Asser quadratus vario colore notatus;

but in an older poem of the time of the Anglo-Saxons, at least a century earlier, given by the same author, (p. 179), there is nothing said about difference of colours.

The arrangement of the pieces in the Shatranj was exactly the same as our own in the present day, that is —the Kings stood opposite to each other, and so did the Farzīns or what we now call Queens. There is a general impression, though erroneous, that on each side the Queen was placed opposite to the adverse King. This however applies only to the modern Asiatic game; but it was not so in the East 300 years ago, as may be seen in the Museum MS. (No. 16,856), dedicated to the Great Mogul of the day. The pieces and Pawns being thus drawn up, the game generally began, as with us, by moving either the King's or Queen's Pawn; with this difference, however, that in the Shatranj the Pawns could move only *one*[1] square at the commencement. Real good players, however, in order to save time, played up some ten or twelve moves at once on either side, which they called forming their *battle array*, of which more hereafter. The King, Rook, and Knight, moved exactly as they do now. The Farzīn, or what we call the Queen, moved one square diagonally; consequently, her power slowly extended only over that half of the squares which we should say were of her own colour.

[1] There is *one* exception to this rule of "moving only *one* square at the beginning," and that is when the parties agreed to play up at once ten or twelve moves on either side, each player being confined to his own half of the board, in which case it was optional to play the Pawn one or two squares. We have shewn in the Chaturanga that the Pawn always moved one square only, and such was the case in the Shatranj in general, as we shall show in our next chapter when we come to treat of the *Ta'biyat* or "battle array."

The adverse Queen, being on the opposite square at the extremity of the board, was necessarily of a different colour—hence the two Queens could never by any chance encounter one another. That this was the case in Europe, in the twelfth century, we know from a line in the older Latin poem given by Hyde (p. 180):—

Nam Regina non valebit impedire alteram.[1]

The Fīl, or Elephant, which we call Bishop, moved two squares diagonally. He attacked and commanded only the square next to him but one; he had no power over the intermediate square; hence his attack, like that of the Knight, could not be covered or warded off by the intervention of another piece. It will be found, by a slight inspection, that his power extended over only seven squares of the board (one leap of two squares at a time), besides the one on which he originally stood. It will also be found, on examination, that each of the four Bishops had a diocese, or circuit, of eight particular squares for himself, out of which he could never move. It so happened also that the eight squares belonging to any one Bishop never fell within the range of any of the other three; hence a Bishop could never, by any chance, encounter an adverse Bishop, even when running on the

[1] From an expression used in the fourth line of this old poem, one might be led hastily to infer that the Kings and Queens were then placed opposite to each other, as in the modern Asiatic game, viz.:—

"Rex paratus ad pugnandum, primum locum teneat;
Ejus atque dextrum latus Regina possideat."

The inference, however, would be quite erroneous; for the author speaks of the pieces as viewed by one person from only one side of the board, viz., that on which the Black are drawn up. This is most clearly proved by the line above quoted respecting the Queens, from the same poem; for if the two Queens stood each on the King's right hand, as in the modern Persian game, they would

same colour. Here, again, we can throw light on a line of the older Latin poem in Hyde :—

Firmum pactum Calvi tenent, neque sibi noceant.

The precise nature of the moves and powers of the Bishops will be best understood by the aid of the following diagram. Let *a* and *b* represent the White Bishops; also *c* and *d* the Black Bishops; then it will be seen at once to what particular squares the powers of each extended. For instance *a*, the White Queen's Bishop could move to K's. 3rd; then to K's. Kt.; then back to K's. 3rd; then to K. Kt. 5; then to K. 7; then to his own 5th; then to Q. R. 7; then back to his own 5th; then to Q. R. 3rd, and thence home. This trip cost him ten moves, and he visited only seven different houses during his journey. A similar rule applies to each of the other Bishops.

DIAGRAM.

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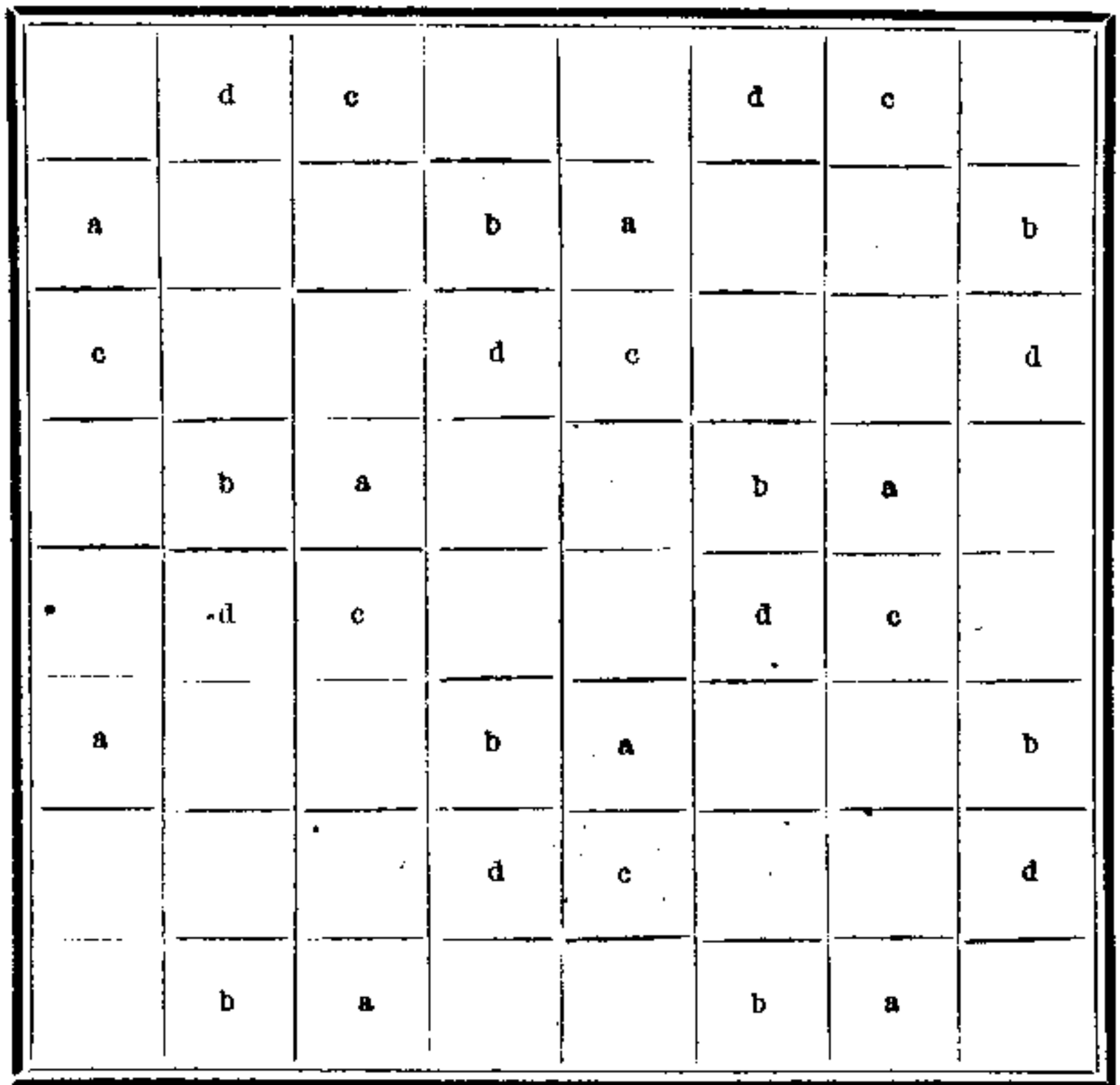

It will be seen further that there are thirty-two squares which no Bishop could possibly penetrate; and that the White Bishops could not touch any square on the 2nd, 4th, 6th, or 8th horizontal files. Of course a similar rule applied to the Black Bishops, reckoning from their own side of the board. The Bishops, in the Chaturanga for obvious reasons, moved on the thirty-two squares that became so many blanks in the Shatranj.[1] Lastly, a King placed on any of the blank squares, or on any square of the even horizontal files, reckoned from his own side of the board, was secure from the attacks of a hostile Bishop.

Lastly, when a Pawn reached the opposite extremity of the board, he obtained the rank of *Farzīn only*, and never that of any other piece. He commenced thenceforth to move diagonally, one square at a time, being, of course, restricted to the colour of the square on which he had landed; hence, in many of the end-games given in the Oriental MSS. above described, we find two or three Farzīns on either side of the board, of which more hereafter. Here, once more, the older Latin poem in Hyde agrees with us:—

> Cum Pedester usque summam venerit ad Tabulam,
> Nomen ejus tunc mutetur; appelletur Ferzia;
> Ejus interim Reginæ gratiam obtineat.

Here we have the Arabic or Persian word Farz or Farzīn slightly modified, although the term Queen had already become common. I may further observe that this standing rule of promoting the Pawns to the rank of

[1] It will be remembered that when the Chaturanga was modified into the Shatranj, the Bishops, which then occupied the four corner squares, changed places with the Rooks; the consequence was that the former assumed a new career. It will be further observed that the five compartments where the Vrihannaukā might have occurred in the primeval game are now so many

Farzīn, in the mediæval game, sweeps away at once the whole rubbish that has been written about the *non-antiquity* of a "plurality of Queens," which Philidor and his sapient editor, Mr. Pratt, seemed to consider as a modern innovation.—*Vide* Pratt's Philidor, 1825, p. 514. Let me not be here misunderstood, when I speak of Philidor. I fully admit that he held the first rank in Chess-playing, but it does not thence follow that he ranked high in scholarship. Having now explained the moves of the pieces in the Shatranj, I shall henceforth discontinue the use of the terms "Farzīn" and "Fīl," using instead the well-known appellations of Queen and Bishop, the reader always bearing in mind their exact powers, and very limited range, on the board.

Relative Value of the Pieces.

In order to convey an idea of the relative powers or exchangeable value of the pieces, the Arabs and Persians have adopted the following quaint and practical method, founded upon their smaller denominations of money, viz., the silver *dīnār*, or *diram*, or *dirham*, equal to our sixpence; the *dāng* equal to our penny; and the *tasu*, equal in value to our farthing.

The King, they say, is beyond all value, *on account of his rank*, but in reality from the nature of the game. The value of the Rook is one *dīnār* or six *dāngs*; that of the Knight is four *dāngs*. On these two points all our eastern MSS. agree. The value of the Queen, however, is less decided, as one MS. estimates her at three *dāngs*, and another only at two *dāngs* and a half; perhaps two *dāngs* and three *tasu*, or twopence three farthings, is near the mark. The value of the Bishop is between a *dāng* and a half and two *dāngs*, we shall say one *dāng* and three

tasu, or a penny and three farthings. The average value of the Pawns is one *dāng* or penny each, but the two centre or Royal Pawns are worth a penny farthing, and, according to some, the King's Pawn is worth three halfpence. Again, the two side Pawns are worth only three farthings each. Finally, the nominal value of any particular piece or Pawn is liable to undergo considerable modifications according to circumstances. Thus it may happen that on certain occasions a Knight or even a Queen may be of more value than the Rook. So a Pawn, as it advances towards the opposite side of the board gradually assumes a value approaching to that of the Bishop; and ultimately that of a Farzīn.

For the purpose of farther illustration of Oriental play, I shall here add two very fine positions, deservedly celebrated in the East. The first is by 'Adalī Al Rūmī, a player of the very highest class, who flourished in the first half of our tenth century. The position is from fol. 4*a* of the Asiatic Society's MS., in which 'Adalī's pieces are black; but these I have altered into white, simply because with us now-a-days, it is customary to make the white the winning party in our chess problems. The reader will perceive that the problem is a shade *too good* to have occurred in actual play; but, as the saying is, "if not true it is well invented." Of 'Adalī himself I have not been able to find any account. From the first part of his name it is evident that he was an Arab; and from the second, I infer that he was born in Asia Minor or Rumelia. The term Rūm is rather vague, being applied to the Turkish Empire at large, as it had previously been to the Byzantine or Eastern

PROBLEM III. BY 'ADALI.

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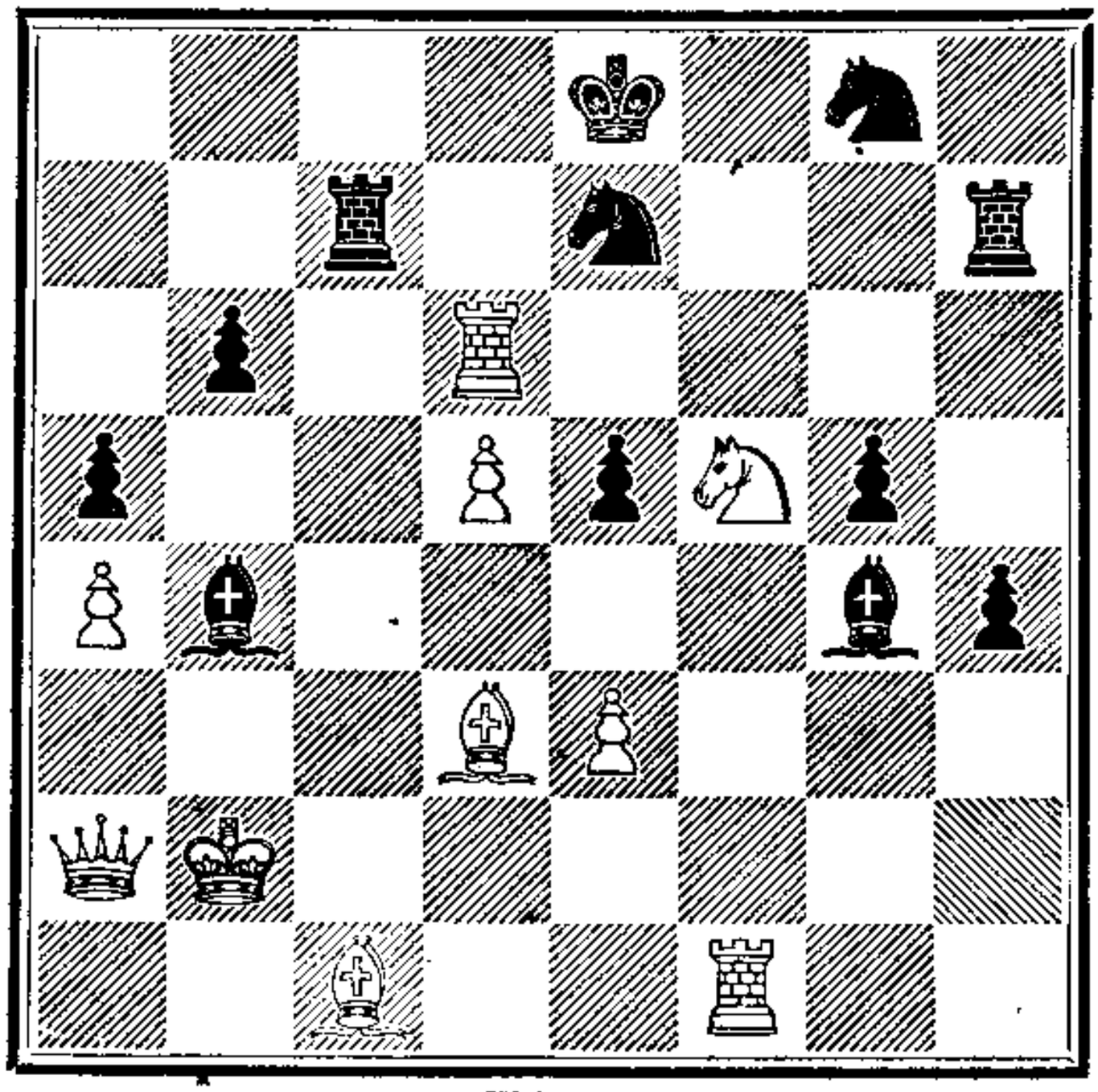


WHITE.

White to play and mate in eight moves.

SOLUTION.

WHITE.	BLACK.
1. Kt. to K. Kt. 7th (check)	1. R. must take
2. R. to Q. 8th (check)	2. K. takes R.
3. R. to K. B. 8th (check)	3. K. to his Q. 2nd
4. K. B. to Q. Kt. 5th (check)[1]	4. K. to Q. 3rd square (he must)
5. R. to Q. 8th (check)	5. R. interposes (best)
6. R. takes R. (check)	6. K. to his Q. B. 4th
7. B. to Q. R. 3rd (check)	7. K. to his Q. B. 5th
8. Q. to her Kt. 3rd (mate)	

[1] Here the White Q. B. vaults over his own King and checks the adverse King *over* the adverse Bishop. In a paper on Chess, by Captain H. Cox, inserted in the "Asiatic Researches" (Vol. VII., 8vo edition, page 494), the writer says:—"They (the Bishops) move diagonally in advance or retrograde, always two steps at a move, and have what Mr. Irvin calls the motion of a rocket-boy, hopping over any piece in their way *except the King*." Here, however, we see that there is no such exception, for the Bishop *does* hop over the King.

The following position is celebrated all over the East as Dilārām's Mate, whereby "hangs a brief tale," viz.—Two Persian princes had engaged in such deep play, that the whole fortune of one of them was gained by his opponent. He who played the White was the ruined man; and, made desperate by his loss, he at last offered his favourite wife, Dilārām, as his stake. The game was carried on until he would have been inevitably Check-mated by his adversary on the next move. The Lady, who had observed the game from behind the *parda*, or gauze screen, that separated the females from the male portion of the company, cried out to her husband in a voice of despair—

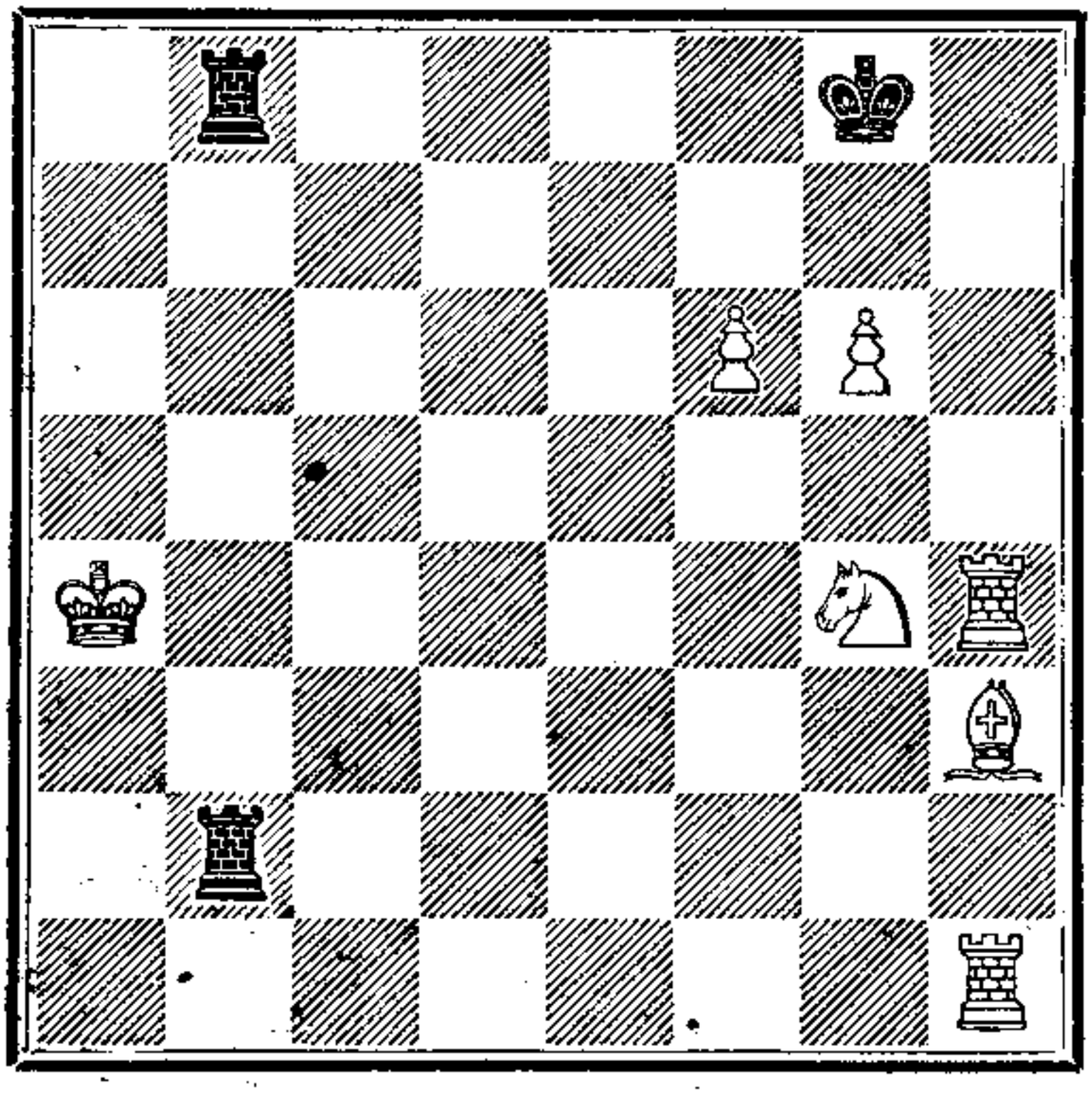
"Ai Shah! do Rukh bidih, wa Dilārām rā madih;
Pīl wa Piyāda, pesh kun, wa zi Asp Shāh-māt."

"O Prince, sacrifice your two Rooks, and save Dilārām;
Forward with your Bishop and Pawn, and with the Knight give Check-mate."

Dilārām's problem, modified so as to suit our boards, has for some time been known in Europe. It is given in a small work entitled "An Easy Introduction to the Game of Chess," &c., published in London in 1816, but I cannot say from what source. The following example of it is taken from the Museum MS., No. 16,856. I have seen several other versions both of the story and of the problem, all of which, however, agree in principle, though the non-combatant pieces on the left side of the board may be differently arranged. In a Chess article in the fourth volume of the "Chess Player's Chronicle," Mr. George Walker has given this problem along with several others "selected, (as he tells us), from an ancient Persian manuscript." The version differs from *mine*, and from the specimen of *his* Persian, I am strongly inclined to suspect the accuracy, as well as the *antiquity* of his manuscript.

PROBLEM IV. BY DILARAM.

BLACK.



WHITE.

White to play and mate in six moves.

SOLUTION.

WHITE.	BLACK.
1. R. to R. 8th (check)	1. K. takes R.
2. B. to K. B. 5th[1] (discovering check)	2. R. interposes.
3. R. takes R. (check)	3. K. to his Kt.'s square
4. R. to R. 8th (check)	4. K. takes R.
5. Kt.'s P. gives check	5. K. to his Kt.'s square
6. Kt. to R. 6th (mate)	

[1] The Bishop vaults over the Knight agreeably to Oriental usage. A very trifling modification will fit the position to our board, viz.—place the White Bishop on his Q. Kt. square, and put the White Knight on K. R. second square, then it makes a neat problem in which White mates in six moves.

On the Giving and Receiving of Odds.

The subject of odds is most minutely discussed by the author of the Asiatic Society's MS., of which the follow-

explained the moves of the pieces, and their exchangeable value, I shall proceed, O reader! to inform you of the different degrees of odds established by the masters of old. A true Chess-player ought to play with all sorts of people, and, in order to do so, he must make himself acquainted with his adversary's strength, in order to determine what odds he may give or accept. A man who is unacquainted with the rules for giving or receiving odds is not worthy of the name of Chess-player. It is only by equalizing the strength of the combatants that both of them may reap amusement and edification; for what interest could a first-rate player, such as 'Adalī, or Sūlī, or 'Alī Shatranjī, find in playing even with a man to whom they could each give the Knight or the Rook?

"The smallest degree of odds, then, is to allow the adversary the first move. The second degree is to give him the Half-Pawn, which consists in taking either Knight's Pawn off his own file and placing it on the Rook's third square. The third species of odds is the giving the Rook's Pawn; the fourth, that of the Knight; the fifth, that of the Bishop; the sixth, that of the Queen. The seventh degree of odds is to give the adversary the King's Pawn, which is the best on the board. The eighth species of odds is the King's Bishop. The ninth is the Queen's Bishop. The tenth degree of odds is the Queen. The eleventh, the Queen and a Pawn; or what is equivalent, a Knight; for though the Queen and Pawn be slightly inferior to the Knight at the beginning, yet you must take into account the probability of the Pawn becoming a second Queen. The twelfth species of odds is the Knight and Pawn. The thirteenth, the Rook. To give any odds beyond the Rook can apply only to women, children, and tyros. For instance, a man to whom even a

a Knight has no claim to be ranked among Chess-players. In fact, the two Rooks in Chess are like the two hands in the human body, and the two Knights, are as it were, the feet. Now, that man has very little to boast of on the score of manhood and valour who tells you that he has given a sound thrashing to another man who had only one hand and one foot."

There is one point in the preceding gradation of odds which I am unable at present to explain. All the MSS. agree in considering the Queen's Bishop of greater value than that of the King. The author of the Asiatic Society's MS. appears to have given the reason, but unfortunately his account breaks off suddenly at the end of fol. 25B., and the leaf that ought to follow is missing. So far as I understand him, it would appear that the Queen and her Bishop (which is necessarily of a different colour) contribute in certain situations to make a drawn game, which game with the King's Bishop would have been lost. It is possible, however, that some explanation on this point may be found in Dr. Lee's MSS. alluded to in p. 83. It would appear, also, that the Bishop's Pawn was considered to be slightly superior to that of the Knight; though, according to the author of the Mus. MS., No. 16,856, this point is undecided among the best players.

After due consideration of what we have just stated respecting the relative value of the pieces, and the laws laid down for the giving of odds, we are forced to infer that the Arabs and Persians must have been really fine players; for it is only among such that odds so small and so minutely graduated could have been established. We may further observe, that it was much more difficult to give the odds of the Knight or of the Rook, in the mediæval game, than it is in ours, for reasons that admit

of a very simple arithmetical demonstration. We have seen that assuming the Pawn as the unit of measurement, their aggregate value amounted to 8. The Bishop was worth between $1\frac{1}{2}$ and 2, say $1\frac{3}{4}$; then the sum of the two Bishops $= 3\frac{1}{2}$. The Queen was between $2\frac{1}{2}$ and 3, say $2\frac{3}{4}$. Lastly, the sum of the two Knights $= 8$, and that of the two Rooks $= 12$; hence the whole amount of the forces $= 8 + 3\frac{1}{2} + 2\frac{3}{4} + 8 + 12 = 34\frac{1}{4}$. Dividing this last sum by 4, we shall find that the Knight formed between $\frac{1}{8}$th and $\frac{1}{9}$th part of the whole forces. Again, dividing the same sum by 6, we shall find that the Rook was something between $\frac{1}{5}$th and 'th of the aggregate strength of the mimic army.

Let us now examine the relative value of the same pieces in our modern game. Assuming as before the Pawn as the unit of measurement, their amount will still be the same as above $= 8$. The Queen is about $= 11\frac{1}{2}$;[1]

[1] I have adopted this scale of our modern game, with some modification from those given by Mr. Pratt in his edition of *Philidor*, 1826, and by Mr. Tomlinson in his useful little work, entitled "Amusements in Chess," London, 1845. In Tomlinson's work the value assigned to the Knight is 3·05, and the Bishop 3·50. This I hold to be erroneous, as giving an undue superiority to the Bishop over the Knight. I adopt, therefore, Mr. Pratt's scale, allowing the Knight $3\frac{1}{4}$, and theBishop $3\frac{1}{2}$, and I much doubt whether this be not too large a distinction, for in practice the Knight and Bishop are generally admitted to be of equal value. Again I differ from both of these savans as to the value of the Queen. Pratt makes the Rook 5·55, and the Queen only 10, as much as to say that the two Rooks are worth more than a Queen and a Pawn! whereas it ought to be, as a general rule, quite the reverse, so far as the Pawn is concerned. In practice the Queen, especially in the early part of the game, is equal to *two* Rooks and *one* Pawn, as every good Chess-player knows; and it is only when the board has become somewhat cleared of the men that the two Rooks combined approximate or equal the Queen. I have set down the latter then as $11\frac{1}{2}$, and I rather think 12 would have been the more correct figure. I have not taken the King into account in either of the preceding scales, as he has precisely the same power in both the mediæval and modern game. His value, as an attacking piece was, in the oriental , a little more than that of the Knight, and in our game it is somewhat less, for our King is compelled to act with more caution owing to the increased power of the Queen and Bishops. In fact our final results would have been as nearly as possible the same whether we reckoned the King or not in our calculations. To conclude, then, the player who

the Rook $5\frac{1}{2}$, consequently the two Rooks = 11; the Knight $3\frac{1}{4}$, or, the two Knights together = $6\frac{1}{2}$; the Bishop $3\frac{1}{2}$, or the two Bishops = 7. Hence the aggregate value of the forces on our board is = 8 + $11\frac{1}{2}$ + 11 + $6\frac{1}{2}$ + 7 = 44; and dividing by $3\frac{1}{4}$, the nominal value of the Knight, we find that the latter is only between the $\frac{1}{13}$th and $\frac{1}{14}$th part of the whole forces. Dividing in like manner by $5\frac{1}{2}$ we have the fractional value of the Rook, which is exactly $\frac{1}{8}$th of the united forces.

The Five Classes of Chess-players.

"The Arabs and Persians divided Chess-players into five classes, viz.—1st, the *'Āliyat* or 'Class of Grandees,' of whom seldom three exist at the same time. It is stated in the old Arabic MS. that 'Adalī for some time remained alone of his class, and that the same thing happened to Al-'Arī, a more recent Arabian player, and also to Ibn Dandān and Al-Kunāf, both of Bagdad. The second class consists of such players as are able to win only two or three games out of ten when playing even with one of the 'Aliyat; the difference between the two classes being reckoned equal, on an average, to a Pawn; that is, a player of the first-class could give to the very best of the second class a Rook's Pawn, and to the weakest of the same class the King's Pawn. The third

gave the odds of the Knight in the Oriental game deprived himself of *four* out of $34\frac{1}{4}$; whereas the same odds in our game amounts only to the giving up of $3\frac{1}{4}$ out of 44. He who gave the odds of the Rook in the former game, gave up 6 out of $34\frac{1}{4}$, whereas with us it is only $5\frac{1}{2}$ out of 44. It follows, then, that the odds of the Knight in the mediæval game was equivalent to that of the Knight, a Pawn, and very nearly half a Pawn in ours. In like manner we find that the odds of the Rook in the former equalled the odds of the Rook and two Pawns in our game. Finally, the odds of the Knight in the Shatranj was very

class consists of players to whom one of the Grandees can give the odds of the Queen. The fourth class consists of those to whom one of the highest can give the odds of a Knight. (Here the hiatus occurs in the MSS.; but we know from other sources that), The fifth class consists of those players to whom one of the class of Grandees can give the odds of a Rook.

It appears to me (if I may be allowed a very brief digression) that this same classification of players among the Orientals must have tended greatly to promote a sound knowledge of Chess; and I should consider the system well worthy of being introduced and *enforced* at all our Chess-clubs. To all true lovers of the noble game, especially to the young and rising players, the prospect of attaining a higher *grade* would prove a much more effective stimulus for exertion than the mode of playing for a shilling, which prevailed in my younger days. I believe, however, shilling play is now less common in the metropolis than it was twenty years ago. I myself have ever set my face against a proceeding so degrading to Chess; and, when a member of the St. George's Club, I believe I induced many others to follow my example. To young players, then, I would say, avoid the shilling[1] men as you would the plague, and play *the strict game*, for honour. The mode is very simple: we shall suppose, for instance, two players, A and B. Well, A thinks, perhaps justly, he could give the odds of the Pawn and move to B; but the latter, out of self-conceit or vanity, will listen to no such proposal; the consequence is, that A is in a fair way of falling into a careless habit of play, which is the inevitable result of playing even with an

[1] I have known some of the shilling gentry who, when they *lost*, were always

inferior player. Then the plan which I would recommend is—let the two agree to play carefully a match of *ten* games; and if, out of the ten, B should only win *two* or *three*, (drawn games not to count), it will amount to a tolerable proof that he is of a class inferior to A.

CHAPTER X.

SHATRANJ CONCLUDED.

On the Openings or Battle Array—End Games or Positions won by force—End Games drawn by force.

In order fully to appreciate the system of tactics adopted in opening the game of Shatranj, the reader must bear in mind, once more, that the Pawns could never advance more than one step on the first move.[1] From this restriction on the part of the Pawns, together with the very limited range of the Queen and Bishops, it will be easily perceived that no formidable collision of the forces could have taken place till at least from ten to fifteen moves had been made on either side. Hence, in order to save time, and to prevent useless exchanges, it was agreed that the first player should make his (let us say) twelve moves all at once, without, however, crossing the middle line of the board; after which the adversary was entitled to play up in succession an equal number of counter moves, such as he might deem most conducive to ultimate victory, being also restricted to his own half of the board.

[1] This was uniformly the rule in the Chaturanga, and with a slight exception, peculiar to India, it still prevails all over Asia at the present day. So far as I can discover, it was the rule in the Shatranj, when the players from the commencement made alternate moves, as we do: but, as stated in p. 91, when the players agreed to take up a strategic position, then a Pawn might, in so doing, move one or two squares at pleasure. This of course had nothing to do with our "vexata questio" of one Pawn taking another "en passant," for in the Mediæval game, neither party crossed the frontier line. It is possible

These preliminary manœuvres the Arabs called "Ta'biyat," which signifies "the drawing up of troops in battle array." This term corresponds in some degree with our word "opening," with this serious difference, that in the "Ta'biyat" all the pieces and Pawns remain on the board, each on their own side, up to the tenth or fifteenth move, more or less, which I believe seldom or never happens in our game, except possibly in a few dull and cautious openings, such as what we call the "French Game," or "King's Pawn One Game," which leads to a system of tactics somewhat resembling that of the Shatranj or mediæval game.

In the old Arabic MS., in the British Museum (No. 7,515), we find no fewer than eleven diagrams of "battle-array," mostly named after the old masters who established them; or from some peculiarity in their own nature, just as we speak of the "Evans Gambit," the "Scottish Gambit," "Bishop's Opening," &c. There is nothing said about the order in which the moves had been played up. Nor is this of any consequence; all we have to consider is the strategic position taken up by the first player, that of the opponent being supposed to exhibit the very best defensive position. It would be quite out of place here to give diagrams of all the "Ta'biyats," nor would a mere dry rehearsal of their names prove of any interest to the generality of readers. I shall, therefore, confine myself to an examination of one very neat opening from the Asiatic Society's MS., folio 2B, which will amply suffice to explain this part of our subject. The following diagram shows the position of the respective armies drawn up in *battle array*, after ten moves have been played upon either side.

TA'BIYAT.

Position of the Pieces in the Shatranj after ten Moves.

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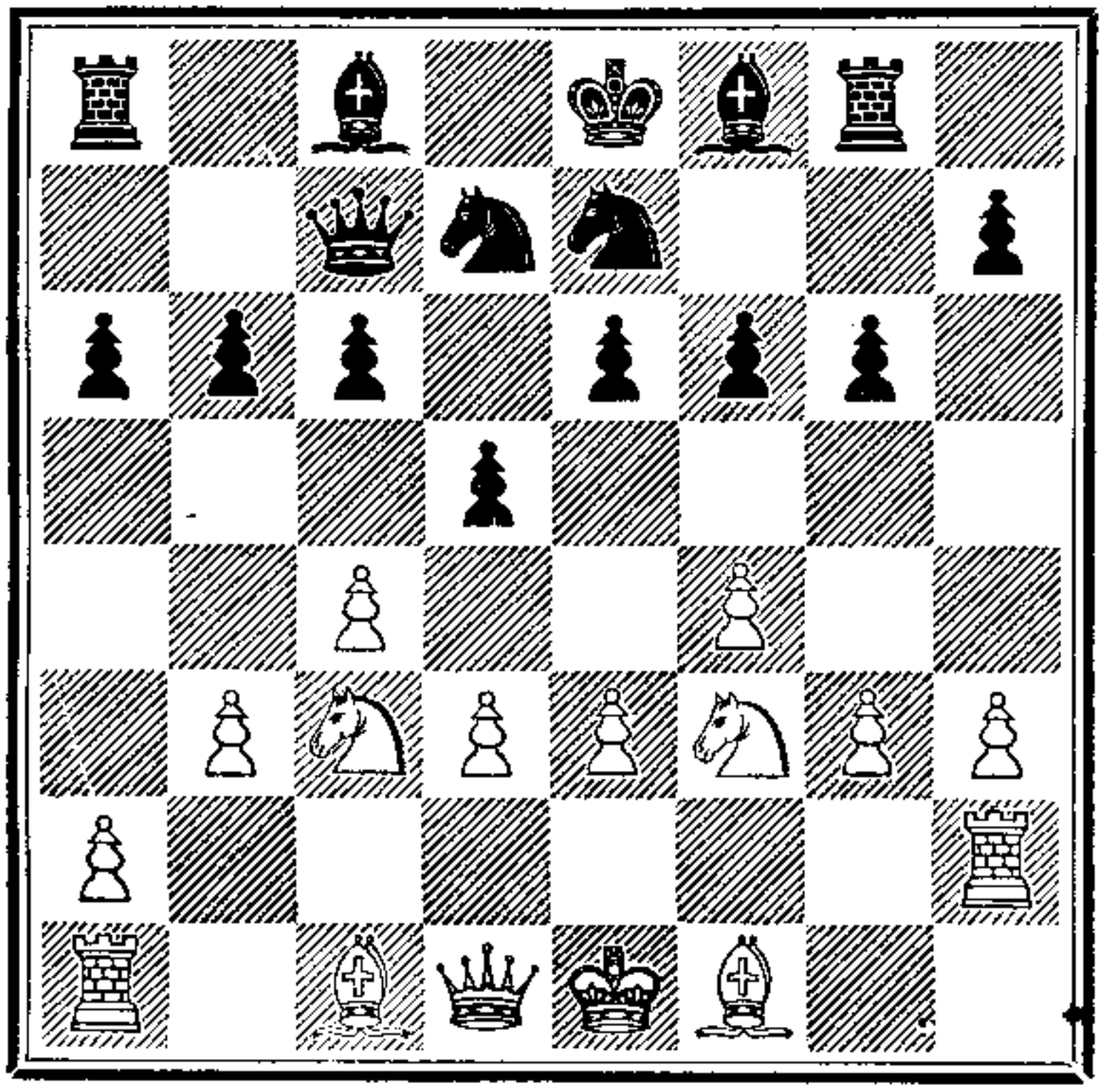

WHITE.

Here White had the move, and, from the use he has made of it, we may clearly infer that he had in view one great and leading principle which is equally applicable to our own game. This consists "in cautiously pushing on the Pawns, so as to make room for the co-operation of the pieces, taking great care, however, not to compromise the safety of the two central Pawns." We see that each of the Bishop's Pawns has moved two squares, so as to allow the two Knights to occupy a very attacking position. By-and-by, when the two centre Pawns can with safety be advanced, the places where they now stand will be occupied by the two Bishops, which is the best position for the latter. Observe also that in two moves

move up in the rear of the centre; for in this game the King took an active share in the combat, and scorned to shut himself up in a corner as with us.

The position assumed by the Black is evidently defensive. The Knights are less advanced, and the Queen has moved to her B.'s second square. It looks as if Black expected an attack on the Queen's side, which the menacing situation of the White Rooks seems to warrant. Still, from the peculiar nature of the openings in the Shatranj, it is evident that no rapid or brilliant attack could possibly take place as in our Gambits. In the Oriental game the armies were advanced into close quarters before the engagement commenced, and thenceforth the final victory really depended upon a series of skilful manœuvres, such as might tend to lead the enemy into an unfavourable position. In fact, the Oriental game, though less brilliant than ours, appears to me to have been calculated to form better players in the true sense of the term—that is, players who excelled in carrying the contest through the middle stage of the game—a rare secret, which neither books nor preceptors can teach.

From the very nature of the openings in the mediæval game, it is evident that what we call "Castling the King," was entirely out of the question. In fact, I have never met with any allusion to this step throughout the whole of the Oriental works on the subject of Chess that have fallen under my notice. Neither have I seen or heard of another privilege of which the King sometimes availed himself in the earlier stages of the modern European Chess—viz., a *Knight's move*, which he was allowed to make once in the course of a single game. Finally, in a series of Essays on Chess, which appeared in the "New Monthly Magazine" for 1822, it is as-

serted that, "five or six centuries ago, the King among us was not allowed to move except when he received a check;" and what is still more singular, *if true*, we are there told that "about the commencement of the thirteenth century, the Rey had the move of our present King, with the restriction that he could *neither move nor take angularly*, but always directly"! Now, in the Oriental game, I can safely say that the King was never placed under any such restriction, which would, in fact, amount to a violation of one of the main principles of Chess. I think it much more probable, then, that the able author or authors of the "Essays" alluded to, have drawn inferences from the early writers whom they consulted, such as the latter never intended to convey. In this opinion I am the more confirmed on examining the various passages which they have adduced in proof of their assertions, passages which, in every instance, tell strongly against them. Let us examine a little more in detail, what they have brought forward on these points.

The first quotation by the authors of the "Essays" is from a Latin MS. in the King's library, where the monkish rhymer, speaking of the King's moves, says, "Ante retroque ferit hostes et sternere quærit." Now, this assuredly does not look much like *passiveness* or *confinement* on the part of the King. The meaning is clearly that, "the King smiteth his foes in all directions, and seeketh how he may destroy them." Then there is a quotation from the "Moralitas Innocentii Papae"—viz., "In isto ludo Rex vadit circum quoque directè et capit undique semper directè," &c.[1] This

[1] The meaning of "circum quoque directè," is clearly "in every direction—all around;" and, "capit undique semper directè," signifies that "the King may take *straight*, or directly, or *unhesitatingly*, whatever he can safely lay hold of in any of the eight circumjacent squares. The authors, it would appear, have

means that "the King moves about everywhere, unconditionally, and captures the foe in a downright manner." The meaning of the adverb *directè* is not merely *in a straight line*, like the Rook, but in a straightforward unceremonious manner, neither crookedly, like the Knight, nor "per insidias," like the Bishop.

Again, we are told, that, "a Latin poem on this game among the MSS. in the Bodleian Library, *confirms* the belief of the passive power of the Rey, unless driven from his square by an adverse check."

"Contra ipsum [Regem] non audebit nisi Scachum dicere."

Now if this be a specimen of their mode of confirmation, it really confers little strength on the argument. This line is merely part of the sentence, and must be taken in connection with what has gone before, viz.:—

"Habet [Rex] namque potestatem cunctos interimere,
Contra ipsum non audebit nisi Scachum dicere."

This clearly signifies that—"the King has the power to slay or capture any or all [the rest of the pieces]; but none shall dare [to slay or capture him], but simply to say, *check!*"

The next quotation by the authors of the "Essays" in support of their position is strangely enough the most complete refutation they could possibly have hit upon. It is from a "Hebrew Oration on Chess, by Abben Jachiæ of blessed memory," (v. Hyde, part 2nd, p. 11), viz., "Rex quidem incedendo a domo in domum in dominio suo, unicam legem habet, ut tam obliquè quam rectè[1] in cursu suo faciat omnia quæ lubet." "The King in marching from house to house on the board, is guided by only one simple law or rule of conduct, that is, to do all things that please him;[1] (the good old-fashioned

[1] Hence arose the popular maxim that, "the King can do no wrong;" a maxim highly approved of by the Bombas and Pi[illegible]

Tory notion of the kingly office), and that too, both in a direct line, like the Rook, or diagonally like the Queen." Then the author adds—"At non debet exaltari cor ejus ad dilatandum gressus suos in bello ne fortè in bello moriatur." "He ought not to display his valour so far as to rush forward into the mêlée, lest he should get knocked on the head." Now this last is merely a sensible common-place piece of advice well known and acted upon by every good Chess-player since the days of Buzurjmihr. We are told, indeed, that Charles the Twelfth of Sweden despised such timid counsels as the foregoing, both on the mimic war arena of the Chess board, and on the real battle field. Is there one of our readers who does not know the consequence?

The next authority adduced is that of a Hebrew scribe of the 16th century whose name is unknown.[1] His Tractate on Chess, entitled "Deliciæ Regis," will be found in Hyde, pp. 39 to 71. This is the least felicitous of all the references to which the authors of the "Essays" have had recourse. They call it "An Ancient Hebrew Treatise on the Game!" Now we can very easily prove that it is far from being *ancient*. In the first place, the author tells us that he composed the work purposely for the benefit of two dissipated young friends that were strongly addicted to card-playing; and we know that card-playing, at least as a popular amusement, is not many centuries old. Secondly, the Israelite describes not the *Mediæval* but the *Modern* game, as given

[1] In a work entitled "Literatur des Schachspiels," by Anton Schmid, 8vo., Wien, 1847, the authorship of this treatise is attributed, I know not on what authority, to "Jedahaiah Hapenini Ben Abraham Badrasi," said to have been born at Barcelona, about A.D. 1250. This is clearly an error, of very easy refutation. In fact Herr Schmid himself, under the article "Deliciæ Regis," has the words "seu de Shahihidio historia prosaica Anonymi." In his next

by Ruy Lopez. Lastly, and what is of particular importance, he allows the King the privilege of *Castling*,[1] and he further tells us that the Pawns may, at pleasure, move *one* or *two squares*[2] at starting! Now, had the authors of the "Essays" carefully perused this work, they would have found the strongest reasons for concluding that so far from being an "Ancient Treatise," the author could not have composed it till about the middle of the sixteenth century. I may here add, that the writer of the "Deliciæ," whoever he was, bears a strange resemblance in style, sentiments, absurdity, and egotism, to the effusions of the anonymous author of the Asiatic Society's MS. already described. These peculiarities will be further noticed when we come to treat of Tīmūrs "Great Chess."

Finally, in the third volume of the Chess Player's Chronicle (p. 127), we have a problem from the Museum MS. 7,515, which is intended *as a decisive proof* that up to about the thirteenth century, *the King was permitted to move only when checked, and then his range of action, either to escape or capture an enemy, was confined to one square in a right line—he could neither move nor take angularly!!!* As this problem still further exhibits to us the peculiarities of the Mediæval game we shall here insert it, and see how far it bears out the idea of this imaginary law of Chess, among our ancestors.

[1] By the term "Castling" I mean the *modern* mode of castling, which is not older than the first half of the sixteenth century. The words are "Si visus sit locus aliquis inter ipsum (Regem sc.) et Ruchum suum, vel Ruchum Reginæ; poterit concedere ad domum unius eorum; et Ruch stabit juxta ipsum ad instar muri ahenei munitissimi."

[2] "Cum initio proficiscuntur, Pedes incedit primo, quorum pes est pes rectus: per domum post domum recta tendunt; nec revertuntur cum incedunt; *quamvis in principio sit illis privilegium eundi* per *duas domos*." Hyde, p. 65.

PROBLEM V.*

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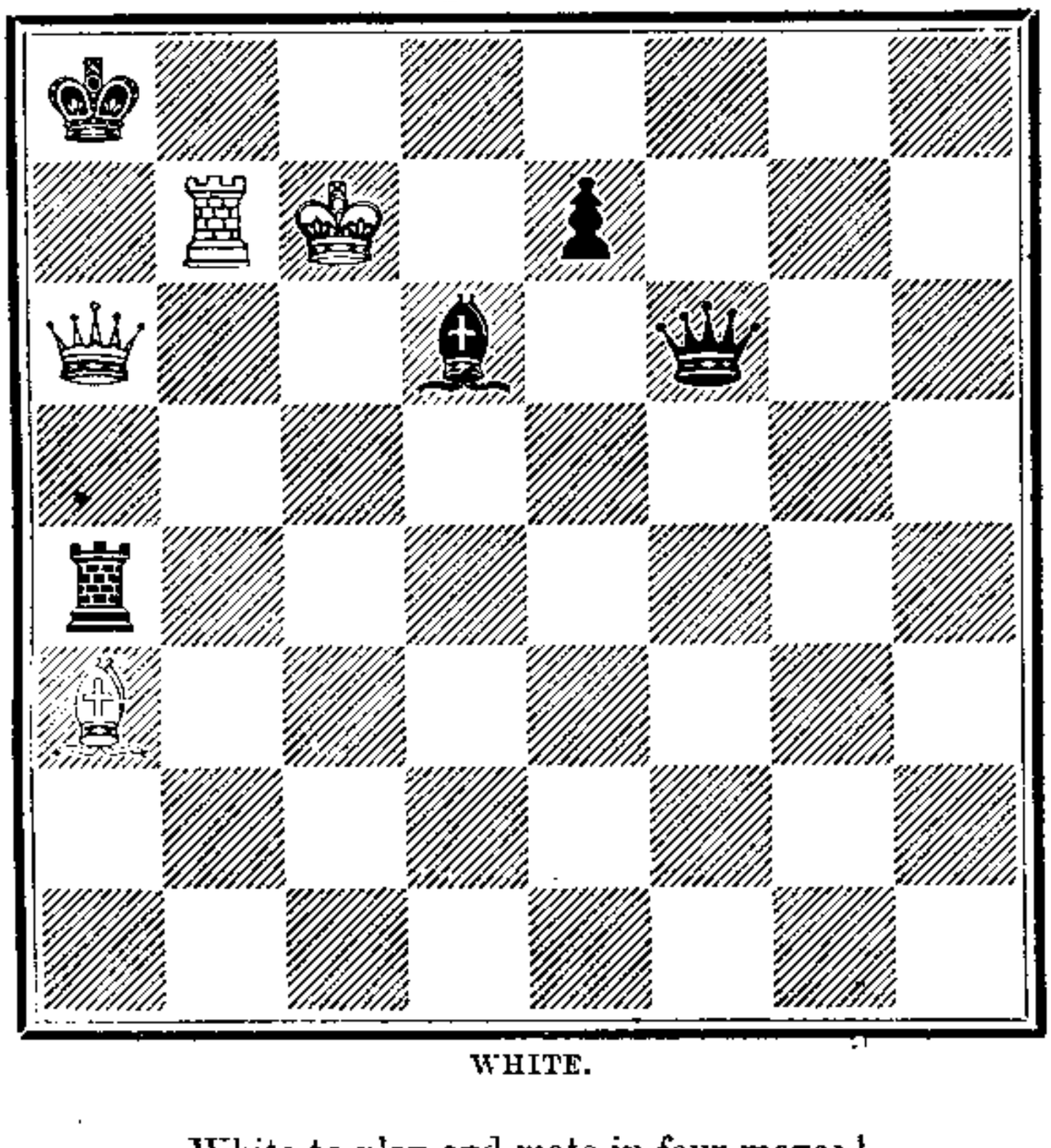


WHITE.

White to play and mate in four moves.[1]

SOLUTION.

1. R. to Q. Kt. 8th (check)	1. K. to his Q. R. Q.[1]
2. R. to Q. R. 8th (check)	2. K. takes R.
3. Q. to her Kt. 7th (check)	3. K. to his Q. R. Q.
4. B. to his own 5th square (*Mate*)	

[1] Black B. may take R. vaulting over W. K., in which case mate is given in three moves. It is needless, I trust, any more to remind the reader of the peculiar moves of the Queen and Bishop, which are here well exemplified.

Now let us see how far the above problem bears out the assertion of the authors of the "Essays" respecting the regal restrictions aforesaid. Their line of argument appears to me to savour strongly of the *non sequitur;*

* A neater version of the problem will be found in the Persian MS., No. 16,856, fol. 42B, which being further modified so as to suit the modern board, appeared in the Chess Player's Chronicle for last January.

which we may express thus—"Here we see that the King *moves* when he is *checked*; therefore the King *must not move* unless he is checked!" Again, "the King here moves in a straight line," (because, O courteous reader, he cannot move otherwise), "therefore the King is *not allowed to move angularly!*" I have only to add, that I have examined some three hundred Oriental problems, scattered over the various manuscripts to which I have alluded in Chapter 8, and nowhere have I met with the least hint of what the authors have asserted. In numerous positions, and several openings, I have found the King close behind his men, and not unfrequently in the very midst of them. He moves if he is checked, as a matter of course, and his move is straight or angular according to whichever is most advantageous. The only *restriction* is, and ever has been, in both the Mediæval and modern game—*not to move into check.*

On End Games, won by Force.

In the Shatranj the game was won in three different ways. The first and most common was by a *checkmate*, as with us. Secondly, when one player had succeeded in capturing all his opponent's forces, provided he had any of his own remaining, however small, he was declared the winner of the game.[1] Lastly, a player won, when he succeeded, under certain restrictions, in giving his adversary stalemate. It will not be difficult to assign good reasons why the winner should have been allowed so

[1] This second kind of victory is still acknowledged in Persia, as appears by a letter written from Paris to the Editor of the Chess Player's Chronicle, Vol. VI., p. 287. The writer says, "I have played several games here with some young Persians sent to Europe by the Shāh for their education. They told me that with them, if at the end of a game either King is left alone against the adverse King with any force, however small, the King who has [illegible]

much latitude in the Oriental game. With us, for example, the circumstance of a King and Pawn against a King, is, under certain conditions, a sure victory; but not so in the Shatranj (that is, if victory depended on a checkmate), for suppose the Pawn had become a Queen, the latter possessed not the mating power. Also, with us a Knight and Bishop, or two Bishops, against a King, can mate; but not so in the Oriental game, where, as we have shown, the Bishops were of very little value. From these considerations, and many more that might have been alleged, it is evident, that in the Shatranj if the victory depended solely on giving checkmate, a won game among good players would have been a rarity; and it could have occurred chiefly between a first-rate player and one decidedly his inferior.

Let us now examine the nature of a victory gained by stalemate, which of necessity happened more rarely than one would at first sight imagine. Of course stalemate could not be given, as with us, to a King that had lost all his pieces and Pawns; for, as we have just seen, he, by that very circumstance, was deemed vanquished, and so that game was at an end. In order to express ourselves more distinctly, let us speak of White as the winning party, and Black as the King about to be stalemated. Well, then, when Black got stalemated, it being understood all along that he had still some of his forces remaining, but unable to move, the player of Black was allowed to make his King change places with any piece or pawn out of such forces, provided, of course, that he did not in so doing go into check. The piece or pawn that changed place with the Black King was called "*fidā*," "victim," or "sacrifice;" because from the

change places with any of his forces without going into check, he was deemed vanquished. Finally, when White happened to give stalemate on capturing the last of Black's pieces, he of course won the game.[1]

The Arabs, and after them the Persians, call the End-game "*Manṣūba,*" which corresponds exactly with our words "position" and "situation," being a "determinate" Chess problem, the solution of which is reduced to a certainty. It would appear that their best players prided themselves on their readiness of seizing on such positions as led to victory in a certain number of moves. Hence the epithet "*manṣūba-dān,*" "a man cunning in positions," or "a cunning chess-player," came figuratively to signify a "prudent" or "far-sighted man." So the term "*manṣūba-bāz,*" literally "a position player," denoted "a first-rate Chess-player," and figuratively "a man of resource." Such appears to have been 'Alī Shatranjī, of whom it was said that no mortal could either divine his coming move or perceive its purport when made. Hyde, from his utter ignorance of Chess, confounds the *Manṣūba* with the *Ta'biyat;* although the former is simply the conclusion of a game, as the latter is the opening. Yea, even in the latest edition of Richardson's Persian and Arabic Dictionary we find the meaning attached to *Manṣūba* to be simply "the Game of Chess!!"

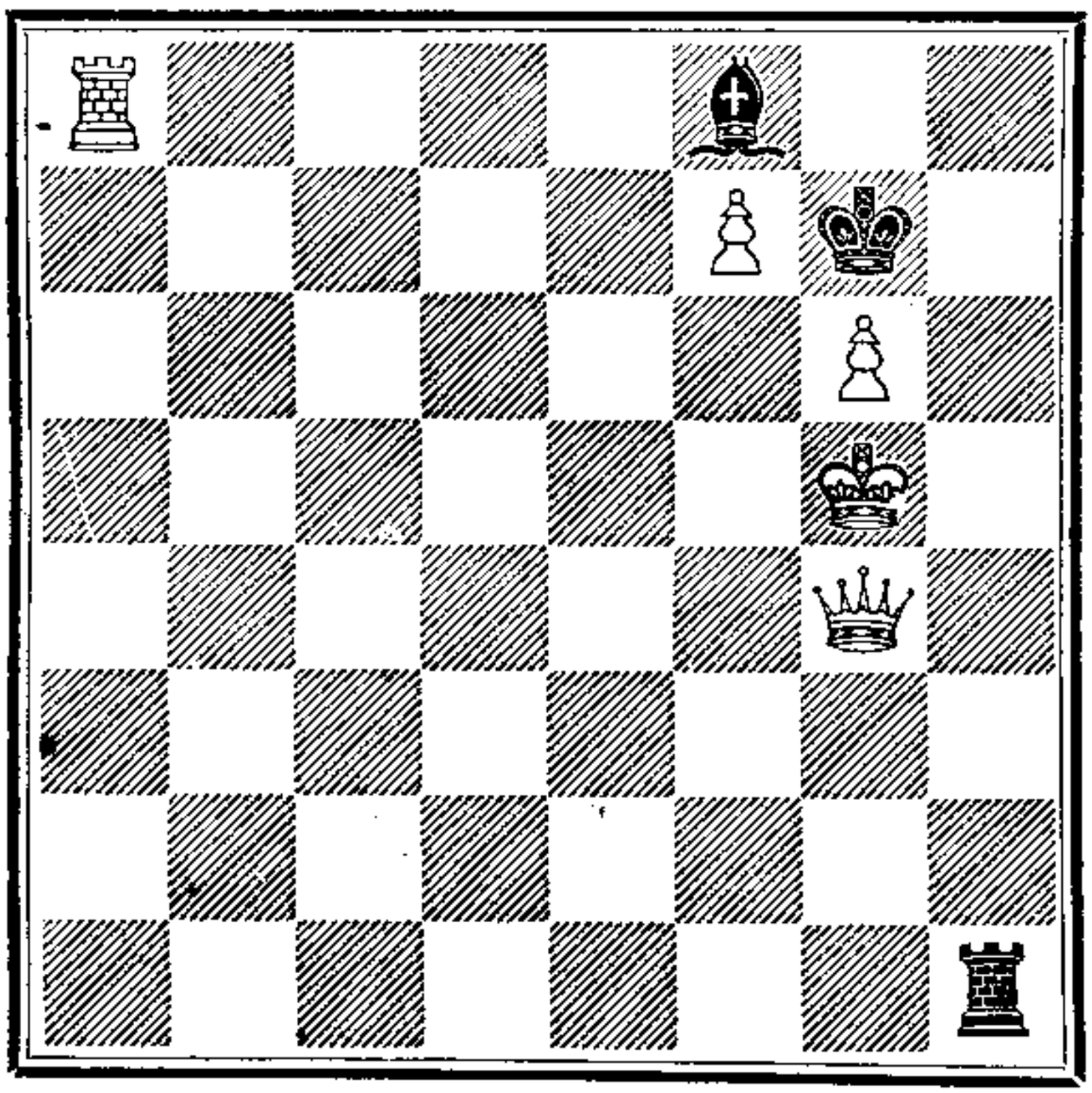
The following problem is interesting inasmuch as it completely disproves the assertion of the authors of the

[1] An instance of this kind of victory will be found in our tenth problem further on. At the 8th move on the part of Black in that end-game he captures the White Knight with Rook, giving what we should call *stalemate*, and consequently making it according to our rules, a drawn game. In the mediæval game, however, the mere capture of the White Knight won the game, and the consequent stalemate is of no account.

"Essays," respecting the restrictions under which the King was supposed to move in the mediæval game. We here find that the Black King, *without being in check*, commences by *moving* and *capturing angularly*, simply because it is the best move for him on the board. It is no ways a compulsory move on the part of Black, for he has his Rook still remaining, and he may move the latter if he chooses.

PROBLEM VI., FROM MS., NO. 16,856, FOLIO 41, A.

BLACK.



WHITE.

White to move and win in six moves.

SOLUTION.

WHITE.	BLACK.
1. Rook takes Bishop	1. King takes Rook
2. King to his Bishop's 6th	2. Rook checks[1]

[1] If he does not check, Knight's Pawn threatens mate next move, if he moves R to his own third square, then Q moves as above, and next move

SOLUTION.

WHITE.	BLACK
1. Rook takes Bishop.	1. King takes Rook
2. King to his Bishop's 6th	2. Rook checks[1]
3. Q. to K's Bishop's 5th	3. R. to his K's Knight's 8th
4. Knight's Pawn gives check	4. Rook takes Pawn
5. Q. to King's Knight's 6th	5. Rook plays as he can
6. King[2] or Pawn takes Rook, and the game is then finished, as already stated.	

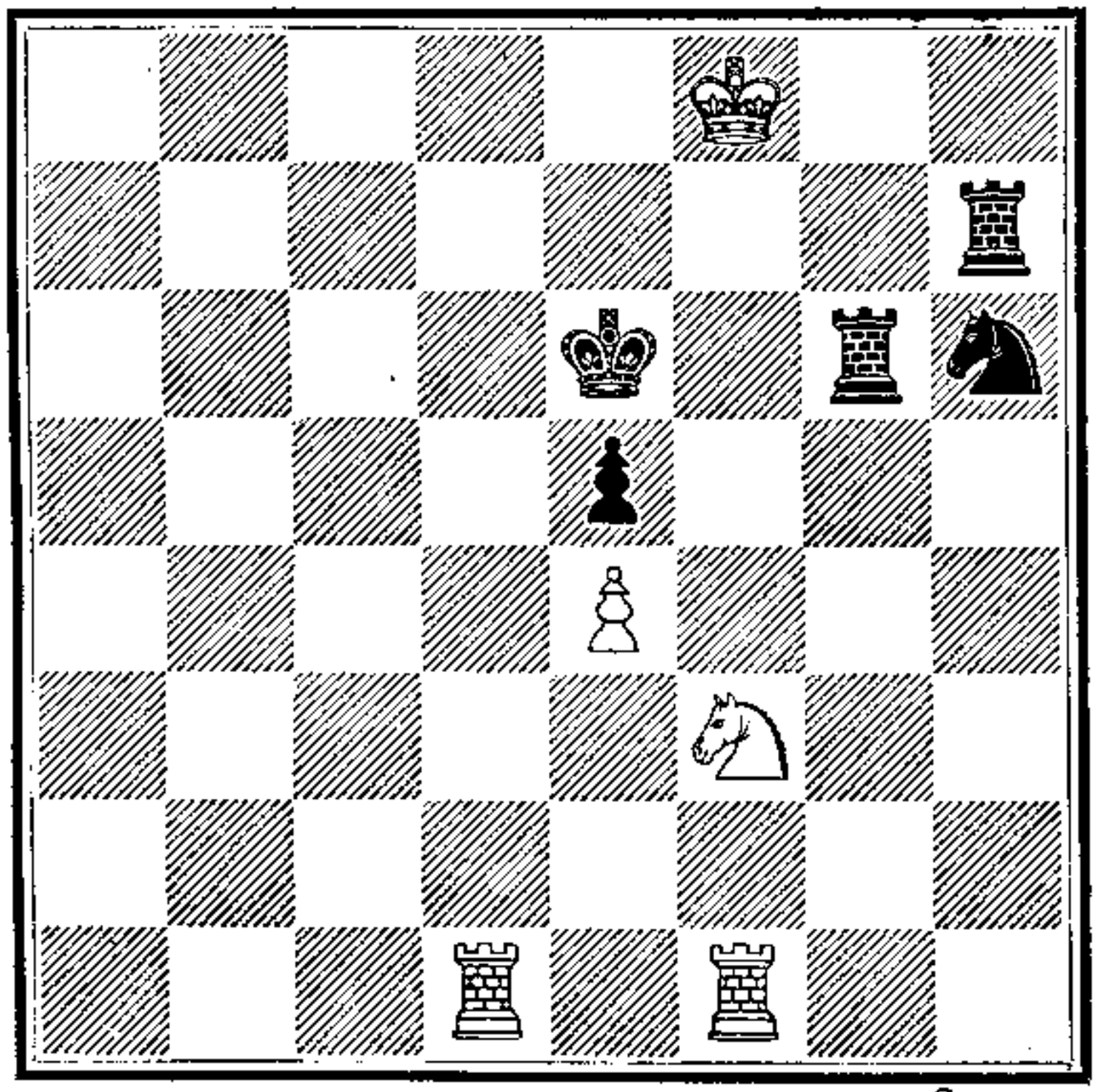
[1] If he does not check, Knight's Pawn threaten's mate next move, if he moves R. to his own third square, then Q. moves as above, and next move Black Rook must either move away or take Pawn, which in either case finishes the game.

[2] From what I have stated a few pages back, the reader will, I think, concur with me in concluding that no restrictions on the King ever existed. Hence the beautiful simplicity, and scientific contrivance of the moves and powers of the King, Rook, Knight, and Pawns, as displayed in the ancient Chaturanga, have remained unaltered since the days of Vyāsa Muni and his pupil Yudhishthira down to the present time. The moves and powers of the Bishop and Queen have been merely extended, but no ways changed, in modern times.

We may here observe, that all the Oriental problems which are solved by giving checkmate, provided there be no Queen or Bishop on the board, are precisely the same as ours of the present day. For example, the following neat position from the old Arabic MS. 7,515, is believed to have been the composition of Damiano,[3] though in reality it existed and had even been *booked* more than three hundred years before the latter was born. I have no doubt that both Lucena and Damiano are, in like manner, indebted to the Arabians for most of their problems, either in an unaltered state, or slightly modified so as to suit our modern game.

[3] In Lewis's translation of "Carrera;" page 218, the problem is given as Damiano's. It is also found in Stamma, who is sometimes given out as the author. Both Damiano and Stamma have altered the form of the problem, and cumbered the board with a number of useless pieces. The Arabian original is in far better taste.

PROBLEM VII., FROM THE OLD ARABIC MS. OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM, NO. 7,515.



White to move and mate in three moves.

SOLUTION.

WHITE.	BLACK.
1. Knight to K. Kt 5, checking	1. Rook takes Knight
2. Rook to K. B. 6, checking	2. K. takes Rook[1]
3. Rook to Q's 6, *mate*	

[1] I suppose the authors of the Essays would here say that because Black King moves and captures Rook in a *straight line*, he was not then allowed to move or capture otherwise. The real cause, however, for his moving as above is a much more rational one—*he cannot possibly move otherwise.*

On End-Games Drawn by Force.

We have just seen that in the Shatranj a player might lose the game in three different ways—viz., by receiving checkmate, by being stripped of all his forces except the King, and by receiving stalemate under certain conditions. Even with this licence, we find that in the Oriental game the probabilities in favour of its ending

in a draw were still very considerable; and this fact brings to light one of its defects or anomalies—proving at the same time that Chess, like all human inventions, ever has been susceptive of progressive improvement. As a ludicrous instance of inconsistency in the Mediæval Game, I may mention that it sometimes ended in a draw, not from an absolute numerical equality of forces, nor anything near it; but owing to the peculiar powers and limited range of some of the pieces, these being such that they could not encounter their adversary's, of which occurrence a curious instance will be noticed hereafter.

The laws respecting drawn games, as given in the MSS., have, as a matter of course, anticipated the existence of a plurality of Queens, averaging from two to five on either side. This arose naturally from one of the laws of the Mediæval Game which, as we have seen, compelled every Pawn to become a Farzīn or Queen only, on reaching the opposite extremity of the board. The joint power of the Queens was considerably modified from the circumstance of their being all of the same colour, or of some of them running on black squares and the rest on white. When the Queens ran on what we should call the same colour, they were said by the Muslims to be "*Muwāfiḳ*," *i.e.*, "concordant" or "similar;" and when on different colours they were said to be "*Mukhālif*," "discordant," or "dissimilar." The books lay down several rules by the aid of which a player may know whether a Pawn, on queening, may prove to be similar or dissimilar to such Queen or Queens as he may already have on the board. Now this fact affords us the clearest possible proof that the Oriental board was not chequered with two colours till at least a comparatively recent period. Had the board been chequered

(and the wonder is that it should not have been so), it would be seen at once, without any recourse to rules or calculation, whether the newly-made Queen should prove "*Muwāfiḳ*," or "*Mukhālif*."

Amidst the numerous decisions laid down by the Persians and Arabs respecting such piece or pieces as can effect a draw against some other given piece or pieces; there are only two cases that agree exactly with ours. In the first place a perpetual check constitutes a drawn game as with us; or, what comes to the same thing, a perpetual *persecution* of the adversary's *winning* piece, as in the following problem.

PROBLEM VIII., FROM MS., 7515.—BRITISH MUSEUM.

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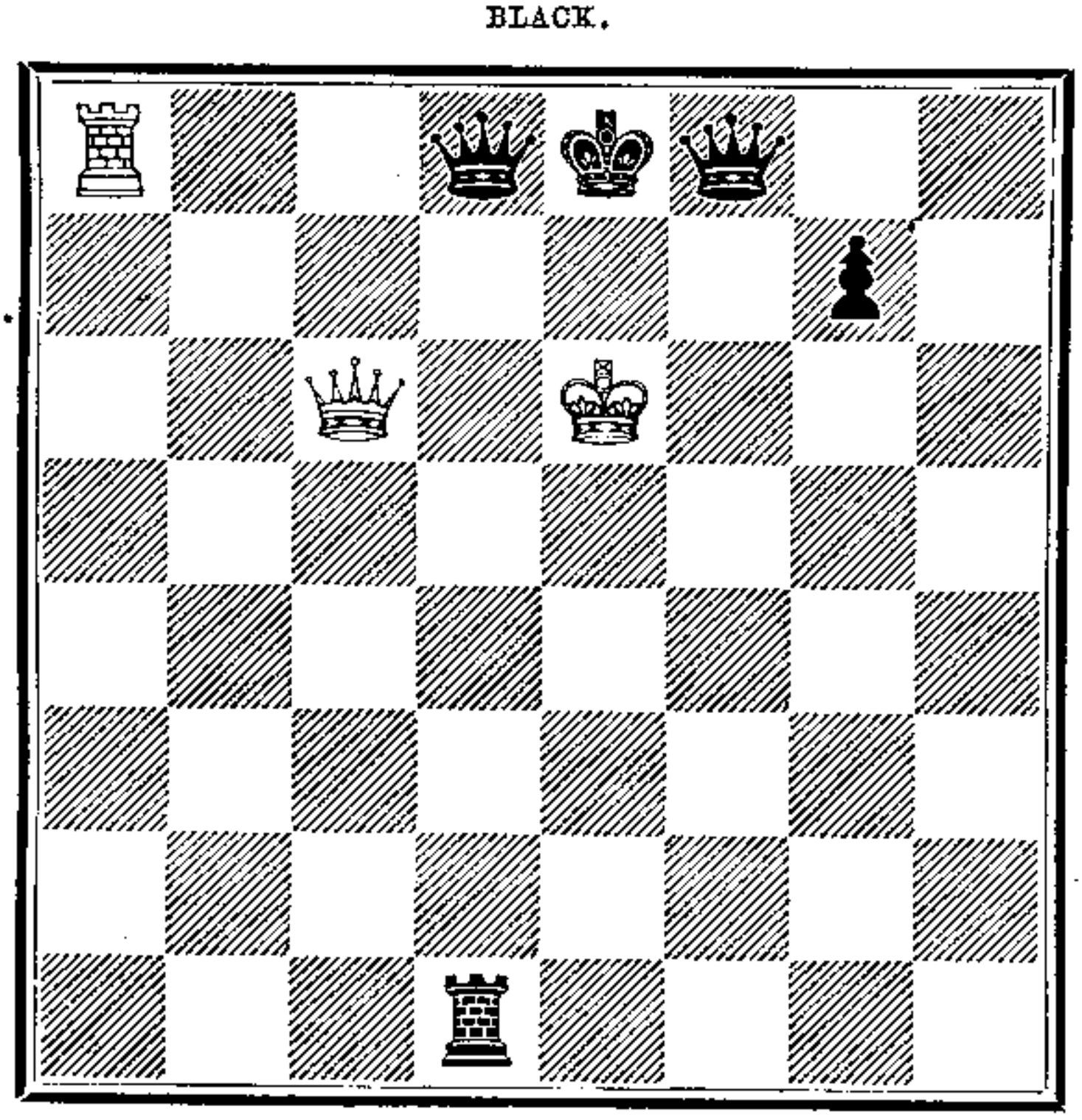

WHITE.

White to move and draw.

Here the game is apparently lost on the part of

by one dexterous move he manages to draw, thus. White moves his Rook to his Queen's Rook's square; and if Black Rook takes it, the White Queen mates by moving to her own seventh square. It is clear, then, that Black Rook must keep moving on the file on which he now stands, either to his Queen's 7th, or 6th, or 5th squares, for he has none else to go to; and the White Rook keeps moving in a parallel direction either to his own 2nd or 3rd or 4th squares accordingly; hence the game is drawn. If Black Rook allows himself to be taken, and moves one of his Queens to his King's 2nd square, he will lose the game, for his two Queens and Pawn have no chance against White Rook and Queen, especially in the situation in which the game now stands.

The second Oriental maxim respecting a drawn game which agrees with ours, is, that a Knight generally draws against a Rook, although, as we shall hereafter see, there are occasional cases in which the Rook wins.[1] With regard to what we are about to state respecting *Won and Drawn* Games, the reader must always bear in mind the *Oriental significance* of these terms; otherwise he will feel rather startled, when, for instance, he is told that a *Knight always wins against a Bishop*, whereas with us, a Knight and Bishop combined find it somewhat difficult to gain the victory. Remember also that the Orientals had *three* ways of winning the game, viz.—1st. by a *checkmate*, as is the case in our own game; 2nd. by stripping the adversary of all his forces; and lastly by giving the adversary *stalemate* under certain restrictions and limitations.

The following are the principal decisions, respecting Won and Drawn games, as laid down by the Oriental masters. 1st. A Rook wins against any piece or Pawn

[1] An instance of this kind will be seen in Problem X.

except the Knight. 2nd. A Knight against a Queen can only draw as a general rule, unless the Queen happens to be at a distance from her King, and near the side or corner of the board, in which case the Knight wins, as shewn in a variation of Problem IX. 3rd. A Knight wins against a Bishop or against a Pawn. 4th. A Queen can only draw against a Bishop. 5th. A Queen against a Pawn wins, if she and her King get in front of the adverse Pawn. 6th. A Bishop can only draw, as a general rule, against a Pawn.

When more pieces than one are engaged on each side the following are the principal decisions—viz.: A Rook and Queen against a Knight and Queen make a drawn game; but if the Queens run on different colours, he who has the Rook wins if he play carefully, for otherwise, as one of our authorities very properly observes, "a game won by its nature may end in a draw; and also a game naturally drawn may, through inattention, be lost." A Rook and Bishop can only draw against two Queens of the same colour; but a Rook with two Bishops, in such cases wins. Four Queens, provided two of them run on white squares and the other two on Black, win against a Rook; but if three of the Queens be of the same colour and the other different, the Rook draws, even if one or both of the Bishops be on the side of the Queens. This last situation, however, is one of extreme difficulty. Two Rooks can only draw against a Rook and Knight; but, if on each side there be a Bishop in addition, he who has the two Rooks will win.

The following situations are so difficult that the greatest masters have been unable to decide whether they be won or drawn, viz.: A Knight and two Queens of the same colour, against a Knight and one Queen of a different colour from that of the adverse Queens, is,

according to some, a won game, while others of very high authority declare it a draw. Two Rooks and a Bishop against a Knight, a Queen, and a Bishop may win, but many eminent players have pronounced it a draw. It is yet undecided whether a Rook and two Queens of the same colour against the two Knights and two Bishops be a won or a drawn game.

There are many more decisions of this kind stated in the *books*, but as I am not writing a special "Hand-book" on the subject, I have deemed the preceding instances sufficient for illustration. With regard to those end-games in which one of the parties might win, though with great difficulty—such, for example, as our Rook and Bishop, in many cases, against Rook—I have nowhere been able to discover that the winning party was restricted to a limited number of moves, as with us. One would think that some such rule would be expedient, unless we suppose that in this case also, the players submitted to the authority of the books. It is probable that, as the people of the East have always had a great reverence for authority, when the game resulted in any of the situations declared by the old masters as drawn, or decidedly won, the higher classes of players would, in that instance, courteously abide by the decision.

The following curious position is well calculated to shew us some of the anomalies or defects of the Mediæval game. For example, let us suppose that White remains with his King and King's Bishop only; and that Black has, on his side, his King, his two Bishops, and five Queens—the latter all running on a different colour from that of White's Bishop, that is, all on Black squares. Well, here the Black has a numerical force equal to two Rooks and a Knight against a Bishop, which last is valued only as one quarter of a Rook;—

and yet, notwithstanding all this decided superiority, the Black can only draw the game. The White has merely to place his King on any square of a different colour from that of the adverse Queens,[1] and not within the range of the adverse Bishop of that colour, and then the solitary White Bishop will draw the game by hopping round or over, his own King, setting all pursuit at defiance.

Now this strange anomaly becomes still more glaring when we consider that if, instead of a Bishop, White had a Rook or a Knight, he would have lost the game in the above instance, for the King, together with the Queens and Bishops, would have ultimately secured the Rook or Knight. If we further suppose that Black has the whole eight Queens, together with his two Bishops, his *numerical force* is fully fourteen times greater than that of White, and yet the latter can easily draw the game; hence the propriety of what the author stated at page 96, viz., that "occasionally it may so happen that a weak piece is better than a strong one."

It is needless to give a diagram of this curious position, which, after all, is more imaginary than probable. The reader, however, may easily satisfy himself of its accuracy, by employing Black Pawns instead of Queens, always bearing in mind the peculiar moves of the Oriental *Farz* and Mediæval *Regina*.

[1] The best square for White King to occupy in this case is his own fourth square, which, as may be seen by the diagram, p. 93, cannot be touched by any Bishop, adverse or otherwise. Here he rests secure, for none of the hostile Queens, which all run on Black, can disturb him; then his own Bishop running on white has a choice selection of safe moves; he has only to avoid the path of Black King; but the simplest of all is to move to White Queen's third square, and then vault over his own King to his fifth square and back again to his Queen's *third, and so on, ad infinitum.*

PROBLEM IX., FROM MS., NO. 16,856.—BRITISH MUSEUM.

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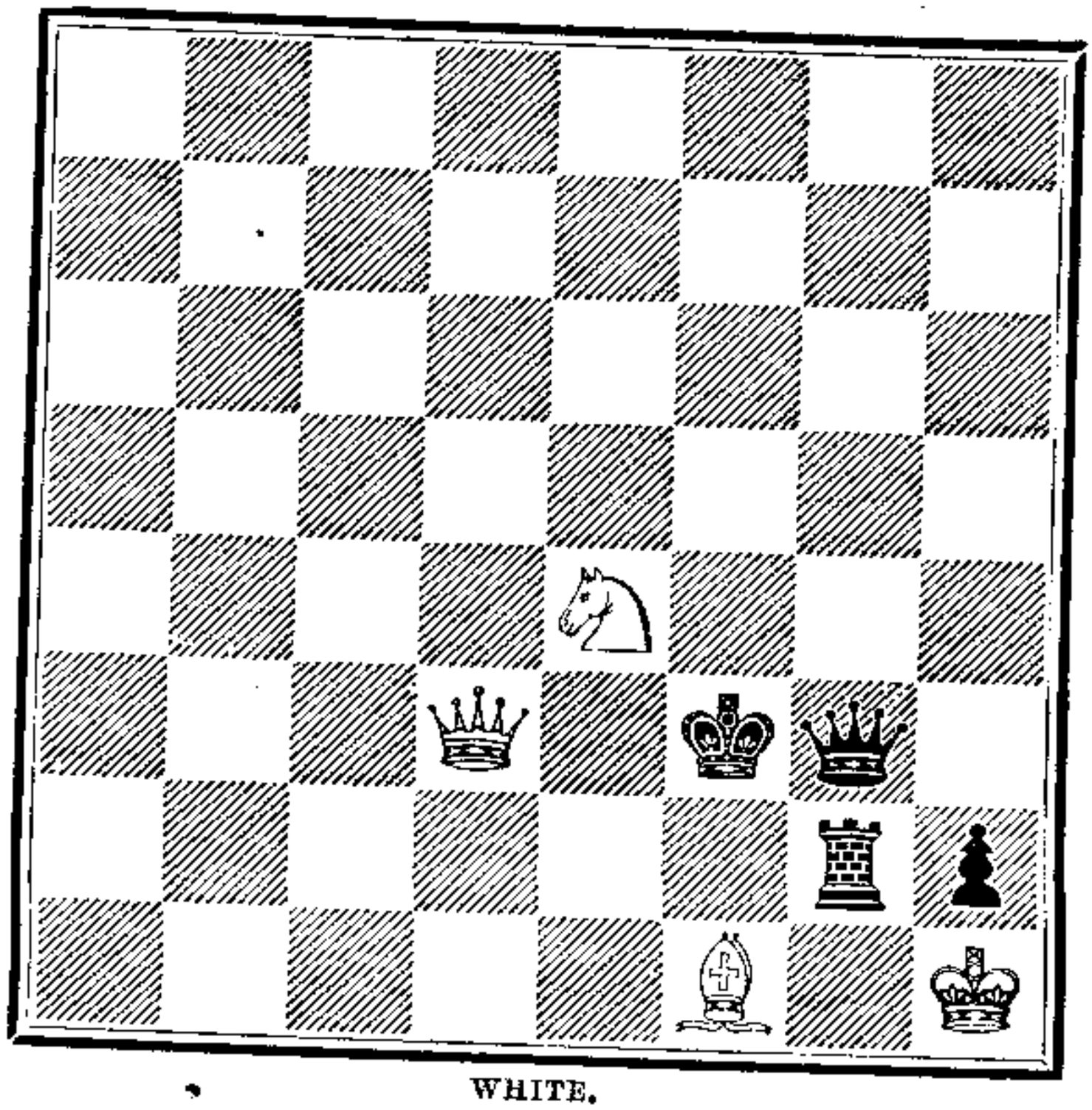

WHITE.

White to move, and he can only draw.

SOLUTION.

WHITE.	BLACK.
1. Kt. to King's Kt's. 5th ch.	1. King to his Bishop's 7th
2. Kt. to his King's 4th ch.	2. King takes Bishop[1]
3. Q. to King's 2nd checking	3. Rook takes Queen (best.) or A.
4. Kt. takes Q. making the coup called *Shāh-rukh*	4. King moves anywhere, it does not signify
5. Knight takes Rook	5. King takes Knight
6. King takes Pawn—*a draw*	

[1] If Black King return to his Bishop's 6th, then Knight checks as before, and if this continues, the game is drawn by perpetual check.

VARIATION A.

3. As before	3. King takes Queen
4. King takes Rook	4. Queen must move
5. King takes Pawn—*a draw.*	

Instead of moving away his Queen, Black might push on his Pawn to Queen and give check. In that case White would take the *old* Queen (on his Knight's third square), and would ultimately win the game; for it will be found that the new made Queen can never escape from the corner. By proper play, White will capture her, and so finish the game, in six moves at furthest. As this variation forms a neat problem of itself, I here append the solution. The pieces now stand thus—Black King at his 7th square, and Black Queen at King's Rook's 8th; White King at his Knight's 3rd, and White Knight at King's 4th square.

SOLUTION.

BLACK	WHITE.
1. K. to his B's 8th square	1. Kt. to Q's 2nd check
2. K. to his 7th square[1]	2. Kt. to K. B. 3rd square
3. K. to his B's 8th	3. Kt. to R. 5th square
4. K. to his Kt's 8th	4. K. to his R's 3rd
5. K. to his B's 8th	5. K. to his R's 2nd, and next move the Queen falls, and the game is won.

[1] He may move on either of the Black squares on his right or left, but it all comes to the same thing. This furnishes us with a fair example of one of those cases in which Knight wins against the Queen. On the other hand, Black by moving the original Queen to her King's Bishop's 5, letting the Pawn go, will draw easily for the Queen on the middle of the board, with her King at hand, is a match for the Knight at all times.

The term *Shāh-rukh*, alluded to in our last page, was nearly equivalent to what we call, (I suppose incorrectly,) "a divergent check." To give a more precise as well as a more general definition, it consisted of a check given to the adversary's King by a Knight, Queen, Bishop, or Pawn, the checking piece at the same time attacking an adverse Rook. The notion formed by Hyde (page 143 of his learned work), of the term Shāh-rūkh

such a check involved in itself nothing extraordinary, any more than a check by a Knight or any other piece or Pawn; in fact, it was the most harmless of checks, and the one most easily evaded.[1] Had Hyde, however, been at all conversant with the game of which he constituted himself the historian, he would have found that the peculiar check called in Persian Shāh-rukh, led to results far more serious than those that attended a mere check by a Rook; and that the player who had the good fortune to make such a *coup* generally gained, *cæteris paribus*, a decisive advantage.

The importance of the *Shah-rukh* will be abundantly obvious when we bear in mind that in the Oriental game the Rook was the most valuable piece on the Board, it being equivalent to a Knight and two Pawns; to two Queens and one Pawn; to two Bishops and three Pawns; or, lastly, to six Pawns. It is evident, then, that when the check Shāh-rukh was effected by means of such a small matter as a Pawn[2] or a Bishop, the advantage gained in consequence must have led to a victory; and even when the same *coup* was made by a Knight or Queen, the adversary must have incurred a loss equivalent to two or more Pawns. It is here understood, of course, that the checking piece, or, as we would call it, the *forking* piece, was not itself liable to be at that moment captured; hence the checked King

[1] The check of the Rook could be provided against in three ways:—1. By moving the King; 2. By interposing another piece; and 3. By taking the Rook. With regard to a check from any of the other pieces, or from a Pawn there were but two alternatives, viz., to move the King or take the checking piece, or Pawn, for, from their very nature, a check from any one of these could not be covered.

[2] I am inclined to think upon the whole that the term *Shāh-rukh* was more usually applied to that particular *coup* by which the Knight *forked* the King and Rook. When the Queen happened to be the forking piece, the *coup* was called *Farzīn-band*, i. e., "fixed by the Farzīn," or Queen. When the Pīl or Elephant was the forking

must have moved where he could, and on the next move his Rook was doomed to "fall inglorious" beneath the stroke of the insidious and less noble assailant.

I have only to add, that much nonsense has been written about the term Shāh-rukh in some of the Persian Lexicons, as may be seen in Mr. Bland's "Persian Chess." I have been enabled, however, to explain the term here from actual play, not from dictionaries; as it happens to occur, not only in the preceding problem, but in several other instances throughout the various Oriental works which I follow as my authorities. Lexicographers and Encyclopædiasts in general, are not "necessarily over and above well acquainted with *every* subject whereupon they treat, or pretend to treat. This I could very easily prove from 'modern instances.'"

The following problem is highly interesting in several respects. In the first place, it shows us one of those cases in which King and Rook win against King and Knight. In the second place, the mode of play is common alike to mediæval Christendom and Paynimrie, as well to our own time. Lastly, it refutes the doctrine of the "Essayists" respecting the restrictions in the King's moves. In parting with the essayists, I feel proud that my views are corroborated by my friend Mr. Staunton, who says, p. 9 of his Chess Praxis—"The moves and power of the Chess King appear to have undergone no change from the earliest times beyond the commutation of his ancient leap into the privilege of the [modern] Castling."

PROBLEM X.—FROM THE OLD ARABIC MS., 7,515 IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

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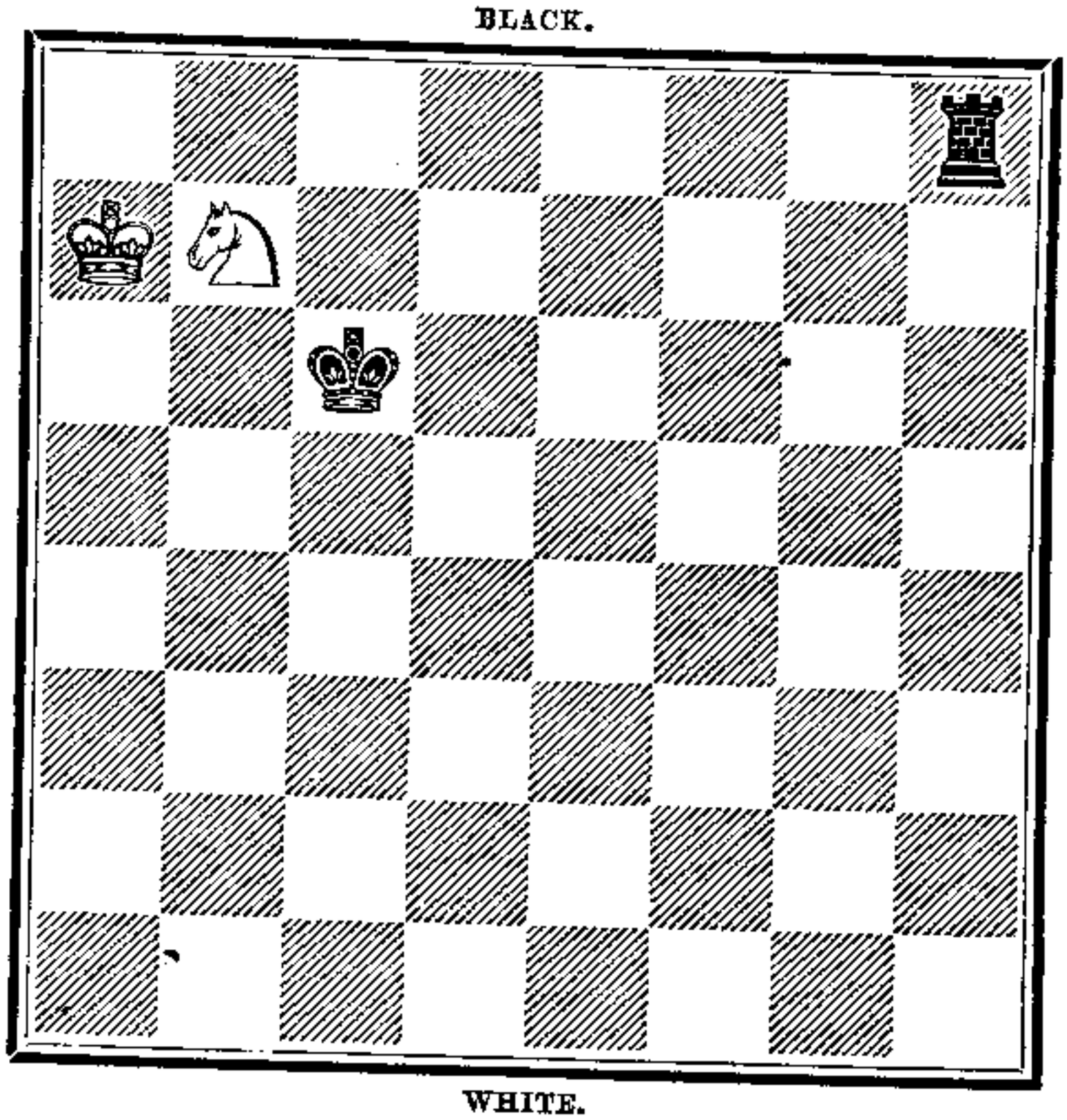


WHITE.

White to move and Black to win.[1]

WHITE.	BLACK.
1. Kt. to Q. R. 5th (check)	1. K. to Q. Kt. 4th
2. Kt. to Q. Kt. 7th (best)	2. R. to his K.'s Kt.
3. Kt. to Q.'s 6th (check)	3. K. to his Q. B.'s 3rd
4. Kt. to Q. B.'s 4th	4. R. to Q.'s square
5. Kt. to Q. R. 5th (check)	5. K. to his Q. Kt. 4th
6. Kt. to Q. Kt. 7th	6. R. to Q. 2nd square
7. K. to Q. Kt. square	7. K. to Q. Kt. 6th square
8. K. to R.'s square	8. R. takes Kt. gives *stalemate*,

[1] This problem appeared in the "Chess Player's Chronicle," for June, 1859. In the following month appeared what is called the solution, which, either through the carelessness of the printer, or the want of supervision on the part

and thus wins doubly according to the laws of Mediæval Chess. In our modern game it requires three moves more to give *checkmate*, the only species of victory to which we are accustomed to submit, thus—

9. R. to K. R. 2nd square	9. Anything he pleases
10. R. to K. R. square (check)	10. Knight interposes.
11. R. takes Kt. *mate.*	

In the preceding solution it will be seen that Black's main object is to separate the White Knight from his King: hence the latter is in a manner forced to move as he does, so as to keep near his King. The position is well worth the reader's attention, as among the generality of Chess players it would be called a drawn game; or what comes to the same thing, the player of Black would have failed to give White checkmate within the restricted legal number of fifty moves. As I have already stated, I am not warranted to say that the Orientals tied themselves down, in such cases, to a limited number of moves; still the man who could not here mate in fifty moves, could not, very likely, do it in a hundred.

I now conclude this part of my task, viz., "The Theory and Practice of Mediæval Chess in the East;" and as the same system of play prevailed in Western Europe till the beginning of the sixteenth century, I think I may assume the credit of having laid a foundation on which the historian of the royal game, during the middle ages, will be enabled to rear a solid superstructure. Our modern game appears to have originated in Spain, at least the earliest records of it that we possess are found in the works of Vicent and Lucena, about A.D. 1495. An interesting account of the works of these writers is given in the "Chess Player's Chronicle," for 1852. Both of them are now very scarce, especially

that of Vicent,[1] and I much regret that I have never been able to get a sight of either. They consist chiefly, I am told, of Chess positions, with their solutions; and it would be interesting to ascertain whether these, or most of them, be not of Arabian origin, also whether some of the problems be not of the mediæval sort; which last point could be easily determined by examining such as have a Queen or Bishop engaged in the contest.[2]

In a German work on Chess (chiefly moralities), by Jacob Mennel, printed at Costentz, A.D. 1507, and afterwards quoted in his great work by Gustavus Selenus, we have seven problems with their solutions, which are decidedly of the mediæval kind. One of them has absolutely four Queens,[3] together with several other pieces, on one side of the board; and the conditions of the solution are that, he who has the four Queens, &c., is to checkmate with a Rook on the fifth move. We see, then, that a few years previous to A.D. 1500, the modern game began to appear in Spain, supposing always that

[1] Vicent's treatise is so very rare that I believe it has never been seen by any person now living.

[2] This point I am now able to decide from Mr. Staunton's "Chess Praxis." In page 10 of that valuable work, Mr. S., in speaking of the Queen, states—"The exact period when she, in common with the Bishop, acquired additional power, has yet to be discovered; but from the circumstance that Lucena, whose work was published in 1495, recommends the student to learn both the old game (*viego*), and the new (*la dama*)—that one-half of his problems are constructed on the principles of the *old game*," &c.

[3] Sarratt, who assuredly was no Solomon in Chess literature, is pleased to take Jacob Mennel to book. In his preface to what he calls his "Translation of Gustavus Silenus," he, speaking of the seven problems above alluded to, says, "among these there is one as remarkable as it is ridiculous, extracted from a work (deservedly consigned to oblivion) written in German verse by James Mennels, and published at Costentz, 1507. Mennels has *favoured* the world with many situations in which mate is effected by a Pawn; some of these present a ludicrous appearance; one party having *six* and sometimes *seven* Queens; but it must be observed that this same Mennels *has deemed it meet* to deprive the Queen of her horizontal and perpendicular powers, &c." Now the ignorance, inaccuracy, and carelessness, displayed in the above morceau, simply deserve our pity; they are altogether beneath

it was the modern game; and that a few years subsequent to the same period the mediæval game still lingered in Germany; hence we may say that, in round numbers, our present mode of play dates from the commencement of the sixteenth century.

CHAPTER XI.

Enlargement of the Indian or Primæval Chess Board, alterations in its form, and in the manner of playing the Game.

The wise men of the East, like their occidental brethren, did from time to time attempt sundry *improvements* on the original Indian game. Among these innovations the following are mentioned, and more or less described, by Arabian and Persian authors :—

1*st.*—*Board of a Hundred Squares, No.* 1.

This is the earliest deviation we meet with from the common board of sixty-four squares. It is mentioned in the works of 'Adalī, and consequently must have existed as early as our tenth century. They call it the *Shatranj al Tāmmat*, or, "The Full Chess." The author of the Arabic MS. in the British Museum, No. 7,515, gives a very brief, but satisfactory, account of it. "It has an addition of two *Dabbābas* or Vineæ, together with two Pawns on each side, all the rest remaining as before. The Dabbābas are placed between the King and Bishop on the one side, and between the Farzīn and Bishop on the other. The Dabbāba had the moves of the King, and its value was *one half, together with one third of a*

diram,[1] that is, $\frac{5}{6}$ths of a *diram*, or five *dāngs*, being an intermediate value between the Knight and the Rook, as the author of the Arabic MS. in the British Museum distinctly states, and experience amply confirms. I believe that a King and Dabbāba could always mate an adverse King when left alone on the board. This cannot be effected by our King and Knight, or King and Bishop, in the modern game.

2*nd*.—*Board of a Hundred Squares, No.* 2.

Another board of 100 squares is mentioned in Firdausī's Shāhnāma. I believe this has arisen from the blunder of some copyist who confounded the Indian board with that described by 'Adalī, or a similar modification of the same then used in Persia. Here the additional pieces are two Camels, together with two Pawns on each side; the Camels being placed between the Bishops and Knights. Their powers and moves were the same as that of the Dabbāba or Vineæ in Tīmur's Great Game, as we shall see immediately; that is a straight leap, like that of the Rook, over one square, but not commanding the intermediate square. Their value, though not stated, is easily ascertained, being intermediate between that of the Farzīn and that of the Fīl or Bishop, the latter being in all the varieties of oriental and mediæval Chess the weakest piece on the board.

[1] Mr. Bland, in his Essay, briefly alludes to this variety of the game. I think, however, that he has not caught the exact meaning of the expression, "one-half together with one-third of a dirhem;" as he there suggests that "probably their value was proportioned to the side on which they stood." He evidently supposes that one of the Dabbābas was one-half and the other one-third of a dirhem, whereas the author clearly means that each of them was of the value of $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{3} = \frac{5}{6}$ of a dirhem. As for the mere side of the board on which they stood, it could have made no material difference, for it is evident from the nature of their movements that they might have very soon changed places.

3*rd.*—*Board of a Hundred Squares, No.* 3.

Another variety of this game on a board of a hundred squares is mentioned in the "Nafā,isu-l-Funūn" (v. chap. viii.). It is called *Shatranji Huṣūn*, or "Chess Board with Citadels," because at each of the four corners there is an additional projecting square, into which,[1] if a King, when hard pressed, can manage to enter, he is safe from all further pursuit, and the game is then considered to be drawn. The additional pieces here are two Ḍabbābas or Vineæ and two Pawns on each side. The power of the Dabbāba is different from what it was in 'Adalī's game; here it has a "move like that of the Rook, but obliquely," that is, precisely the move of our Bishop. As the Rook moved straight as far as the board was clear, so the Dabbāba, in this variety of Chess, moved diagonally in a corresponding manner.

4*th.*—*Round Board of Sixty-four Squares.*

Another species of the game is called the "Shatranji Mudauwira," or "Round Chess Board," of sixty-four squares. A diagram of this variety is given in "Strutt's Sports and Pastimes," said to be from a manuscript in the Cotton Library, as old as the thirteenth century. The only peculiarity about this Chess was, that, as the board had *no end*, the Pawns in consequence could not be promoted to the rank of Farzīn, or Queen.

[1] Here the author's description is rather vague. We are not told whether ach of the four citadels was open to either King indifferently, or, which is most likely, two of them belonged to one King, and two to the other. Reasoning according to the analogy afforded us by the citadels in Tīmūr's game, we are warranted to conclude that the two citadels opposite to each King were those in which he was allowed to seek shelter, as in that case he would be obliged to have "shewn some fight" before he became entitled to the benefit of the asylum.

5*th.*—*Game of the Astrologers, or Ouranomachia.*[1]

Another circular board is briefly noticed in the Nafā,isu-l-Funūn, which would appear to resemble the "Ouranomachia, seu Astrologorum Ludus," mentioned very vaguely by Hyde (tom. 2, p. 276). In the oriental game the seven planets on the one hand contend against the twelve constellations of the zodiac on the other. Hyde says that the game he alludes to is played "in abaco rotundo cum calculis, ubi duo planetarum ordines pro mundi imperio decertant." Now I have no doubt that by the "duo planetarum ordines," (which I take to be nonsense,) he means the seven planets and the twelve signs or constellations of the zodiac, as the oriental author has it. This variety of the game, in all probability, came to us from the Arabians, our preceptors in astrology as well as in Chess.

6*th.*—*Oblong Board of Sixty-four Squares.*

Another perversion of our noble game is called the "Shatranjī Mamdūda," or "Tawīla," in which the board is sixteen squares in length and four in breadth. Here the moves are regulated by a throw of the cubic die, where if ace is thrown a Pawn must move; if two, the Rook; if three, a Knight; if four, a Bishop; if five, the Farzīn; if six, the King. This appears to be a retrograde tendency towards the ancient Chaturanga.

7*th.*—*Tīmūr's Game.*

Of all the variations and pretended or intended improvements made in the Oriental Shatranj, by far the most celebrated and the most scientific is that commonly called "Tīmūr's Game,"* so styled, not because Tīmūr was

[1] I have here followed Hyde's orthography; but the proper spelling is Urano-

the inventor, but because he was fond of playing it. Ibn Arab Shāh, his courtier and biographist, says of him —"Tīmūr was devoted to the Game of Chess because he thereby whetted his intellect; but he possessed too lofty a mind to content himself by playing at the common game. He therefore constantly played at the "Great Chess," the board of which consists of 110 squares, or eleven squares by ten. This game has an increase of two Camels, two Giraffes, two Scouts, two Vineæ, and a Wazīr, together with other matters; and the common game, in comparison with this, is a mere nothing."

The anonymous author of the Asiatic Society's MS., already alluded to, has given us a full and clear account of this game which he calls the "Shatranji Kāmil," or "Perfect Chess." Fortunately this portion of his manuscript is quite complete, and, as it is, in all probability, the only account of the game we possess in Europe, I shall here give the description without any abridgement, that is, in all essentials, eschewing most religiously the author's pithy but empty moralities, which strongly resemble those attributed to Pope Innocentius, who occupied the chair of St. Peter about the end of the 12th century. The earlicst allusion to this "Great Game," (or "Perfect Chess," as the eccentric author of the Asiatic Society's MS. calls it), occurs in the Nàfā,isu-l-Funūn, which was composed in the early part of Tīmūr's lifetime, about which period we may presume that the game was invented (if I may apply that term), though not necessarily by Tīmūr himself.

As nothing is *perfect*, or anything near it, among us mortals, I shall here denominate the game as "Tīmūr's Great Chess." It was played on a board containing eleven squares from right to left, and ten squares from top to bottom (see plate Ist), thus fo

the first place one hundred and ten squares. But in addition to these, there were two extra squares that projected from the rest, one on the right hand of each player, being a continuation of the second rank of squares. Thus, the whole number of squares amounted to 112; and the use of the two projecting squares was simply this, that when a player perceived that he had decidedly the worst of the game, he endeavoured, as a last resource, to convey his King to the extra square on his adversary's right hand, and if he succeeded in so doing, he drew the game.

The number of the superior pieces on each side was seventeen, eight of which, viz., the King, the two Rukhs, the two Knights, the two Elephants, and the Farz or Farzīn, had precisely the same moves and powers that we have already described in the common game, of which this is a mere extension. The extra or superadded pieces were two Giraffes, two Camels, two Scouts, two Vineæ, and a Wazīr. Hence, setting aside the King, the species of pieces were nine in number; and they thus stood in the scale of merit. The highest was the Rukh, next the Giraffe, then the Scout, the Knight, the Wazīr, the Farz, the Camel, the Vineæ, and the Elephant. Each of these nine species of pieces, as well as the King, had one representative Pawn, which had a particular station allotted to it in front on the third row of squares from each player; and on the extreme left of that row stood a Pawn styled by the Arabs "*Baidaḳu-l-Bayādiḳ*," and by the Persians "Piyāda,i Piyādagān," or "Pawn of the Pawns," to which belonged certain distinct privileges hereafter to be detailed. Hence the whole number of pieces and Pawns on the Great Chess-board amounted to fifty-six, being twenty-four in excess of those of the common game, as may be seen in the plate.

The nine species of pieces were divided, according to the nature of their moves, into three classes, each class consisting of three pieces, viz., the Wazīr, the Vineæ, and the Rukh, were of the straight class; the Scout, the Elephant, and the Farz, of the oblique; and the Knight, the Camel, and the Giraffe, of the mixed or composite class. Again, each of the three pieces constituting a class was denominated either *primary*, *medial*, or *extreme*, according to the mere extent of its range on the board; but not according to its precise value. Hence the Wazīr, the Farz, and the Knight, were primary; the Vineæ, the Elephant, and the Camel, medial; and the Rukh, the Scout, and the Giraffe, extreme. It was a law with the three extreme pieces that they were never allowed to leap over another piece like the medials, as we shall see hereafter.

CLASS I.—PIECES OF THE STRAIGHT MOVE.

1. The *Wazīr*, or Generalissimo. He moved straight, only one square in each of the four directions; in fact he possessed merely the shortest move of our Rook. It is evident, however, that he could, "slowly, but surely," cover all the squares of the board, hence his value was greater than that of the Farz, which could cover no more than one half of the board.

2. The *Dabbāba*. This term corresponds to the *Pluteus* or *Vineæ* of the Romans, a moveable shed or pent-house that rolled upon wheels, and was thrust forward against the wall of a town or castle, so as to screen the besiegers in their operations of undermining the same. I have retained the Latin term Vinea or Vineæ as more convenient than the somewhat lengthy oriental name, and less ludicrous than our own homely

word *Sow*.[1] The move of this piece was straight, like that of the Rukh, but it extended only to the square next to it but one. Like the Elephant it leaped over the intervening square, but did not command it. Its power was greater than that of the Elephant, as it could cover twenty-nine squares of the board, in addition to that on which it originally stood. The two Vineæ of each player ran upon the same squares. They could not touch any square on the 2nd, 4th, 6th, 8th, or 10th ranks of the board from either player's side, and never could encounter the Vineæ of the adversary. All this does not savour much of *perfection*.

3. The *Rukh*, i.e., the Rook or Castle. This Rukh had precisely the same move as with us. He was the most powerful of all the pieces on the Great Chess-board as he had previously been in the common game. Placed anywhere on the board, he commanded nineteen squares, which no other piece could do. Of course he could easily cover all the squares of the board, like the Wazīr.

CLASS II. PIECES OF THE OBLIQUE MOVE.

1st. The *Farz* or *Farzīn*. In the common game, the terms Farz or Farzīn and Wazīr are applied indifferently

[1] The *Sow* was employed by the Earl of Salisbury when he besieged the Castle of Dunbar, just about the time of Tīmūr's birth. This castle was defended by the celebrated *Black Agnes*, the Countess, who, according to Hollinshed, "used many pleasaunt words in jesting and tawnting at the enemies' doings, thereby the more to encourage her soldiers. One day, it chanceth that the Englishmen had devised them an engine called a *Sow*, under the pretence or cover whereof they might approach safely to the walls. The Countess perceiving this engine, merrilie said that she would make the Englishmen's *Sow* to cast HER PIGS, and so she afterwards destroyed it." Tradition hath it that Black Agnes in person called out from the castle wall to the Earl of Salisbury—

"Beware thee, Montagou,
For farrow shall thy sou;"

to denote the piece which we now call "Queen." In the great Chess, however, the Farz and Wazīr were quite distinct pieces which must never be confounded, their functions being altogether different. I therefore translate Farz "Sage," or "Counsellor;" and the Wazīr I translate "General," or "Generalissimo," as he frequently discharges that office under Oriental sovereigns. The Farz moved obliquely or diagonally, one square, having precisely the shortest move of our Bishop. He could cover only one half of the board; and, as in the common game, he was one of the weakest of the pieces.

2nd. The *Pīl* or Elephant. His move remained the same as it had been in the common game, only the station allotted to him was in each corner of the board, as had formerly been the case in the Chaturanga when he was called the Ship. He still continued to be the weakest of the pieces, as he could never command more than four squares, nor could he cover more than fourteen squares besides that on which he originally stood. Out of the whole hundred and ten squares of the board, there were fifty which no Elephant of either side could touch.

3rd. The *Tali'a*. This word has so many significations that it is difficult to fix upon the best English term to represent it. It means both a "secret spy or scout," and, collectively, the "vanguard" of an army, also a "reconnoitring party," and lastly, what we call the "out-posts." It corresponds on the whole, as an individual, to the Roman *spĕculator* or *explorator*, and so I use for it the term "scout." His move was precisely that of our Bishop, being the extreme of the oblique moves. His power, owing to the extension of the board, was proportionately greater than that of our modern Bishop. From a central position, he commanded fourteen squares, and from the least favourable

position, ten squares. Of course he could cover only one half of the board; viz., those squares which (as we should say) were of his own colour.

CLASS III. PIECES OF THE MIXED MOVE.

1st. The *Faras* or *Asp.* These words simply mean "horse," but I retain the well known term "Knight" instead. Amidst the numerous attempts made for altering the Chess board, this piece has always remained the same both in name, and in the peculiar mode in which it is moved ever since its first appearance in the primæval Chaturanga of the ancient Hindūs. The Knight's move is the basis or *primary* of the mixed or composite moves. It is made up of the two primary moves of the two preceding classes, viz., that of the Farz combined with that of the Wazīr; in other words, our Bishop's shortest move combined with the shortest move of our Rook. Its power on the Great Chess-board was somewhat diminished in comparison with that of the Rukh and the Scout; or, more correctly speaking, the powers of the latter pieces were somewhat extended, owing to the increased size of the board. Still, however, the Knight held the fourth place in value, even in the great game, as will be shewn immediately when we treat of the moves of the Camel and Giraffe.

2nd. The *Jamal* or "Camel." This piece had a move resembling that of the Knight, with merely this difference, that it consisted of the move of the Farz, combined with that of the Vineæ, i.e., the shortest move of our Bishop, combined with the shortest move *but one* of our Rook. Like the Knight, his move was no ways impeded by any piece or pawn standing in his way. From a central position, he commanded eight squares,

shall find, on examination, that he was decidedly inferior to the latter in value. In the first place, the Camel, like the Bishop and several other pieces, could never change his colour, consequently one half of the squares at least were free from his attack. Supposing the board were chequered, we should find, that if a Camel originally stood on a white square he never could move to a black. Secondly, the two Camels on each side, like the Vineæ, moved on the very same squares. Lastly, no Camel could encounter a hostile Camel; and as a further drawback he was of little avail for defending the King, owing to the straggling nature of his moves. He was valuable only in giving the enemy an occasional *long shot*, when they came within his appropriate range.

3rd. The *Zarāfa*, the "Giraffe" or "Camelopard." The Persians have a still more complex name for this beast. They call him *Shutur-gāw-pālang*, or the "Camel-cow-leopard;" for in certain parts of his body he bears a resemblance to each of these animals. I have never heard of his being employed in actual warfare, and his introduction upon the Great Chess board is a little out of character. Our business, however, is with his moves and power and the rank he held among the pieces. We have seen that the Knight's move consisted of the shortest of our Bishop's and Rook's moves combined; and that of the Camel consisted of our Bishop's shortest move combined with that of the Vinea. Now, the Giraffe's move was a mere extension of this last in a straight direction, that is, he attacked or commanded, like a Rook, all the squares beyond that on which the Camel would have halted when moved from the same central point. He was subject to the following restrictions, viz., he was not allowed to stop short by

could he confine himself to the move of the Camel, which was his *medial*; nor, lastly, could he move at all, if, as in the case of the Knight and Camel any pawn or piece occupied either the diagonal or the next straight squares where the Knight or Camel could have moved. The reason assigned for these restrictions is, that if the Giraffe were allowed to make the minor moves of his primary and medial pieces (the Knight and Camel), as well as his own more extended moves, his power would have been altogether out of proportion to that of the other extreme pieces. As it is, he could, from the most favourable position command sixteen squares of the board, and from the least favourable, the corner square, he commanded thirteen squares; so that upon the whole, toward the end of a game when the board contained but few pieces, he was nearly equal to the Rook. From the nature of his moves, it is obvious that he could easily cover all the squares of the board; but whether, like the Knight, he could do so without going over the same square more than once, is a problem requiring solution.

In further illustration of the oblique moves, the reader has only to cast his eye over Plate II., where he will see at once the precise nature, and the various moves of the Knight, Camel and Giraffe. Assuming the square marked with the cross +, as a common centre, we find that the Knight (represented by the letter K), can move, as we already know, to eight squares. The Camel also (marked C), moves to eight squares, viz., those immediately beyond the Knight in a straight direction. Lastly, the Giraffe (marked G), moved to any square, in a straight direction, beyond that of the Camel. Had the board been coloured, we should have seen at once that the Knight changes his colour at every move—that

that the Giraffe may or may not have changed his colour according to circumstances. The elementary move[1] in all of them is our Bishop's shortest move to begin with, and then one, two or more moves, in a straight direction outwardly, towards the side of the board.

OF THE PAWNS.

We have seen that the pieces in the Great Chess are of nine different species, ten in all, when we include the King. Each species had one representative pawn stationed on the third row of squares in front of the pieces; and the left hand square of that row was occupied by a peculiar kind of pawn called by the Arabs "*Baidaḳu-l-Bayādiḳ*," and by the Persians "Piyādai Piyādagān," that is "Pawn of the pawns," a sort of "Tribunus militum" in his way, which I shall here designate as the "Corporal." Each pawn was so carved and shaped as to form an exact miniature of the piece which he represented; what precise form the Corporal had, I have not been able to ascertain. All the pawns moved one square straight forward, and smote the foe obliquely as in the common game. When any of the pawns had reached the farther extremity of the board he immediately assumed the rank of the piece which he represented; that is the King's pawn became

[1] In Mr. C. Tomlinson's valuable little work entitled "Amusements in Chess," we are told in a note (p. 47) that "This ingenious theory of the origin of the Knight's move is due to Teodoro Ciccolini, Marchese di Guardagrele, whose work 'Del Cavallo degli Scacchi' appeared at Paris a few years ago." Now, without wishing to deprive the Marchese of his due honours, I have only to remark to that gentleman, should these effusions of mine ever meet his eye, that the Orientals had anticipated him by some thousand years. I have no doubt however, that Mr. Ciccolini's theory is original on his part, though not *the* original. I have never seen this analysis of the Knight's move even hinted at in any work on Chess, Asiatic or European, with the exception of this very scarce and imperfect

a Prince; the Knight's pawn a Knight; the Wazīr's pawn a Wazīr, and so on of all the rest; for "nothing can be more proper (says the author,) than that the son should succeed to the honours, offices, and dignities of the father."

The "Pawn of the pawns" or Corporal had peculiar privileges of his own. He moved and captured precisely like the rest of the pawns till he reached the extremity of the board. Then he remained unpromoted till such time as his owner found it advantageous to call forth his services. This he could do in various ways. In the first place, should any two pieces of his adversary's have become so situated that the advance of a pawn from behind might attack both, or, as we say, fork them, the Corporal was brought up and placed in the square of such forking pawn and then moved forward, when one of the attacked pieces was sure to fall. In the second place, the Corporal might be brought to bear on any adverse piece which happened to be unable to move, so that the said adversary must fall next time; and in both these cases, if any piece, friendly or hostile, should happen to occupy the square suitable for the Corporal, such piece might be removed. Lastly, the Corporal might be employed to make the coup called *Pīl-band* or *Farzīn-band* (v. page 130), that is, to fork the adverse King and another piece.

After either of these feats the Corporal once more resumed his career as a pawn, and on reaching the opposite extremity a second time, he was promoted to the rank of King's pawn. Lastly, when under this rank he attained for the third time the extremity of the board, he became a Prince or Viceroy; the original term is "*Shāhi Maṣnū'*," that is an "Adventitious King." It appears then that there might possibly be three Kings

or rather three distinct pieces with kingly power on the board at once—1st, the original King, or the Shāhanshāh, "King of Kings;" 2nd, the Prince or legitimate successor, viz., the King's pawn promoted,—and lastly, the Corporal, after he had won all his honours and had become an Adventitious King. The latter two, however, merely laboured in the field with the King's moves, and power, and thus contributed to gain the victory. Should the King be driven from necessity to seek shelter in the Citadel or projecting square, either of the Princes were allowed to exchange place with him, and the game might thenceforth continue, but if it should appear more expedient, it might be declared drawn, at the option of the fugitive King's owner.

CONCLUSION OF THE GAME.

The Great Chess differed a little from the common game at the close of the contest. A King could not be stalemated as long as any of his pieces remained, for, as in the common game, he might change places with any remaining piece if possible, in other words, if he could do so without going in to check. He did not lose the game by being merely stripped of all his pieces, and pawns; for he had still the chance of making his escape to the citadel, which, as already stated, constituted a drawn game. The victory here then consisted in giving the adverse King checkmate, or stalemate was equally sufficient if the latter had lost all his army.

ON THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE PIECES.

Commencing with the right-hand corner next to you, there place the Elephant; leave the next square empty. On the third square place the Camel, and leave the

leave the sixth empty. In the seventh place the Vinea again, then pass over a square and place the Camel; then leave a square empty, and lastly place the second Elephant in the left-hand corner. On the second row place the Rukh on the right-hand square from which projects the Citadel; then the Knight; then the Scout; then the Giraffe; then the Wazīr; then the King; and on the middle square of the second rank. Next to the King comes the Farz; then in succession the Giraffe, the Scout, the Knight, and the Rukh. In the third rank, on the right-hand square, in front of the Rukh, place the Rukh's Pawn; then the Knight's Pawn; then the Scout's Pawn; then the Giraffe's Pawn; then the Wazīr's Pawn; then the King's Pawn; each of these being in front of the piece which he represents. After the King's Pawn comes that of the Farz; then the Elephant's Pawn; then the Camel's Pawn; then the Vinea's Pawn; and, last of all, on the left hand, place the Corporal or "Pawn of the Pawns." The adversary, of course, arranged his pieces and Pawns precisely in the same manner, as may be seen in the plate.

There was another mode of arranging the pieces slightly differing from the foregoing, which consisted merely in this: The Wazīr and Farz changed places with the Vineæ: and the King drew back to the middle square on the first row, his Pawn falling back at the same time to the middle square of the second row. This slight alteration in no ways affected the general principles of the game; the only result from it was that the Vineæ now ran upon those squares which in the other arrangement they could not have touched.

I have now given the anonymous author's account of Timūr's game, which, it must be confessed, has in it

I have of course avoided the author's verbiage and endless repetitions, my main object being to render his meaning clear to the comprehension of the English and non-Oriental reader. Any two persons ordinarily versed in the common game may now easily play the Great Chess. It is much to be regretted that we have not a complete copy of the author's work, which, so far as we can judge, must have contained, amidst much nonsense, a vast deal of interesting information. Of the precise time at which he wrote, it is difficult to form even a conjecture, save that it must have been either during or subsequent to the reign of Tīmūr. One thing, however, is obvious, and that is, as his style clearly shews, that Persian was not his native language. I consider him to have been a renegade Jew, for his idiom and mode of expression are altogether Hebrew. His theory is, that "this *Perfect Chess*," as he uniformly styles it, "was the invention of the Great Hermes who lived in the time of Moses. The Greeks, according to him, carried it (the Perfect Chess) to India in the time of Alexander the Great's expedition to that country. The game proved by far too scientific and refined for the "stupid Hindūs"—therefore Sassa Bin Dāhir abridged it for them. Finally, this abridged form of the game reached Persia in the time of Naushīrawān. I may here add, that on this last point all Oriental writers agree; but none except this anonymous scribe attributed the invention to the Sage Hermes.

The author concludes this chapter with the following peroration, which I here translate as literally as possible. "Now that I have made clear to you who invented 'the Perfect Chess,' and where it was invented, and why the Sage did invent it, and the vast benefits resulting from the invention; on all of which I have said something;

and I have explained the nature and form and mode of moving the Chessmen; and I have detailed the number and powers of the pieces and Pawns—I will now tell you in whose time the game of Chess was received in India and who abridged it there, and why it was there abridged, so that all men may completely abandon the absurd notion that the Hindūs were the inventors of Chess, for they never had in them sufficient wisdom to effect such a result. In fact, 'this Perfect Chess' is the invention of the Philosopher Hermes, and they (the Hindūs), completely spoiled the same by their abridgement thereof"—*credat Judæus!*—

VALUE OF THE PIECES AND PAWNS.

The anonymous author has nowhere given us a detailed statement of the comparative value of the pieces in this great game, that part of his work being lost. We may, however, form a rough conjecture on this point, from careful perusal of his description, which is really plain and perspicuous. Let us assume the Knight as our basis of measurement—for that piece has never changed in value nor in any other respect, since he was first stationed on the board of the Chaturanga—assuming therefore the Knight to be worth *Ten dāngs*, to use the Oriental mode of reckoning, we consider the following approximate scale to be not far from the truth. At the same time we shall give once for all the Arabic and Persian names of the Pieces, as well as the English names, so far as our language possesses them.

	ARABIC.	PERSIAN.	ENGLISH.	VALUE.
Extreme.	*Rukhkh*	*Rukh*	Rook	16
	Zarāfa	*Zarāfa*	Giraffe	14
	Talī'a	*Talī'a*	Scout	12
Primary.	*Faras*	*Asp*	Horse	10
	Wazīr	*Wazīr*	General	8
	Farz	*Farzīn*	Sage	6
Medial.	*Jamal*	*Shutur*	Camel	5
	Dabbāba	*Dabbāba*	Vinea	4
	Fīl	*Pīl*	Elephant	3
	Baidaḳ	*Piyāda*	Pawn	

The value of the Pawns, owing to the peculiar mode in which they attained promotion, as a general rule bore some definite proportion to that of the pieces which they represented. For instance, when placed on the board as mere Pawns, before starting, we may assume the Rukh's Pawn—the very highest to have been worth about two *dāngs*; and the Elephant's Pawn, which is the lowest, about *one half* of a *dāng* or only a fourth part of the value of the Rukh's Pawn. Then the intermediate Pawns may be roughly estimated in proportion. The King's Pawn and the Pawn of the Pawns were each a shade better than that of the Knight—probably equal to that of the Scout. We must always bear in mind, however, that the value of each Pawn was constantly increasing after every move he made in advance, in proportion to the degree of probability he had of reaching the extremity of the board and of thus attaining the full rank and power of the piece which he represented. The Pawns of the Rukh, Giraffe, and Scout were, of course, the most valuable. Next to these came the Pawn of the Pawns, and those of the King, Knight, and Wazīr; while those of the remaining pieces were of proportionally less value.

In all good copies of Ibn Arab Shāh's "Life of Tīmūr,"

on, is given, "to save the labour of a full description in words." It so happens, however, that either from the carelessness or ignorance of the copyists, no two diagrams are precisely alike. They all have the number of squares, as well as the number of the men quite correct; but the pieces are by no means similarly arranged. Hyde, in his work already referred to, page 62, gives a very different arrangement to what is here described. At the same time, that learned Doctor, who ought certainly to have known better, has taken the liberty to make another ridiculous alteration of his own, by extending the files of the board to twelve squares instead of ten, for which he gives the following sapient reason: "As the armies on each side are nearly doubled, the space between them should be proportionally enlarged"!!! He overlooks the serious fact, that the range of almost all the pieces, and of all the Pawns, without exception, is just as limited as it had been in the common game. To double the intervening space between the combatants, merely because their number is increased, is simply absurd. Let us suppose, as an illustration, that two armies, of 20,000 men on each side, are drawn up in battle-array, having the distance of half a mile between them before commencing the engagement; then, according to Hyde's rule, should the forces on each side amount to 400,000, not an impossible case, then the distance between them ought not, on any account, to be less than *ten miles*. This might, no doubt, be called *a safe distance*, and quite agreeable to some of the combatants; but I suspect that the *game*, in that instance, would prove rather slow and tedious.

8*th.*—*The Complete Chess—or Complement of Tīmūr's Great Chess.*

It would appear that our anonymous author's "Perfect Chess," like all earthly soi-disant *perfections*, acquired about or soon after the time of Tīmūr some additional improvements which from want of a better term, and for the sake of distinction, I shall call the "Complete Chess," which is a mere filling up of Tīmūr's game, as will be seen at once by comparing Plates I. and III. I have just stated that no two copies of Ibn 'Arab Shāh's Life of Tīmūr agree exactly in representing the pieces on their respective diagram of the Great Chess. Well, there is a most beautifully written copy of that work, No. 7,322, in the British Museum, about three hundred years old, in which the diagram differs from all the others that I have seen. As the author Ibn 'Arab Shāh himself says, "I here give an exact transcript of it—in order to save myself the trouble of a long description in writing." Vide Plate III.

Here we have five additional pieces, consisting of two Lions, two Bulls, and a piece called the Kashshāf, which we may translate "Sentinel," or "Rearguard;" in all three more species of forces, with three more representative Pawns. What is most singular is, that the Wazīr is here omitted, and his place occupied by a "queer Fish,"[1] (I really speak without metaphor), called the *Lukhm*. This Fish, according to the Lexicons, is either the Crocodile or the Swordfish, I cannot decide which, but at all events, I presume that he is altogether out of character when he figures on what is intended to repre-

[1] It is highly probable that the Lion, the Bull, and the Fish were adopted from the signs of the zodiac, as described in page 138, *supra*, the first three

sent a battle-field. As the substitution of the Fish for the Wazīr seems to serve no useful purpose whatever, and is withal a little ludicrous, I dismiss the former to his native element, and retain the Wazīr stationed in his place, the same as in Plate I.

The three additional Pawns are stationed as videttes or outposts in front of either army. I can only offer my own conjectures respecting the moves and powers of the Lion, the Bull, and the Sentinel, for the author says not one word on the subject. Let us see, then, whether we cannot supply the deficiency. We have seen that in Tīmūr's game the Rukh, the Giraffe, and the Scout were the three strongest pieces on the board; now it very aptly happens that these three pieces admit of just *three* distinct combinations of pairs or twos. Let us, then, suppose for example, that the Lion had the moves and powers of the Rukh and Giraffe combined; the Bull, that of the Scout and Giraffe combined; and the Sentinel, that of the Scout and Rukh combined, which last is precisely the power of our modern Queen.[1] The *Lukhm* or Fish, we may suppose to have the powers of the Wazīr whose place he has very foolishly and needlessly usurped. We may naturally conclude that the Pawns moved and captured like their companions, and that when they reached the opposite extremity of the board they were promoted in a similar manner.

I shall now conclude this account of Tīmūr's game and its complement, by an interesting extract from the close of Ibn 'Arab Shāh's history, which I believe has

[1] I consider the introduction on the large board of these terrible pieces, the power of each of which was at least double that of the Rukh, to have been a great improvement in the game—such as our Armstrong and Whitworth guns

never before appeared in any modern European language.[1] The author, in enumerating the various eminent men who flourished in the reign of Tīmūr, says, "Among the Chess-players were Muhammad Bīn 'Akīl al Khīmī, and Zain of Yazd; but besides these two, the most distinguished in this science was 'Alīu-l-Dīn, of Tabrīz (commonly called 'Alī al Shatranjī. He gave the odds of the Pawn to Zain of Yazd, and beat him; and to Ibn 'Akīl he gave the Knight and conquered him.[2] The great Tīmūr who subdued all the regions of the East and of the West, and gave checkmate to every Sultan and King, both seriously on the battle-field, and sportively on the chess-board, used to say to 'Alī, "Verily, 'Alī, thou art unrivalled in the realms of Chess, as I am in the battle-field and in the art of government. There is none to be found who can perform such wonders as we can; each of us is a master in his own department, myself and you my Lord 'Alī." He ('Alī) has composed a treatise on the science of Chess,[3] and on its rare stratagems and positions. No one could cope with him without receiving odds.[4] He told me that he once upon a time saw in a dream the Commander of the Faithful 'Alī (may God render his face glorious), and received as a present from that prophet a set of Chessmen in a bag; and no mortal

[1] The original Arabic was published at Franequer, by S. H. Manger, in 2 vols. 4to., accompanied by an exceedingly incorrect Latin translation. The whole of this passage which I have here given is, in Manger's translation, utterly absurd.

[2] The original expression is, "He gave him the horse, and outstripped him in the race."

[3] Of this Treatise I never heard except in this single passage. I am afraid it is irretrievably lost.

[4] This sentence in the original Arabic savours *a little* of the Oriental. It runs thus:—"*Wa mā kāna ahadun, yaḳūlu, inna-hu, yuntiju wallādu fikri-hi fī li'bi-hi ma'a'hu mīn ghairi ṭarḥin.*" There is nothing in the sentence offensive to sound and healthy morality. It is simply a very bold and uncommon metaphor, the literal rendering of which might shock the delicacy of those

ever conquered him after that. It was one remarkable feature in his play that he never spent a moment in consideration over his moves. The instant his adversary played, after long and tedious cogitation, 'Alī made his move off hand, without pause or reflection. He often played blindfold[1] against two adversaries; and from the odds he could afford them, one might easily conceive his strength when looking over the board. He and Tīmūr[2] always played the Great Chess. I saw at his[3] house a round chess-board, also a long quadrangular board. The Great Chess has in it the additional pieces which we have already mentioned. The use of it is better learned by practice; and a description of it in words would extend to too great a length. 'Alī was profoundly[4] learned in the law and traditions of our prophet; courteous and affable in conversation; modest and sincere in speech."

[1] The Arabic term for "blindfold" is *ghā'ib*, which the Dutch savant Manger changed into *ghālib*, "victorious," as he very complacently tells us in what is intended to be a critical note. To say that 'Alī played "victoriously" is a simple truism.

[2] It is well known that Tīmūr was passionately fond of Chess. Bakhtāwar Khān, a historian of the time of Aurang Zeb, says, "Tīmūr the Victorious in War was exceedingly fond of Chess, which formed the recreation of his leisure times. It was his wont, whenever he subdued a city or region, to inquire of the vanquished whether they had among them any good chess players; and if so, these were sent for to the royal presence, and they were invited to play with the "Asylum of the Universe;" and whether they won or lost, they were uniformly treated with condescension and courtesy, and sent back with substantial marks of his Majesty's bounty.

[3] Hyde misapprehends the author's meaning here, and draws inferences from the passages which are altogether unwarrantable. In the first place he misapplies the possessive pronoun "his" referring the same to Tīmūr, not to 'Alī as the author clearly does. In the second place, Hyde, having made up his mind that the various Chess-boards here alluded to were seen by the author at Tīmūr's palace, jumps to the conclusion that Tīmūr was their inventor, than which nothing can be more groundless.

[4] This last sentence comes in about the middle of the paragraph in the

I may here add, at the same time, a correct account of the reason why Tīmūr's fourth son was called Shāh-rukh, an event which happened as follows :—"It came to pass, once upon a time—that is, on Thursday, the 20th August, in the Christian year 1377 (I am enabled to be thus particular through the minute industry of 'Alī of Yazd), that Tīmūr was deeply engaged, as was his wont, in a game at Chess with one of his courtiers—the place, the imperial palace in Samarkand. In the course of the game his Tartaric Majesty was just about to make his move, when, behold! the chamberlain suddenly entered and said, "Sire, may your shadow be extended; your favourite wife" (I am afraid I ought to have said concubine), "has this moment been safely delivered of a son." On hearing these good tidings, Tīmūr, who appears to have taken matters in general very coolly, made his move, and, as usual in such cases, exclaimed, "Shāh-rukh," which move, the contemporary historian Arab Shāh assures us, completely demolished the adversary's game. Now, the coincidence of the felicitous Chess *coup* aforesaid, and the announcement of his son's birth, at one and the same instant, appeared to Tīmūr, and to all the courtiers and men of wisdom then and there present, as an omen highly favourable to the future fortunes of the newly-born prince. It was therefore decreed that the latter should be named Shāh-rukh, a name that might serve as a memorial of the auspicious event that took place at his birth.

Our story is not yet quite finished. When Tīmūr and the astrologers, had just settled upon the prince's nomenclature, as above stated, it so happened that a messenger arrived in haste from the north, and said, "Sire, the new city which you some time back ordered to be built

on the plain beyond the Sīhūn,[1] is now completed in all its parts, and it only remains for your Majesty to pronounce its name." Tīmūr said in reply, "Let its name be Shāhrukhīya," which may be translated "the city of Shāh-rukh." This new city, like all sublunary things, flourished for a time and then decayed. Its very name is now unknown and expunged from the map. A ruined village, called Finaket, occupies its site; and, as if it were to crown its misfortune, I believe it is in the hands of the grasping Muscovites. Could a more lamentable fate possibly befall what was once a flourising Tartar city?

I may add that Hyde gives another version of the above story, on the authority of Ducas, a Byzantine historian, who (as he states) wrote about A.D. 1400.[2] According to this Byzantine, "Tīmūr and his son (who must have been then twenty-five years old), were playing Chess at the moment when Bajazet was brought captive into their tent. The son gave the check Shāh-rukh to his father at that instant, and Tīmūr ever after gave the former that name." Now, I believe the story of this mendacious Greek is not worth one moment's consideration compared with the positive testimony of Tīmūr's own contemporary historians. I have mentioned it,

[1] The Sīhūn, called by the Western people Jaxartes, and now called Sirr, flows from the south-east into the northern extremity of Lake Aral. The city Shāhrukhīya was situated on a spacious plain at some distance from the northern bank of the river, about 170 miles to the north of Samarkand. It is strange that Hyde, and after him the Dutch savant Manger, should, in defiance of the Arabic text of Arab Shāh, to say nothing of geographical truth, have placed the city "on this side" of the Sīhūn, instead of "beyond the Sīhūn." The Oriental author wrote with reference to Samarkand, and very properly used the expression "beyond the Sīhūn," *i. e.*, to the north of that river.

[2] Ducas must have written subsequently to A.D. 1402, as it was in that year that Bajazet's forces were defeated, and himself made prisoner by Tīmūr,

however, for a very different purpose. Ducas says that the Italians at that time called the Shāh-rukh "Scacco-rocco." Now this leads to a few queries, viz., Does the term Scacco-rocco occur in any of the early Chess manuscripts of the south—I mean those written before 1500? If so, what was its precise import? When did the terms "Castle, Tower, Tour, or Thurm," come into use on this side of the Alps? In accounting for such an anomaly as a *tower* on the Chess-board, people content themselves by saying that it originated from the castle on the elephant's back. I believe this conclusion to be erroneous. It was not the piece which we call the Rook that had the castle or howdah on his back, but the Bishop, which in the East is called the Fil or Elephant to this day, and as such may be seen in one of Hyde's plates.[1] Is it not much more likely, then, that the Italians were the first that brought the figure of the tower on the board—not from the "Elephant and Castle," but simply because the word *rocca* or *rocco* does mean a castle or fortress in their language? It is astonishing what absurdity people will be guilty of in order to attach any known signification, no matter how ridiculous, to a foreign term. An Italian could no more pronounce the Oriental *Rukh* than he could fly; so he naturally converted it into *Rocco*, thus giving it a signification, and at the same time eschewing the guttural sound of the *kh*, so shocking to an Italian ear. On the same principle, we ourselves have changed it into "Rook," which, if it means the "*cornix frugivora*," as Hyde learnedly hath it, is to the full as ridiculous a notion as the Italian castle.

[1] Hyde (in p. 137,) gives us neat engravings of the Chessmen belonging to the elaborate Indian board alluded to in our 90th page.

9*th.*—*Hyder Alī's Chessboard.*

Another variety of the Great Chess is mentioned in the journal of one of the officers belonging to Colonel Baillie's unfortunate detachment,[1] which was surrounded and captured by the famous Hyder 'Alī, of Mysore, in the year 1780. One of the prisoners kept a journal, &c., during the period of their captivity, which was published in London, 1789, in 8vo., and entitled "Memoirs of the War in Asia from 1780 to 1784." Under May 3rd, 1780, is the following entry. "Visited by a black commandant who played a game at Chess with Captain Lucas: this game was brought from India into Europe. In India there are three kinds of Chess: two of these are much more complex than the game of that name played in Europe. In one of them, the men, or figures, amount to sixty; and the movements are proportionably various. It very seldom happens that an European is fit to contend with a native of India, whether Persee, Gentoo, or Mussulman. Captain Lucas was highly honoured by the black men on account of his skill in Chess."

[1] This detachment consisted of 3,000 men, including only two companies of European infantry, and sixty European artillerymen, with ten field-pieces. On their march to join the main body, which was then at some distance, under General Sir Hector Monro, they were surrounded by the Mysorean army, consisting of 30,000 cavalry and 8,000 infantry, disciplined by French officers. After a severe action, that lasted for several hours, Colonel Baillie's native troops had either fallen or fled; and his whole force was reduced to less than 400 Englishmen, of whom many were wounded. This gallant band, however, managed to occupy the ridge of a hill, where they formed in square. Their powder and shot being all expended, the officers fought with their swords, and the men with the bayonet. At last their case became quite hopeless, and they surrendered. The termination of the affair, as usual with Asiatics, when with ten or twenty to one in their favour they happen to gain a short-lived triumph, was a cowardly butchery of one-half of the English, and a horrible captivity to the rest. Of 86 officers, 36 were killed and 34 were wounded and mangled. Had it not been for the humane interposition of the French officers, who compelled the Great Savage to show a little civility, not a man among the English

It is evident that the journalist was no Chessplayer, otherwise he would have given us a more satisfactory description of this monster game. We may infer, however, from the number of pieces engaged—thirty on each side—that it was a mere modification of Tīmūr's game, having an additional piece and Pawn on each side. This would require a board of 12 squares by 10, so as to include the new pieces and Pawns. It is very probable that this game was concocted by Hyder's courtiers to gratify that barbarian's vanity. Having heard *read to him* (for he could not read himself), that Tīmūr the "victorious in war" was partial to the Great Chess, it is most likely that he commanded his men of skill to furnish him with a still greater Chess. I never heard of this game in India or elsewhere except in the above extract.

CHAPTER XII.

Introduction of Chess into Arabia from Persia.—Art of Blindfold Play.—Chess at the Court of the 'Abbāside Caliphs.—Progress of the Game towards the West.

HAVING now established, as we believe, beyond the possibility of cavil or doubt, that Chess was invented in India, and thence introduced into Persia in the reign of Naushīrawān, about the middle of the sixth century, we proceed to trace its further progress to the westward. We cannot determine the precise year, or even decennium, when the Indian embassy arrived at the Persian Court; for the reign of Naushīrawān extended over the lengthened period of forty-eight years—that is, from A.D. 531 to A.D. 579. We shall, therefore, assume the middle of that century as our starting-point, which cannot be very far from the mark; and, this being granted, we have excellent authority for saying that in the course of a little more than half a century afterwards the game became known to the Arabs, and (as we shall show in our next chapter) to the Byzantines. Early in the seventh century we find that it had reached the sacred cities of Mecca and Medina. The prophet Muhammad apparently alludes to it in the fifth chapter of the Kurān; but, being himself ignorant of its precise nature, he gives

eschewed by "the Faithful" in general. His words are, "O true believers, surely wine, and lots, and *images*, and divining arrows; are an abomination of the works of Satan, therefore avoid ye them, that ye may prosper."[1] Now, all the eminent Musalmān commentators on this passage say, that by "wine and lots" are meant "all intoxicating drinks, and all games of chance. By the term *images* they say that the Prophet alluded to "the game of Chess," and that the interdict applied not to the game itself, in which *chance* had no part, but to the little carved figures or images of men, horses, elephants, &c., then used on the board as imported from India and Persia, all of which, in the opinion of the prophet, savoured strongly of idolatry.

The Muhammadan casuists and expounders of the sacred text, however, with a degree of sense and enlightenment much redounding to their credit, have managed to rescue the game of Chess from the very degrading position assigned to it by the Prophet, as one of the "abomina-

[1] *Kurān*, chapter v. page 135. We are told that this chapter was *revealed* at Medina, which, in our plain English, signifies that it was composed about, or soon after, A.D. 622, when the Prophet performed his celebrated Hijra, or flight, Friday, July 16, of that year. In the second chapter, wine and gaming are in like manner denounced, but nothing is there said of the images. The words are, "They will ask thee concerning wine and *lots* (*i.e.*, games of chance); answer them—In both there is great sin, and also something of use unto man; but their sinfulness is greater than their use." Sale adds in a note, "From these words some suppose that only drinking to excess, and too frequent gaming, are prohibited; and the moderate use of wine they also think is allowed from the following words in the sixteenth chapter:—'*And from the fruits of palm trees and grapes ye obtain inebriating drinks, and also good nourishment.*'

Verily much may be here said on both sides; but generally speaking, most Musalmāns, especially Persians and Turks, will drink wine when they get it as heartily as any Christian. It merely depends on the example set by the reigning monarch for the time being whether the "true believer" may "tak his drap drink" in *public* or in *private*. If the "Asylum of the Universe" be a *temperance man*, which he seldom is, of course the subjects will pretend to follow the example, and confine themselves to *secret* potations. The wealthy among them, however, may at all times, easily procure a dispensation from the Kāzī, should the *state of their health* require it.

tions of Satan." At the same time the more rigid and orthodox among the "true believers," such as the sect of the Sunnīs, including the majority of the Arab tribes, the Turks, the people of Bukhāra, and the Afghāns of the present day, in order to avoid all appearance of scandal, play with plain blocks of ivory or wood variously cut, but bearing no resemblance to any living creature, so that the term *images* may not apply. The Shī,as, on the other hand, including the Persians, and the Musalmāns of India, commonly called Moguls, who are much more liberal in their ideas, and to the full as free from idolatry as their more scrupulous co-religionists, still make use of the old-fashioned and tastefully carved figures, such as they existed at the courts of Kanoj and Susa in the sixth century. The following passage from the preliminary discourse of Sale's Kurān contains all that need be said on this subject. Sale, we may remark, was a most sound and accurate oriental scholar, and everything he wrote was founded on first-rate authorities. The edition of his *Translation*, which I here use, is that of Tegg, 2 vols. 8vo., 1825; a very beautiful and accurately printed work. In the Preliminary Discourse, sect. 5, page 171, the author says:—

"Under the name of *lots* the commentators agree that all other games whatever, which are subject to hazard or chance, are comprehended and forbidden, as dice, cards, tables, &c. And they are reckoned so ill in themselves, that the testimony of him who plays at them is, by the more rigid, judged to be of no validity in a court of justice. Chess is almost the only game which the Muhammadan doctors allow to be lawful (though it has been a doubt with some)[1], because it depends wholly on skill and management, and not at all on chance; but

then it is allowed under certain restrictions, viz., that it be no hinderance to the regular performance of their devotions, and that no money or other thing be played for or betted, which last the Turks and Sonnites religiously observe, but the Persians and Mogols do not.[1] But what Mohammed is supposed chiefly to have disliked in the game of Chess, was the carved pieces or men, with which the Pagan Arabs played, being little figures of men, elephants, horses, and dromedaries ;[2] and these are thought, by some commentators, to be truly meant by the *images* prohibited in one of the passages of the Koran [3] quoted above.

"That the Arabs in Mohammed's time actually used such images for chessmen appears from what is related in the Sonna of Ali, who, passing accidentally by some who were playing at Chess, asked them, *What images are these which you are so intent upon?*[4] for they were perfectly new to him, that game having been but very lately introduced into Arabia, and not long before into Persia, whither it was first brought from India in the reign of Khosru Nushirwan.[5] Hence the Mohammedan doctors infer that the game was disapproved only for the sake of the images: wherefore the Sonnites always play with plain pieces of wood or ivory; but the Persians and Indians, who are not so scrupulous, continue to make use of the carved ones.[6] The Mohammedans comply with the prohibition of gaming much better than they do with that of wine; for though the common people, among the Turks more frequently, and the Persians more rarely,

[1] V. Eundem, ibid.

[2] V. Eundem, ibid etiam in Hist. Shahiludii, p. 135, &c.

[3] Chap. 5.

[4] Sokeiker al Dimishki; Auctor libri al Mostatraf, apud Hyde, ubi. sup. p. 8.

[5] Khondemir, apud eundem, ib. p. 41.

are addicted to play, yet the better sort are seldom guilty of it.[1]

"Gaming, at least to excess, has been forbidden in all well-ordered states. Gaming-houses were reckoned scandalous places among the Greeks, and a gamester is declared by Aristotle[2] to be no better than a *thief;* the Roman senate made very severe laws against playing at games of hazard,[3] except only during the *Saturnalia;* though the people played often at other times, notwithstanding the prohibition. The civil law forbade all pernicious games,[4] and though the laity were, in some cases, permitted to play for money, provided they kept within reasonable bounds, yet the clergy were forbidden to play at *tables* (which is a game of hazard), or even to look on while others played.[5] Accursius, indeed, is of opinion they may play at Chess, notwithstanding that law, because it is a game not subject to chance,[6] and being but newly invented in the time of Justinian, was not then known in the western parts. However, the monks for some time were not allowed even Chess.[7] As to the Jews, Mohammed's chief guides, they also highly disapprove gaming: gamesters being severely censured in the Talmud, and their testimony declared invalid."[8]

We find that at the Court of the Ummiya Caliphs who ruled at Damascus from A.D. 661 to 774, the game

[1] V. Eundem in Proleg. and Chardin, Voy de Perse, T. 2, p. 46.

[2] Lib. 4, ad Nicom.

[3] V. Horat. l. 3, Carm. Od. 24.

[4] De Aleatoribus. Novell. Just. 123, &c. V. Hyde, ubi sup. in Hist. Aleæ, p. 119.

[5] Authent. interdicimus, c. de episcopis.

[6] In com. ad Legem Præd.

[7] Du Fresne, in Gloss.

[8] Bava Mesia, 84. 1. Rosh hashana, and Sanhedr. 24, 2. V. etiam Maimon, in Tract. Gezila. Among the modern civilians, Mascardus thought common gamesters were not to be admitted as witnesses, being infamous persons. Vide

of Chess was in high favour. In the Persian manuscript of the British Museum there is an anecdote related of Walīd, the seventh of this dynasty, who began his reign in A.D. 705, which is somewhat characteristic of the olden times. "The caliph used to play Chess with one of his courtiers who was a much stronger player than himself, and who purposely made bad moves in order to let his sovereign[1] gain the victory. One day, the caliph observed this, and, being highly offended, he seized one of the heaviest of the pieces and hurled the same at the courtier's head, saying, May evil befal thee, base sycophant! Art thou in thy senses to play Chess with me in this foolish manner?" We may observe by the way, that this same *head-breaking* appears to have been a favourite *move* in days of yore, both among Muslims and Christians. I believe it is very rarely adopted in modern times, it being considered what the insurance-office would call "doubly hazardous." I think this is the earliest, and I may add the most excusable, instance of it on record.[2]

[1] The Asiatics, generally speaking, are very servile towards their superiors particularly when the latter happen to have crowned heads on their shoulders, or hold high offices in the State. It is related of the Brāhman *Travangad-Achārya-Shāstrī*, of Bombay, who published a small work on the Hindūstānī game, 1814, that he was never beaten at Chess but *once*, and that was by a *European lady*. It is very probable that the Brāhman's play resembled that of other courtiers, but with better luck, for the loss of the game secured him a lucrative contract for the supply of the army with provisions. A distinguished pupil of mine, who for several years held a civil and political situation in the Bombay Presidency, told me many years ago when he was home on furlough, that he found it very difficult to induce the natives, some of whom were excellent players, to exert their whole strength against him. They deemed it the height of presumption to win a game of the "Barā Sāhib Bahādur," (the eminent and honourable gentleman), till at last he agreed to give them a *gold mohur* (about a guinea and a half) for every game they won of him, he himself exacting nothing for such games as they lost. This sure enough had the desired effect, and he very soon found that his Chess play on such terms was becoming rather an expensive amusement.

[2] There is a similar anecdote told of the Fingalian hero Cuchullin, which, if *true*, would have been of a still earlier date, say A.D. 200 to A.D. 400, without

The reader will find ample references to anecdotes of this kind in Sir Frederic Madden's Dissertation, of which more hereafter; also in the volumes of Twiss *passim*.

Within less than a century after the death of Muhammad, the Arabs, or, as they are commonly styled, the Saracens, had extended their conquests to the eastward as far as the Indus, and to the westward as far as the shores of the Atlantic, from Fez in Africa to the mouth of the Loire in France. Conquest and the acquisition of wealth introduced among them luxury and a taste for all the refinements of life. Under the munificent patronage of the 'Abbāside Caliphs, many of the arts and sciences advanced to a degree of perfection till then unknown in the world. From the Hindūs the Arabs obtained the decimal system of arithmetic,[1] so vastly superior to the clumsy modes of enumeration previously in vogue: modes through which any advancement in pure science was utterly impossible. From the same quarter they obtained a knowledge of the elements of algebra and the simpler principles of trigonometry, which acquisitions they cultivated with the keenest ardour. Astronomy, geometry, medicine, logic, and metaphysics, they had

[1] In the volume on Egypt in the "Edinburgh Cabinet Library," we have (p. 206) the following statement:—"There can be little doubt that it was to Egypt the Saracens were indebted for the scheme of arithmetical notation, which they subsequently communicated to the scholars of Europe." All this is untrue. The Arabs themselves, without exception, assert that they had it from the Hindūs. The Egyptian scheme was merely a shade less cumbersome than that of the Greeks and Romans, by the author's own showing. For instance, "to express 1831 required no fewer than thirteen figures." The beautiful, we may say miraculous principle of the decimal scale invented by the Hindūs was utterly unknown to the Egyptians. I should like to see the Egyptians, the Greeks, or the Romans calculate and express in their figures, the amount of dinars that resulted from the duplication of the successive squares of the Chess-board stated in our seventh chapter. Still more hopeless a task would it have proved to them, *to extract the cube root* of that long number of twenty figures, a feat which our schoolboys think little of, and which, I believe, the eminent mathematician and divine, Isaac Barrow, once

from the Greeks; but in all of these branches they made considerable improvements of their own; and to these same Arabs modern Europe was, soon after, indebted for the first rays of her enlightenment from the dark cloud of barbarism, ignorance, and superstition, under which she had lain prostrate for several centuries.

During the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries of our era, the game of Chess had attained a high degree of perfection at the courts of the eastern Caliphs, and elsewhere among the Saracenic people. Abul-'Abbās, a physician of Bagdad, who died A.D. 899, is the earliest Arabian writer on Chess of whom we have any account. Immediately after him came the far-famed Al Sulī, who may be justly styled the Arabian Philidor. He was by far the first player of his time, so that his name has become proverbial to this day. Like Philidor, he excelled in playing without seeing the board, and against several adversaries at the same time. He also wrote a treatise on the theory and practice of the game. His work, as well as that of Abul-'Abbās, is now, in all probability, lost; but it is frequently cited as an authority by later Arabian writers.[1] Al Sūlī died in the city of Basra about A.D. 946. So great is his fame among the Arabs, that the unlearned among them will have it, that he must himself have been the inventor of Chess. They maintain, by a certain show of reason, that no man but the inventor of the game could have so excelled in its practice; and the highest compliment they can pay to any eminent player is, that *he is a second Sūlī.*

Another celebrated master of the art, about, or a little before, this period, was 'Adalī al Rūmī. From the latter

[1] Numerous and copious extracts from the works both of Sulī and 'Adalī are given in Dr. Lee's two MSS., of which I have been unable to obtain a perusal,

part of his name we may infer that he was a native of the Eastern Roman Empire, comprising what is now called European Turkey and Asia Minor, to which countries the term Rūm is applied by the Arabs and Persians to this day. To this country the game had, (as we shall hereafter show), ere then passed either from Persia direct, which is the more probable supposition, or through the intercourse of the Arabs with the Byzantines, in peace or in war. 'Adalī composed a work on the game, and is considered to have been nearly the equal of Al Sūlī in strength, both being of the class called 'Aliyat, or "first-rate." Next to these we read of Ibn Dandān and Al Kunāf, both of Bagdad, also of the highest class. With the 'Abbāside Caliphs themselves, Chess was a favourite amusement, and thence we may easily account for the remarkable progress made in the theory and practice of the game, and the high estimation in which distinguished players were held at the polished court of that dynasty.

The Arabs were the first we read of among the people of the East who excelled in playing "without seeing the board." We have good authority for saying that they practised this art as early as the middle of our seventh century, from the following passage in the description of Dr. Lee's Arabic MS., No. 77, as drawn up by Mr. N. Bland.—(Vide Appendix C.) "The Introduction (to Dr. Lee's MS.) relates examples of the early Muhammadan doctors, and even of companions and followers of the Prophet, who either themselves played Chess, or were spectators of the game. Some of these are said also to have 'played behind their back,' *i.e.*, without looking at the board." The Museum MS., No. 16,856, as I have already mentioned, is a translation of an old Arabian work on Chess,[1] the twelfth and last chapter of which is

[1] The name of the author of the original Arabic work was "Abū Muham-

devoted to this subject. The author, after a few preliminary remarks, supposed to be addressing himself to the player of the White men, thus proceeds :—

Blindfold Play.

"In the first place you are to bear in mind that the board is divided into equal portions by a horizontal line drawn from left to right. The half next to you is White's ground, and the other half is Black's.[1] Again, imagine the board to be bisected perpendicularly by a line from top to bottom, thus forming four equal portions of sixteen squares each. The right-hand quarter is your King's; and the quarter on your left, your Queen's. In like manner, the quarter opposite your King's, belongs to the adversary's King, and that opposite to your Queen's belongs to the adverse Queen.

The various squares are reckoned from either extremity, and are named after the King or Queen in whose quarter they are. Thus, the square before your King's is called W. K.'s second square; next to that W. K.'s third square; then W. K.'s fourth square. Proceeding beyond the middle line, the next square is Black King's fourth square, next to that his third square, &c.; and a similar rule holds with regard to all the other squares. With regard to the Pieces and Pawns, those originally standing in your King's quarter are styled King's Pieces

mad Bin 'Umar Kājīna," of whom I never heard except here. It is highly probable that his lucubrations have long been lost, like many others, in countries where the art of printing is still in its infancy.

[1] This is precisely the mode of describing the moves, &c., used by the early Italian masters, and by all our own writers on the subject till some twenty-five to thirty years ago, when our present method was introduced, I believe, by Mr. Lewis, in his valuable series of "Lessons on Chess." I confess I am myself partial to the old or Arabian system, being that which was in vogue

and Pawns, and the others Queen's. Thus, the Knight on your right hand is White King's Knight; the square in front of him is White King's Knight's second square, and so on of all the rest. All these things you must thoroughly master, and bear in mind, so that you may readily know the precise locality,[1] as well as the name and designation of every square on the board. It is needless to add that your adversary reckons all the Pieces and Pawns, relatively, in a similar manner, from his own side of the board.

PRECEPTS AND MAXIMS.

"1. Before you begin the game, fix firmly in your memory the exact state of your "battle array,"[2] as well as that of your adversary. Bear in mind what pieces of your own occupy each of your quarters, and also how your adversary's pieces are stationed in his quarters. Never lose sight of the relative changes and modifications which are being constantly effected by each successive move that is made. Never allow your attention to be withdrawn from the board and pieces which you are contemplating in your mind.

"2. The pieces that require the most watching are the Knights, owing to the obliquity of their moves. The Rooks, though the more powerful pieces, are much more easily followed in their movements. The Queen and

[1] I consider this same *locality* as a great help to the memory; and I cannot help thinking that the Oriental player would have much profited by having the board colored black and white as with us. He could thus more easily follow the movements of the Queens and Bishops, all of which kept to their original colors. The Knight's moves also could be more easily recollected, as the Knight changed his colour at each move. When he stood on a *white* square, he commanded, from a central position, eight black squares, and *vice versa*, when he stood on a black square.

Bishops can attack only a certain number of well-known squares, and it is good play, when possible, to keep your King out of their reach.

"3. Do not at first attempt Blindfold Play except with inferior players; nor would I advise you to attempt it at all, unless you possess strong powers of local memory and mental abstraction; nor would it be judicious to try it unless you can play well with your eyes open, over the board."

The author concludes by stating, "that some men, from long practice, have arrived at such a degree of perfection in this art, as to have played blindfold at four or five boards at one and the same time, and never to have committed a mistake in any of the games." He further tells us that,—"some have been known to have recited poetry, or told amusing stories, or conversed with the company present during the progress of the contest." In another sentence he says, "I have seen it written in a book, that one man played blindfold at ten boards *simultaneously*,[1] and gained all the games; he even corrected many errors committed by his opponents and friends in describing the moves."

[1] Our transatlantic cousins have been "going a-head" in this department within the last year or two. Mr. Louis Paulsen, of Iowa, United States, in 1858, played *twelve games* at the same time without seeing the board, and won them all. This surpasses the Oriental player, barring the "poetry," and the "droll stories," of which, in the case of the American, we have received no account. M. Paulsen is allowed to be the second player in America; but in this extraordinary feat of his we have not been able to ascertain the strength of his opponents, for much depends upon that. Of his young countryman, however, Mr. Paul Morphy, we are enabled to speak with more certainty. This gentleman, the "facile Princeps" of Chess, within the last two years played two distinct matches, one at Birmingham, and one at Paris; each of the matches consisting of *eight games* played simultaneously without seeing the board. At Birmingham Mr. Morphy won six games out of the eight, drew one, and lost one. At Paris he won six and drew the remaining two. These sixteen games then, out of which Mr. Morphy lost only one, were played against really strong players. They have been all carefully recorded, and recently published;—a lasting

Such are the instructions of Abū Muhammad to those who are ambitious to excel in Blindfold Play; and if slightly modified, so as to suit our modern game, it will be found that they are precisely those given by Damiano, 350 years ago. Now, the Arabian author could not have borrowed his from Damiano, as he lived several centuries before the latter; then arises a query—are Damiano's instructions original? If we suppose that the two authors have, independent of each other, hit upon precisely the same precepts, it amounts to a tolerable proof that the principles of the art are founded on a sound basis. I am inclined to think, however, that Damiano's notions on this subject reached him either directly or indirectly from the Arabs, who had ruled in Spain during several centuries before that in which he was born.[1]

Who among our readers has not perused that veracious and enchanting history called the *Arabian Nights' Entertainments?* Who has not heard of the "Commander of the Faithful," Harūn al Rashīd (pronounced by schoolboys, *Hairown al Raskid*)? Who has not read of the Wazīr Ja'far, and of Masrūr the Chief of the Eunuchs, and of the merry adventures of the trio through the city of Bagdad, at that time the most civilized place on the face of the earth? Well, then, Harūn was a fair Chess player, but his sister 'Abbāsiya was a still *fairer* player, and used to beat the Caliph at every game. So did the Wazīr Ja'far; only Harūn was a man of sense, and felt no mortification at being beaten at Chess either by his sister or his minister. In fact, he would have thoroughly despised any of his courtiers if he thought the latter lost to him a game out of mere politeness, or under the idea that it would be anyways

[1] I say nothing here of Carrera's rules, which appear to have been adopted

agreeable to the "successor of the Prophet" (on whom be peace). So Harūn bethought him that he would like to see a regular *match* between his sister and the Wazīr Ja'far. He accordingly had them married, with a proviso inserted for state reasons, that they should not cohabit without his consent, for as yet he had no heir of his own to succeed him.[1] Thenceforward 'Abbāsiya and Ja'far frequently played with alternate success in the presence of the Caliph; and we must confess the truth, still more frequently in his absence. The youthful lovers—I should like to know, who can blame them—entirely forgot or overlooked the clause about cohabitation, and the consequence was the disgrace and ultimately the death of Ja'far.

Al Amīn, the first of Harūn's sons, who succeeded him in A.D. 809, was devotedly fond of Chess. It is related of him, that when the city of Bagdad was besieged and on the point of being captured by the forces of his brother, Al Māmūn, who disputed with him Harūn's throne, he was intently occupied in a game of Chess with his friend Kūthar. In the meantime, a messenger entered in great haste, and said, "O Commander of the Faithful, this is not the time for play; pray arise, and attend to matters of more serious importance." To this, Al Amīn coolly replied, "Have patience, my friend, I see that in a few moves I can give checkmate to Kūthar."[2]

[1] The simple English reader will here wonder why 'Abbāsiya and Ja'far could not play their game—at least, their Chess game—like any Christian lady and gentleman, without having first gone through the marriage ceremony. The reason is, that a Musalmān female of the least respectability is not allowed to converse with any of the male sex except her husband and her nearest blood relations, such as her father, brothers, and sons.

[2] *Historia Saracenica Arabice et Latine*, fol. 1625; *Lugduni Batavorum*, page 129. Operâ ac studio, Thomas Erpenii.—The learned translator Erpe-

It is further related of Amīn, that he issued orders through all the provinces of the Empire, inviting to his court all such persons as were expert Chess players. To these he allowed pensions, and passed the happiest hours of his life, either in contending with them over the board, or in witnessing their contests with one another.

Al Māmūn, the second son of Harūn, who succeeded his brother Amīn A.D. 813, was distinguished for the patronage he bestowed on Chess, as well as on all the elegant arts that refine and embellish life. "He is generally regarded as the most magnificent of all the 'Abbāside Caliphs. At his nuptials, we are told that a thousand pearls of the largest size were showered on the head of his bride; and gifts of lands and houses, scattered in lottery tickets among the populace, announced to the astonished recipients the capricious profusion of the royal bounty. Before drawing his feet from the stirrups he gave away 2,400,000 gold dīnārs (£1,110,000 of our money), being four-fifths of the revenue of a whole province. In the encouragement of literature he was the Mæcenas of the East. Learned men from all parts of the world were invited to resort to the court of Bagdad, where their talents were duly appreciated, and they themselves received the most distinguished tokens of imperial favour; and in return, these happy scholars laboured to the utmost of their power in extolling the glory of their generous patron, and in gratifying his taste by collecting and presenting to him the most rare and curious productions of Oriental genius.

owing to his entire ignorance of Chess. He is puzzled by the simple term *Shāh-māt*, or "checkmate." It happens that there is an Arabic word *Shāh* which signifies "a sheep"—hence the learned Professor translates "*Shāh-māt*" "a dead sheep,"—and the same sentence thus. "I see a dead sheep against Kūthar." I wonder whether the Dutch savant attached any meaning

Al Māmūn, though very fond of Chess, was not a first-rate player. He used to say, "It is wonderful that I, who rule the world from the Indus in the East, to Andalūs in the West, should be unable to manage the thirty-two chessmen included within a square space of two cubits[1] by two." There is an anecdote of him, recorded in the British Museum Persian MSS. which admirably shews his good sense. "He was one day playing with one of his courtiers who appeared to be moving negligently on purpose to let the Caliph win. Al Māmūn perceived it, and in great wrath upset the board and men, saying to his opponent—'You want to treat me as a child, and to practice on my understanding.' He then addressed the lookers-on, saying, "Bear witness to the vow which I here make, that I will never again play Chess with this person.'"

Al Mu'tasim, the third of Harūn's sons, succeeded his brother Al Māmūn in A.D. 833. He was a distinguished Chess-player. Two of his problems have been handed down to us; one which we have already presented to the reader in our eighth chapter, and the other which occurred to him in actual play, is given in the Asiatic Society's MS. fol. 146, but unfortunately the side of the diagram next to the Caliph is effaced, so that we cannot say where his King was placed or what additional piece or pieces he may have had on the horizontal file nearest him.

Al Mu'tasim has been designated by historians the

[1] The lineal measures of all nations were originally derived from the members of the human body, thus *a hand*, *a foot*, *a cubit*, &c., will be found in every language, though in no two languages are the terms identical. The ancient *cubit* in particular was an exceedingly vague measure, varying from thirteen to eighteen of our inches, according as it was assumed either from the elbow to the wrist, or from the elbow to the top of the middle finger, both of which lengths apply to the Arabic words *dhirā'* employed in the original of

"Octonary Caliph," owing to the following remarkable coincidences of the number *eight* applicable to his life and reign. He was the *eighth* in descent from 'Abbās the founder of the dynasty. His reign was distinguished by *eight* important victories. *Eight* sons of sovereign princes were enrolled in his service. He possessed *eight* thousand male and *eight* thousand female slaves. He was proprietor of *eighty* thousand horses. He had *eight* sons and *eight* daughters. He left in his coffers *eight* millions of golden dīnārs, and *eighteen* millions of silver dirhems. He lived to the age of *eight* and forty years. He reigned *eight* lunar years, *eight* months, and *eight* days. Lastly, his Chess-board, which constituted the delight of his leisure hours, contained *eight* times *eight* squares; the pieces on either side were eight in number, so were the Pawns.

The 'Abbāside Caliphate had attained its utmost splendour under Harūn; his three sons Al Amīn, Al Māmūn, and Al Mu'tasim; and his grandson, Al Wāthik (vulgarly called Vathek). This last, the son and successor of Al Mu'tasim, reigned from 842 to 847, was a liberal patron of learned men, and a cherisher of the arts and sciences. He is said to have so mildly and justly ruled his people, that not a single beggar was to be met with throughout his wide domains during his whole reign. The 'Abbāside dynasty continued to flourish at Bagdad, though with diminished splendour, for four centuries after the death of Al Wāthik; and it would require from us a bulky volume to enumerate the names of eminent Chess players, and the copious allusions to the game found in the Arabian writers[1] of that

[1] Mr. Bland in his Essay justly observes—"A history of celebrated Eastern Chess-players would form an interesting chapter of biography, and a desirable

period. Many of these have been recorded by Hyde, to whose very learned but very ill digested work, *De Ludis Orientalibus*, we refer our readers.

In the Christian year 1171, the renowned Salāh-ud-Dīn, better known to us as Saladin, founded the Ayūbite dynasty in Egypt and Syria, having thrown off his allegiance to the Caliphs of Bagdad, whose Wazīr or viceroy he had previously been. At his court we find that the game of Chess was held in high repute, and judging from one circumstance we conclude that he was himself a player. The fine old Arabic manuscript in the British Museum, as we have already stated, is dedicated either to Saladin himself, or to his successor, most probably the former, for he was the only distinguished man of the dynasty which lasted no longer than for the brief period of eighty years.

In the seventh century of our æra, the Arabs, or as they are better known in the west, the Saracens, swept like a whirlwind along the north of Africa, (taking note of Naples and Sicily in their way), as far as Fez. Early in the eighth century they crossed the Straits of Gibraltar, and established themselves in the sunny plains and shady groves of Andalūs. In the course of time the court of Cordova equalled, if not surpassed, in splendour and magnificence its gorgeous rival in Bagdad. The Ommiade Caliphs of Spain were most generous patrons of the arts and sciences, and under their liberal and enlightened sway Arabian learning shone with a

supplied by the names which occur in anecdotes relating to the game." In this I heartily agree with Mr. Bland, and I may add that no one is better qualified for the task than himself; but it is a department which I refrain from entering on, my endeavours being limited to the *History* of the *origin* the *theory*, and the *practice* of the game. The few notices of individuals which I insert, are intended more or less to serve as so many isolated landmarks pointing out the progress of the game westwards from the banks

brighter lustre, and continued to flourish to a later period, than in the far-famed schools of the East. Cordova, Seville, and Granada rivalled each other in the magnificence of their academies, colleges, and libraries; and the same may be said of Toledo, Malaga, Murcia, and Valencia.

We must now draw our chapter to a conclusion, and in so doing, we beg to throw out in the meantime, as a mere suggestion, that in all probability Chess was introduced by the Arabs into South Italy, Spain, and France in the eighth century of our æra. It is a mere inference (for we have no positive proof), but it is a very legitimate one, as we shall see hereafter in our chapter on the introduction of the game into Western and Central Europe. We have seen that the Arabs were intimate with the game early in the seventh century; and we are free to infer that they carried their knowledge of it, along with that of other arts and sciences, wherever their conquests extended.

We are much less acquainted with the treasures of Arabian literature now mouldering in the gloomy dungeons of the Escurial library, and elsewhere in Spain, than we are with the productions of the East. We have excellent authority, however, for saying that in the twelfth century Spain possessed more than a million of manuscript volumes, the produce of Arabian genius, in all departments of human knowledge. These were mostly destroyed by the bigoted and ignorant monks, and the still considerable number that escaped from the ruthless hands of these "Holy Vandals," lie buried and unnoticed in a few obscure libraries and monasteries. It is to be hoped that Spain, the land of the Cid, of Cervantes, and of Ruy Lopez, will yet rouse herself from her

world the hidden treasures which she possesses. Let us hope that she will soon shake off the superstitious thraldom imposed upon her for ages by a pampered and selfish priesthood, and once more rekindle the extinguished lamp which six centuries ago shed its benign rays on benighted Europe.

CHAPTER XIII.

On the Introduction of Chess into the Lower Empire.

In the present day we believe that no man in Europe acquainted with Chess, and imbued with the least tincture of scholarship, will maintain that the ancient Greeks possessed any knowledge of the game. That they had a game of their own called πεττεια, played on a board with ruled lines or squares, by two persons, we are perfectly aware; but this bore no stronger resemblance to Chess than a coal-barge does to the Great Eastern. This game is said to have been invented by Palamedes at the siege of Troy, though we are warranted in concluding that it had been known before that period; for we find the suitors of Penelope playing at it in Ithaca on the return of Ulysses from Troy. The earliest mention of it occurs in the first book of Homer's *Odyssey*, verse 106, where, alluding to Penelope's lovers, he says—

> ——————————— *οἱ μὲν ἔπειτα*
> *Πεσσοῖσι πθοπάροίθε θυράων θυμὸν ἔτερπον*
> *Ἥμενοι ἐν ρινοῖσι βοῶν, οὓς εκτανον αὐτοί.*

Homer's meaning here is quite clear, however obfuscated by his commentators. The suitors of Penelope

[1] *Homeri Opera Omnia*—cura Jo. Augusti Ernesti, five volumes, 8vo., Leipsic, 1824.

" were amusing themselves with the πεσσοι" (or the game called πεττεια) " being seated in front of the palace gates, upon skins of oxen which they themselves had slaughtered ;" for in those good old times it was requisite in a gentleman that he should be qualified to kill his own bullock, and cook his own dinner.

The game here alluded to is clearly the πεττεια, a *sedentary* game, played by two people on a board of twenty-five squares, each player having five πεσσοι, or counters.[1] This may be said to have borne a very faint resemblance to Chess, but, in reality, it was only the rudiments of our modern Draughts or Backgammon. The commentators of Homer, with regard to the above passage, refer us to Athenæus for ample light on this subject, "ubi ludus hic procorum particulatim describitur ;" well then, Athenæus treats us to a description of an *active* game which cannot by any possibility apply to that alluded to by Homer, far less does it resemble Chess.

As the commentators, however, lay so much stress on Athenæus, I here transcribe the whole of that author's description, premising that, not having access to the original, I use the translation recently published by Mr. Bohn. The account is by no means clear or logical ; but for that the author, or the translator, or both must be answerable ; and Heaven knows they have a good deal to answer for.[2] Athenæus says[3]—"In Homer, too, the

[1] Vide *Appendix B.*, by Herbert Coleridge, Esq.

[2] Bohn. *Trans. of Athen.* vol. i. p. 27. A more complete exemplification of the apathy or stupidity of commentators does not exist. It is quite evident that the game described by Athenæus was not played by men "seated on skins of oxen," as Homer clearly states ; neither was it a game of dice. It was played by two equal parties of the suitors, fifty-four on each side, and seems to have resembled what Strutt describes (p. 383-4) as "Hop-Scotch" or "Taw," familiar to some of our schoolboys.

suitors amused themselves in front of the doors of the palace with dice; not having learnt how to play at dice from Diodorus of Megalopolis, or from Theodorus, or from Leon of Mitylene, who was descended from Athenian ancestors, and was absolutely invincible at dice, as Phanias says. But Apion of Alexandria says, that he had heard from Cteson of Ithaca what sort of game the game of dice, as played by the suitors, was. For the suitors being 108 in number, arranged their pieces opposite to one another in equal numbers, they themselves also being divided into two equal parties, so that there were on each side fifty-four, and between the men there was a small space left empty. And in this middle space they placed one man they called Penelope. And they made this the mark to see if any one of them could hit it with his man; and when they had cast lots he who drew the lot named set it. Then, if any one hit it, and drove Penelope forward out of her place; then he put down his own man in the place of that which had been hit and moved from his place. After which, standing up again, he shot his other man at Penelope, in the place in which she was a second time. And if he hit her again without touching any of the other men, he won the game, and had great hopes that he should be the man to marry her. He says, too, that Eurymachus gained the greatest number of victories in this game, and was very sanguine about his marriage."

In the Latin versions of the Odyssey, the word πεσσοισι is translated "talis," *i.e.* "dice," evidently confounding two distinct games, the πεττεια and the κυβεια the latter

of English composition I ever met with in my whole life. It is an excellent illustration of the Scottish "gudeman's" idea of metaphysics, viz., "Ye see, Sir, when ae man canna mak oot what an ither man writes, and when the

a regular dice game. Pope, availing himself of the proverbial license conceded to the "*genus irritabile*," that is the "*tuneful* tribe," improves marvellously on the Latin version, for of the original Greek he is said to have known little. His words are,

> "On hides of beeves, before the palace gate
> (Sad spoils of luxury!) the suitors sate.
> With rival arts and ardour in their mien
> At CHESS they vie to captivate[1] the queen."

Now, looking at these couplets of Pope's, or rather of Pope's journeymen verse makers, we have no hesitation in saying that they are the least worthy of his name that ever were written. It is well known that Pope himself did not *do* the *Odyssey*. He may have occasionally touched off the rhymes of his assistants, leaving the sense to come as it might. The parenthesis in the second line is not only *not* Homer's, but it is downright nonsense. We really see no very alarming "symptoms of luxury" in a man's making a seat, aye, and a bed too, of a bullock's skin, particularly as he had previously killed and flayed the beast with his own hands, thus saving the regular butcher's fee. The third and fourth lines are not in Homer at all, so it would be simply ridiculous to waste time upon them. I have only to add that this passage, *not of Homer's*, but of Pope's Grub Street underlings, has been quoted and appealed to "usque ad nauseam" as a *proof* of the antiquity of Chess in "early Greece."[2]

[1] To "captivate the queen" is an ambiguous expression. It may signify "to make the queen captive," which is the sense intended; or, according to the present usage of the word, it may mean, to "charm or gain the affections" of the *live* queen Penelope herself.

[2] Pope has much to answer for as the originator of a vast deal of rhetorical rubbish inflicted upon us in Chess lectures and Chess articles in periodicals. Here, for example, is a fine stereotype specimen of this sort:—"When and where Chess was invented is a problem which we believe never will be solved.

The Byzantine, or Neo-Hellenic term for Chess, that is, "bona fide Chess," is ζατρικιον, a word unknown in the classic period of the Greek language, and incapable of satisfactory derivation from any Greek root. It is a pure exotic in the language (like the terms Chatrang and Shatranj in the languages of Persia and Arabia,) where it serves as a mere puzzle to exercise the ingenuity of the Lexicographers. The fact is, as we have already shown in our fifth chapter, that the Sanskrit compound "Chatur-anga" is the real root of Chatrang, Shatranj, and as we shall immediately point out, of ζατρικιον in like manner. This term ζατρικιον then, is simply a barbaric or foreign word with a Hellenic termination. The Greek alphabet had no letter or combination of letters capable of expressing the sound of the Persian "ch" like our "ch" in church") and as the nearest approximation they employed for that purpose the letter (zeta) ζ; hence Chatrang became ζατρανκ or ζατρινκ or Hellenized, ζατρανκιον or ζατρινκιον. Again the middle ν of the last form is thrown out in conformity with a very prevalent usage of the language well known to every Greek scholar, hence the form ζατρικιον which is applied to Chess only, and never to the πεττεια or any other species of game. As instances of the elision of the letter ν in foreign words introduced into the Hellenic, we may mention the Roman term "Castrense," which becomes καστρεσιον, and "Ar-

The origin of the game recedes every day further back into the regions of the past and unknown. Individuals deep in antiquarian lore, have very praiseworthily puzzled themselves and their readers in vain, in their endeavours to ascertain to their satisfaction, how this wonderful pastime sprang into existence. Whether it was the product of some peaceful age, when science and philosophy reigned supreme; or whether it was nurtured amid the tented field of the warrior, are questions which it is equally futile and unnecessary now to ask. *Sufficient for us that the game exists; that it has been sung of by Homer,*" &c. &c.!!! We recommend the above eloquent *morceau*, taken from a Chess periodical now defunct, to the attention of Chess lecturers and those who are

menta," which becomes ἑρμητα. So much for the derivation of ζατρικιον the second in descent from Chaturanga through the Persian Chatrang.

The Hellenic modification of the Arabic term *Shatranj*, not *Chatrang*, occurs in Ducas, a recent Byzantine historian, who wrote about, or soon after A.D. 1402. In speaking of Tīmūr's great victory over Bāyazīd, (vulgarly Bajazet,) in the plains of Angora, he says that, "when Bāyazīd was brought in captive, Tīmūr was seated in his tent with his son *Shāh Rukh*[1] playing Chess, which the Persians call Σαντράζ. Now this last term is, evidently, by transposition, the Arabic *Shatranj* then used universally by Persian writers. The Greek alphabet possessed neither the initial nor the final sound of the word. For the former they made use of the (sigma) σ as the nearest approximation; and for the latter the (zeta) ζ as in the case of the Persian "ch" for the ch and j being cognate sounds both were represented, when necessary in Greek by ζ; hence the term σατράνζ or per metathesin, σαντραζ which is the third in descent from Chatur-anga through the forms of "Chatrang" and "Shatranj" respectively. There is another Neo-Hellenic formation of the term *Shatranj*, viz. Σατρενγιον or more properly Σατρεγγιον evidently from the modern Arabic, in which the letter j is frequently sounded like our hard g. I have dwelt thus particularly on the etymological or philological part of our argument, because, if sound, and I cannot see any flaw in it, we are warranted in drawing thence several important conclusions.

1. In the first place, we have shown that the term ζατρικιον the older form under which it appears in the Byzantine writers, is derived solely from the Persian "Chatrang," and not from the Arabic "Shatranj."

[1] On the origin of the name *Shāh-Rukh*, *vide* chapter XI., page 159.

The obvious inference then is, that the Greeks received the game of Chess, along with the term ζατρικιον directly from the Persians and not through the intervention of the Arabs. This event may possibly have occurred during the reign of Naushīrawān, who repeatedly carried his conquests into Syria and Asia Minor, but it is much more probable that it took place some thirty or forty years later, during the reign of his grandson Khusrū Parvīz, or Chosroes II., as we shall hereafter point out.

2. In the second place, the Byzantines must have received the term ζατρικιον, and consequently the game of Chess from the Persians at a period when the latter made use in their language of the older term "Chatrang," and not after they had adopted the Arabic modification "Shatranj." This must have happened some time before the middle of the seventh century, when the language of Persia became greatly intermixed with Arabic words, and the ancient religion of Zoroaster gave place to that of Muhammad, in consequence of the invasion and conquests of the Saracens. These temperate and hardy sons of the desert, under the command of the Caliph 'Umar, with the Kurān in one hand, and the sword in the other, overwhelmed like a torrent the whole country extending from the Euphrates to the confines of Tartary and India, about A.D. 640. The hitherto comparatively pure language of Persia then adopted numerous words and phrases from the Arabic; and the term "Shatranj," the only one in use by Persian writers of modern times, then superseded the older form "Chatrang." All this leads us nearly to the same conclusion as before, viz., that the Byzantines received the game of Chess from the Persians, at least as early as the first or second quarter of the seventh century.

3. Lastly, if we could ascertain the earliest mention of

the word ζατρικιον among the Byzantine writers, we should have a certain landmark by which to steer our course. We might rest assured that the game of Chess had, ere then, become known to the Greeks. We are told that the word occurs for the first time in the *Alexiad of Anna Comnena*,[1] which was written early in the twelfth century. The term is also used by a mediæval scholiast on *Theocritus*, but I am unable to ascertain the period at which the scholiast wrote. In *Theocritus*[2] *Idyll*, vi. 18, the following passage occurs, which clearly alludes only to the game of πεττεια, viz., καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ γραμμᾶς κινεῖ λίθον, "he moves away the pebble from the [sacred] line," meaning that "he has the worst of the contest." Now, for our further enlightenment, the scholiast tells us that "this is a figurative expression borrowed from the phraseology of those who play at the game commonly called ζατρικιον or Chess!" whereupon Hyde exclaims, in the genuine old-fashioned commentator style, "*quantum hallucinatus est Scholiastes!*" One thing, however, we may safely infer, which is this, that the scholiast wrote, not earlier than the eighth century; but whether before or after the days of Anna Comnena is uncertain.

Having thus endeavoured to establish on etymological grounds that Chess had reached Byzantium within a century after its arrival in Persia, we shall proceed to investigate such historical evidence—at least presumptive evidence—as comes within our reach. It is true, we have not in this case, such positive and incontestable proofs to rely on, as we had in our last chapter respecting

[1] We are by no means sure that this is the first time that it is mentioned in the Byzantine writers; and even if it should be so, it proves nothing against the fact of the game's being known there for four or five centuries previously.

the introduction of Chess among the Arabs. We must therefore content ourselves, in the first place, with such fair and legitimate inferences as an unprejudiced mind can scarcely fail to accept. This course is frequently adopted, in the absence of positive testimony, by those who endeavour to clear up obscure or doubtful points of history.

We observed in a note (Chap. VI.) respecting Sergius, the Greek interpreter at the Court of Naushīrawān, that Chess *might* have reached Byzantium even in the days of Justinian. This bare *possibility* amounts to a strong *probability* some quarter of a century later under the reign of Khusrū Parvīz, the grandson of Naushīrawān, and the contemporary of the Byzantine Emperors Maurice, Phocas, and Heraclius. Khusrū, or as the Greeks styled him Chosroes II., ascended the Persian throne in A.D. 591, and reigned thirty-seven years. His father, Hormuz, had been assassinated by Bahrām, an able, but unscrupulous general, who himself aimed at sovereign power. The young prince Khusrū became an exile at the Court of the Emperor Maurice, and to the generous (or politic) friendship of the latter he was solely indebted for his restoration to his crown and sceptre. When resident at the Court of Byzantium, Khusrū married Maryam, or Μαρία, one of Maurice's daughters; and during the lifetime of that emperor the strictest intimacy existed between the two nations. Out of compliment to his wife and to his father-in-law, Khusrū maintained for several years in his service, as a select body-guard, a thousand Byzantine youths; while his court was thronged by eminent men from the Lower Empire who had befriended him in his exile, and by whose aid he ultimately succeeded to the throne of his ancestors.

authority, who tells us that the name of the Grecian princess was Sīrā or Shīrīn. Now Shīrīn was quite a different person; she was the daughter of an Armenian or Circassian prince at whose court Khusrū sought an asylum when he fled from the usurper Bahrām. She was celebrated, and is so still, for her wit and beauty, which form the theme of many a romance by the best Persian poets. She is styled, par excellence, "*Zauja,i maḥbūba,i Khusrū*, or "the Wife of Khusrū's affection." My authority respecting Maurice's daughter Maryam is that of a most esteemed Persian historian *Yaḥyā Bin 'Abdu-l-Laṭīf-al-Kazwīnī*, in his work entitled *Lubbu-l-Tawārīkh*, *i.e.*, "The Cream or Marrow of Histories," "Medulla Historiarum" being a General History of the Ancient Persians, and of the Modern Muslims, from the earliest times down to A.D. 1540.

The peace and friendship that existed between the two states were suddenly broken on the death, or rather the assassination of Maurice, early in the seventh century, after which event Khusrū, on pretence of avenging his benefactor and father-in-law, declared war against the Roman Empire, then ruled over by the weak and contemptible Phocas. It does not fall within our province to follow the Persian monarch in his career of conquest for the next twenty years. It is sufficient to say that within that period he became master of Asia Minor, all Syria, Egypt, and the north of Africa; and had he possessed a sufficient naval power he would have overrun the whole of Eastern Europe. A Persian camp was maintained for more than ten years in sight of Constantinople; but the days of reverse and humiliation were fast approaching. During the last six years of his reign Khusrū was stripped of all his

It is now time we should resume our argument respecting the progress of Chess. We know from history that this game was a favourite pastime with Khusrū and his courtiers. A Persian historian states, in describing the magnificence of Khusrū's Court, that, "he had a Chess-board of which one half of the pieces were of solid ruby, and the other half of emerald." A later Arabian historian alluding to the same subject, gives us some idea of their value. He says "that the very least of the pieces (i. e., the *pawn*) was worth 3,000 golden dīnārs or ducats." Now, if such was the value of each Pawn, we may safely estimate the superior pieces at 30,000 dīnārs each, amounting altogether to a quarter of a million sterling! At the present day they would be worth a million.

It is curious to observe that we have almost an identical description of a similar set of Chess-men presented to us in the following quotation from an ancient poem, given in the supplement to Du Cange.—*Vide* Twiss, vol. 2, p. 149:—

"Li Eschequier est tel, onques meindre ne fu;
Les Lices sont d'or fin à trifoire fondu,
Li Paon d'Esmeraudes vertes com pré herbu,
Li autres de Rubia vermans comme ardant fu;
Roy, Fierce, Chevalier, Auffin,[1] Roc, et Cornu
Furent de Saphir, et si ot or molu;
Si autres de Topace, o toute lor vertu;
Moult sont bel à veoir drecié et espandu."

Let us now sum up the results of our argument, founded on etymological grounds and historical inference respecting the early introduction of Chess into the

[1] I cannot help thinking that the word "Auffin" is an error on the part of some transcriber. The "Aufin" and "Cornu" were synonymous terms, hence the former is here superfluous; the latter we must have for the sake of the rhyme. If instead of Auffin we adopt "*Aussi*," or "*Au fin*," both sense and rhyme will be quite satisfactory.

Lower Empire. In the first place we have shown etymologically that the Byzantines must have received the game of Chess from the Persians, and that, too, at a period when the older term Chatrang was still in use in the language of the latter. All this indicates the early part of the seventh century. In the second place we have shown historically, that Khusrū Parvīz was a Chess player; that he passed some time at the court of the Emperor Maurice before he succéeded, by the aid of the latter, to the throne of his ancestors; and that there existed, at least during the lifetime of Maurice, the closest friendship and intimacy between the courts of Byzantium and Susa. All this being taken into account, it is impossible for us not to arrive at the conclusion that the Byzantines received the game of Chess direct from Persia in the reign of Khusrū Parvīz, and this again harmonises in point of time with what we have already deduced from etymological grounds, viz., the early part of the seventh century.

We are told by Hyde, that the Princess Anna Comnena relates, in the Alexiad, a work written by her in the beginning of the twelfth century, "that the Emperor (Alexius) her father, in order to dispel the cares arising from affairs of state, occasionally played Chess (ζατρικιον) at night, with some of his relations or kinsfolk. She then says that "*this game had been* (originally) *brought into use among the Byzantines from the Assyrians.*" The fair historian says nothing as to the time *when* the game came from Assyria, which may have been five centuries before she wrote; her statement, however, proves that it came from Persia, and not from Arabia, for Assyria formed an important portion of the Persian Empire under the Sassanian dynasty; and in fact it was for some centuries a kind

and Romans, according as victory swayed to one side or the other. The term Assyria, then, denoting Persia in general, is used here in a well known figurative sense, "*per synecdochen*," a part taken for the whole, just as the term Fārs is employed at this day to denote the whole of Persia, whereas it is only the name of a single insignificant province of that kingdom. Finally, the once splendid empires of Assyria, of Media, and of Persia, had all passed away long before Anna Comnena wrote, so that one name is just as likely to be employed by her as another.

Passing on to the end of the eighth century we meet with an important historical proof not only that the game of Chess was then well-known to the Greeks, but that it must have been familiar to them for a considerable space of time previously. In the *Annals of the Muslims*, by Abu-l-Fedā,[1] we have on record a letter addressed to the Caliph Harūn Rashīd by the Greek Emperor Nicephorous, immediately after the latter had succeeded the Empress Irene, the contents of which run thus :—

"*From Nicephorous, Emperor of the Romans, to Harūn, Sovereign of the Arabs.*

After the usual compliments, the epistle proceeds :- "The Empress (Irene) into whose place I have succeeded, looked upon you as a *Rukh*,[2] and herself as a mere *Pawn;* therefore she submitted to pay you a tribute more than the double of which she ought to have exacted from you. All this has been owing to female weakness and timidity. Now, however, I insist that you, immediately on reading

[1] *Abulfedæ Annales*, tom. ii. p. 85, 4to, Hafn. 1790—also Leipsic Edition, tom. i. p. 166, 4to. 1778.

[2] It is needless for us to say that the Rukh was the most valuable piece on the Chess-board down to the beginning of the sixteenth century.

this letter, repay to me all the sums of money you ever received from her. If you hesitate, the sword shall settle our accounts."

In reply to this pithy epistle, Harūn, in great wrath, wrote on the back of the leaf :—

"In the Name of God the Merciful and Gracious.

From Harūn, the Commander of the Faithful, to the Roman Dog Nicephorous.

"I have read thine epistle, thou son of an infidel mother. My answer to it thou shalt *see*, not *hear*."

We may add that Harūn in this instance, kept his word. He instantly marched as far as Heracleia, wasting the Roman territories with fire and sword, and soon made Nicephorous sue for peace and consent to pay the tribute as before.

This laconic correspondence took place A.D. 802, and we may infer from it that both the Greeks and the Arabs had long previously become acquainted with the game; for it requires some TIME before its allusions and phraseology could have become thus "familiar as household words" in the language of a people. The Arabs, as we have shown in our last chapter, had most probably received it nearly two centuries before this period; and the familiar allusions made to it by the scribe of Nicephorous confirm all that we have said respecting its early introduction into Byzantium.

From what we have stated in this and the preceding chapter, I believe we are fully justified in concluding that both the Arabs and the Greeks received the game of Chess from the Persians very nearly at the same time, that is about, or soon after, the commencement of the seventh century of the Christian æra. With regard to the Arabs,

we fortunately possess the most satisfactory historical proofs; at the same time, we must candidly confess that what we have written in this chapter respecting the introduction of the royal game into the lower empire, is more a matter of inference than of demonstration. The historical proof of the existence of Chess among the Byzantines commences only with the reign of the Empress Irene; but we are warranted to infer that the game must have been there known nearly two centuries before that period.

CHAPTER XIV.

On the Introduction of Chess into Central Europe.

In the 9th, 11th, and 24th volumes of the *Archæologia* will be found some very interesting disquisitions on the origin of Chess, the names of the pieces, and the introduction of the game into Europe. All these essays have been reproduced in the first volume of the *Chess Player's Chronicle*, 1841, to which we refer the reader, as the Archæological transactions are perhaps less accessible. The paper on this subject in Vol. IX. is by the Hon. Daines Barrington, who is strongly inclined to confer the honour of the invention on the Chinese, to which we have only to say at present, *not proven*. The honourable gentleman's discussion on the games of the ancient Greeks and Romans is sound and satisfactory, proving that none of their sedentary games bore any resemblance to Chess. On the subject of the introduction of Chess into Europe, we think Mr. Barrington has been less successful. He appears to have adopted a very common but erroneous notion, that we received our earliest knowledge of the game from Constantinople, through the Crusaders, and that Italy was the first country in Western Europe where it became known. He seems to have

and romances; so that in fact he is three or four centuries behind in his reckoning. He also falls into errors from unacquaintance with the manner in which the game was played both in Asia and in Europe till the beginning of the sixteenth century. For instance, he says, "the piece of the greatest power was by the Persians styled Pherz, or General." This is a decided mistake; for the piece called by the Persians "Farz," or "Farzīn," and by Europeans "Ferzia," "Queen, or Dame," continued to be one of the weakest pieces on the board—not worth half a Rook—till a little more than three hundred and fifty years ago.

Vol. XI. contains a very able paper, by Francis Douce, Esq., who was a very sound and sensible antiquarian, deeply read in early mediæval lore. "The more immediate object of this communication," the author tells us, "is to bring under one point of view the various opinions concerning the *European names* of the Chess-men, to reconcile some of these, and to correct others." He falls, however, into the usual mistake respecting the introduction of the Queen into the European game, not being aware that the Queen and Archer form two of the pieces in Charlemagne's Chessmen, of which more hereafter. We have only to add further, that Mr. Douce attributes the invention of Chess to the Hindūs, a conclusion at which every unprejudiced mind must arrive after perusing the writings of Dr. Hyde and Sir William Jones.

In Vol. XXIV. we have from the pen of Sir Frederic Madden, by far the best essay on this subject that has yet appeared, either in our own country or abroad. It occupies from pp. 203 to 291 of the volume, and is entitled, *Historical Remarks on the Introduction of the Game of Chess into Europe, and on the ancient Chess-men*

discovered in the Isle of Lewis; by FREDERIC MADDEN, Esq., F.R.S.[1] It would be superfluous, and indeed presumptuous, in us to add a word more, respecting the merits of this dissertation. We shall have occasion frequently to refer to it as we proceed, chiefly with a view to confirm, or place in a new light, what the author has already stated.

I believe I shall be able, in this chapter, to show that the game of Chess was known in France at least *eleven hundred years* ago. I shall in proof of this, insert here the earliest Chess anecdote which I have yet seen in reference to Central Europe, and if the circumstance there related can be established not only as highly probable, but historically authentic, the correctness of all subsequent anecdotes, &c., respecting the game, found in our old chronicles and romances before the time of the Crusaders, will need no further confirmation. The story to which I allude is given by Augustus, Duke of Luneberg, in his great work on Chess,[2] p. 14. It is extracted from an old Bavarian chronicle then in the Library of Marcus Welser, and states, that Okarius [Okar, or

[1] A few copies were struck off separately for the author's own use, but these are now very rare.

[2] *Das Schach oder Koenig-Spiel, von Gustavo Seleno*, &c., fol. Leipsic, 1616, pp. 495. Augustus (then styled Augustus Junior) Duke of Brunswick-Luneburg is better known to the collectors of rare Chess books as "Gustavus Selenus." Gustavus is merely an anagram of "Augustus," and "Selenus," is apparently a far-fetched *Hellenization* of "Luneburg," or "Lunaburgensis," similar to the transformation of "Schwartserdt" into "Melancthon." Some copies of this "Chess or Royal Game" appear to have received a new title page, dated 1617, but the text is precisely the same in both. The greater part of it consists of a translation into German of the Treatise on Chess, by Ruy Lopez. I happen to possess a rare copy of the work in the original binding, having the Brunswick arms stamped in gold on the outside, together with the following superscription in large capitals. "Augustus Junior D. G. Dux B. et Luneb. Dono dedit. Johani Finx C. B. Z. Z. L. Anno 1624." The decipherment of the letters in capitals following the name, I must leave to antiquarians more learned than myself in such weighty matters. For [illegible]

Otkar] prince of Bavaria, had a son of great promise residing at the court of King Pepin. One day, Pepin's son, when playing at Chess with the young prince of Bavaria, became so enraged at the latter for having repeatedly beaten him, that he hit him on the temple [with one of the Rooks] so as to kill him on the spot."

As the authenticity of this anecdote is of the utmost importance to our argument in determining the earliest appearance of Chess in Central Europe, let us examine it more fully. I here insert the original Latin, as given by the Duke of Luneburg, together with his additional references to other works in confirmation of the same.

"Okarius filium habuit, in curiâ Pipini, bonis moribus plus quam filius Pipini adornatum, quod Invidiæ fomitem administrabat; quoniam ex Fortunâ sæpe crescit Invidia. Et dum Filii dictorum Principum in Scacco luderent, Filius Okarii semper Pipini Filium vicit. Pipini tamen Filius de potentiâ Patris sui præsumens, Filium Ducis per tempora percutiens, interfecit."

"Okarius had a son at the Court of Pepin, who was more highly endowed with good qualities than the son of Pepin. This proved an incitement to envy; for envy often arises from good fortune. Now, whenever the sons of the said princes played at Chess, the son of Okarius always conquered the son of Pepin; this latter, however, presuming on the power of his father, struck the Bavarian prince on the temples and killed him."

In further confirmation of this story, Augustus of Luneburg, cites the following passage from a work in verse by Metellus of Tegernsee, entitled *Quirinalia*, or the *Acts of Saint Quirin*, composed about A.D. 1060:—

——— "Duci nempe tener filius extitit

Huic Ludo Tabulæ,[1] Regis erat filius obvius,
Donec doctior hic, obtinuit promptiùs Aleam.
Rixam victus agit corde Patris forté potentius
Et Rocho jaculans mortiferè —— —— adegerat,
Sublatum puerum consequitur mors properantior,
Clam funus tegitur."

The Latinity and metre of these lines may not be of the most faultless sort; but fortunately the meaning is clear enough. The duke then cites two other old chronicles alluding to the same subject, viz., *Chronicon Bavariæ Andreæ Prebyteri, Ratispon a Marq. Frehero editum*, p. 17, &c. Also another old Bavarian chronicle mentioned by H. Albrecht and H. Glarus, in which it is said that "the Bavarian prince was an only son, and that he was killed with the Chess *board*," not the Chess *Rook*, which in reality amounts to the same thing, so far as our argument is concerned. As the passage is very short, we give it in the original, as quoted by the noble duke. "Die Zween Firsten, hetten nit mer dan einen Sun, der ward erschlagen, in seinen Jungen Tagen, mit einem Schach-Zabelpret, an König Pipinus Hofe von Frankrich, von einem andern Jungen Firsten."

[1] The four middle lines in the above extract are quoted by Sir Frederic Madden in his *Dissertation*, p. 206. The blank (which occurs in *Gustavus Selenus*), in the last of the four, is filled up by the word "vulnus," which I have no doubt is quite correct. Sir F. by an oversight, gives the date of the composition of the *Quirinalia*, 1160, instead of 1060. The latter date is of some consequence, as it proves that we had Chess at least long before the time of the Crusaders. Another oversight made by Sir Frederic is of a more serious nature. It is the idea he attaches to the word "Roch," in the line "Et Rocho jaculans," where he conceives *Roch* to be the Bavarian prince's name; but I am strongly inclined to think that it means the piece which we call the *Rook*. The construction is "Et Rocho jaculans [illum, puerum vel principem, understood], that is, "smiting or aiming at [him] with a Rook, he mortally wounded him." A similar construction occurs in Ovid, viz., "Jupiter igne suo lucos jaculatur et arces." The importance arising from the express mention of the Rook here, is, that it proves beyond a doubt that the game played at by the two young princes was really CHESS; otherwise, the vague expression "Huic Ludo Tabulæ," &c., in a previous line might be construed so as to denote the game of "Tables," or Backgammon, which is frequently alluded to in the old romances, along with Chess, thus, "Puis aprist il as *tables* et *eschacs* joier," as quoted by Strutt from the Romance of *Parise la Duchesse*.

"These two princes (*i. e.*, the prince and princess of Bavaria), had no more than one son, who was killed in his early days with a Chess board, at the court of King Pepin of France, by another young Prince."

Now, here we have an anecdote as well authenticated as any recorded in history; therefore we are bound to receive it as a fact. The old chroniclers, to be sure, *did* tell many improbable and some impossible tales; but this is not one of them. For example, we heretics have some hesitation in believing the statement of Harduinus, and a whole host of other good and holy men respecting the edifying exit of St. Denis from this wicked world. They tell us that "the Saint aforesaid was beheaded at Montmartre, near Paris, and that he afterwards walked some three or four miles to the spot where the famous church bearing his name now stands." As if this was not marvellous enough, we are further told, "that he, very accommodatingly, carried his own head in his hand the whole way, singing Hallelujahs as he went along." Well, then, these and such like *strong facts*, being of rather rare occurrence among us, we may reasonably be allowed to entertain some doubts on the score of their authenticity; but no such objections can be raised against the story of King Pepin's passionate son and the prince of Bavaria.

Accepting the story then as a historical fact, and I see no reason why we should not, we have still remaining two points for consideration. The first, which is not very weighty is, to determine the precise period, or nearly so, when the event took place. This point fortunately falls within a narrow compass, that is, the reign of Pepin, from 752 to 768, a period of only sixteen years. Sir Frederic Madden in a note, p. 206, states, that "this story is repeated in a fragment of a chronicle

published by Canisius, in which it is referred to the year 746." This is evidently an error, either on the part of the chronicler or of Canisius. We know well from history that Charles was the *eldest* son of Pepin, and that he was born in 742. Now although this "Baby Charles" became afterwards a very great man, it is not easy for us to believe that he was so exceedingly precocious as to have played Chess and committed murder when only four years old. We must therefore consider the date 746, to be an oversight, probably for 756, or 766; and I would humbly suggest, that even then, we have no reason to suppose that either Charles or his next brother Carloman was the culprit. It must have been a still younger son of Pepin's, whose name appears not in history.

The second point for our consideration is much more difficult to determine in a satisfactory manner, viz., "through what channel did the game of Chess reach King Pepin's court?" To this question we have two plausible though not positive answers, and it so happens that both of them may be quite correct in point of fact, and differing only as to time. We may say in the first place, that Chess was introduced among the Franks by the Saracens, immediately from Spain; or secondly, we may say that it was brought among them through the intercourse of the early sovereigns of the Carlovingian dynasty with the court of Byzantium. Let us then carefully weigh each of these probabilities, for we have no decisive proof in favour of either assumption.

We have shown in our twelfth chapter, that the Arabs were acquainted with Chess at the time of Muhammad in the first quarter of the seventh century—and that ere the close of the same century their con-

over the whole of the north of Africa on the other. Under their leader Tārik, they crossed the strait of Gibraltar (*i.e.*, "Jibal Tārik," or "Tārik's mountain,") about 711. Then in A.D. 718, after having subdued the whole of Spain, they crossed the Pyrenees and extended their conquests thence to the eastward as far as the Rhone, and northwards as far as the Loire; and thus they kept possession of one half of France for the next twelve years. At their first irruption they were bravely resisted by Eudes, Duke of Acquitaine, who, being defeated, entered into an alliance with them, and even bestowed his daughter in marriage on the Amīr Munuza, one of the Saracen leaders. Now in consequence of this doubly *unholy* alliance, (politic and matrimonial), one half of the people of France were accustomed to intermingle freely with the Saracens for a period of twelve years; and this is the precise time at which I conceive it most probable that Chess was introduced at the court of Eudes of Acquitaine. It accounts at once for the game's being familiarly known in France some thirty or forty years later in the reign of King Pepin; and conversely, it confirms us in our belief of the authenticity of the anecdote cited from so many sources by the Duke of Luneburg.

Towards 732, Eudes, Duke of Acquitaine, had broken off his friendly intercourse with the Saracens, and being again defeated by them, he allied himself with the renowned Charles Martel, the "Pounder of the Infidels." The forces of all France now united, encountered the Saracens near the left banks of the Loire, and gave them a *check*[1] from which they never thenceforth recovered;

[1] We are gravely told by the veracious Jesuit Petau (or Petavius, as he learnedly styles himself), in his erudite work entitled *Rationarium Temporum*, tom. i. p. 327, edit. 1724, that in one day *three hundred and seventy-five thousand* of the Infidels were cut to pieces, whilst the Franks lost no more than

for they were afterwards finally expelled from France by King Pepin and his son and successor Charlemagne. Charles Martel, on the death of Eudes, in 735, annexed to his own dominions the dukedom of Acquitaine as far as the Pyrences. I think, then, the inference which I have here drawn, is quite satisfactory: viz., that Chess was introduced by the Arabs from Spain among the people of Acquitaine. These on becoming the allies and subjects of the Carlovingian princes, communicated the game to the Franks; and from the latter, in the course of another century, it found its way northwards as far as Scandinavia, and thence to the Hebrides, and the Anglo-Saxon court, as we shall see further on. The soundness of this inference is much strengthened by the *names* of some of the pieces which prevailed in Spain, France, and Italy, for several centuries after the period here mentioned. I allude more especially to the King, the Queen, the Bishop, and the Rook, on each of which let me here offer a few remarks.

1ST.—OF THE KING.

When the Arabs received the game from the Persians they adopted the original word *Shāh*, "King," which they have all along retained, applying the same word both to the piece which we call King, and to the term *check*. The original Persian word for what we call *mate* was *mānd*, from the verb *māndan* "to be exhausted," or "to be helpless." The Arabs changed *mānd* into *māt*, which last in their language signifies "he is dead," an expression less applicable than the original, because

fifteen hundred men! Here, now, is one of our *strong* facts; the good father is somewhat partial to the marvellous; but this is no invention of his own, for he refers us to very grave and pious authorities in proof of his assertion. The graceless philosopher Voltaire would here say, "N'en croyez rien." I more

strictly speaking the King at Chess is neither slain nor captured, he is merely "driven to his last resource," which is the precise meaning of *mānd*. When the Arabs introduced the game among the people of Southern Europe, the word *Shāh* denoting the piece was by the latter literally translated into their own various languages and dialects under the forms of *Rey*, *Rei*, *Roy*, *Koenig*, *King*, *&c.* At the same time the word *Shāh* in every nation gave rise to the name of the *science* itself, as well as to the term *check*. This is evident from the words *Scacco*, *Eschecs*, *Skak*, *Schach*, *Chess*, and *Check*, &c., &c. Again, the Persi-Arabian term *Shāh-māt*, "the King is dead," was adopted *untranslated*, and still continues in use, more or less modified, in every country of modern Europe. All this clearly indicates that we must have received the game itself as well as the appellation given to it, together with the term denoting *checkmate*, from the Saracens.

Ponziani asserts that the Italian term *Scaccomatto* is derived from the Latin verb *mactare*. The derivation at first sight appears very plausible, and had we not a far more rational and satisfactory one, we should be content to let it pass. The term *Scaccomatto* is evidently the Arabic *Shāhmāt* slightly modified so as to suit Italian ears and organs of enunciation. That the Italian verb *mattare* as well as the Spanish *matar* to kill, come from the Latin *mactare*, we readily allow, because it is all in perfect accordance with the soundest rules of philological deduction; but the *matto* of the Chess board is simply the *māt* of the Arabic, a language of a totally different family from that of the Latin and its modern dialects. We have seen, however, some crazy *derivators* who will have it that both the Italian *mattare* and the Spanish

if the Italians and Spaniards either knew not the art of killing, or possessed not in their dialects a verb expressive of the deed, till they learned the same from the Arabs.

2nd.—Of the Queen.

The Persian term for this piece is *Farz* or *Firz*, which, as an adjective, signifies "wise" or "learned;" and, as a substantive, it denotes a "Counsellor," a "Minister," or a "General." The forms *Farzān*, *Farzīn*, and *Farzī* are also in use, but less frequently. In this latter sense, viz., that of General, the Arabs adopted the word on receiving the game itself from the Persians; and conveyed it unaltered to Western Europe, where it was Latinized into *Farzia*, or *Fercia*. The French slightly altered the latter form into *Fierce*, *Fierge*, and *Vierge*. This last appellation was probably conferred on it in honour of the "Blessed and Holy Virgin," whence naturally came the modern terms *Dame*, *Dama*, and *Donna*, &c. I do not, however, agree with the ordinary herd of writers, who, merely repeating each other, will have it that our *Queen* originated from the word *Vierge* or *Dame*. On the contrary, we know it as a fact, that the Queen was introduced on the board as far back as the reign of Charlemagne at least; hence the terms *Ferzia* and *Regina* are used as synonymous in our early Latin manuscripts, such for instance as that quoted by Hyde (p. 179), said to be as old as the time of the Anglo-Saxons. It is highly probable that the Byzantines were the first people who substituted the Queen for the original "Minister" or "General," as we shall observe hereafter.

3rd.—Of the Bishop.

This piece was by the Persians called *Pīl*, "an ele-

language, write *Fīl*, (with an F), or, with their own definite article, *Al-Fīl*. This last term they introduced into Western Europe, where it was Latinized into the forms *Alphīlus* and *Alfinus*; and by gradual corruption, it became in the Roman dialects, *Alfieres*, *Alfiere*, *Alfino* *Aufin*, &c., &c. Its Arabic origin is unquestionable, as is fully indicated from a piece of absurdity peculiar to the people of the South in their appropriation of words from the Arabic language. They almost invariably incorporate the article *al* with the substantive, so as to form one single word, such as *Alcoran*, *Alchymy*, *Alcohol*. Now, in all of these the first syllable, on which we ridiculously place the full emphasis, is merely the article *al*; and to this already *articled* word we very preposterously prefix our own article, and say, "the Alcoran," and "the Alcohol," instead of "the *Kurān*," &c. It would appear, however, that the French, at some period or other, Heaven knows how, got rid of the article *al*, or rather, had not *adopted* it, in the term *al-Fil*, which they must have called *le Fil*, whence came *le Fol* and *le Fou*, which last term is still in use. Upon the whole, I cannot help thinking that the French must have all along retained the Arabic word *Fīl*, "pur et simple," as they received it from the Saracens, in the days of the good Prince Eudes of Acquitaine.

4th.—Of the Rook.

This is the only Chess piece that has for countless ages preserved, with but little alteration, its original Sanskrit name, *Roka*, "a boat," or "ship." The Persians slightly modified the Sanskrit term into *Rukh*, which in their language denotes "a hero," or "champion." The Arabs received the word unaltered from the Persians, and brought the same along with them to

Western Europe. Thence came the Latinized form *Rochus*, as well as the more modern forms, *Roc*, *Roque*, *Rocco*, *Roch*, *Rock*, and *Rook*. It so happens that the Italians have in their own language a word somewhat similar in sound and spelling, which signifies "a fortress," or "castle;" and this gave rise to their *Torre* or *Castello*, thence came the *Tour*, *Thurm*, *Tower*, and *Castle*, now to be met with in most European languages. Yet there be some wise men who will have it that the Castle originated from the *hauda*, (vulgarly *howdah*), carried on the back of the elephant; a speculation that speedily falls to the ground, for the piece called the Elephant by the Persians and Arabs, was, and still is, the same as our Bishop, and never meant our Rook. I consider, then, that the only inference to be drawn from what I have just stated respecting the King, Queen, Bishop, and Rook, is, that Western Europe received the Game of Chess from the Saracens, and not from the Greeks of the Lower Empire.

I have said nothing of the Knight and Pawns, as their names, moves, and powers have remained unaltered in all lands ever since the first time they were arranged on the board, near the banks of the "Sacred Ganga," some 5,000 years ago. The Sanskrit *Asva*, the Persian *Asp*, and the Arabic *Faras*, all denote "a *Horse*;" but not "a Rider," "Cavalier," or "Knight," as in modern Europe. The Italian *Cavallo* and the Russian *Kōnie*, however, are true and literal translations of the Oriental terms, both meaning merely a "Horse." The original Sanskrit for the *Pawn* is *Padāta*, *Padāti* or *Vātika*, which simply means a "pedestrian," or "foot soldier." The Persian term is *Piyāda*, which is of a similar signification, and closely allied to the Sanskrit. The Arabs modified

the *Chess Pawn* and nothing else. The older Latin terms we meet with are *Pedes* and *Pedester*; but in this case we can found no argument on the mere similarity of names, as the Sanskrit word denoting *foot* happens to be derived from the very same root that furnishes the word both to the Latin and the Greek. This will best appear on comparing the genitive case of the word denoting *foot* in each of the three languages. Thus, Sanskrit, *pad-asya*, Greek, ποδ-ος, and Latin *ped-is*, are evidently of one and the same origin.

Most modern writers are so greatly fascinated with the idea that "Chess was brought to Europe by the Crusaders"—that they entirely overlook the more obvious route through Spain. Twiss, I do believe, for once stumbles upon the truth, when he says in the first paragraph of his book, that—"The Persians taught it [Chess] to the Arabians, who introduced it into Spain." We further find in the second volume of the "Chess Players' Chronicle" a communication to the same effect by Mr. F. W. Cronhelm, of Halifax; but this gentleman does not, like Twiss, content himself by barely stating the fact—he very laudably endeavours to *prove* it; but so very inaccurate are his proofs, that they sadly damage his cause. He says that, "when adopted by the Arabs, they naturally named the King *Sheik*," &c. Now, the Arabs *never did* call the King *Sheik*, as we well know from their written works, &c., on the game. They have to this day retained the original Persian word *Shāh*, as I have already shown. Mr. Cronhelm then proceeds to the word *mate*, which he asserts to be, "not merely Arabic, but also Persic and Shanskrita!" This statement, if *true*, would be an interesting discovery in philology. The word *māt* is purely Arabic, and neither "Persic nor Shanskrita." It is true the Persians *now* use the term *māt*, which they

have adopted from the Arabic. In Sanskrit there is no such word as *māt* to denote "dead" or "killed."

I have already pointed out the absurdity of deriving the Spanish *matar* and *matador* from the Arabic, when the Latin origin of the terms is so palpable. Finally, there is one assertion by Mr. Cronhelm which I hold to be particularly "worthy of confirmation," viz.,—"The ancient Arabian and Spanish chronicles bear testimony to the prevalence of Chess in these courts" [of Cordoba, &c.] Now, I have myself no doubt respecting the *fact*, that Spain was the first country in Western Europe into which Chess entered; far less do I doubt the prevalence of the Game at the various Moorish courts named by Mr. Cronhelm—but anent "the ancient Arabian and Spanish chronicles," bearing testimony thereunto, &c., *I hae my doots*. Nevertheless, Mr. Cronhelm's *cause* is so very *good* in itself, that it will bear a great number of *bad* proofs.

Let us now examine our second alternative, viz., what probability is there that Chess came to Central Europe from Constantinople? We do not know what names the Byzantines gave to the pieces, on receiving the game from the Persians. It is probable that, like their neighbours the Scythians and Sclavonic tribes, they translated most of the terms into their own language; but of this we are uncertain. Suffice it to say, that not knowing the Greek names for the various pieces, we are debarred from coming to any conclusion on the subject by arguments founded on etymological and philological deductions. All we can say is, that it is quite *possible*, and not altogether *improbable*, that Chess *may have been* communicated to some parts of Central Europe from Constantinople, as well as from Spain, in the eighth century of the Christian æra.

In our last chapter we have shewn—I may almost say, demonstrated—that the Byzantines must have received the game of Chess from the Persians about the beginning of the seventh century. Now, we know from history, that in the eighth and succeeding centuries numerous adventurers, both Frank and Scandinavian, resorted to Constantinople, where their military services were duly appreciated and amply rewarded. These afterwards became celebrated as the Varangian Band, or Cohort; and held a position at the Byzantine court, similar to that of the Scottish and Swiss guards employed by the kings of France in more recent times. In consequence of this arrangement, there arose a constant intercourse between the east and west of Europe, and it is quite possible that the game of Chess may have found its way to the north-west at the same time.

We are further told that, "in A.D. 757, Constantine Capronymus, emperor of the east, sent to king Pepin, as a rare present, the first organ ever seen in France. This was so highly appreciated by the latter, that he placed it in his own chapel at Compiègne."[1] Now we may, not unreasonably, conclude that the organ formed only a portion of the rare presents sent on that occasion to the western monarch. There is no small probability that the rich Chess board afterwards presented by Pepin to the monastery of Maussac, was included in the list. I am led to this consideration, simply because I do not think the state of the arts in France at that time, was so flourishing as to warrant us in concluding that the rich Chessmen above alluded to were of Gallic manufacture. Sir Frederick Madden quotes from a monkish scribe a passage relative to "the translation of the body of St.

[1] Lavoisne's *Historical, Geographical, and Genealogical Atlas*, elephant

Stremon, Bishop of Arverne, in the fourteenth[1] year of King Pepin, A.D. 764, to the monastery of Maussac, 'where,' says the anonymous writer, 'in token of his reverence for the blessed Martyr, the King bestowed many precious gifts, such as a set of chrystalline chessmen, various gems, and a large sum of gold.'"[2] Now, I consider these "chrystalline chessmen" to have been originally received as a present by Pepin, either from the Saracens or from the Byzantines. Allowing, however, the latter supposition to be the fact, it does not thence follow that the game was previously unknown at Pepin's court.

We see, then, that the game of Chess may have reached France about, or near, the middle of the eighth century, either from Spain by means of the Saracens, which I hold to be by far the more natural inference; or from the Lower Empire, in consequence of the intercourse then held between the sovereigns and nations of the east and the west. In either case, however, we may safely rely on the authenticity of the anecdote quoted by Gustavus Selenus, respecting the son of Pepin, and the prince of Bavaria. This is the main point which I have been endeavouring to establish; and if I have succeeded, of course all anecdotes of a more recent date referring to the game, whether in France or Germany, Scandinavia, Britain, or Italy, may be accepted as historical *facts*.

[1] It should have been the twelfth, not the fourteenth year of King Pepin.

[2] "Ubi pro reverentiâ beati Martyris, plurima reliquit [Pippinus Rex] insignia, scilicet *saccho* (l *schachos*) crystillinos, et lapides pretiosos, et auri plurimum." *Acta Benedict. Sæc.* 3, pt. 2, p. 192.

CHAPTER XV.

Early references to the Game of Chess in Europe—Chess in France and Germany—Chess in Scandinavia—Chess in England—Chess in Italy—Chess in Russia.

It is not my intention to follow up the history and progress of Chess in Europe, during the mediæval period, *i.e.*, from A.D. 750, to A.D. 1500; I shall therefore content myself by laying before the reader, in chronological order, a few extracts from our old chronicles and romances, which will in some degree tend to shew us the various localities in which the game made its early appearance among us.

Chess in France and Germany.

The two following anecdotes refer to the time of Charlemagne, Pepin's son and successor. Sir Frederic Madden, in p. 209, says:—"Admitting the above hypothesis[1] to be correct, we shall cease to wonder at the perpetual references in the ancient French romances to the game of Chess in the time of Charlemagne. This is remarkably the case in the romance of Guerin de Montglave, which turns wholly upon a game of Chess, at which Charlemagne had lost his kingdom to Guerin. The short dialogue which preceded this game, on which so great a stake depended, as narrated by the hero of the

[1] Sir Frederic here alludes to the magnificent Chess board and men presented to Charlemagne by the Empress Irene, of which more at the close of this chapter.

story to his sons, is characteristic, and has thus been modernised by the Comte de Tressan. 'I bet,' said the Emperor to me, 'that you would not play your expectations against me on this chess-board, unless I were to propose some very high stake.' 'Done,' replied I; 'I will play them, provided only, you bet against me your kingdom of France.' 'Very good, let us see,' cried Charlemagne, who fancied himself to be strong at Chess. We play forthwith—I win his kingdom—he falls a-laughing at it; but I swear by St. Martin, and all the Saints of Aquitain, that he must needs pay me by some sort of composition or other.' The Emperor, therefore, by way of equivalent, surrenders to Guerin all right to the city of Montglave (Lyons), then in the hands of the Saracens, which is forthwith conquered by the hero, who afterwards marries Mabilette,[1] the Soldan's daughter."

In another romance, containing the history of *Les Quatre Filz Aymon*, we read that Duke Richard of Normandy was playing at Chess with Ivonnet, son of Regnaut (Rinaldo) when he was arrested by the officers of Regnaut, who said to him, (we quote from the old translation of Copeland, 1504), 'Aryse up, Duke Rycharde; for, in dispite of Charlemayne that loveth you so muche, ye shall be hanged now.' When Duke Rycharde saw that these sergeauntes had him thus by the arm, and held in his hande a lady (*dame*) of ivery, where w^t he wolde have given a mate to Yonnet, he withdrewe his arme, and gave to one of the sergeauntes such a stroke with it into the forehead, that he made him tumble over and over at his feete; and than he tooke a

[1] I have a shrewd suspicion that the matrimonial part of the anecdote is entirely of the romancer's own imagination. The name of the fair lady Mabilette reminds us much more of a Parisienne Grisette than of a Saracen Soldan's daughter.

rooke (*roc*) and smote another w^t^ all upon his head, that he all brost it to the brayne."

The concluding lines of this last anecdote strongly confirm what I have already stated respecting the meaning of the word "Rocho" in my note page. Let it be remembered, that in those early times the Chess boards were very spacious, and the pieces large and massy. We have seen in our notice of the Caliph Al Māmūn, p. 179, that his board was "two cubits by two," that is, close upon two and a half feet square, and of course the pieces must have been of a proportionate size. They were sometimes made of crystal, or precious stones, ivory or even solid silver; hence there is nothing at all improbable in the circumstances related.

2nd. Chess in Scandinavia.

Some sixty or seventy years later, we find that Chess had penetrated into Scandinavia. I hold it to be the more natural and probable inference, that the game reached the latter country from France or Germany, by way of Holstein and Denmark, rather than from Constantinople, as Sir Frederic Madden would seem to imply. Twiss, in his second vol., p. 179, quoting from northern chroniclers, says:—"The Norwegian Chronicle tells us that Drofen (surnamed the giant), foster-father of Harald (surnamed Hàrfagra),[1] having understood the great

[1] Harald Hàrfagra (*i.e.* of beautiful hair), about the year 880, established himself as the first King of all Norway, after bringing into subjection a number of the petty Kings of that country. Some ten years afterwards he added the Hebrides to the Norwegian crown; in whose possession they remained for the two following centuries. It is extremely probable, then, that the game of Chess was introduced into the western Isles of Scotland by the Norwegians about the same time that the Danes brought it into South Britain. This accounts for a discovery made some thirty years ago, in the parish of Uig, Isle of Lewis. A peasant, in digging a sand-bank, in the vicinity of an extensive ruin

actions of his pupil, then King of Norway, sent him, among other presents (mentioned in that Chronicle), a very fine and rich Chess table." Here again we find everything consistent with the ordinary course of events. We have, therefore, no reason to doubt the simple fact, that Chess was known in Scandinavia a century after it appeared in France.

Chess in England.

Passing onwards to the tenth century, we find the earliest allusion to Chess in England. The Saxons most likely received the game from their neighbours the Danes; though there is nothing improbable in their having gained their knowledge of it from France, between the middle of the eighth and tenth centuries. Sir Frederic Madden says:—"Nothing indeed is more probable than the introduction of the game of Chess into England by the Danes, and we cannot refer it to a more suitable period than the reign of Canute himself. The tradition of this game having been brought from the North certainly existed, and is mentioned by Gaimar, who wrote about the year 1150, when speaking of the mission of Edelworth from King Edgar[1] to the castle of Earl Orgar, in Devonshire, to verify the reports of his daughter Elstrueth's beauty. When he arrived at the mansion:—

"Orgar juout à un *esches*,
Un giu k'il aprist des Daneis;
Od lui juout Elstruet la bele,
Suz ciel n'ont donc tele damesele."

MS. Reg. 13 A. xxi. f. 133, c. 1.

sets, but none of them complete. Now it is most probable that the ruin alluded to was once the castle of a Norwegian chief, in whose festive halls these very Chess-men were moved by brave men, and fair women, nine centuries ago. See Sir Frederic Madden's dissertation—and the Chess-men themselves, now in the British Museum.

[1] King Edgar Atheling reigned from A.D. 958, to A.D. 975.

"Orgar was playing at the Chess,
A game he had learnt of the Danes;
With him played the fair Elstrueth,
A fairer maiden was not under heaven."

Whether we may receive on Gaimar's authority the inference, that Chess was introduced among the Saxons so early as the middle of the tenth century, seems dubious. Strutt,[1] indeed, Henry, and a few other writers, who thought it easier to make assertions than researches, state in round terms that the Saxons were well acquainted with the game. But the only passage they refer to is the one in the Ramsey Chronicle, hereafter quoted, which does not sufficiently bear them out. Lye may, however, have contributed to their error, in translating "*Tæfl*, Ludus latrunculorum," "*Tæfel stan*, Latrunculus," and "*Tæfl-mon*, Latro, sc. ad ludum latrunculorum, a *chess-man*."

I see no reason to doubt the assertions of Strutt and Henry; on the contrary, I think it very likely that the Saxons were acquainted with Chess more than half a century before the time of King Canute, in consequence of their intercourse both with the Danes and the Franks. To be sure a vast deal of confusion and uncertainty results from the vague manner in which the old chroniclers employ the terms, "Ludus Latrunculorum," "Tabula," "Tæfl," "Tafl," &c., in all its forms of orthography. We have seen in the versified extract, p. 203, that "Tabula," in that instance, certainly means "Chess," as is easily proved by the lucky occurrence of the word "Rocho" a few lines afterwards. In the above quartain by Gaimar there is no doubt about the game's being Chess; the only question is about the *truth* of the statement; which can be answered merely by the counter

question, *Is it consistent with time, place, and circumstances?* If so, we have no more reason to disbelieve it, than we have to withhold our assent regarding any other plain fact mentioned in history.

I consider it therefore as extremely probable that Chess was introduced into England during the reign of Athelstane, between A.D. 925 and A.D. 940. We read in Saxon history that Athelstane "visited Norway in his youth; and that an intercourse of friendship and courtesy is said to have been established between himself and Harald Hàrfagra,[1] at that early period, in virtue of which the latter afterwards sent his son Hakon to be educated at the Anglo Saxon Court, with a present of a magnificent ship. Athelstane gave his pupil in return a sword with a golden hilt and a blade of wonderful temper, which the latter carefully preserved till the *day of his death*. Hakon afterwards, by the aid of England, succeeded to the Norwegian throne, on which he distinguished himself both as sovereign and legislator.[2]

We are further told that, "Under Athelstane, the English court was polished to a considerable degree, and became the chosen residence or asylum of several foreign princes.[3] Louis d'Outremer, the French king, took refuge in London before he secured the throne; and even the Celtic princess of Armorica or Brittany, when expelled their states by the Northmen or Normans, fled to the court of Athelstane in preference to all others.

[1] The compiler of the 1st vol. of the "History of England" in "Murray's Family Library," makes Harfagra figure at the battle of Stamford Bridge in 1066, when his age must have been at least 200 years! He, along with many other writers, seems to have confounded Harfagra with Hardrada. This proves the accuracy of Sir Frederic Madden's remark—that "some writers have thought it easier to make assertions than researches."

[2] In Norwegian history he is styled "Hakon (not Haco,) the Good," and "Athelstein's Fostra," *i.e.* "Athelstane's charge," or "Alumnus."

He bestowed his sisters in marriage[1] on the first [continental] sovereigns of those times, and altogether, he enjoyed a degree of respect, and exercised an influence on the general politics of Europe, that were not surpassed by any living sovereign."

Now, when we consider that Chess was known in Scandinavia more than half a century before the time of Athelstane, a period during which the Danes and Saxons were almost intermingled in England, when we take into account Athelstane's residence in Norway before he ascended the Anglo Saxon throne; above all, when we consider the presence of Prince Hakon, and that of the French Louis, at the English Court—and finally the intimate relations of that Court with the various continental powers—when, I say, we consider all these circumstances, it is absolutely *impossible* for us *not to infer* that the game of Chess was then introduced into this island.

Sir Frederic Madden states, in p. 280:—"Snorre Sturleson relates an anecdote of King Canute which would prove that monarch to have been a great lover of the game. About the year 1028, whilst engaged in his warfare against the kings of Norway and Sweden, Canute rode over to Roskild, to visit Earl Ulfr, the husband of his sister. An entertainment was prepared for their guest, but the king was out of spirits and did not enjoy it. They attempted to restore his cheerfulness by conversation, but without success. At length, the earl challenged the king to play at Chess, which was accepted, and, the Chess-table being brought, they sat down to their game. After they had played awhile, the king made a false move, in consequence of which Ulfr captured one of his opponent's knights. But the king

[1] Otho, the son of Henry, Emperor of Germany, received the hand of one of

would not allow it, and replacing his piece, bade the earl play differently. On this, the earl (who was of a hasty disposition) waxing angry, overturned the Chess-board and left the room. The king called after him, saying: 'Ulfr, thou coward, dost thou thus flee?' The earl returned to the door, and said, 'You would have taken a longer flight in the river Helga, had I not come to your assistance, when the Swedes beat you like a dog—you did not then call me a coward.' He then retired, and some days afterwards was murdered by the king's orders.[1] This anecdote is corroborated [so far as the Chess is concerned,] by a passage in the anonymous history of the monastery of Ramsey, composed, probably, about the time of Henry I., where we are told, that Bishop Etheric coming one night at a late hour on urgent business to King Canute, found the monarch and his courtiers amusing themselves at the games of dice and Chess."[2]

Chess in Italy.

I hold it quite probable that the Italians may have acquired their knowledge of Chess immediately before or during the ninth century, in two different ways. First, from the Saracens by way of Sicily and Naples—Second, from the same people by way of Marseilles. That they did receive the game from the Saracens, and not from the Greeks, is quite evident from the names of the Chess pieces. At the same time, we freely admit that there was established at an early period a close inter-

[1] *Saga af Olafi hinom Helga*, čapp. 162, 163, tom. ii., p. 275, 276. The sister of this Ulfr was wife to Earl Godwin, and mother of Harold, King of England.

[2] "Ipse [Æthericus] quoque mannum, curiam aditurus, ascendens, ipsum que calcaribus urgens, Regem adhuc tesserarum vel *scacorum* ludo longiqris tædis nautis relaxantem invenit." *Hist. Ramesiensis*, cap. 92, p. 452.

course between the Venetians and the Byzantines; but, as we have elsewhere observed, not knowing the Greek nomenclature of the terms relating to the royal game, we can found no argument on this point.

Twiss, in vol. ii., p. 77, on the authority of Verci, says, that "the following adventure happened to a Bishop of Florence, who, according to *Ughelli*, (*Ital. Sac.* tom. 3,) was Gerard, who died in 1061. It is told by Peter Damianus, Bishop of Ostia and cardinal, in his epistles, and is confirmed by Baronius and Lohner. 'These two prelates were travelling together, and on a certain evening when they arrived at their resting place, Damianus withdrew to the cell of a neighbouring priest in order to spend the time in a pious manner; but the Florentine played at Chess all night among seculars or laymen, in a large house of entertainment.'

"When, in the morning, the cardinal was made acquainted with this, he sharply reproved the prelate, who endeavoured to excuse himself by saying that Chess was not prohibited like dice. 'Dice,' said he, 'are prohibited by the canon laws: Chess is tacitly permitted.' To which the zealous cardinal replied, 'the canons do not speak of Chess, but both kinds of games are expressed under the comprehensive name of Alea. Therefore, when the canon prohibits the Alea, and does not expressly mention Chess, it is undoubtedly evident[1] that both kinds, expressed in one word and sentence, are thereby equally condemned.'

"'The Bishop, who was very good natured, stood cor-

[1] The good cardinal's reasoning does not appear to us to be altogether conclusive or convincing. He seems to have been, like his Eminence Muḥammad, the apostle of the Arabs, unacquainted with the game he condemns. The

rected, and submitted cheerfully to the penance imposed on him by the cardinal, which was, that he should thrice repeat the psalter of David, and wash the feet of twelve poor men, likewise bestowing certain alms on them, and treating them with a good dinner; in order that he might thus, for the glory of God and the benefit of the poor, employ those hands which he had made use of in playing the game."

By this last anecdote we may safely infer that Chess must have been well known in Italy for several generations before the period there alluded to. It must have taken some considerable time before the game became so common as to be played at "houses of entertainment among seculars or laymen." Yet strange to say, Twiss in his first volume, p. 109, alluding to the same story, says:—"The following singular passage from an epistle of Peter Damianus, an Ecclesiastical writer of the eleventh century to Hildebrand (Pope Gregory VII.) which has since occurred to me, looks as if the game of Chess was, in his days, a thing *quite new and strange*; instead of being transmitted to modern Europe from either the contemporaries of Jason or those of Palmedes!" It is quite needless to offer any comments on Twiss, whose two volumes, entitled "Chess," are upon the whole more entertaining than instructive. They form an indigestible "Olla Podrida" of matters relating to Chess in general; some good, some bad, and some indifferent.[1] He was a mere collector of anecdotes, without a particle of judgment of his own; he simply considered as veritable fish, all things of this kind that came into his net

[1] Twiss, (Richard,) CHESS, 8vo., part 1st, London, 1787. Part 2nd, 1789. Miscellanies, 2 vols., 8vo., 1805. The whole mass of Twiss's lucubrations may, not inaptly, be compared to an "Old curiosity shop," in which may accidentally be found some valuable articles amidst a vast quantity of rubbish. Both Hyde and Twiss are sadly deficient on the score of methodical arrangement.

Chess in Russia.

We have every reason to infer that the Sclavonic people acquired their knowledge of Chess direct from India by means of the Tartars or Moguls. This applies more especially to the Russians, who are still semi-Asiatic, and who, a century and a half ago, were scarcely reckoned as one of the European nations. Our inference is founded on etymological and linguistic data, which, when rationally and legitimately employed, lead to valuable results in our researches respecting the intercourse which took place in days of yore between the various races of mankind.

In the *Chess Player's Chronicle* for 1852, p. 368, we have a very interesting communication from Major C. F. Jaenisch, on the "Nomenclature of the Russian Chess men;" in which it is most curious to observe that the names of every one of the pieces, so far as they extend, are the same as those of the ancient Chaturanga. In the Russian language the names are *all*, with one single exception, and that only peculiar to the mediæval game, *translated*, not *adopted*, from the Sanskrit. For instance, the King is called Tsar;" and the Pawn is called "Piechka," a characteristic denomination, and appropriated exclusively to this single object;" it means merely a "little infantry soldier." So far the Muscovite nomenclature agrees with that of the western European nations, among whom the appellation of the King and Pawn are generally *translated*, not *adopted*, from the Arabic. The Knight in the Russian language is called "Konne," or "Kogne," which simply denotes a "courser," or "war-steed."[1] This is precisely the

[1] Est autem Kônie peculiariter *Equus Tataricus* ex Nagaia, scil. *Equus Ge-*

meaning it has in the Sanskrit, Persian, and Arabic languages. The western nations, with the occasional exception of the Germans and Italians,[1] use instead of the term denoting "Horse," some name or designation applying to his rider, such as Cavallero, Cavaliere, Knight, Ritter, &c. Well, in this case the Russians have literally translated, and have to this day retained the original term "Horse," as in the oriental languages.

I have already shown that our western terms for the Bishop, viz., *Alfilus Alfin, Aufin*, &c., are evidently derived from the Arabic *Al Fil*. This piece is, by the Russians, called "Slonie," or "Slone," that is, the "Elephant," clearly proving that they had the term from the Asiatics at least, and not from the people of Western Europe. So far, then, the Russian nomenclature agrees exactly with the Sanskrit names of the pieces given in the Bhavishya Purāna of the Ancient Hindūs. Here the reader may very rationally say to me—"what then? Might not the Russians have translated all these terms from the Persian or Arabic as easily as from the Sanskrit?" Granted, most courteous reader, but have a little patience till we have done.

We now come to the most remarkable point respecting the names of the Russian Chessmen, viz., that of the piece which we call the Rook or Castle. Major Jaenisch observes:—"That which is very singular is the name of the Castle; it is called *Lodia*, a "Boat," or "Ship." This denomination can only proceed from a mistake." Now, with due deference to the gallant Major, it appears to me that the so-called *mistake* is merely *apparent*, not

[1] The Italians use, indifferently, the terms "Cavallo," Horse, or "Cavaliere," "Knight," for this piece. The term "Centauro" is also to be found in old writers. The German "Springer" has in it something of the original Sanskrit "Asva," or the Arabic "Faras," "Horse," but so far as mere etymology goes, the epithet will apply equally well to a cat, or a tiger.

real. The very oldest name for what we call the Rook, was the "Ship." Such is it uniformly termed in the Chaturanga of the ancient Hindūs, as we have already shown in our account of that primæval game. The Major's reasons for the above *mistake* on the part of the Russians are very lame. He says, "The ancient Russians must have taken for vessels the figures of war chariots constructed nearly in the form of vessels." This I hold to be altogether inadmissible; for be it remembered, that among the Hindūs the war chariot is of comparatively recent date; and that neither the Persians or Arabs ever used either Ship or Chariot on their board. Under these circumstances, therefore, I should hold it to be the more philosophic course to view the term *Lodia* or *Boat* in the Russian nomenclature, not as a *mistake* but as an unerring criterion of the antiquity of Chess in that country. It is like those interesting organic remains discovered in the bowels of the earth, in places where least expected; such, for example, was the body of a full sized elephant found embedded in the frozen soil of Siberia, some hundred years ago. Geologists look upon such facts as the latter, not as mistakes, but as materials for writing the true history of the *remote past* of our planet.

To return to our ancient Muscovite "Lodia," or "Ship," let us see whether we may not be able to convert the same to some useful purpose of our own. Major Jaenisch states that, "this nation (Russia) in the complete state of isolation in which it remained during several ages after its conquest by the Moguls (and even a century before), up to the time of Peter the Great, could only learn the game of Chess from its ancient conquerors (*i.e.*, the Moguls aforesaid), who themselves learned it from the Persians." Now, it is quite evident from the use of the term "Lodia," or "Ship," that

neither the Moguls nor the Muscovites acquired the game of Chess *originally* from the Persians, because, as we well know, the latter never made use of either "Ship," or "Chariot" on their board. It is true they adopted with some modification, the Sanskrit word "Roka," which they changed into "Rukh;" but then they, as well as the Arabs and the western Europeans, never attached to the word any signification denoting either a "boat," or a "war-chariot." The Russians, then, could not possibly have received, by translation or otherwise, their term "Lodia," from the Persians, Arabs, or mediæval Europeans.

I readily admit that the Sclavonic tribes learned the game from the Moguls, or to use a more general expression, from the people of Tūrān;[1] but then, is it at all probable that the latter, who roamed about far inland with their herds and flocks, and few of whom ever saw a ship during their lives, should have had recourse to such a term for the Chess Rook? Again, could the Russians on receiving the game from the Moguls, have possibly originated the term "Lodia," or "Ship," to denote what we call the Castle? I answer—the idea in either case is utterly preposterous. The conclusion then is obvious—the people of Tūrān received the Chaturanga from their neighbours the Hindūs, in the south, *pur et simple*; and in the same state of *purity* and *simplicity*, they handed it over to their neighbours the Muscovites or Sclavonians in the West. On no other supposition can we account for the curious fact of the absolute

[1] Tūrān was the name applied of old by the Persians to the vast regions situated to the north of India and Persia, extending from the Volga to the confines of China. From the strong affinity that exists between the Sanskrit and Russian languages, as proved in Bopp's *Vergleichende Grammatik*, we are led to infer that the Hindūs and Sclavonic people were in former times nearer neighbours than they are at present.

identity of the terms King, Elephant, Horse, Ship, and Pawn, both in Chess game of the Russians, and in the ancient Hindū Chaturanga.

I have not as yet spoken of the Queen which, as the reader will remember, had no place in the Chaturanga. This piece the Russians call Ferz—the pure Persian term—and it is the only name which they they have *adopted*, and not *translated*. Finally, they call the game *Schākh*, which also, as in German, denotes *Check*. We see, then, that both the terms *Ferz* and *Schākh* are evidently of Persian, not of Indian origin. They are peculiar to the Shatranj only, but not to the Chaturanga; hence we conclude, 1st—that the Sclavonians were in early times acquainted with the primæval game of Chaturanga, before its change into the mediæval Shatranj. This is evident from the identity of the names of the pieces; but more especially from the use of the term "Lodia," to denote our "Castle." The Hindū game may have reached them from Kashmīr, or the Panjāb, through the region of Tūrān. In the second place, from the use of the terms "Ferz" and "Schakh," we are led to infer that at a latter period, probably in the time of Jenghīs Khān, or of Tīmūr, who, each in his turn invaded Russia, the Sclavonians received the mediæval game of Shatranj, together with these terms from the Persians or Arabs.

I conclude this chapter by a few remarks on the celebrated set of ivory Chessmen supposed to have once belonged to Charlemagne, and presented by him to the Abbey of St. Denis, where they were preserved till the French Revolution some seventy years ago. I avail myself, in the first place, of Sir Fredcric Madden's description entire, as the account is by far too valuable to

a few notes of my own (marked F), and then add a few remarks respecting some apparent inconsistencies, in which the subject appears to me to be involved.

Sir Frederic says :—"But the strongest proof that the game of Chess was introduced into France during the period of the Carlovingian dynasty, is to be found in the ivory Chessmen still preserved in the Cabinet of Antiquities, in the Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris,[1] which have been hitherto regarded too lightly. This has arisen from two causes, the first from their never having been seen by any English writer except Twiss; and secondly, from the strange mistake of Dr. Hyde, who represented the Pawns as bearing muskets (sclopetos) on their shoulders, and consequently of very modern workmanship. These pieces were formerly deposited in the treasury of the Abbey of St. Denis, and in a History of the Abbey, published in 1625, are thus noticed :—"L'Empereur et Roy de France, Sainct Charlemagne, a donné au Thresor de Sainct Denys un jeu d'eschets, avec le tablier, le tout d'yvoire; iceux eschets hauts d'une paulme, fort estimez: le dit tablier et une partie des eschets ont esté perdus par succession de temps, et est bien vray semblable qu'ils ont esté apportez de l'Orient, et sous les gross eschets il y a des caractères Arabesques."[2]

"Dr. Hyde quotes a somewhat similar passage from another writer (Millet), and gives us the Arabic inscription engraved on the larger pieces as follows :—

[1] It is strange that these ancient relics should not have been noticed in any of our Chess magazines, French or English, within the last quarter of a century. I have been given to understand that they were dispersed and lost sight of during the great Revolution; and I cannot help thinking that such has been the case, from the total silence respecting them on the part of the contributors to the French monthly periodical, entitled *Le Palamède*, as well as those of our own *Chess Player's Chronicle*.—F.

[2] *Histoire de l'Abbaye de S. Denis*, par Jacques Doublet, Religieux de la dite Abbaye, 4to. Par. 1625.

Min 'amali Yūsuf al Nāḳulī (or *Nāḳilī.*)[1] *Ex opere Josephi Nicolai;* arguing from the name, that the artist was an European.[2] But with all respect to Hyde's oriental learning, it is evident we ought to translate the words (as in Menage), "*Ex opere Josephi al-Nakali,*" *i.e.*, "the work of Joseph, native of Nakali," probably a city of Asia Minor, now called by the Turks, *Aineh-ghiol.*[3] The pieces, as described by the same author, represent a King, Queen, Archer, Centaur, Elephant, and Pawn. Mr. Twiss, who actually saw these Chessmen at St. Denis, previous to the year 1787, says that at that time only fifteen pieces and one Pawn remained, all of ivory, yellowed by time. He gives, nevertheless, a very unsatisfactory[4] account of them, but states the King to be

[1] I may mention that the Arabic inscription is, perhaps I to say *was*, in the old Kufic character; for otherwise the antiquity of the Chessmen would fall to the ground. Then, as usual, the symbols indicating the short vowels, as well as the diacritical *dots* of the consonants, being omitted, we have two legitimate ways of reading the carver's cognomen, viz., Nāḳulī, or Nākilī, but not Nākalī (as in Menage). On the first supposition it denotes that the artist was a native of Nākuliya, a town in Asia Minor, casually alluded to by D'Herbelot. The most probable supposition, however, is that we should read Nākilī, in which case it would denote, "the son of the Nāḳil," which literally means a "transporter," hence applied figuratively, "a scribe, copyist, translator, painter," &c. But this is not all. It so happens that in the Kufic character the letter *ḳ*, when joined to the letter following, is the same in form as the letter *h*; and the initial letter *b* is the same as *n*. Hence the word may be read *Bāhilī, i.e.*, a man of the Bāhil tribe of Arabs"—as I have been told by a good Arabic scholar who has seen a fac-simile of the inscription. This is a very common Arabic formation, like Kāshifī, Kātibi, and hundreds of others; but in any case, it is perfectly clear that the artist was a genuine Arab and not a Greek christian, as Dr. Hyde would seem to imply.—F.

[2] *Hist. Shahilud*, pp. 72, 132.

[3] V. D'Herbelot and Baudrand. It should be, not Nakali, but Nakuliya.

[4] Sir Frederic may well say that Twiss's account is "very unsatisfactory"—It is simply very absurd. He says that the King is "twelve inches high and eight broad." Now, admitting the *height*, which, however, I do under protest, as a very great *stretch*, let us see how the *breadth* will stand the test of those stubborn little things known as the figures of arithmetic, a Hindu invention by the way. The King being *eight inches broad*, it follows, that in order to allow him room to move freely, every square on the board must have been at least *nine inches by nine.* This gives us a Chess board of *six feet by six*, not count-

about twelve inches high, and eight broad, very clumsily carved, and the Pawn about three inches high, representing a dwarf bearing a large shield.

A private engraving of the Pawn was circulated by Twiss, which completely disproves the assertion of Hyde with regard to the muskets. But we are fortunately enabled to form a more accurate judgment of the antiquity and form of these singular pieces from the figures of the King and Queen engraved in Willemin's splendid work.[1] They are each represented sitting on a throne, within an arched canopy, of a semi-circular shape, supported by columns, and on either side of the King two male, of the Queen two female personages, are seen in the act of drawing aside a curtain. The King holds a sceptre in his hand, and the Queen an oval ornament, probably intended for the mound. The dresses and ornaments are all strictly in keeping with the Greek *costume* of the ninth century; and it is impossible not to be convinced, from the general character of the figures, that these Chessmen really belong to the period assigned them by tradition, and were, in all probability, executed at Constantinople, by an Asiatic Greek,[2] and sent as a present to Charlemagne, either by the Empress Irene, or

ing the outward rim or border! "Risum teneatis amici!" But why should we notice Twiss at all? The worthy "Religieux," Jacques Doublet, plainly states that the Chessmen were [at an average] "hautes d'un paulme," an assertion which bears on the face of it the stamp of truth and common sense. The French "paulme," or "paume," is, or was, a lineal measure, nearly equivalent to what we call "a hand," still used among us in measuring the height of horses."—F.

[1] *Monumens Francais Inedits*, fol. Par. 1806, 1832. This work is not yet complete, and the text describing the above plate is unfortunately wanting. There is no copy in the Museum, and I am indebted for the sight of one to Thomas Willemin, Esq. I have made some attempts to procure drawings and measurements of all these Chessmen, but whether I shall succeed or not, time will show.

[2] The name clearly shows that the artist was an Arab, and not a Greek. He may, however, have been an Asiatic subject of the Byzantine Empire.—F.

by her successor Nicephorous. With both these sovereigns (in imitation of his predecessor Pepin's policy), the Frankish monarch had maintained a friendly intercourse by means of embassies, and nothing could have been better calculated to excite the interest of the royal barbarian, than the materials of a game which had recently been brought to the knowledge of Western Europe.

One thing is certain, that these Chessmen, from their size and workmanship, must have been designed for no ignoble personage, and from the decided style of Greek art visible in the figures, it is a more natural inference to suppose them presented to Charlemagne by a sovereign of the Lower Empire, than that they came to him as an offering from the Moorish princess of Spain, or even from the Caliph Haroun Al Raschid, whose costly gifts to the Emperor of the West, are detailed so minutely by the German historians. The value also attached to them at that period, is testified by their having been placed, together with the most costly ornaments of the state, in the abbey of St. Denis, where they were preserved till the time of the Revolution. It is possible, also, that this transaction may have given rise to the passage above quoted, of a similar donation by King Pepin to the monastery of Maussac."[1]

The difficulty respecting these Chessmen to which I have alluded, is this. In the first place, we find a Queen conspicuous among the pieces. This proves at once that

[1] With due deference to Sir Frederic, I must confess I see no solid ground for this assumption. The passage quoted in p. 215., respecting King Pepin's gift, is to the full as worthy of our belief as the common tradition regarding the Chessmen in the Abbey of St. Denis. It is quite possible that *both* accounts may be *true;* but if there be any imitation or borrowing in the case, I hold it much more likely that Pepin's gift to the monastery of Maussac may have given rise afterwards to the tradition respecting Charlemagne's donation to the Abbey of St. Denis. It is merely a question which of the two stories bears the oldest date among mediæval writers; though, after all, that of itself is not sufficient

they are not of Saracenic manufacture;[1] and consequently could not have formed part of the presents sent to Charlemagne by Harūn Al Rashīd. Again, the costume is that of the Lower Empire of the eighth or ninth century; we must then conclude that the Chessmen are of Grecian manufacture, and that they were most probably presented to Charlemagne by the Empress Irene, who reigned from 797 to 802. This conclusion is much strengthened by the following passage from Michelet.[2] Viz., "On the festival of Christmas, the last year of the eighth century, whilst Charlemagne [then at Rome], is absorbed in prayer, the Pope places on his head the Imperial Crown and proclaims him Augustus. The emperor is astonished, and regrets the imposition of a burden beyond his strength —a puerile hypocrisy which he belies by adopting the titles and ceremonies of the court of Byzantium. For the perfect restoration of the empire one thing more was necessary, *to marry the aged Charlemagne to the aged Irene*, who reigned at Constantinople, after murdering her son." Now, although this "*marriage de convenance*" did not take place, for Irene was far too shrewd to accept of a master, yet we may safely conclude that numerous presents and compliments passed between the courts of the two imperial and royal personages in the course of the negotiation. I think then we may safely come to our conclusion that the St. Denis Chessmen and board were presented to Charlemagne by Irene in the first or second year of the ninth century.

[1] The Musalmān people have never adopted the Queen on their Chess board—even to this day what we call the Queen, is by them called the *Wazīr*, or *Farz*, or *Farzīn*.

[2] *History of France*, by M. Michelet; London: Whittaker & Co.; Royal 8vo., p. 82. N.B.—This work is published *without date*, a vile custom that ought to be scouted *without mercy*. To be sure the public have a very simple remedy in their own hands, that is—*never* on any account to buy a new work that wants the date—the omission savours strongly of *humbug*.

In the second place it will be asked, since the pieces are of Byzantine manufacture, how came they to have an Arabic and not a Greek inscription? We can account for this only on the supposition that the carver, unquestionably an Arab, was a man of high reputation in his art; and that he, very naturally, stamped them with his own name as written in his own language. We may even suppose that he was specially sent from Bagdad by Harūn for this very purpose, at Irene's request; and that this set of Chessmen was carved by the empress's direction in the Byzantine and not the Saracenic style.

Lastly, how are we to account for the existence of the Chess Queen at so very early a period? This, I confess, is difficult to answer with satisfaction; but there she is—an indubitable fact, which, by the way, completely upsets the ingenious theory of recent etymologists about the Ferz, Vierge, Dame, &c., &c. For example, Major Jaenisch says,[1] "We know the very extraordinary etymology of the Queen of the game of Chess, an etymology which has only latterly been clearly made out. From the primitive Persian word Ferz, the ancient French have first made *Fierce*, then *Fierche*, then *Vierge*, which they afterwards replaced by the Queen!" Now if, instead of "Queen," the Major had said "*Dame*," *Donna*, or *Dama*, he might have been right, for ought I know, otherwise the whole theory falls to the ground.[2]

I would here venture a conjecture of my own, which

[1] Chess Player's Chronicle for 1852, already cited.

[2] It is quite superfluous to observe that the Byzantine *Queen* could not have possibly been derived from the French *Vierge*; nor is it probable that the corruption of the Oriental word *Ferz* had proceeded so far as to become *Vierge* till some centuries after the introduction of the game into Europe. This last point can be settled only by ascertaining the earliest occurrence of the term *Vierge* to be found in the writings of our older mediæval chroniclers, whether in prose or rhyme. It is quite evident, however, that what M. Jaenisch calls the *extraordinary etymology* of the Queen is altogether an imaginary affair.

I beg the reader to accept merely for whatever it may be worth. I think it probable that the Queen was for the first time introduced among the Chess pieces *in this very set*, presented to Charlemagne; and that it was done partly out of compliment to Irene, and partly as a symbol of the union then under consideration between the two great sovereigns of Christendom. For ought we know, it may have been intended as a hint from Irene to her amorous admirer, that in case the match took place she had no intention of being a mere *sleeping* partner in the concern. Be this, however, as it may, the two terms, "Ferzia" and "Regina," the former adopted from the Saracens, and the latter from Charlemagne's imperial Chess-board, came to be used as synonymous for some centuries afterwards.

CHAPTER XVI.

Modern Oriental Chess.—Chess in Abyssinia.—Chess in Syria and Arabia.—Chess in Egypt.—Chess in Persia.—Chess in Hindūstān.

I HAVE now, to the best of my abilities, endeavoured to trace the History and Progress of Chess from the early invention of the Royal Game on the Banks of the Ganges, till the period of its establishment on the Banks of the Thames, in the tenth century of the Christian æra. The outlines of several of the preceding chapters appeared in the "Illustrated London News," in the years 1854 and 1855, when I was interrupted by more serious engagements from continuing the task. I then addressed the following brief notice to the Editor, viz. :—

"It was my intention to have drawn up a few chapters more on Oriental Chess; but I am prevented by other occupations from doing the subject (which is by no means exhausted), that degree of justice which I think it deserves; and I am, besides, unwilling any longer to retard the disquisition by Sir Frederic Madden and Mr. Staunton upon the Progress of Mediæval Chess in Europe. The matters which I leave untouched are—1st, a chapter on the 'Art of Playing without Seeing the Board,'[1]

[1] The chapter on Blindfold Play I have incorporated with Chapter XII., to which it naturally belongs.

which is given very full in one of the MSS., and is remarkable from its close resemblance to that given by Damiano; 2nd, a full account of the 'Great Chess,'[1] as played at the Barbaric Court of Samarkand in the last half of the fourteenth century; 3rd, an attempt to trace the course of the Shatranj from Persia to Arabia, Byzantium, and Western Europe.[2] Lastly, a brief account of Chess as played at the present time in various Asiatic regions. For the accomplishment of this last task, however, my materials are rather scanty; and I should like to see the subject taken up by some of our countrymen resident in the East, who must necessarily possess better means of information."

Since I penned the last sentence, however, some five years ago, I have found, on careful examination, that my materials for the *task* there alluded to are less scanty than I was then aware of; and I therefore now proceed to its accomplishment. I have been very particular in selecting the best authorities, and in a few instances, where I think these have made mistakes, I have pointed them out in notes and comments of my own.

The game of Chess, as played at the present day, along the north and east coasts of Africa, and throughout Asia, with the exception of China, is either the Mediæval Game itself, or the same more or less advanced in a *transition* state. In regions rarely frequented by Europeans, such as Abyssinia and the Burmese Empire, we find that the mediæval game still retains its ground. Again, in Turkey, Arabia, Persia, Hindūstān, and the Indian Archipelago, the mode of play approximates our own. We there find, for instance, that the Queen and Bishop have

[1] The Great Chess is fully treated of in Chapter XI.

[2] This part of my intentions I have endeavoured to realize in the four preceding chapters.

attained their full sway, and that Castling of some kind or other has been adopted.

The points in which the Asiatic game differs from ours, are, generally speaking, the following:—In the first place—the board may or may not be chequered, and if chequered, it is of no earthly consequence whether a white or a black spot be placed at each player's right hand. 2nd. In arranging the men, each player puts his King on the fourth square from his right-hand corner, and the Queen on the next square, to the left. 3rd. As a general rule, a Pawn can move *only one* square at starting, hence there can be no dispute about a Pawn's liability to be taken, *en passant*, by an adverse Pawn. Lastly, the mode of castling, as we shall see, varies in different countries, but none of them is exactly the same as ours. This being premised, I now proceed to lay before the reader a selection of the most authentic accounts of "*Modern Chess in the East*," that I have been enabled to procure.

Chess in Abyssinia.

We may safely conclude that the Abyssinians, as well as the people inhabiting the valley of the Nile in general, are indebted to the Arabs for their knowledge of the Game of Chess. In the third volume of Lord Valentia's "Travels in the East" we have an account of the manner in which the game was played in Abyssinia some sixty years ago; and, as we might naturally expect, we find that it had undergone no alteration since it was brought there by the Arabs soon after the latter had received it from Persia—in fact, that it was *then*, and most probably is *now*, the Mediæval game or Shatranj. On Lord

he sent his secretary, Mr. Salt, on a mission to Abyssinia —a country not visited for, perhaps, a century before, by any European, with the sole exception of the enterprising and energetic Bruce. The Ras, or Prince of Abyssinia, in those days was Welleta Sebasse, an intelligent man by all accounts, and greatly devoted to Chess. The following extract is from Mr. Salt's journal, as given in page 57, vol. iii. of Valentia's Travels, quarto edition.

"On our arrival at Antalow, we found the Ras at breakfast, and were invited to join him. The Ras was in good humour, and asked many questions about our Churches, our King, &c. An old woman was standing behind him, whom he very significantly introduced as a proper person for us to become acquainted with, as she had many young ladies under her care. In the evening we went into the hall, and found the Ras at Chess in the midst of his chiefs. The chessmen, which were coarsely made of ivory, are very large and clumsy: when they have occasion to take any one of their adversary's pieces, they strike it with great force and eagerness from its place. I observed that their game differs much from ours. Bishops jump over the heads of Knights, and are only allowed to move three squares. The Pawns move only one step at starting, and get no rank by reaching the end of the board. They play with much noise; every person around, even the slaves, having a voice in the game, and seizing the pieces at pleasure to show any advisable move. We observed, however, that they always managed with great ingenuity to let the Ras win every game."

Mr. Salt says, a few pages further on—"We found the Ras engaged at Chess with one of his chiefs. On seeing us, he offered his hand, seating me by his side. Our patience, however, was nearly exhausted before the

game was completed, not a single word during this time being spoken to us." Now, if Mr. Salt had possessed a single grain of the *savoir-faire* becoming a genuine lover of Chess, he would have felt neither surprise nor impatience at the Prince's silence.

REMARKS.

The above extract is so far interesting, inasmuch as it confirms what I have more than once stated, "that in the more secluded regions of Africa and Asia, where Europeans have seldom penetrated, the Mediæval mode of Chess-play still maintains its ground." It is evident from Mr. Salt's description, that the moves and powers of the pieces are the same as they were when brought from India into Persia, in the sixth century. As to his assertion that "the Pawns get no rank by reaching the end of the board," I believe he speaks merely from imperfect recollection, or at least without due consideration; for the fact, if *fact* it were, would be utterly at variance with all that we have yet discovered on Oriental Chess. I should like to know in particular what became of the Pawns on reaching the opposite side of the board! His remark that "Bishops jump over the heads of Knights," is also a defective statement. Had he known much of Chess, or taken pains to watch the game, he would have found that Bishops jumped over *any piece* on the board that lay next to them, and that they stopped short on the other side. He would have found, further, that the Queen was one of the weakest pieces on the board, and moved merely one square at a time on the diagonal, or Bishop's line.

I happened, lately, to be turning over some old numbers of the Palámède, and in the first number of 1838,

I find they have noticed Mr. Salt's "Partie d'échecs en Abyssinie." We have already given the exact original of Mr. Salt's description, as it stands in Valentia's work; and what we there pointed out as defective and unsatisfactory, is delightfully *rectified* in the *translation*, which runs thus—"J'ai remarqué que leur jeu diffère du notre à plusieurs égards: d'abord les pions ne font jamais qu'un pas; la reine a une marche plus restreinte que la nôtre; les fous ne font jamais que trois pas, et peuvent sauter par-dessus une autre pièce, comme les cavaliers." Now, we must admit that this *translation*, if we may so call it, is a decided improvement on the *original*. It is exactly what Mr. Salt *ought* to have written. The French *translator* says nothing here of the Pawns *not Quecning*, and he specifies the correct modes of moving the Queen and Bishops. This is the exact game described in the Sháh-náma; in other words, the mediæval game of Asia and Europe. The moves are precisely the same as those given in the venerable Caxton's "Booke of the Chesse," which is a translation (of a translation) of the far-famed work of Cesolis or Casulis, &c., "seu quocunque nomine vocatur."

Chess in Syria and Arabia.

The following extract from a letter, written by Herr Von Grimm, himself a distinguished Chess player, and one of the Hungarian patriots then exiled in Turkey, may be relied on as an exact account of the mode in which Chess is now played in Turkey and Arabia.

To the Editor of the Chess Player's Chronicle (1851).

"When Aleppo was named as the place of our exile, I instantly thought of Stamma, concluding that in the

But it is not so. There are comparatively many Chess players, but no one of renown. Most of them play conformably to European rules, and to those who do, one can easily give the odds of a Rook. This, however, is more difficult, when playing according to the Arabian rules. The difference in the latter is :—

"1st. The King is always placed at the right-hand of his Queen, so that he is opposite to the adversary's Queen.

"2nd. A Pawn can never move two squares.

"3rd. In Castling three moves are required. In the first, the King is played to one of the Pawn's squares. In the second, the Rook goes as far as he likes, or can. In the third, the King hides himself, by a Knight's move, behind his Pawns. If once checked, either before or during these three moves, he loses the faculty of the Knight's move.

"4th. A Pawn arriving at his eighth square, can only be exchanged for a piece already taken by the adversary."

"The difference in first placing the King paralyzes our theory of openings : and the restriction of the Pawns in moving only one step completely precludes those impetuous attacks so necessary when we give the odds of a piece. The Arabians play very quickly, and never fail to point with the finger to the piece they attack. They no more respect the principle of non-intervention than the Russians do, for every spectator gives his opinion, and his advice. Their Chess-boards ordinarily consist of a handkerchief,[1] on which the squares, all

[1] This is the most common kind of chess-board, (if I may use the expression,) among the Asiatics. It is very portable and convenient, especially in travelling. The Chessmen, being of small solid blocks of wood, are carried in a little bag ; and the whole equipage is produced at a moment's notice. The travellers, when they halt for the sake of rest, squat down on the ground and

white, are only separated by black lines. The pieces are seldom of ivory, but commonly of wood, rudely carved, and the Bishops and Knights very difficult to distinguish."

Herr Grimm furthe favours us with the following Oriental story, which being short, and "by no means dull," we here subjoin.

"All my endeavours to find some Arabian Manuscripts on Chess are fruitless. The connoisseurs of Arabian literature believe that some must exist, but nobody of my acquaintance has, or knows of any. No one here remembers the name of Stamma, but Chess-players are fond of relating the following anecdote regarding a celebrated Aleppean player of the last century. This man was exceedingly poor, notwithstanding which he would do nothing except play at Chess, and as nobody here plays for money, he could scarcely obtain an existence. A certain Pasha, a great amateur of Chess, visiting Aleppo, made the acquaintance of our hero, and engaged him to go to Stamboul. The latter pleading poverty, the Pasha provided for his journey, and at Stamboul, after clothing him from head to foot, introduced him to the Sultan. Entering the Seray, he left, as is the custom, his slippers at the door. The Sultan, also a great lover of Chess, instantly called for the Chess-board. They played, and the Aleppean lost the first game.

"The Sultan frowning, addressed the Pasha, 'How

fall to; yea, if there should be neither handkerchief nor chessmen, the deficiency is readily supplied. A board is soon delineated on the sand, and pebbles are used instead of the wooden men. Of course, in the mansions of the grandees, there are boards and men of a very different cut; but even to this very day, the boards are seldom chequered *black* and *white*, and when they happen to be so, it makes no earthly difference as to the mode of placing the men.—F.

[1] *Stambūl* or *Istambūl* is the Arabic name for Constantinople.—F.

darest thou present to me as a great master this man who loses so ignominiously?' The Pasha, only now conscious that he had more at stake than the players, asked his protégé why he played so indifferently. The reply was, 'I left the new slippers you gave me at the door, and fearing that some one will take them away, my mind is so occupied with this thought that I cannot play as well as is necessary against so strong an adversary as the Sultan. Then the Sultan, smiling, ordered in the slippers, which our friend took, and, placing them under him, won all the succeeding games, without offending the so cunningly flattered Sultan. Though the Aleppean, who may have been no other than Stamma, exhibited in his play abundant skill, I think it would hardly surpass his courtly ingenuity concerning the slippers."

Chess in Egypt.

I have not been able to ascertain the mode in which the modern Egyptians play the game. Mr. Lane,[1] apparently no Chess player himself, in describing the sedentary games of Egypt, merely tells us that the people of that country "take great pleasure in Chess (which they call *sutreng*), Draughts (*dāmeh*), and Backgammon (*tāwooleh*)." The probability is, however, that the Egyptian game is the same as that of the Turks and Arabs.

Some writers, who occasionally *do* a Chess article for the magazines, have carried their imaginations so far as to say that the ancient Egyptians were adepts at the game. A little attention would have shewn them the utter groundlessness of their assertion. The game represented on Egyptian monuments is merely a species

[1] "Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians." Vol. II. p. 46.

of Draughts, and is thus described by Wilkinson in his work on the Ancient Egyptians :—

"The pieces were all of the same size and form, though they varied on different boards, some being small, others large, with round summits; many were of a lighter and neater shape, like small nine-pins,—probably the most fashionable kind, since they were used in the palace of King Rameses. These last seem to have been about one inch and a-half high, standing on a circular base of half an inch in diameter; and one in my possession, which I brought from Thebes, of a nearly similar taste, is one inch and a-quarter in height, and little more than half an inch broad at the lower end. It is of hard wood, and was doubtless painted of some colour, like those occurring on the Egyptian monuments.

"They were all of equal size upon the same board, one set black, the other white or red, standing on opposite sides, and each player, raising it with the finger and thumb, advanced this piece towards those of his opponent; but though we are unable to say if this was done in a direct or diagonal line, there is reason to believe they could not take backwards, as in the Polish game of draughts, the men being mixed together on the board.

"It was an amusement common in the houses of the lower classes, and in the mansions of the rich; and King Rameses is himself pourtrayed on the walls of his palace at Thebes, engaged in the game of draughts."

Chess in Persia.

The modern Persian game, as we might expect, differs little from that of the Turks and Arabians, as may be

seen from the following communication addressed from Paris to the Editor of the Chess Player's Chronicle some fifteen years ago.

"* * * * You have probably read in the newspapers an account of the arrival in Paris of five noble Persians, sent by the Shah for the purpose of learning modern languages, science, &c. Each of them is to study a particular branch, and they will return to their country with the elements of a complete revolution. Three of them are young men of twenty or twenty-one years of age, and play Chess tolerably! They tell me there are many strong players in their country, and that the game is much cultivated there. Their game differs from ours in the following particulars: "—

"I. The board is placed with the White or Black square on the right indifferently."

"II. The King is placed on the fourth square from the left-hand corner, and the Queen (the Vizier) always *on the right*[1] of the King, consequently, the board standing after our fashion with the White square on the right hand, the White King and Queen only will change places: the Queens are thus, as in the Indian game, in face of the adverse King."

"III. The Pawns move only one square the first move."

"IV. Castling is admitted, only Castling on the King's side *the King goes* to *Knight's square*, and *the Rook to*

[1] I am inclined to think that the writer has here made a slight mistake in his description. Ought he not to have said, like Herr Grimm, "the King is placed on the fourth square from the right hand corner; and the Vizier always on *his left*?" It is contrary to Oriental etiquette for the Vizier to stand on the King's *right hand*; besides, the assertion is at variance with what we know of the modern Arabian and Indian games. Perhaps the *correspondent*, as a mere matter of gallantry, places the Queen on the King's *right* hand, overlooking the important fact that the eastern Vizier was *no lady*, but an

King's square; but on the Queen's side the operation is peculiar, and requires two moves. First, the *King goes to Queen's second* square, and then *making* a *Knight's* move *to Queen's Knight's square*, if you don't wish to shut up your Queen's Rook, therefore, before castling on the Queen's side you must move it to Q. or Q. B. square."

"V. A plurality of Queens is not admitted. If I recollect rightly, you cannot win in the Indian game after stripping the adverse King of all his forces.[1] In the Persian game this is not the case, for if at the end of the game either King is left alone, against the adverse King, with any force, however small, he must surrender instantly,[2] the game being considered lost."

Chess in Hindūstān.

The modern Hindūstānī game agrees, upon the whole, with that of the Arabs and Persians, and, in some degree, with our own game of the present day. This is easily accounted for from the intercourse of the natives with Europeans, especially French and English, for more than a century back. We have seen in page 162 that in the time of Hyder 'Alī Captain Lucas "was highly honoured by the *black men* on account of his skill in Chess." Some ten years later, we have the following amusing and characteristic account of a *partie* played by Lieutenant Edward Moor,[3] a distinguished Oriental scholar, against four Bramins at Changerry in the Deccan.

[1] This is incorrect, as we shall immediately see in Shastree's description of the modern Hindoostanee game—p. 252, par. 2.—where we are told that "there are three modes of winning," &c.—F.

[2] This, as I have already shewn, was uniformly the rule in the Shatranj or mediæval game.—F.

[3] A narrative of the operations of Captain Little's detachment, &c., by Edward Moor. 4to., London, 1794, pp. 138 and 139.

"On the hill before mentioned, near half a mile northward of Changerry, is a neat little pagoda, which afforded a social retreat from the noise and bustle of the camp; and perhaps few of the gentlemen of our line will read this account without recalling to mind a happy day or two spent in this pagoda. As the utmost decorum was always observed, it did not hinder the Bramins from paying their devotions in it as usual.

"One day, after dining here, a small party of us were amusing ourselves at play, when four Bramins came in, and after their religious ceremonies were over, entered into conversation with us, and looked over at our game; spying a chess-board, they proposed a game, and as the writer of this anecdote was the only player of the party, he accepted the challenge, conscious, however, of want of skill and practice. It was curious to see their earnestness at the game; the same circumspection so conspicuous in all their actions was visible here; even in the trivial contest at a game of Chess, might an observer have perceived in these sober sons of caution, a characteristic trait of Braminical deliberation. On the chess-board, as on the theatre of life, no move was made, no step taken, without maturely weighing its propriety, and taking into the scale of consideration, the effect, however distant, it might produce.

"An objection was made to their consulting on every move, as by such means there were four to contend with instead of one; which objection was over-ruled as repugnant to the laws of the game, and an equal advantage offered in the advice of their adversary's companions; the objection, indeed, was made for little else than to enhance the importance of their victory, for it was clear they must in the end gain it, as any one of them would, perhaps, at any time be more than a match for their op-

ponent. By good fortune their antagonist seemed to have gained a superiority; but this, instead of making them loosen the reins of caution, served as a spur to their diligence, which was doubled, their equality retrieved, and the event for a while stood trembling on the point of uncertainty. Address at length prevailed, and the odds were evidently in their favour; but apparent security could not lull the acute eye of watchfulness, and their conquest was confessed. Shāh māt (check mate) was pronounced, not with the exultation of casual conquest, but with the moderate gratification arising from a foreseen event, which a consciousness of superior information authorised them to expect.

"The discomfited antagonist not feeling the aggravations of defeat, forgets his inferiority in the clemency of his victors. It furnished us with an opportunity of complimenting them, by saying such must ever be the lot of those who daringly venture to oppose the address and superior acquirements of the Bramins. A suitable answer was returned, and we parted, as may be supposed, mutually satisfied.

"Chess is played all over India in much the same manner as in Europe, with some difference in the names of the pieces. This noble game was beyond all doubt invented in India, where are extant in several languages, treatises explanatory of the method of playing. A very curious account of the 'Indian game of Chess,' by Sir William Jones, will be found in the second volume of Asiatic Researches, page 159." [1]

The most authentic account, however, of the modern Hindūstānī game is that given by Trevangadāchārya Shāstree, in his now rare work, entitled "Essays on Chess," 8vo, Bombay, 1814. The following extract

[1] This account will be found in our eighteenth and

from his preface will show wherein the Indian game of the present day differs from ours. The aforesaid learned gentleman with the long name, thus speaks on the subject :—

"The Hindoostanee game of Chess varies so much from the European that, in the following work, the author has only adhered to the former as far as it agrees with the latter in order to make this book generally useful.—The several points in which these two differ are here enumerated, and it is left to the judgment of the experienced player to decide which is the preferable and which the most scientific game.

"1st.—In the Hindoostannee game the King is placed to the *right*[1] hand, so that the King of one party is opposite the Queen of the other.

"2nd.—There are three modes of winning the game —The first called *Boord*, when the losing party has no piece left on the board. The game is then discontinued. This mode of winning is reckoned the least creditable, and in many parts it is deemed a drawn game. The second is by checkmate with a piece, when the losing party must have one or more pieces remaining. The third is by checkmate with a Pawn (Piedmât). The losing party having one or more pieces remaining. This last shows the greatest superiority.

"3rd.—Stalemate is not known in the Hindoostannee game. If one party get into that position the adversary must make room for him to move. In some part of India he that is put in this predicament has a right to remove from the board any one of the adversary's pieces he may choose.

[1] The author's meaning is clear enough, though not very neatly expressed. Each player places his King on the right of the two central squares, and his Queen on the left. This is the general rule all over the East ; and when we

"4th.—No party can make a drawn game by an universal check; he that has the option must adopt some other move.

"5th.—The Pawns on reaching the last square of the board are transformed into the master piece of that file, except the King's Pawn, which becomes a Queen. If the Pawn be on the Knight's file, the Knight, immediately on being made, takes one move in addition to the last move of the Pawn, unless some other piece command the square to which the Pawn was advancing.

"6th.—No Pawn can be pushed up to the last square of the board, nor take any piece on that line, so long as the master piece of that file remains.

"7th.—The King does not Castle, but is allowed the move of a Knight once in the game; not, however, to take any piece, nor can he exercise this privilege after having been once checked.

"8th.—The two royal Pawns and those of the two Rooks are allowed to move two squares each at first, so long as their master pieces remain at their squares. The other Pawns move only one square at a time.

"9th.—At the beginning of a game, four or eight moves, as may be determined, are played up on both sides. This, in a great measure, prevents unnecessary exchanges till a general disposition is adopted and the pieces brought out.

"10th.—The first move at the beginning of a match is arbitrary; afterwards, he that has won most games moves first.

The following are still more recent accounts of Chess and Chess-players in our Indian empire, communicated a few years ago to the editor of the "Chess Player's Chronicle," viz.—

"I have now played a great many games of Ch

with Parsees, Hindoos, and Mussulmen; they all play it according to the rules annexed, and I have never met with one among them who was acquainted with the game as played by us in Europe.[1]

"*Rules of the Game of Chess as played by the Natives of India.*

"1.—Place the board with either a Black or White square on your right hand, it is of no consequence which.

"2.—Your King must be placed on the *right hand* of your Queen; consequently your King and the adverse Queen will be opposed, and *vice versa.*

"3.—The *King's*, *Queen's*, and *Rook's Pawns* only are permitted to be moved *two squares* their first moves; and if either of these pieces, viz., the King, the Queen, or the Rook, is moved before its respective Pawn is played, the said Pawn is restricted to move one square.

"4.—Castling is not allowed, but the King, *once during the game*, may be *moved like a Knight*, if he has not been previously checked, or if the move will not expose him to check. The King, in making the Knight's move, can capture either a piece or Pawn.

"5.—A Pawn, upon arriving at the Rook's, Bishop's, or Knight's eighth square, can be exchanged only for the piece which originally stood upon that square; but

[1] The writer must have lived in a very out of the way place indeed. In almost all parts of India the natives play our game, and play it well. The fact is simply this, that among themselves they prefer their own game, but they are at all times ready to encounter a European in his own way, as we have seen in the case of the four Bramins with Lieut. Moor. I must further beg leave to hint to the *correspondent*, should this meet his eye, that he ought to have eschewed the vulgar word Mussul*men*, used only by European newspaper editors, and gentlemen and lady travellers who think that *Mussulmen* is the plural of *Musalmān*.—F.

upon its arrival at the King's or Queen's eighth square, a Queen or any other piece may be claimed for it. A Pawn cannot take another Pawn "*en passant.*"

"6.—When all the *pieces* are taken the game is drawn, although there be Pawns left, and if all the *pieces* of *one* party are taken before checkmate is given, the game is likewise drawn.

"With these exceptions the game is played as it is in England."

We shall now conclude with an account of two very eminent Hindū players. The first is thus noticed by Mrs. Postans, in her work on Western India, viz.—

"Professional Chess-players are less common than might be supposed; but some of the Moslems play a scientific and good game. I have never found them object to our pieces, notwithstanding the use of any images is forbidden by the precepts of the Koran. Most good players prefer not looking at the board, and some are sufficient adepts to conduct two games at the same time. Others place a ring on any Pawn selected by their antagonist, and give checkmate with the same.

"The Philidor of Western India is a Hindoo, called Ramdass, a native of Kattiwar. This man plays his *best* game without looking at the board, and as he sits in a corner of the room, it is curious to hear him muttering over the chances of the game, and reasoning with himself on the consequences of his moves. If a false step is made by his adversary, Ramdass immediately detects it, and enumerates with ease, and in correct succession, the previous moves of both parties; when arrived at that which he is satisfied he can follow up with one of his ingenious mates, Ramdass patiently awaits his adversary's move, and then springing from the ground, instantly fixes on the required piece, and drops it on the effective

square, with a smile of triumph, and a monosyllable "bus" (enough), that 'tis hard to bear.

"Ramdass told me he played Chess at nine years old; his countenance is heavy and his eyes apparently weighed down by intense thought. With constant practice and a good memory, a student of Chess, previously well acquainted with its scientific principles, might, he averred, acquire his method of playing without a board, in six months."

In the very last number of "Allen's Indian Mail," (May 12th, 1860), we have an account of a Bramin in the Madras Presidency who is now exhibiting the most extraordinary feats of memory that we have ever seen recorded. As the late Mr. Cobbett used to say, "remember I do not vouch for the fact." I merely have it from highly respectable authority, and if *true*, the Madras Bramin beats our transatlantic cousins all to nothing. The following is the account to which we allude:—

"BELLARY.—A Brahmin has lately been exhibiting at Bellary extraordinary powers of memory; he is able simultaneously to concentrate his attention on twelve or more different subjects. He performed the other day before a large audience of influential natives of the place, and gave proof of a truly wonderful scope of memory. At this exhibition he played two games of Chess and one of cards without looking at the boards. While thus engaged, verses in Tamil, Telugu, Marhatta, Hindustani, Persian, and Sanscrit, were dictated to him; the words of each verse being given promiscuously, but with the number of their order. The Hindu calendar for three days was at the same time read to him; a bell was struck, and several small pebbles were thrown at his back. The above occupied about three hours, after which he remained perfectly silent for one hour, and

then, to the intense amazement of all present, he named every one of the moves on the Chess-boards, every card played, and by whom, repeated all the verses correctly, with the words in proper order, gave the calendar verbatim, and to crown all, told the number of strokes on the bell, and how many pebbles had touched his back. This man has been exhibiting his powers of memory in Bombay, Poona, and other places, and holds among other testimonials, one from Lord Elphinstone."

CHAPTER XVII.

Chess to the Eastward of Hindūstān—Chess in Burmha —Chess in Sumatra—Chess in Java—Chess in Malacca—Chess in Borneo—Chess in China.

In our last chapter we retraced our steps from the Nile eastwards to the Ganges, with a view to shew the present state of Chess in those extensive regions. We shall now conclude our description, with a brief sketch of the game as played in the countries situated to the east and south-east of India, the land where it first originated. Our authorities here are, with one exception, very sound and reliable, though not so copious as those to which we have already had recourse.

Chess in Burmha, &c.

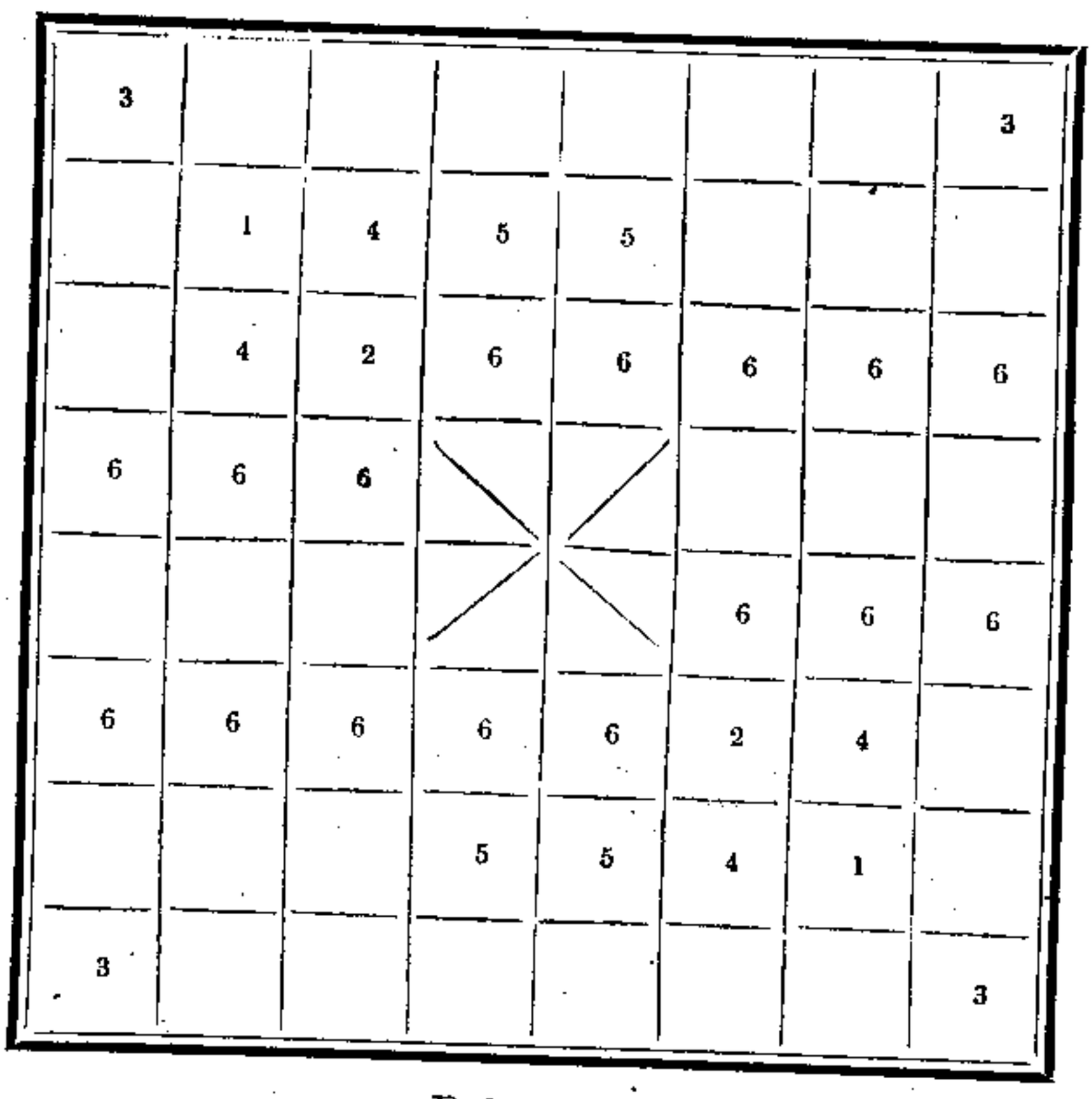
Of the Burmese game of Chess, we have a very satisfactory account by Captain Hiram Cox, who, at the end of the last century, resided for some time in the Burman empire, more particularly at the Court of Amarapoorah. This account was communicated to the Vice-President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in 1799, and printed in the seventh volume of that Society's Transactions. The description of the Burmese game will, so far as I have been able to ascertain, apply in general to the regions situated between India and China, viz.: Tibet, Burmha, Siam and Cochin China. In all of these countries we

as in the case of Abyssinia, the people have had very little intercourse with strangers from other lands. This being premised, we now give Captain Cox's description, viz. :—

"The Burmha name for the game of Chess is *chit-thareen*, a term applied by them either to a generalissimo, or warfare; an etymologist perhaps might trace it as a corruption of the *Sanskrit Chatur-anga*.

"The annexed drawing and diagram will best explain the form of the pieces, &c. and ordinary array of the battalia.

BURMHA CHESS TABLE.



References.

1. Meng, The king.
2. Chekoy, Lieut. Gen.
3. 3. Rutha, War chariots.
4. 4. Chein, Elephants.
5. 5. Mhee, Cavalry.

"No. 1. *Meng*, or the king, has the same moves and powers as in the English game, except that he cannot castle, neither do they admit of what we call stale mate.

"No. 2. *Chekoy*, or sub-general; he moves diagonally either way in advance or retrograde, but limited to one check or step at a move.

"No. 3. 3. *Ratha*, war chariot; they have exactly the same moves and powers as the English castle or rook.

"No. 4*4. *Chein*, elephants; they have five distinct moves, viz. *direct*, one; *diagonal in advance*, two; and *diagonal retrograde*, two; but limited to one check or step at a move; they slay diagonally only; the move direct in advance being only intended to alter the line of their operations so that they may occasionally have the powers of our king's or queen's bishop.

"No. 5. 5. *Mhee*, cavalry; they have exactly the same moves and powers as in the English game.

"No. 6.6.6.6.6.6.6.6.6. Yein, or foot soldiers; they have the same moves and powers as in the English game, except that they are limited to one check or step at a move, and that the right hand pieces only are susceptible of promotion to the rank of chekoy (in the event of his being taken). It is not necessary for this promotion that they should have advanced to the last row of the adversary's check, but to that check which is in a diagonal line with the left-hand check in the last row of the adversary's section; consequently, the right-hand Pawn or Yein, according to the diagram, will have to advance four steps to obtain the rank of chekoy; the second yein, three steps; the third yein, two steps; the fourth yein, two steps; and the fifth yein, one

the diagram, yet the *Burmhas* admit of great variations; each party being allowed to arrange their *pieces ad libitum;* that is to say, they may strengthen either wing, or expose the king, according as they estimate each other's abilities, or as caprice or judgment may influence them. In some respects this is tantamount to our giving a piece to an inferior player, but the variation is only to be understood of the pieces, and not of the Pawns.

"This liberty, added to the names and powers of the pieces, gives the *Burmha* game more the appearance of a real battle than any other game I know of. The powers of the Chein are well calculated for the defence of each other and the King, where most vulnerable; and the *Ratha* or war chariots are certainly more analagous to an active state of warfare than rooks or castles."

REMARKS.

In the Burmese, or as we may better term it the Budhist game, we find that the only deviation from the Shatranj consists in the additional power conferred on the Elephant or Bishop, which now becomes decidedly superior to the Farzīn or Queen. The Elephant in the Burmese game can evidently cover the whole of the squares of the board, whereas in the regular Shatranj, as we have already shewn, he could cover only eight squares; hence his value now is somewhat intermediate between the Knight and Farzīn.

We farther observe in Captain Cox's account of the "array of the battalia," something closely resembling the *Ta'bīyat*, or "battle array," of the mediæval game described in our tenth chapter. The gallant captain does not appear to have been aware of this peculiarity in the

ment of the men on the Burmese board, to have been the result "of caprice," whereas it is merely one of their favourite openings, ten to fifteen moves having been already played on each side.

Chess in Sumatra.

The people of Sumatra, Malacca, Java and Borneo, generally called the Malays, evidently received the game of Chess in the first place from India. In the course of time, on their adopting the Muhammadan religion, their language, like that of the Persians, became partially intermixed with words and phrases from the Arabic. Still their chess terms, with one or two exceptions, bear the impress of their Indian origin; as we shall see in the following extract from the "History of Sumatra," by the late Dr. William Marsden, a gentleman who was well versed in the language and literature of the Malayan people. He says, in speaking of the games, &c. of the Sumatrans—

"They have also various games on chequered boards or other delineations, and persons of superior rank are in general versed in the game of Chess, which they term *māin gājah*, or 'the game of the Elephant,' naming the pieces as follows: *Rājā*, 'King;' *Mantrī*, 'Vizīr,' or 'Minister,' (our Queen;) *Gājah*, 'Elephant,' (our Bishop;) *Kūdah*, 'Horse,' (our Knight;) *Ter*, 'chariot,' (our Rook;) and *Bīdak*, 'Pawn,' or 'foot soldier.' For *check* they use the word *Sah*, and for *checkmate*, *Māt* or Māti. Among these names the only one that appears to require observation, as being peculiar, is that for the Castle or Rook, which they have borrowed from the Tamul language of the peninsula of India, wherein the

'chariot,' (particularly such as are drawn in the processions of certain divinities), and not unaptly transferred to this military game, to complete the constituent parts of an army.[1]"

● REMARKS.

Here we see that the words *Rājā*, *Mantrī*, and *Gājah*, are pure Sanskrit; whilst *Kūdah* and *Ter* are Tamul; this proves the Indian source of the game. The word *Bidak*, as well as the terms *Sah* and *Sah-māt*, are Arabic, slightly modified. The captious critic will say that *Sah* is the Persian *Shāh*. Well, I know all that, and something more. The Arabs, as I have already shewn, adopted the word *Shāh*, when they received the game from the Persians, and they retain the term to this day. *Bīdak*, the "Pawn," is pure Arabic and not Persian; hence we may safely infer that the Sumatrans received the game originally from India; and that more recently, they adopted a few Arabic terms since the period at which they became converts to the religion of Muhammad.

Chess in Java.

Our authority here is first-rate—that of Sir T. Stamford Raffles, who was Governor of the rich island of Java previous to its being restored to the Dutch, on the general pacification of Europe in 1815, which restoration by the way was a very stupid proceeding on the part of our ministry. The Javanese Chess, like that of the Sumatrans, is evidently of Indian origin, as we know by the very word *Chatur*, by which the game is denomi-

[1] Marsden's "History of Sumatra," third edition, 4to. London, 1811, p. 273.

nated. The following is Sir T. S. Raffles's account of it:[1]—

"In Chess (*Chatur*) the pieces are named, 1st. the *Ratu*, or King; 2nd. the *Pateh*, or Minister, corresponding with our Queen; two *Prahu*, or vessels, corresponding with our Rooks; two *Mantri*, corresponding with Bishops; two *Jāran*, or Horses, corresponding with Knights; the *Bidak*, or Pawns; and are arranged as in the European game, except that each King is placed on the left hand of the Queen, and consequently opposite to the adversary's Queen. The moves are also the same; except that the King, if he has not been checked, may move two squares the first time, either as a Knight or otherwise; and that the Pawn may move two squares the first move, even though it should pass the check of an adversary's Pawn. When a Pawn reaches the adversary's first line, it must retrograde three moves diagonally before it can become a Queen, except it has reached the Rook's square, in which case it becomes a Queen at once. There may be any number of Queens on the board at one time. The King cannot Castle after having been checked. Castling is performed by two moves; the Castle must first be brought up to the King; after which the King may pass over the Castle at any future move, provided he shall not have been checked, or that no piece has occupied the square he would move into. A piece or Pawn must remain on the board till the last; if the King is left alone, it is considered as stalemate, and he wins."

REMARKS.

The most convincing proof of the Hindū origin of the Javanese game is the existence of the two *Prahus*, or

[1] History of Java, by Sir T. Stamford Raffles, 2 vols. 4to. London, 1817.

"Ships," which shows at the same time that the people of Java must have received their knowledge of Chess from India at a very early period before the war chariot was substituted for the original Ship or Roka. Here, also, the term *Pateh* is simply the Sanskrit *Pati*, denoting "Lord," or "Master." Instead of the Elephant, the Javanese have adopted two *Mantris*, or "Counsellors," which is also a pure Sanskrit word. The *Bidak*, or "Pawn," is pure Arabic, and what is most remarkable is, that "he may move *two squares* the first move, even if it should pass the check of an adverse Pawn." It is highly probable that the Javanese adopted this innovation from the Dutch; for with a partial exception in the Hindūstānī game, the Pawn at starting can move only *one* square in all Asiatic countries.

The final sentence in the foregoing extract respecting *stalemate*, is at variance with Oriental usage. I think the author meant to say, that "if the King is left alone, it is considered as stalemate, and the *adversary* wins," provided always any of *his own* forces remain, however small. Upon the whole, the Javanese Chess comes nearer to our modern European game than that of any other Asiatic people. It is quite possible that the Javanese borrowed, either from the Portuguese or the Dutch, the two Counsellors, by the adoption of which, instead of the Elephants, they are at variance with all other eastern nations. We may, I think, infer that the Bishops of the Christians gave rise to the Counsellors of the Javānese.

Chess in Malacca.

The game of Chess, as played by the people of the Malayan peninsula, is, as might be expected, the same as that of their neighbours and co-religionists of Sumatra

and Java. My authority here, however, is by no means *first-rate*, but such as it is, I shall here insert it as a remarkable instance of an able writer's dogmatism in matters of which he is either entirely ignorant, or biassed by the most absurd prejudices. In Vol. I., p. 112, of Crawfurd's History of the Indian Archipelago,[1] the author has the following extraordinary statement.

"Of the celebrated game of Chess, supposed to have been invented by the Hindūs, I must on this account say more than would otherwise be necessary. The collateral evidence afforded on this subject, from an examination of its history among the Indian islanders, does not tend to corroborate the hypothesis of Chess having been invented by the Hindūs. (*a*) The Javanese, the tribe with whom the intercourse with the ancient Hindūs was most busy, hardly knew the game, but by report, and even thus far, they knew it only by its Persian name. (*b*) The Malays, on the contrary, know the game well, and are fond of it; but then they have acquired it in comparatively recent times, and in their modern intercourse with the Telingas. (*c*) The evidence of language not only shows this, but shows also that the Telingas must themselves have borrowed it from the Persians. (*d*) *Chatur*, the name of the game, is Persian, (*e*) and not Indian. *Sah*, "check," is the Persian word *Shah*, (*f*) King, and the only way in which the Indian islanders can pronounce it. *Bidah*, a *Pawn*, is but a corruption of the Persian word *Piādah*, (*g*) a foot soldier; *Ter*, the Malayan name of the *Castle*, is of the vernacular language of Kalinga; (*h*) and *Māt* is not, as some have imagined, a corruption of the Malayan *Mati*, dead, but the true Persian word for

[1] History of the Indian Archipelago, containing an account of the Manners

checkmate, (*i*) borrowed by ourselves, and still more accurately by the French."

"Is it not probable, that, had the Hindūs, when they enjoyed a *monopoly* of the intercourse with the Indian islanders, known the game of Chess, they would have recommended themselves to a people passionately addicted to play, (*k*) by instructing them in this interesting game? They *did not* instruct them; (*l*) and the probability therefore is, that they themselves did not understand it. Sir William Jones acknowledges that no account of such a game exists in the writings of the Brahmans." (*m*)

REMARKS.

It would have been much more satisfactory to us, if Mr. Crawfurd had favoured us with an exact description of the game of Chess, as played by the Malays, instead of the above discussion about its invention and introduction into the Eastern Islands; a department in which, I humbly opine, he does not *show off* to any great advantage. He has really managed to commit about twice as many errors as he numbers sentences, the refutation of which is a matter of no great difficulty. I shall here briefly notice the more prominent of these in their order, as indicated in the text by the letters *a*, *b*, *c*, &c.

(*a*) That Chess was invented by the Hindūs is no mere *hypothesis*; it is a demonstrated fact, as I have satisfactorily shewn in the earlier chapters of this work.

(*b*) That the ancient Hindūs were *more* busy with the Javanese than with the people of Sumatra and Malacca is a mere gratuitous assertion, corroborated by no Hindū historical record. Again it is untrue to say that the Javanese "hardly

just seen the contrary, in Sir T. Stamford Raffles's account of that people. Had Mr. Crawfurd attended to the latter's history of Java, published three years before his own, he would have seen the groundlessness of his assertion. Lastly when Mr. Crawfurd says that the Javanese knew Chess only by its *Persian name*, he puts himself in a most pitiable dilemma; he either knew nothing of Persian, of which he speaks with such confidence, or he deliberately asserted what he knew to be untrue.

(*c*) Here again is a mere gratuitous assertion, for which Mr. Crawfurd assigns no authority. By the "Telingas," I suppose he means the people of the Coromandel coast; but in reality the term applies only to those who dwell to the north-east of Madras, whose language is the Telingī or Telugu, whereas the Chess terms *Ter*, "chariot," and *Kuda*, "Horse," are Tamul as well as Telingī, as we have already seen in Dr. Marsden's account of Chess in Sumatra—a much more reliable authority than Crawfurd.

(*d*) This is the greatest absurdity as yet stated, even by Crawfurd. Why should the Telingas travel two thousand miles to borrow the game of Chess from the Persians, when it existed for four or five thousand years among themselves? On the contrary, the Persians, as is well known, received the game from India in the reign of Naushīrawān.

(*e*) Here Mr. Crawfurd is determined to shew that, to use a homely expression, *he does not stick at trifles.* Mark, reader, he dogmatically says, "*Chatur*, the name of the game, is Persian, and not Indian!" Now *Chatur* is not a Persian word—but the first member of the Sanskrit compound *Chatur-anga.* There is only one word in the Persian language that bears the least resemblance in spelling to *Chatur*, and that is *Chatr*, which

means simply "an umbrella," or "canopy," but it has nothing on earth to do with the game of Chess.

(*f*) The Malayan people in general have an aversion to the sound *sh*, which they change (in foreign words) into *s*; hence they say *Sah* for *Shāh*; but as I have shewn with respect to the Sumatrans, the word was introduced by the Arabs,—not the Persians.

(*g*) Mr. Crawfurd displays a little ingenuity here which does him some *small* credit. He very cunningly converts or *corrupts* the real term *bīdaḳ* or *baidaḳ* into *bidah*, in order to give it some resemblance to the Persian *piyāda*; but with me this will not pass. In Marsden's "Malayan and English Dictionary," the word is, *beidaḳ*, "a Pawn at Chess," which is the pure Arabic term for the same. Again the word *bidah* in Malay is a verb signifying to "differ (in opinion)," "to dissent." It is not used as a substantive, nor has it anything to do with Chess.

(*h*) The word *Ter* is not only "of the vernacular of Kalinga," but of the Tamul country to the south-west of Madras. °In the second place, the word denotes *Chariot*, not *Castle*; and this furnishes us with the clearest proof that the people on the southern Coromandel coast did not receive the game of Chess from the Persians, who never had such a piece as the Chariot on their board.

(*i*) I have repeatedly shewn that the word *māt* is pure Arabic and not Persian at all. The Malays have adopted it just as we and almost all the nations on earth have done, to denote *mate*. It is a curious coincidence, however, that the real Malayan word *māti* signifies "to die," and as an adjective "dead;" a coincidence similar to what we have in page 208, respecting the Italian *matto*, &c.

(*k*) I readily grant the *probability* here alluded to by the author; but I flatly deny the inference he would have

thence conveyed to the reader. In the first place, nothing can be more firmly established than the fact that the "Indian Islanders" received the game from the Hindūs. Secondly, if the author means *gambling*, when he says that the people of these islands were "passionately addicted to *play*," then Chess would not have proved very *interesting* to them. Altogether, this query of Mr. Crawfurd's is most curiously weak and aimless.

(*l*) "They did not instruct them!" This is a very concise and pithy mode of arguing; my answer shall be equally laconic, viz.—THEY DID.

(*m*) Mr. Crawfurd here perverts Sir W. Jones's meaning. Sir William was the first European who drew our attention to the primæval Chess, as described in the Bhavishya Purāna. With regard to the mediæval or modern game he merely says, "yet of this simple game so exquisitely contrived, and so certainly invented in India, I cannot find any account in the celebrated writings of the Brāhmans." Now, this is very far from "acknowledging that no account of such a game exists," &c. The statement amounts to no more than this, that Sir William "had not met with any notice of our *present game* in the writings of the Brahmans." The reason is obvious enough. The *modern game* is merely the result of a gradual improvement upon the original Chaturanga. This concluding sentence of Mr. Crawfurd's, by the way, savours strongly of the school of Loyola, a gentleman of whose school and scholars I am myself no great admirer. I have been at considerable pains to expose the errors of Mr. Crawfurd, because, like Mill, the historian of India, (v. Appendix F.), he is a writer of considerable reputation. Let us now see what the game of Chess in Malacca really is, according to the authority of Dr. Marsden.

English and Malayan,) under the word *Chess*, we have the following description of all that relates to the game, viz. :—

"CHESS (game of) *māin gājah*; (— board,) *pāpan chātur*; (— King,) *rāja*; (— Queen or Vizīr,) *mantrī*; (— Bishop or elephant,) *gājah*; (— Knight or horse,) *Kūda*; (— Castle or chariot,) *ter*; (— Pawn or foot-soldier,) *bīdaḳ* or *beidaḳ*; (check,) *sah*; (— mate,) *māt* or *mat*, also *tammat*."

Here the words *māin*, "game," or (as a verb,) "*to play*," and *pāpan*, "board," are pure Malayan. The terms, *gājah*, *chatur*, *rāja*, and *mantrī* are Sanskrit— *Kūda*, "horse," and *Tēr*, a "chariot," are Tamul. *Bīdaḳ*, *baidaḳ*, or *beidaḳ*, together with *māt* and *tammat* are pure Arabic. The only word of Persian origin in the whole list is *sah*, (for *Shāh*,) and that happens to be the word always used by the Arabs to this day to denote both the "Chess-King" and the term "check." It is needless for me to say a word more in refutation of Mr. Crawfurd's extraordinary statements respecting the game of Chess in Malacca. The term *tammat* is simply the third person feminine of the past tense of *tamma*, and signifies "it is finished." It is generally used at the end of books like our Latin word "finis," or the old-fashioned verb "explicit." So *tammat bi-l khair* corresponds with our "explicit feliciter."

Chess in Borneo.

Of the game of Chess in this extensive island, we have a very good account by the celebrated Rāja Brooke, himself a Chess player. It is true his Highness the Rāja endorses all Mr. Crawfurd's errors, but this does not invalidate what he states as the result of his own observation. The follow

peared in the Chess Player's Chronicle for 1849, which I here subjoin :—

"I have been engaged in watching some of the head men amusing themselves at Chess, which is a favourite game with them. They are really skilful in playing it after their own fashion. It is called *main chatur*, or game of chequers. 'The King is the *rajah;* the Queen, *mantri*, or minister; the Bishop, *gajah*, or elephant; the Knight, *kudah*, or horseman; the Castle, *ter*, or chariot, and the Pawn, *bidah*, or foot-soldier. The check is expressed by *asah*, and checkmate, by *mati*. So far it resembles the nomenclature of other Malay countries."

"Crawfurd informs us that the Javanese are hardly acquainted with the game, save by report,[1] which certainly goes far to shew that it was not introduced by the Hindoos; whilst the Malays are passionately attached to it, having in more recent times acquired it from the Telingas, who, from the evidence of language, must have taken it from the Persians, the names being in that language.[2] For instance, '*chatur*,' the name of the game, is Persian, and not Indian; '*sah*,' check, is the Persian word '*shāh*,' and the only way in which the Indian Islanders can pronounce it; '*bidah*,' a Pawn, is but a corruption of '*piyādah*,' a foot-soldier; and '*mat*,' is the true Persian word for checkmate, borrowed by ourselves, and more correctly by the French.[3]

[1] I have already fully exposed Crawfurd's errors, among which this assertion respecting the Javanese is one of the most glaring.—F.

[2] Here the worthy Rāja is in the predicament of a man who has come into the possession of a bad half-crown, in the disposal whereof he gets into trouble, and incurs some disagreeable suspicions.—F.

[3] I admire the ingenuity with which his Highness passes over the terms *Rājā*, *Mantrī*, and *Gājah*, which are pure Sanskrit. Then his making *chatur*, (also pure Sanskrit,) a *Persian word*, gets him into a dilemma. The most charitable construction which we can put on this very *odd* affair is that neither Crawfurd nor his Highness the Rāja knew a single word either of Persian or of Sanskrit.—F.

These are Crawfurd's reasons, and very substantial ones,[1] not only to prove that Chess was not introduced by the Hindūs into the Archipelago, but that they have no title to the invention of that noble game; and, as he adds, 'Sir William Jones acknowledges that no account of such a game exists in the writings of the Brahmans.' I can see little to oppose to this reasoning; and I think it may be pronounced that Chess, having been invented in Persia, travelled thence to India, and, subsequently, from the Telinga country to the Archipelago.

"I am unacquainted with the game as played by the Persians; but, as neither Marsden nor Crawfurd describe the Malay method, which differs considerably from that of Europe, I shall here insert it. The board is placed in the same way, and the Queens stand to the right of their respective Kings, which brings each Queen opposite to her adverse King. This is the only difference in placing the pieces. The moves are precisely similar to our own, with the exception of the King's. The King, when checked for the first time, has the right of making the Knight's move, or to move two squares. After this sally, he is reduced to the *same powers* as a *European King*. The first move (in which he can of course take), on being checked, alters the game considerably, as one great object then becomes to prevent the check of your own King early in the game, and to gain a check of your adversary. The usual, and apparently the most approved, method amongst them, is to open the game from the Queen's Castle's Pawn, and, pushing out the Queen's Knight's and the Queen's Bishop's Pawns, to manœuvre the Queen behind them. It appears to me

[1] Very substantial indeed! The only drawback is that they are all founded on a fallacy, and consequently liable to crumble into pieces when tested by the touchstone of truth.—E.

that all this greatly cramps the game, in some measure, renders it more *tricky*,[1] and prevents the real strength of the various pieces from being fully developed, in order to guard against a check; for it will be evident if the King be once checked, he is deprived of one great advantage which your adversary still holds. Castling is not allowed except in two moves, the first being the Castle's move up to the King, and on the King receiving a check, he can exercise his right of jumping to the inside of the Castle."

"The remaining difference in the game is the play of the Pawns; a Pawn, moved out, cannot pass an adversary's Pawn, his first move being restricted to one square in this case; and a Pawn having been pushed up into the adversary's game, he cannot call a piece except on the Castle's square, and the Pawn arriving at the other squares, being obliged, before he gains a Queen or piece, to make two extra moves; for instance, should a Pawn have arrived at the Queen's Bishop's square, he may gain a Queen or other piece by moving to the Knight's square; and lastly, to the Castle's first square, or, at his option, to the Knight's first square, and then, optional, either to the Bishop's second or the Castle's second, or else to the Queen or King's first, or Queen's first and King's second. In fact, this is a delay rather than a prevention, as, from the number of squares which may be taken, it is extremely difficult to guard them all. I have played several games, and made many inquiries, but have not yet discovered any other difference in the Bornean and European games."

[1] Instead of *tricky* his Highness ought to have said *strategic*. In Chess there is no such thing as *trickiness*, and in this consists the main beauty of the

REMARKS.

It is evident, from what we have shown, that the Malay Chess, or that of the Indian Archipelago, in general, viz., of Sumatra, Java, Malacca and Borneo, is derived from the mediæval game of India. The name of the game, as well as of all the pieces, are Indian, either pure Sanskrit or Tamul. The name for the *pawn* is pure Arabic; and so are the terms for *check* and *check-mate*, slightly modified in sound, so as not to offend the delicacy of Malayan ears.

Chess in China.

The Chinese lay claim to the invention of Chess, independent of the Hindūs. In the year 1793, an interesting communication on this subject was addressed to the President of the Royal Irish Academy by Eyles Irwin, Esq., a gentleman who had passed many years of his life in India and China. At the conclusion of his letter, Mr. Irwin states, that he procured from a Mandarin the following extract from the "Concum," or "Chinese Annals," which, in justice to the Celestials, I shall here insert, viz. :—

"Three hundred and seventy-nine years after the time of Confucius, or 1965 years ago,[1] Hung Cochu, King of Kiangnan, sent an expedition into the Shensi country, under the command of a Mandarin, called Hansing, to conquer it. After one successful campaign, the soldiers were put into winter quarters; where, finding the weather much oolder than what they had been accustomed to, and being also deprived of their wives and families, the army, in general, became clamorous to return home. Hansing, upon this, revolved in his mind the bad consequences of

[1] That is, previous to A.D. 1793

complying with their wishes. The necessity of soothing his troops, and reconciling them to their position, appeared urgent, in order to finish his operations in the ensuing year.

"He was a man of genius, as well as a good soldier; and having contemplated some time on the subject, he invented the game of Chess, as well for an amusement to his men in their vacant hours, as to inflame their military ardour, the game being wholly founded on the principles of war. The stratagem succeeded to his wish. The soldiery were delighted with the game, and forgot, in their daily contests for victory, the inconveniences of their post. In the spring, the general took the field again, and, in a few months, added the rich country of Shensi to the kingdom of Kiangnan, by the defeat and capture of its king, Choupayuen, a famous warrior among the Chinese. On this conquest Hung Cochu assumed the title of emperor, and Choupayuen put an end to his own life in despair."

The best account, however, of the Chinese game of Chess will be found in the seventh volume of the "Asiatic Researches," from the pen of Captain Hiram Cox, to whom we are indebted for a very interesting description of the Burmese game, already given under that head. I regret exceedingly that I am myself unacquainted with the Chinese language; the more especially as I have been informed by good Chinese scholars, (none of whom, however, could *play* Chess), that this strange people are possessed of numerous works on the theory and practice of the game. Captain Cox considers the Chaturanga as the original—next to that the Burmese—and thirdly, the Chinese. This is exactly the conclusion at which any unprejudiced person is sure to arrive, after a careful

examination of these three varieties of Chess. The following are Captain Coxe's words:—

"Mr. Irwin's account I shall give in his own words, as follows:—'The very next day my Mandarin brought me the board and equipage; and I found that the Brāhmans were neither mistaken touching the board, which has a river[1] in the middle to divide the contending parties, nor in the powers of the King, who is entrenched in a fort, and moves only in that space in every direction; but, what I did not hear before, nor do I believe is known out of this country (China), there are two pieces whose movements are distinct from any in the Indian or European game. The Mandarin,[2] which answers to our Bishop in his station and side-long course, cannot through age, cross the river; and a Rocket-boy,[3] still used in the Indian armies, who is stationed between the lines of each party, acts literally with the motion of the Rocket, by vaulting over a man, and taking his adversary at the other end of the board. Except that the King has his two sons to support him instead of a Queen, the game in other respects is like ours, as will appear in the plan of the board and pieces."

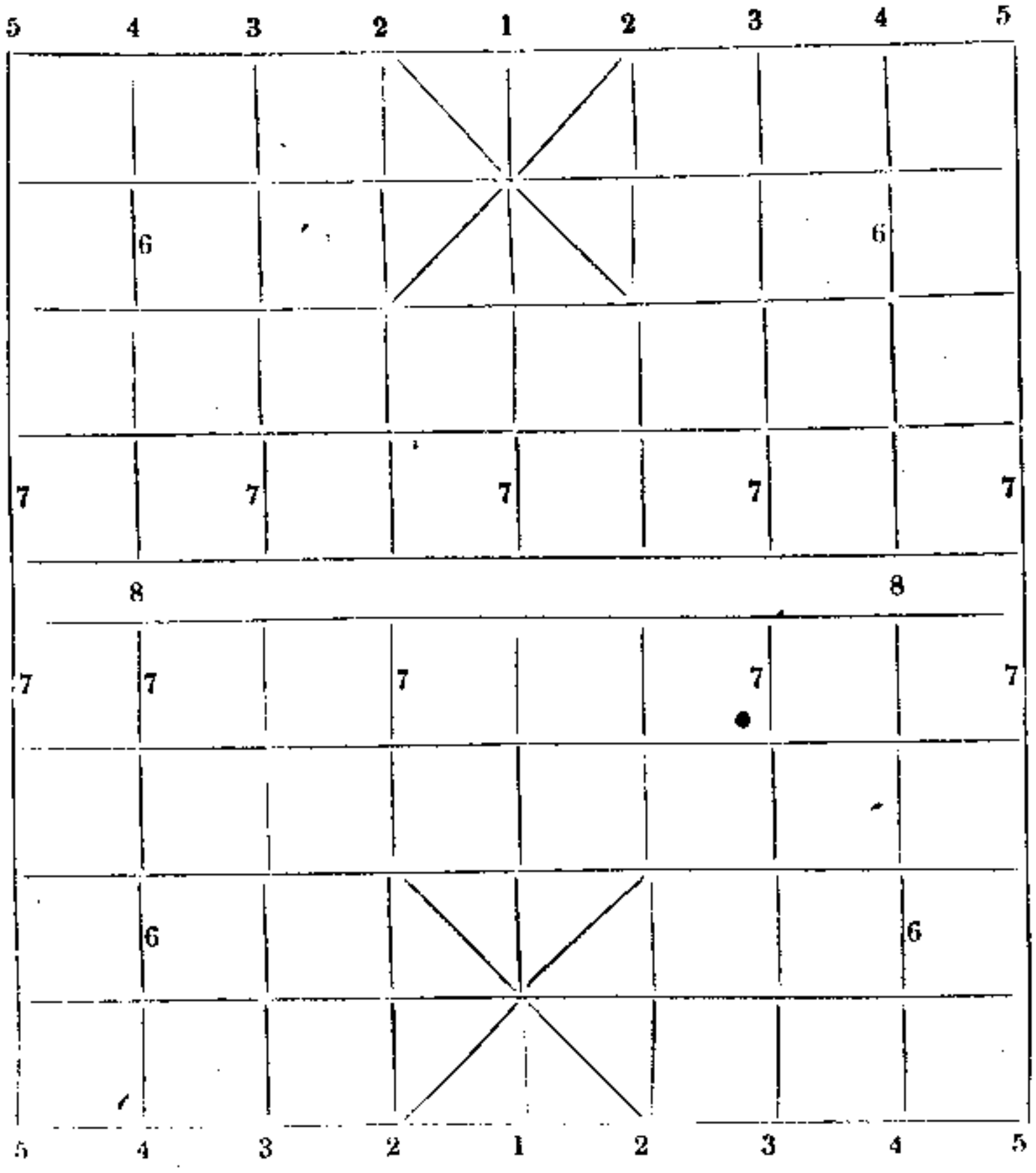
"The following diagram is the Chinese table, and differs from ours by having a chasm in the middle, called by some a river, and the crossed sections or forts in which move the *Chong* and *Sou*. The board or game, according to Mr. Irwin, is called *Chong-ki*, or royal game."

[1] It is very doubtful if this be a *river*.—*Vide* p. 283.—F.

[2] The move of the Mandarin, or Mediæval Elephant, was well known all the world over, from the 6th to the 16th centuries of the Christian æra.—F.

[3] Instead of "Rocket-boy," I think the "Mortar" would have been the more appropriate name.—F.

CHINESE CHESS TABLE.



References According to my Account.

1	General,	or Choobong.
2	Counsellor,	or Soo.
3	Elephant,	or Tchong.
4	Horse,	or Mai.
5	Castles, Chariots,	or Tche.
6	Artillery,	or Paoo.
7	Foot Soldiers,	or Ping.
8 8	Trench,	or Hoa ki.

References According to Mr. Irwin.

1 1	The King,	or Chong.
2 2	Princes,	or Sou.
3 3	Mandarins,	or Tchong.
4 4	Horses,	or Mai.
5 5	Castles, Chariots,	or Tche.
6 6	Rocket-boys,	or Pao.

The explanation of the position, powers, and moves of the pieces, he gives as follows:—

"As there are nine pieces instead of eight, to occupy the rear rank, they stand on the lines between, and not within, the squares; the game is consequently played on the lines.

"The King or *Chong* stands on the middle line of this row; his moves resemble those of our King, but are confined to the fortress marked out for him.

"The two Princes, or *Sou*, stand on each side of him, and have equal powers and limits.

"The *Mandarins*, or *Tchong*, answer to our Bishops, and have the same moves, except that they cannot cross the water, or white space in the middle of the board, to annoy the enemy, but stand on the defensive.

"The Knights, or rather Horses, called *Mài*, stand and move like ours in every respect.

"The War Chariots, or *Tche*, resemble our Rooks or Castles.

"The Rocket Boys, or *Pao*, are pieces whose motions and powers were unknown to us. They act with the direction of a rocket, and can take none of their adversary's men that have not a piece or Pawn intervening. To defend your men from this attack, it is necessary to open the line between either, to take off the check on the King, or to save a man from being captured by the *Pao*. Their operation is otherwise like that of the Rook, their stations are marked between the pieces and Pawns.

"The five Pawns, or *Ping*, make up the number of men equal to that of our board (*i.e.* sixteen). Instead of taking sideways like ours, they have the Rook's motion, except that it is limited to one step, and is not retrograde. Another important point in which the Ping differs from

their adversary's head quarters. It will appear, however, that the Chinese pieces far exceed the proportion of ours, which occasions the whole force of the contest to fall on them, and thereby precludes the beauty and variety of our game, when reduced to a struggle between the Pawns, who are capable of the highest promotion, and often change the fortune of the day. The posts of the Ping are marked in front."

Captain Cox then proceeds to give us his own more accurate account of the Chinese game, as follows:—

"So far Mr. Irwin. His account being, according to my apprehension, indistinct and incomplete, and to my knowledge in some respects erroneous, I have been induced to make further inquiries on the subject, the result of which, I hope, will supply his deficiencies, or at least give us a more accurate idea of the Chinese game.

"The game is called by the Chinese *Choke-choo-hong-ki*, literally the play of the science of war.

"The piece 1, which we call the King, is named *Choo-hong*, which may be rendered the "scientific in war," or "generalissimo;" he moves one pace at a time in any direction, the same as our King, but within the limits of his fort.

"The two pieces of next rank, No. 2, 2, are called *Sou* by the Chinese, which literally means "bearded old men," or "men of great experience in war." These are supposed to act as counsellors to the *Choohong*, and have precisely the same moves and powers as the *Chekoy*, in the *Burmha*, or Vizier in the Persian game, except that they are confined to the limits of the fort with the *Choohong*.

"The two pieces, No. 3, 3, erroneously named *Mandarins* by Mr. Irwin, are called *Tchong* by the Chinese, which means an Elephant; and they have precisely the

and modern Hindoostanee game. That is, they move diagonally in advance or retrograde, always two steps at a move; but the Chinese *Tchong* has not the power of jumping over the head of an intermediate piece as the Persian Elephant does; neither can it advance beyond the limits of its own section, for a reason I shall assign below.

"The two pieces, No. 4, 4, are called *Mài* by the Chinese, meaning horse or cavalry; they have precisely the same moves and powers as in the English and Persian games, and can advance into the enemy's section.

"The two pieces, No. 5, 5, are called *Tche* by the Chinese, meaning War Chariots, and have the same powers and moves as the Rooks or Castles in the European game, advancing also into the enemy's section.

"The two pieces, No. 6, 6, are called *Paoo* by the Chinese, meaning Artillery or Rocket-men. The *Paoo* can move the whole range of both sections direct, transverse, or retrograde, like the English Castle, and if any of the adversary's pieces or Pawns intervene in the direct line, he takes the one immediately in the rear of it.

"The Pawns, No. 7, 7, 7, 7, 7, are called *Ping* by the Chinese, meaning foot-soldiers; they move one square or step at a time direct in advance, and take their antagonist transversely to the right or left (not diagonally as ours do), nor have they the advantage of obtaining an advance rank as in the English game.

"The blank space in the Table, 8, 8, is called *Hoa ki* by the Chinese, which literally means a trench, and is understood to have been made for defence against an invading army. The Horses, Chariots, and Foot-soldiers are supposed to cross it by means of light bridges of planks; but these not being adequate to bear the bulk

of the Elephants, they are reciprocally obliged to remain within the limits of their respective sections.

"In other respects the game is like the English one, and ends with destroying the forces on either side, or blocking up the *Choohong*. The board is not chequered black and white, but merely subdivided, as in the diagram: the pieces are round counters of wood or ivory, with the distinguishing names wrote on them, half dyed red, and half black."

REMARKS.

From the preceding description we arrive at the conclusion that the Chinese Chess is merely a variation or modification of the Burmese game already described; that is, of the Shatranj or mediæval game of Asia and Europe. The board is the same in all; and so is the number of men, though differently disposed. The "General" is our King, with a more limited range of action. The two Counsellors, or "Bearded old Men," have the moves and powers of the Farz or mediæval Queen, and like the King, are restricted in their movements. The Horses and chariots are precisely the same as in the Shatranj; and the same may be said of the Ping or Pawns, with some limitations.

The principal variations in the Chinese game are, 1st., The Pieces are stationed on the outer lines or angles of the top and bottom squares of the board; and thence they are increased to *nine* in number, instead of our *eight;* there being two Counsellors instead of one. In the second place the "Pawns" are reduced to the number of *five* on each side, and stationed close to the frontier line (marked 8 in the diagram). 3. The two pieces of Artillery (No. 6) are the chief novelty in the Chinese

the accounts given us of these pieces, either by Mr. Irwin, or by Captain Cox.[1] Lastly, we have a division line running across the middle of the Chinese board, which some call a river, some a ditch, and others a rampart.

I think the blank space in the middle of the Chinese board was never intended to represent a *River*, whatever else it may be; for, in that case, we should very naturally expect to find *Boats* or *Ships* in use, as in the more ancient Chaturanga. I have heard it urged as a plausible argument that from the so-called River of the Chinese, originated the Boat or Ship of the Hindūs. This is utterly invalid, for the Chinese themselves, so far as we know, never had the Boat or Ship on their board.

I attach no great importance to the legend extracted from the Concum or Chinese annals; except that it furnishes us with a date of the period about which the Celestial Mandarin, Hansing, is supposed to have invented the game. It is curious, by the way, to observe the identity of this legend with that handed down to us, respecting Palamedes at the Siege of Troy. The Shensī province of China is situated in the north-west of the empire, and borders on Tibet to the west, and Tartary to the north, from which it is separated by the great wall. It is quite possible, nay, very probable, then, that the game of Chess penetrated into China from Tibet, at the period alluded to; and that the honourable Hansing appropriated to himself the credit of its invention.

[1] It is clear that the Rocket had the move of the Rook, with this condition, that some piece or pieces must intervene between him and the piece aimed at. Now the question is—must the intervening pieces be all hostile, or may they be partly hostile and partly friendly?—F.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CONCLUSION.

Essay on the Chaturanga, by Sir William Jones.—On the Burmha Game of Chess, &c., by Captain Hiram Cox.

I CANNOT more appropriately conclude my researches on Oriental Chess than by reproducing here two valuable communications on the subject which appeared in the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, towards the close of the last century. The first is by Sir William Jones, being an Essay on the Chaturanga; and the second by Captain Hiram Cox, on the Burmha Game of Chess, &c.

Of Sir William Jones's eminence,—as a virtuous man,—an upright judge,—and an accomplished scholar,—it were needless, yea, even presumptuous in me to say a word. In March, 1783, he was appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William, in Bengal. On the 27th of April of that same year, he sailed from England, and precisely eleven years after that date, he breathed his last at Calcutta, 27th April, 1794. Soon after his arrival in India he betook himself more

view to be able "to decide for himself cases of Hindū law," independent of the interpretations of the native Pandits, which, it was shrewdly suspected, were not always to be relied on. As a relaxation from his severer studies, he indulged, in the evenings, in a quiet game of Chess, either with Lady Jones, or such of his friends as might be visiting him.

In Lord Teignmouth's Life of Sir William Jones, page 304, we have the following interesting note:—"As a proof of the strict regularity observed by him in the application of his time, the reader is presented with the transcript of a card in his own writing. It contains, indeed, the occupations which he had prescribed to himself in a period of the following year; but may serve as a sample of the manner in which he devoted his leisure hours at all times.

DAILY STUDIES FOR THE LONG VACATION OF 1785.

Morning—One letter—ten chapters of the Bible—Sanskrit Grammar—Hindū law, &c.

Afternoon—Indian Geography.

Evening—Roman History—Chess—Ariosto."

I have now only to add that I have appended to Sir William's Essay a few explanatory notes of my own, in small type at the bottom of the pages; together with some critical remarks that follow the text, as indicated by the letters (*a*), (*b*), (*c*), &c., in which I have pointed out a few mistakes into which the accomplished author has fallen—mistakes which I am confident he himself would have remedied had his life been longer spared to us. This Essay will be found in the second volume of

ON THE INDIAN GAME OF CHESS.

By Sir William Jones, President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

"If evidence be required to prove that Chess was invented by the Hindūs, we may be satisfied with the testimony of the Persians; who, though as much inclined as other nations to appropriate the ingenious inventions of a foreign people, unanimously agree that the game was imported from the west (*a*) of India, together with the charming fables[1] of Vishnusarmā, in the sixth century of our æra. It seems to have been immemorially known in Hindūstān by the name of Chaturanga, that is, the four "aṅgas," or members of an army, which are said in the Amarakosha to be Hasty-aswa-ratha-padātam, or Elephants, Horses, Chariots, and Foot-soldiers; and in this sense the word is frequently used by epic poets in their descriptions of real armies. By a natural corruption of the pure Sanscrit word, it was changed by the old Persians into Chatrang; but the Arabs, who soon after took possession of their country, had neither the initial nor final letter of that word in their alphabet, and consequently altered it further into Shatranj, which found its way presently into the modern Persian, and at length into the dialects of India, where the true derivation of the name is known only to the learned. Thus has a very significant *word*[2] in the sacred language of the Brāhmans been transformed by successive changes into

[1] The *fables* alluded to are now well known throughout the civilized world as the "Fables of Pilpay."

[2] I have satisfactorily shown (p. 45 and p. 208) that all these terms are derived from the word *Shāh*, introduced into Europe by the Arabs. The "significant" term *Chaturanga*, in the sacred language of the Brāhmans, could not by any imaginable transformation, have become *Chess*, *Cheak*, or *Chaus*, or

axedres, scacchi, echecs, chess, and by a whimsical concurrence of circumstances, given birth to the English word check; and even a name to the Exchequer of Great Britain.

The beautiful simplicity and extreme perfection of the game, as it is commonly played in Europe and Asia, convince me that it was invented by one effort of some great genius; not completed by gradual improvements, but formed, to use the phrase of Italian critics, by the first intention;[1] yet of this simple game, so exquisitely contrived, and so certainly invented in India, I cannot find any account in the classical writings of the Brāhmans. It is, indeed, confidently asserted, that Sanskrit books on Chess exist in this country; and, if they can be procured at Benares, they will assuredly be sent to us. At present I can only exhibit a description of a very ancient Indian game of the same kind, but more complex, and, in my opinion, more modern than the simple Chess of the Persians. This game is also called Chaturanga, but more frequently Chaturājī, (*b*) or the Four Kings, since it is played by four persons representing as many princes, two allied armies combating on each side. The description is taken from the Bhawishya Purāna, in which Yudhishṭhira is represented conversing with Vyāsa, who explains, at the king's request, the form of the fictitious warfare, and the principal rules of it.

"Having marked eight squares on all sides," says the sage, "place the red army to the east, the green to the south, the yellow to the west, and the black to the north: let the Elephant stand on the left of the King; next to him the Horse; then the Boat; and, before them all, four Foot-soldiers; but the Boat must be placed in

[1] This is a mere poetical flight, or rhetorical flourish.—*Vide* p. 44.

the angle of the board." From this passage it clearly appears, that an army, with its four "angas" must be placed on each side of the board, since an Elephant could not stand in any other position on the left hand of each King; and Rādhakant informed me, that the board consisted, like ours, of sixty-four squares, half of them occupied by the forces, and half vacant. He added, that this game is mentioned in the oldest law-books, and that it was invented by the wife of Rāvan, king of Lankā, in order to amuse him with an image of war, while his metropolis was closely besieged by Rāma, in the second age of the world. He had not heard the story told by Firdausī, near the close of the Shāhnāma; and it was probably carried into Persia from Kanyakuvja,[1] by Borzū,[2] the favourite physician [thence called Vaidyapriya (*c*)], of the great Anūshiravān;[3] but he said that the Brāhmans of Gaur, or Bengal, were once celebrated for superior skill in the game, and that his father, together with his spiritual preceptor Jagannāth, now living at Tribeni, had instructed two young Brāhmans in all the rules of it, and had sent them to Jayanagar at the request of the late Rājā, who had liberally rewarded them.

[1] *Kanyākubja*, or *Kanyakuvja*, was the ancient Sanskrit name for the modern *Kanoj;* hence the wonder that Sir William should have, in his first sentence, asserted that "the game was imported from the *west* of India, together with the charming fables of *Vishnu sarmā.*" The fact is, that the game was imported from *Kanoj* in the first place, and the Fables from some part of India not mentioned, at a later period; but both events took place during the reign of Naushīrawān.

[2] It is evident that Sir William had not read Firdausī's account of the introduction of Chess into Persia. The sage Borzū was, at a subsequent period, commissioned by Naushīrawān to travel into India, and, if possible, to procure a copy of the famous "Book of Wisdom," now known as "Pilpay's Fables," a work of which the Persian monarch had heard from the Indian embassy.

A Ship or Boat is substituted,[1] we see, in this complex game for the Rath, or armed Chariot, which the Bengalese pronounce Roth, and which the Persians changed into Rukh, whence came the Rook of some European nations; as the Vierge and Fol of the French are supposed to be corruptions of Ferz and Fil, the Prime Minister and Elephant of the Persians and Arabs. It were in vain to seek an etymology of the word Rook in the modern Persian language; for, in all the passages extracted from Firdausī and Jāmī, where Rukh (*d*) is conceived to mean a hero or a fabulous bird, it signifies, I believe, no more than a cheek or a face; as in the following description of a procession in Egypt:—"When a thousand youths, like cypresses, box-trees, and firs, with locks as fragrant, cheeks as fair, and bosoms as delicate as lilies of the valley, were marching gracefully along, thou wouldst have said that the new spring was turning his *face* (not as Hyde translates the words, *carried on Rukhs*[2]) from station to station." And as to the battle of the Duwaz-deh Rukh, which D'Herbelot supposes to mean douze preux chevaliers, I am strongly inclined to think that the phrase only signifies a combat of twelve persons face to face, or six on a side.

I cannot agree with my friend Rādhakant, that a Ship is properly introduced[3] in this imaginary warfare instead of a Chariot, in which the old Indian warriors constantly fought; for though the King might be supposed to sit in a car, so that the four angas would be complete, and

[1] Sir William falls into a mistake here, owing to his "poetic" idea that the Persian game was the original. The *Chariot* is more recently substituted for the *Ship*, not the Ship for the Chariot.

[2] No doubt Hyde's translation is absurd enough.

[3] I have already shown (in Chap. II.) that there is no impropriety in introducing the Ship or Boat in a representation of ancient Indian warfare. Rādhakant, like me, states the *fact* as he finds it, and probably defended its propriety somewhat as I do.

though it may often be necessary in a real campaign to pass rivers or lakes, yet no river is marked on the Indian, as it is on the Chinese,[1] Chess-board; and the intermixture of Ships with Horses, Elephants, and Infantry embattled on a plain, is an *absurdity* not to be defended. The use of dice may, perhaps, be justified in a representation of war, in which fortune has unquestionably a great share; but it seems to exclude Chess from the rank which has been assigned to it among the sciences, and to give the game before us the appearance of Whist, except that pieces are used only, instead of cards, which are held concealed: nevertheless, we find that the moves in the game described by Vyāsa, were to a certain degree regulated by chance; for he proceeds to tell his royal pupil, that, "if cinque be thrown, the King or a Pawn must be moved; if quatre, the Elephant; if trois, the Horse; and if deux, the Boat."

He then proceeds to the moves: "The King passes freely on all sides, but over one square only, and with the same limitation the Pawn moves, but he advances straight forward, and kills his enemy through an angle; the Elephant marches in all directions, as far as his driver pleases; the Horse runs obliquely, traversing three squares; and the Ship goes over two squares diagonally." The Elephant, we find, has the *powers* of our Queen, (*e*) as we are pleased to call the Minister, or General, of the Persians; and the Ship has the motion of the piece to which we give the unaccountable appellation of Bishop; but with a restriction which must greatly lessen his value.

The bard next exhibits a few general rules and super-

[1] And yet, as we have seen in our last chapter, the Chinese, strange to say,

ficial directions for the conduct of the game: "the Pawns and the Ship both kill and may be voluntarily killed; while the King, the Elephant, and the Horse may slay the foe, but cannot expose themselves to be slain.[1] Let each player preserve his own forces with extreme care, securing his King above all, and not sacrificing a superior to keep an inferior piece." Here the *commentator*[2] on the Purāna observes, that the Horse, who has the choice of eight moves from any central position, must be preferred to the Ship, who has only the choice of four; but this argument would not have equal weight in the common game, where the Bishop and Tower command a whole line, and where a Knight is always of less value than a Tower in action, or a Bishop of that side on which the attack is begun.

"It is by the overbearing power of the Elephant that the King fights boldly; let the whole army, therefore, be abandoned, in order to secure the Elephant (*f*): the King must never place one Elephant before another, according to the rule of Gotama, unless he be compelled for want of room, for he would thus commit a dangerous fault; and, if he can slay one of two hostile Elephants, he must destroy that on his left hand." The last rule is extremely *obscure*;[3] but, as Gotama was an illustrious lawyer and philosopher, he would not have condescended to leave directions for the game of Chaturanga, if it

[1] This sentence is evidently wrong if taken in a literal sense. I have endeavoured to give the author's meaning in p. 20, note 2. There is no doubt whatever that every one of the pieces, the King himself not excepted, was liable to be captured; as may be clearly gathered from the very next sentence.

[2] What is here attributed to the *commentator* is really part of the text, as we know from its being in the same kind of metre with the rest of the description. It is merely an illustration of what is meant by a superior, and what by an inferior piece.

[3] There is no obscurity here, *vide note*, p. 21. The apparent difficulty which

had not been held in great estimation by the ancient sages of India.

All that remains of the passage, which was copied [1] for me by Rādhakant and explained by him, relates to the several modes in which a partial success or complete victory may be obtained by any one of the four players; for we shall see that, as if a dispute had arisen between two allies, one of the Kings may assume the command of all the forces, and aim at separate conquest. First, "When any one King has placed himself on the square of another King, which advantage is called Singhāsana, or the throne, he wins a stake, which is doubled, if he kills the adverse monarch when he seizes his place; and, if he can seat himself on the throne of his ally, he takes the command of the whole army." Secondly, "If he can occupy successively the thrones of all the three princes, he obtains the victory, which is named Chaturājī; and the stake is doubled if he *kills* [2] the last of the three just before he takes possession of his throne; but if he kills him on his throne, the stake is quadrupled." Thus, as the commentator remarks, in a real warfare, a King may be considered as victorious when he seizes the metropolis of his adversary; but if he can destroy his foe, he displays greater heroism, and relieves his people from any further solicitude.

"Both in gaining the Singhāsana and the Chaturājī," says Vyāsa, "the King must be supported by the Elephants, or all the forces united." (*g*) Thirdly, "When one player has his own King on the board, but the King

[1] We see by this expression that Sir William Jones had merely the perusal of an *extract*, "copied" from the Bhavishya Purāna by his friend the Brāhman, who appears to have been no great Chess player, or at least to have been practically unacquainted with the ancient game of Chaturanga.

of his partner has been taken, he may replace his captive ally, if he can seize both the adverse Kings; or, if he cannot effect their capture, he may exchange his King for one of them, against the general rule, and thus redeem the allied prince, who will supply his place." This advantage has the name of Nripākrishṭa, or recovered by the King; and the Naukākrishṭa seems to be analogous to it, but confined to the case of ships. Fourthly, "If a Pawn can march to any square on the opposite extremity of the board, except that of the King or that of the Ship, he assumes whatever power belonged to that square; and this promotion is called Shaṭpada, or the six strides."

Here we find the rule, with a *singular* exception, concerning the advancement of the Pawns, (*h*) which often occasions a most interesting struggle at our common Chess, and which has furnished the poets and moralists of Arabia and Persia with many lively reflections on human life. It appears that this privilege of Shaṭpada was not allowable, in the opinion of Gotama, when a player had three Pawns on the board; but, when only one Pawn and one Ship remained, the Pawn might advance even to the square of a King[1] or a Ship, and assume the power of either. Fifthly, "According to the Rākshasas, or giants (that is, the people of Lankā, where the game was invented) there could be neither victory nor defeat if a King were left on the plain without force: a situation which they named Kakakashṭha." Sixthly, "If three Ships happen to meet, and the fourth can be brought up to them in the remaining angle, this has the name of Vrihannaukā, and the player of the fourth seizes all the others."

Two or three of the remaining couplets are so dark, either from an error in the manuscript or from the antiquity of the language, that I could not understand the Pandit's explanation of them, and suspect that they gave even him very indistinct ideas;[1] but it would be easy, if it were worth while to play at the game by the preceding rules; and a little practice would perhaps make the whole intelligible.[2] One circumstance, in this extract from the Purāna, seems very surprising: all games of hazard are positively forbidden by Menu, (*i*) yet the game of Chaturanga, in which dice are used, is taught by the great Vyāsa himself, whose law-tract appears with that of Gotama among the eighteen books which form the Dharmashāstra; but, as Rādhakant and his preceptor Jagannāth are both employed by government in compiling a digest of Italian laws, and as both of them, especially the venerable sage Tribeni, understand the game, they are able, I presume, to assign reasons why it should have been excepted from the general prohibition, and even openly taught by ancient and modern Brāhmans.

REMARKS.

(*a*) Here there is a slight error, as Sir William himself hereafter intimates. We are distinctly told by Firdausī that the game of Chess was brought to Persia by an embassy from the King of Kanoj. Now Kanoj is in Central India, or what in the Purānas is called *Madhya-desha*, i.e., "The Middle Region."—*Vide* p. 50.

(*b*) This is incorrectly worded, the game is called

[1] Here I heartily agree with Sir William, both with regard to the *darkness* of the text, and the indistinctness of the learned Pandit thereon.

[2] From the "preceding rules" merely, no amount of practice would render "the game intelligible."

Chaturanga; the *Chaturāji* is simply the term for the most complete species of victory, as is evident from Sir William's own description a little further on.

(*c*) This is incorrect. Borzū was not called *Vaidya-priya*, which is a Sanskrit epithet, and applicable only to Vishnusarmā, the *Hindū author* of the fables mentioned in the first sentence. The term *Vaidyapriya*, or "Lover of Knowledge," may, however, have given rise to the Persian forms *Bedpāe* and *Pīlpāe*, by which the Indian sage is generally denominated; and hence our familiar term Pilpay.

(*d*) In Firdausī, *Rukh* is frequently used for a "hero," or "champion." In more recent Persian authors the word means "cheek," or "face," as in the passage here quoted from Jāmī's romance on the amours of *Yūsuf* and *Zulaikhā*. The expression *duwāzdah Rukh*, alluded to by D'Herbelot, simply means the "twelve champions," as the context clearly shows. It is strange to see a man of Sir William Jones's sound sense give way to such a crotchet. I should like to know how twelve persons (six on a side) *could* possibly combat except "face to face."

(*e*) This is a fatal mistake on the part of both the sages. The expression is clearly as I have explained it in p. 19, note 2. To have given the Elephant, in this primæval game, "the powers of our Queen," would have been monstrously absurd, as such powers would have been out of all proportion with those of the rest of the pieces. This wrong conception on the part of Sir William and the Brāhman of course vitiates the whole of their description.

(*f*) This stanza or sentence is not to be found in either of the texts to which I have had access; and I shrewdly

in order to bear out their assertion respecting the imaginary power they have already conferred on the Elephant (v. p. 19, note 2). Had the Elephant possessed the power of our Queen it would really be worth all the rest of the pieces, the King included, so far as mere brute force extended; but this would be a gross inconsistency.

(*g*) This stanza is altogether misunderstood by Sir William and the Brāhman. There was no great choice of "supporting the King," &c. in the case; for the *dice* alone determined the moves; and little room was therefore left for anything approaching the skilful combinations of the Shatranj or mediæval game. In page 20, I have given the sage Vyāsa's "General Directions for Play," and the reader will perceive that these are all *conditional*, in other words, depending on the throw of a die. The idea, then, of "supporting the King by the Elephant, or all the forces united," is not for a moment to be entertained; because the free choice of so doing is not at the players' command.

(*h*) There are good and sound reasons for this restriction in the promotion of the Pawns. In the first place, the King's Pawn could not become a King whilst the original King remained on the board. Secondly, the promotion of the Ship's Pawn into a Ship would lead to an inconsistency, for the moves and powers of the new-made Ship would extend only to those very squares traversed by the adverse Ship that originally stood in the opposite corner.

(*i*) It is evident from numerous passages to be met with in the Purānic writings of the Hindūs, that dice were much in vogue long before the period at which Menu compiled his Code of Laws, as I have pointed out in pages 15 and 16. Sir William overlooks the important fact that all civilized nations were to be met

passed through a *pastoral*, as well as a *poetic* or *heroic* stage of existence, before they felt the necessity of settling down under the restrictions of the legislator.

I now come to Captain Hiram Cox's communication on the "Burmha Game of Chess," &c., addressed, in a letter to J. H. Harington, Esq., Vice-President of the Asiatic Society, Bengal; and afterwards inserted in the seventh volume of that Society's transactions. It is a valuable critique on Sir William Jones's Essay, and to the perusal of it, I confess myself indebted for the peculiar theory of Chess which I have endeavoured to develope in the preceding pages. Captain Cox's letter is dated in "Waujea, Province of Chittagong, May 28th, 1799." After some preliminary remarks of a philosophical or metaphysical nature, he thus proceeds:—

"Chess, by universal consent, holds the first rank among our sedentary amusements, and its history has employed the pens of many eminent men. Among the number, Sir William Jones has obliged the world with an essay, replete as usual with erudition and information. But while I avow the warmest admiration of his talents, and subscribe with all due deference to his authority, I must be allowed to acknowledge a difference of sentiment."

"Sir William says, 'The beautiful simplicity and extreme perfection of the game, as it is commonly played in Europe and Asia, convinces me that it was invented by one effort of some great genius, not completed by gradual improvements, but formed, to use the phrase of Italian critics, by the first intention.' But it appears to me that all he afterwards adduces on the subject is so far from corroborating, that it is in direct contradiction of this opinion, and I trust my further combating it

errors of a great mind are, of all others, the most material to be guarded against; and Sir William himself, had he lived to reconsider the subject, I am sure would have been the first to expunge a passage of so unqualified construction. Perfection has been denied us undoubtedly for wise purposes, and progression is necessary to the happiness of our existence. No human invention is so perfect but it may be improved, and no one is, or has been, so great, but another may be greater.

"I have elsewhere had occasion to observe, that, generally speaking, nature is slow, silent, and uniform in all her operations; and I am induced to think, that what is true of the material world, equally holds as to the intellectual. In this opinion I am supported by the testimony of Sir Isaac Newton, who, with equal modesty and truth, replied to one of his admiring friends, that if he surpassed others in his attainments, he owed it entirely to a patient order of thinking. All great efforts are violations of the habit of nature, and, as such, are rather to be deprecated than admired. In common language they are called convulsions, and I confess myself opposed to convulsions of every kind.

"Sir William Jones's evidence goes to confirm the opinion that we are indebted to the Hindūs for the game of Chess; but the description of the game which he has given from the Bhawishya Purāna has nothing of that beautiful simplicity which called forth his admiration. Indeed he admits,[1] that the Indian game, described by him, is more complex; and he considers it

[1] The expression here should have been "asserts," not "admits," which, however, would have been equally inapplicable. I have fully described the Chaturanga in the early chapters of this work, and I am willing to submit to the reader's judgment whether that game be not infinitely more simple and

more modern than the simple game of the Persians, of which he could not find any account in the writings of the Brāhmans.

"He informs us that the Sanskrit name is Chaturanga, and the root [1] from which the name of the game is derived in modern languages. It literally means the four members of an army, Elephants, Horses, Chariots, and foot-soldiers, the same as exhibited at this day; but the game described by him is more generally known by the name of Chaturājī,[2] or the four kings, since, he observes, 'it is played by four persons representing as many princes, two allied armies combating on each side.' The board is quadrilateral, with sixty-four checks, as ours; but what forms one army with us, is divided in two, each having its King, elephant, horse, and boat, with four foot-soldiers in front, placed at the left-hand angle of each face of the board. The power of the King is the same as in the modern game; the Elephant has the same powers as the English Queen, moving at will in all directions; the Horse the same as the modern Horse or Knight; the Boat as the modern Bishop, with the limitation of moving only two checks at once; the Peon the same as the modern Pawn.

"This game is mentioned in the oldest law books, and is said to have been invented by the wife of Rāvan, King of Lankā, (*i.e.* Ceylon,) in order to amuse him with an image of war (field war I suppose is meant,) while his metropolis was closely besieged by Rāma, in the second age of the world. Rāma,[3] according to Sir

[1] This I have repeatedly shewn to be an error. The root from which the *name* of the game in modern European languages is derived, is the Persian word *Shâh*, not the Sanskrit *Chaturanga*.—F.

[2] An error—*vide* page, 18, note 1.

[3] The high degree of polish which prevailed at the Court of Rāvan, at this early period, is well worthy notice. In a copy from an ancient Hindū paint-

William Jones's Chronology of the Hindūs, appeared on earth at least three thousand eight hundred years ago; and this event happened in an early part of his career; yet, notwithstanding these proofs of antiquity and originality, Sir William Jones was of opinion that this rudimental and complex game is a more recent invention than the refined game of the Persians and Europeans; which he also states to have been certainly invented in India, and appears, therefore, to have considered the original. But, to admit this, would, I conceive, be inverting the usual order of things.

"Two other distinctions are remarkable of the Hindū game; the introduction of a Ship or Boat amongst troops, &c. embattled on a plain; and the use of dice, which determines the moves, and, as Sir William justly observes, excludes it from the rank which has been assigned to Chess among the sciences.

"In respect to the first of these distinctions, I cannot help suspecting a mistake in translating the passage, which I must leave to abler critics to decide.[1] In

ing which I possess, his capital appears to be regularly fortified in the antique style, with projecting round towers and battlements, and he is said to have defended it with singular ability; hence he and his people were called magicians and giants, for to the invading Rāma, and his hordes of Barbarian mountaineers, called in derision satyrs or monkeys, his science must have appeared supernatural. In fact, Rāvan appears to have been the Archimedes of Lankā.—C.

[1] On this passage we have the following *note* from the pen of H. Colebrooke, Esq., at that time the first Sanskrit scholar in India. "The term (naukā) which occurs in the passage translated by Sir William Jones from the Bhawishya Purāna, undoubtedly signifies a Boat, and has no other acceptation. The four members of an army, as explained in the Amara kósha, certainly are Elephants, Horses, Chariots, and Infantry. Yet, there is no room to suspect a mistake in the translation; on the contrary, the practice of the game called Chaturanga confirms the translation; for a Boat, not a Chariot, is one of the pieces, and the game is played by four persons with long dice. Another sort of Chaturanga, the same with the Persian and Hindūstānī Chess, is played by two persons and without dice. In Bengal, a Boat is one of the pieces at this

explaining the meaning of Chatur-anga, Sir William says, 'that is the four *angas* or members of an army, which are said in the Amarakosha to be, Hasty-áswa-ratha-padātam, or Elephants, Horses, Chariots, and foot-soldiers.' And the same names are used in India at this day.

"Sir William notices the Chinese game as having a river described on the board, which the Indian board has not; and seems to infer that a Ship or Boat might be introduced in the Chinese game with propriety. Hence a query might arise whether the Indian board, as now used, is the ancient one appropriate to the game, in which a Boat is said to be introduced instead of a Chariot; but in the Chinese game, of which I have an account before me, although what is erroneously termed a river is delineated on the board, yet there is no Ship or Boat among the pieces. Instead of a Boat, they have a Chariot. How are we to reconcile these contradictions?—I fear, in the present state of our information, they are inexplicable.[1] At all events, I shall attempt only as distinct an account as is in my power of the four principal games and modes of playing Chess in Asia, viz. first, the one from the Purānas, cited by Bishop, and an Elephant that of the Rook; while the Hindūs of the peninsula (I mean those of Karnātaka above the Ghāts) preserve, as I am informed, the Chariot among the pieces of the game. I find also, in an ancient Treatise of Law, the Elephant, Horse, and Chariot, mentioned as pieces of the game of Chaturanga. The substitution of a Camel, or of a Boat, for the Chariot, is probably an innovation; but there is no reason for thence inferring a mistake in the translation, or in the reading, of the passage which Sir William Jones extracted from the Bawishya Purāna."

[1] I believe the "contradictions" are merely apparent, and not so very difficult of explanation, as I have already endeavoured to shew. The primæval Chaturanga had the boat, but no chariot. When the Chaturanga became modified into the mediæval Shàtranj, a war chariot appears to have been substituted for the boat. Well, some centuries, we know not how many, after this modification took place, the mediæval game penetrated into Burmha

Sir William Jones as above; second, the Chinese, described by Mr. Irwin; third, the Burmha; and lastly, the Persian or present Hindūstānī; comparing them with each other and the English game; and must leave it to some more fortunate enquirer to determine which is the original.

"I have given precedence to the game said to be invented at Lankā, as it appears to be the most ancient, according to the authorities adduced by Sir William Jones; and as the Persians admit that they received the game from India. I am aware that the Honourable Mr. Daines Barrington, in a paper published in the 'Archæologia' at London, gives it as his opinion that the Chinese game is the most ancient; and has taken great pains to disprove the Grecian claim to the invention (*vide* ninth volume of the 'Archæologia.') But, according to the Chinese manuscript, accompanying Mr. Irwin's account in the transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, the Chinese invalidate their claim of originality, by fixing the date of the game they assume the honour of inventing [only] 174 years before the Christian era.

"In the ancient Hindū game I have already noticed that the principal distinction from the English consists in having four distinct armies and Kings; each army composed of half the number of pieces and Pawns used in one of ours; secondly, the Elephant holds the station and power of our Queen;[1] thirdly, there is a Boat instead of our Castle, but with the powers of a Bishop limited to a move of two checks at once; fourthly, the Pawn, or Peon, has not an optional rank when advanced to the last line of the adversary's checks, merely assuming the rank of the

[1] I have already shown (page 19, note 2) that this is an error arising [illegible]

piece whose place he possesses (excepting the Boat); fifthly, the use of dice to determine the moves, as follows:—When a cinque is thrown, the King or Pawn must be moved; a quatre, the Elephant; a trois, the Horse; and a deux, the Boat. Other variations are, that the King, Elephant, and Horse may slay, but cannot be slain;[1] neither does it appear that the King can be removed to a place of more security, by any operation similar to the modern mode of castling. Indeed, the mode of playing this game is very obscurely[2] described; all that is known of it has already been published by Sir William Jones, in the Transactions of the [Asiatic] Society, to which I must refer those who require further information."

Here I omit some fifteen pages of Captain Cox's letter, in which he concisely describes, by the aid of diagrams, the four varieties of Chess above alluded to. The Chaturanga and Shatranj I of course pass over, as they form the main object of the preceding work. The Burmese and Chinese games have been noticed in our last chapter. Captain Cox seems to consider the Shatranj or mediæval game as identical with the Hindūstānī game of his day. It is quite possible that such of the natives of India as the Captain encountered knew, or preferred, only the Shatranj; but it will be seen from what we stated in pages 162 and 249, &c., that the "Blackmen" and "Brahmans" were acquainted with our game at least a score of years previous to the date of the Captain's letter.

At the conclusion of what Captain Cox calls the

[1] This I have proved to be an erroneous idea.—F.

[2] Here I agree with the Captain *Ṣāḥib*; and I have already endeavoured to

"Persian and Modern Hindūstānī Game," he thus proceeds :—

"I shall now make some observations on the foregoing games, and compare them with each other. As far as record is to be admitted in evidence, the first, or Hindū game, above described, is the most ancient, and to my apprehension, it has great internal marks of antiquity, namely, the imperfections incident to rudimental science. A view of the table, &c., will be sufficient to convince any one who has the least knowledge of tactics,[1] or the science of Chess, of the imperfections of the Hindū game.

"The weakest flank of each army is opposed to its antagonist's forte—and the piece in each army which would be of most use on the flanks, is placed in a situation where its operations are cramped; and although it appears that two armies are allied against the other two, yet the inconvenience of their battalia in a great measure remains; besides, it also appears that each separate army has to guard against the treachery of its ally, as well as against the common enemy; for it is recommended, and allowed to either of the Kings, to seize on the throne of his ally, that he may obtain complete command of both armies, and prosecute conquest for himself alone. But if the battalia were as perfect as in the European game, the circumstance of using dice, to determine the moves, is fatal to the claim of pre-eminence, or of science, which

[1] The gallant Captain's criticism on the *tactics* of the ancient Hindū game is so much waste paper. He forgets that *all* depended, not on science, but on the *dice;* and these were just as much in favour of, or against, one party as another. He might as well have amused himself in exposing the weakness of Edinburgh Castle, a fortress which was deemed impregnable in the good old days of bows and arrows, but which, in the present state of our artillery, may

attaches to the European game, and places the ancient Hindū game on a level with back-gammon, in which we often see the most consummate abilities defeated by chance.

Exclusive of the definition of the game in the Amara-kosha, namely, that the four angas or members are Elephants, Horses, Chariots, and Foot-soldiers, there are contradictions in the rules given by Gotoma and others, translated by Rādha-kant, which are irreconcileable, unless we suppose they treat of different games. The first says, that 'the King, the Elephant, and the Horse may slay the foe, but cannot expose themselves to be slain.' Hence we infer, that the Ship and Foot-soldier alone are vulnerable.[1] In another place the commentator says, 'If a Pawn can march to any square on the opposite extremity of the board, except that of the King or Ship, he assumes whatever power belonged to that square, which promotion is called shaṭ-pada, or six strides.' This contradicts the former rule. And again, 'but this privilege of shaṭ-pada was not allowable in the opinion of Gotoma; when a player had three Pawns on the Chess-board, but when only one Pawn and one Ship remained, the Pawn might even advance to the square of a King or Ship, and assume the power of either.' From the whole we may gather that in this game there is much abstruseness with little science, which affords strong presumption of its being rudimental.

"I have placed the Chinese game the second in the series, because there is a record of its relative antiquity; but not from conviction, for the next improvement of the ancient Hindū game appears to me to be that which at present obtains amongst the Burmhas, who are Hin-

[1] A wrong inference. Every piece on the board was vulnerable, the King himself not excepted.—*Vide* note 2, page 20.—F.

dūs of the Pali tribe,[1] and derive all their literature and science from the common source.[1] In the Burmha game the first dawn of perfection appears, while the ancient Hindū names, according to the Amarakosha, are retained, the two armies are consolidated, and commanded by a general immediately under the eye of the King, the order of the battalia improved, and chance rejected.

"The Persian game is but a slight variation in principle from the Burmha; the order of battle is restrained to one mode, and the Foot-soldiers and principals each drawn up at the extreme face of the board or field of battle, in rank entire, according to the improved system of modern warfare. Other alterations appear to me adventitious, or the effect of caprice rather than judgment. The modern European game appears an improvement on the Persian, and only requires that the original names should be restored to the pieces to give it full claim to pre-eminence.

"I am at a loss where to place the Chinese game, but its claims to precedence are of very little importance.

That Hansing introduced this game with modifications suited to the genius and manners of the Chinese, for the purposes already (*vide* Chap. XVII.) ascribed, I can readily believe; but the introduction of Artillery or Rocket-boys, the general perfection of the game, similitude to the Hindū game, and date of the supposed invention, are strong evidences against its originality.

"I shall conclude this long and irregular dissertation with noticing the various etymologies of the terms, pieces, &c., &c. The Honourable Mr. Daines Barrington

[1] The Chess-men I had made at Amarapoorah, the Burmha capital, were the workmanship of some Cossays, natives of the kingdom of Munipore, who, as well as the Burmhas, are of the sect of Budda, and form the intermediate link

has taken considerable pains on this subject in the essay above noticed; and the reason he assigns for the uncouth form of the pieces as made in Europe is very just, viz., that we received the game from the Arabs, who, as Mahommedans, being prohibited the use of paintings or engraved images, merely gave to their Chess pieces such distinct forms as enabled them to readily recognise them in play; and such arbitrary variation being once introduced, others naturally followed, according to the caprice or taste of each new innovator."

"But he differs from Dr. Hyde and Sir William Jones in respect to our Exchequer being named from the Chess-table; proving that the term was not directly so derived; but that is not proving it was not derived indirectly; for although the game of Chess might not have been known to the nations of modern Europe, so early as the Norman conquest, yet it appears from the check or reckoning board found at Pompeii, and from the Latin name Scaccarium,[1] that the use of the table was very early known in Europe, and therefore Sir William Jones may still be right in deriving exchequer from Chaturanga. One remarkable coincidence in the Asiatic tables may be noticed; they are all subdivided into sixty-four squares, but not checkered."

"The piece we call the King is also so styled in all the games that I know, except the Chinese, who call it the Choohong, or scientific in war. The piece we call the Queen, the Honourable Mr. Barrington derives from the Persian Pherz or General, and exposes the absurdity of calling this piece a Queen by asking how we are to

[1] This is altogether wrong. "Scaccarium" is not a Latin word, but is evidently derived from "scachus," or "scaccus," a "chessman," and consequently is of recent formation. Now scaccus itself is nothing more or less than the

metamorphose a Foot-soldier or Pawn into a Queen, as admitted in the English game, &c. Sir William Jones more correctly writes it Ferz, and adds, 'hence the French have derived Vierge, &c.' If so, the blunder arises from French gallantry. Vierge in French is Virgo, and consorted with the King, they, by a very natural transition, made their Virgin a Queen. But whence the Persian title of Ferz? Mr. Richardson merely informs us that Farz, Farzīn, Farzān, and Farzīa, mean the Queen at Chess. The common term for this piece in the Persian language is Vizīr or Wazīr, a Minister, but in their emphatic way of writing and speaking, they have in this case made a noun substantive of a distinctive adjective, to denote the eminence of the piece, as I shall have further occasion to notice. Farz, or Farzān, therefore, neither means Queen nor General in a literal sense, but eminent, distinguished, &c. Farzī further means science, learning, wisdom, &c.

"The piece we call a Castle or Rook, the Honourable Mr. Barrington says, is derived from the Italian Il Rocco, —but what is Il Rocco (the Castle) derived from? Sir William Jones says, "it were in vain to seek an etymology of the word Rukh in the modern Persian language, for in all the passages extracted from Fīrdausī and Jāmī, where Rukh is conceived to mean a hero, or a fabulous bird, it signifies, I believe, no more than a cheek or face.' My inquiries teach me, that in this instance, also, a name has been formed from a quality; and that in modern Persian Rookh means facing or bearing in a direct line; and applied to the Rukh at Chess, and its moves, is very appropriate; at the same time I have no doubt that the Persian word was originally derived with the game from

the Castle, either Naukā or Rokā.[1] The corruption is as easy as the French Vierge, from Ferz, and the only difference is, that Persian pride has endeavoured to legitimise the blunder by assigning a reason for it.

"The pieces we call Bishops, the Honourable Mr. Daines Barrington says, are called by the French Fou or Fools, and supposes the epithet to have been bestowed on them by some wag, because Kings and Queens were anciently attended by fools. I am ready to admit that war is but too often the offspring of vice and folly, and that it is no great proof of wisdom in Bishops to forsake their habits of peace for war, but think it is refining a little too much to stigmatise them in particular as fools on that account. Sir William Jones, in my opinion, adduces a more legitimate derivation, supposing the Fol or Fou of the French (for it is pronounced both ways occasionally) to be derived from the Persian Fīl, or Feel, an Elephant. In Italian these pieces are still denominated Il Alfino, or the Elephant, and so they were in England at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Perhaps the French Fou may have been derived from the Chinese Fou, the grave councillors who attend on the Choohong or General, and who have the same diagonal moves as the Bishops; and their mandarin caps may have been changed with their names for mitres, as we now see them engraved."

"The pieces we now call Knights or Horses have in general the same appellation in other languages. The Pawns, it is easy to perceive, are derived from Pāon (a foot) Hindūstānī, Piyāda Persian, and Padāti Sanskrit.

[1] The Persian "*Rukh*" is evidently derived from "Roka." I consider its derivation from "Rath" or "Roth" to be very unsatisfactory, and fitted only to the taste of those ingenious etymologists, among whom, as Voltaire hath wittily said, "the consonants go for very little, and the vowels, for nothing." —F.

The learned Doctor Hyde says,[1] 'that the word Chess is derived from the Persian word Shāh or King, which is often used in playing, to caution the King against danger. Hence Europeans and others have denominated the game Shachiludium and Shahiludium, and the English Chess.' The term Mate or Check-mate used at the termination of the game is from the Persian Shāh-māt, the King is conquered or driven to the last distress. The Persians, also, have a term peculiar to themselves, to denote the advancement of a Pawn or Piyāda. When it arrives at the last line of checks in the adversary's division, they say it is Farzīn or distinguished, and in case the Vizīr or Farz has been lost,[2] it assumes its rank, and is distinguished by one of the adversary's Pawns being placed on the same square with it.

"When I sat down to write this letter, I had no idea of extending it to so great a length, nor had I, as you will easily perceive, formed any regular plan of discussion. I therefore fear it will not only be found tedious, but perplexed. Yet, however imperfect or unimportant in itself, I am induced to hope it will be received with indulgence, as tending to excite the inquiries of abler critics on a subject equally interesting and curious, and to produce that collision of mind whence truth is elicited."

I have the honour to remain, &c.,

HIRAM COX.

[1] Dr. Hyde, in this, as in most other things, is correct.—F.

[2] The Captain is out of his depth here. The Persian word for what we now call Queen is Farz, or Farzīn. On reaching the opposite extremity of the board, a Pawn immediately became a Farzīn, whether the original Vizīr or Farz had been lost or not. Finally, the word *Wazīr* or *Vizīr* is pure Arabic

CONCLUSION.

I now finish my HISTORY OF CHESS so far as my original plan extended, as fully detailed in the table of contents. I am well aware that it contains some imperfections, partly owing to the deficiency of my materials, and partly arising from my own inability to do the subject full justice. In not a few instances, the reader may observe that where *positive evidence* could not be produced, I have had recourse to what Voltaire calls "the science of judging," which simply consists in the weighing of probabilities.

I have, throughout, to the best of my power, endeavoured to follow THE BARD's advice, viz.—

"Nothing extenuate, nor set down aught in malice;"

and if I have occasionally expressed my opinions of men and things in general somewhat plainly and strongly, I can safely aver that it arose neither from malice nor uncharitableness. My sole object has been to dissipate illusions, and so far as possible to approximate the truth.

The late Mr. Francis Douce closes his Essay on Chess, &c., alluded to in page 200, with the following appropriate words, which I humbly apply in my own case, viz.—"I shall conclude with a wish that the foregoing observations may be in any degree serviceable or acceptable to those who may interest themselves in the most excellent game that the wit of man has yet devised.

apprehension that future researches may convict me of many errors. To have drawn forth such a conviction, may, nevertheless, have its use; and it should be remembered, that in speculative inquiries like the present, the truth is seldom attained till many visionary systems have been destroyed."

The sixty pages of APPENDIX which here follow, consist of what the French call "Pièces Justificatives." They all bear directly on the main subject, viz.—"The History of Chess," but, owing to their length, they could not have been conveniently inserted in the body of the work, as they would have tended more to embarrass than to illustrate the narrative. The APPENDIX closes with page lx., which contains the explanation of the three folding plates to be inserted at the end of the volume.

APPENDIX A.

Page 5.—*Note* 2.

PERSIAN CHESS.[1]

Illustrated from Oriental sources; especially in reference to the Great Chess, improperly ascribed to Timur, and in vindication of the Persian origin of the game against the claims of the Hindus. By N. Bland, Esq., M.R.A.S. (London, 1850.)

Nearly four centuries ago the venerable Caxton (honoured be his memory), presented us with the "**Booke of the Chesse,**" as the first fruit of his divine art. Some two centuries later the learned Dr. Hyde of Oxford, ransacked the then "intact treasures" of the gorgeous East, with the view of discovering the origin, and of tracing the progress of the royal game; and towards the close of the last century the gifted Sir William Jones penetrated still further into the arcana of this enchanting pastime. He was one of the first of our countrymen to whom the Brāhmans of India were induced to impart a knowledge of their sacred language—till then a sealed book to all that were out of the pale of their own caste and creed, and he was thus enabled to point out the true path to the very cradle of chess, which, when carefully investigated, will be found in the remote depths of Hindū antiquity. In our own day, we are indebted to the extensive information and accurate research of Sir Frederic Madden for a fair and satisfactory account of the introduction of chess into central and northern Europe. Till the appearance of Sir Frederic's

[1] This Review of Mr. Bland's "Persian Chess," appeared in the Chess-player's Chronicle, for February &c., 1853, before I had entertained any inten-

Essay (published in the XXIVth volume of the Archæologia, page 203, &c.,) the most puerile legends, apparently of monkish origin, prevailed on that subject.

In the wake of the above goodly array of illustrious names we may now place that of Mr. Bland, a gentleman distinguished for his acquirements in Oriental languages. His "Essay on the Persian Game of Chess," as he is pleased to call it, contains much new and interesting information from sources that were either unknown or inaccessible to Hyde, to whose works Mr. Bland's essay forms, (with some drawbacks), not an unworthy supplement. It consists of 70 octavo pages accompanied by four plates containing diagrams of the various forms or innovations attempted from time to time to be established by the people of the East, on the original standard or regular chess board of sixty-four squares. We may further mention that the essay was not published separately for sale, and that it forms the first paper in the 13th volume of the "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland."

Mr. Bland, like some other wise men, endeavours to establish a theory of his own respecting the origin of chess, a glimpse of which may be caught by his opening paragraph, in which he remarks "Whatever difference of opinion may exist as to the introduction of chess into Europe, its Asiatic origin is undoubted, although the question of its birth-place is still open to discussion, and will be adverted to in this essay. Its mere design, however, is to illustrate the principles and practice of the game itself from such Oriental sources as have hitherto escaped observation, and especially to introduce to particular notice a variety of chess which may on fair grounds be considered more ancient than that which is now generally played, and lead to a theory which if it should be established would materially affect our present opinions on its history."

He then proceeds with a descriptive analysis of five rare Oriental manuscripts on the game; one in Persian, belonging to the Asiatic Society; one in Persian, and one in Arabic, belonging to the British Museum; and two Arabic MSS. in the private library of a distinguished amateur.[1] The remainder of the essay presents us with a variety of entertaining anecdotes of Oriental chess, explanations of their technical terms, together with numerous quotations from Persian and Arabian authors, in prose and verse, containing recondite and playful allusions to the game.

[1] John Lee, Esq., LL.D., of Doctors Commons and Hartwell House.

Such is a brief outline of Mr. Bland's essay, a perusal of which will reward the reader with much that is new and instructive. Setting aside his theory, which we feel bound out of respect for our own character to examine a little in detail, Mr. Bland may be fairly considered as "Twiss in the East." Before, however, we come to argue the theoretic point with Mr. Bland, we shall here insert the concluding paragraph of his work, which will receive, we are sure, as it merits, the hearty approbation of every lover of chess.

"Though of trifling importance to real science or professed literature, there is an interest in chess and its history which repays a more critical investigation than it has yet received. Learned antiquaries have illustrated its existence of the last ten centuries, but there are still links wanted to connect it with its earliest origin, and to complete our knowledge of this ancient and universal game which presents so remarkable an instance of etymologies surviving the Babel of ages, and historically as in philology, constitutes one of the most intimate points of union between Europe and the East.

"Considered merely as a chapter in the social history of mankind, Chess is equally worthy of admiration; a game which having established its mimic images in defiance of the persecutors of idolatry has triumphed alike over the denunciations of Coranic moral, and the zealous rage of the Byzantine Iconoclast, and for whose support law and theology have been strained alike by Muslim Mulla, and by Western Priest; from which kings have given names to their sons and to the cities they have founded, nor hesitated to ascribe their glories to its practice, when they made it a principle in the education of their children, and which, as an image of war or an exercise of wisdom has been the royal sport of lawgiver and conqueror, from the Haruns and Cosroes of the East to the Charlemagnes and Canutes of our own times."

While we allow Mr. Bland the most ample credit for varied and extensive Oriental scholarship, we cannot at the same time compliment him on his notions of the nature of a sound argument, or of a logical deduction. The case to be argued is as follows:—On our side of the question, all the writers of Arabia and Persia, of any name or rank, agree, *nem. con.*, that Chess was invented in India, and introduced into Persia in the 6th century of the Christian era. Mr. Bland, on the other side, on the vague and *doubtful* authority of one single writer, of comparatively recent date, maintains that Chess, in

series of ages brought back to its original birth-place. That there may be no mistake about Mr. Bland's theme, we shall here quote it in full, and for many reasons we deem it worthy of being printed in Italics. At p. 6, he observes, "*To this opinion the author of our Persian manuscript (that belonging to the Asiatic Society) places himself in direct opposition, maintaining Chess in its perfect and original from to have been INVENTED IN PERSIA, and taken to India, from whence it returned in its abridged and modern state. The fact whether the game existed first in a larger or a smaller form, of course mainly affects the question. If the Great Chess were the original, there would be a strong argument in favour of the author's peculiar view.*" [1]

On this point we shall briefly join issue with Mr. Bland; and first, with regard to the general argument, we unhesitatingly maintain that the assertion of one single anonymous scribe, in direct opposition to that of a host of writers of the highest consideration, both Persian and Arabian, can never be admitted as of any weight in the scales of history. This is more particularly the case when we consider that most of the Persian and Arabian writers to whom we allude, lived much nearer the period in which the disputed fact took place, than Mr. Bland's anonymous writer. When we further consider that all the historians of Persia and Arabia, nobly and honourably disclaim the merit of an invention that would certainly prove gratifying to their national vanity, could they conscientiously lay claim to it, we can only smile at the simplicity which seeks to establish a theory on a solitary and doubtful *exception* to a very general rule. Mr. Bland seems to be well aware of the extreme weakness of his case, as we shall show by several instances. Mr. B. quotes the words of Sir William Jones, "If evidence be required to prove that Chess was invented by the Hindūs, we may be satisfied with the testimony of the Persians, who, though as much inclined as other nations to appropriate the ingenious inventions of other people, unanimously agree that the game was imported from the west of India." After this he states (page 63), "Now we have just heard a perfectly opposite assertion from one Persian writer, and *there may be many others of a similar opinion.*" The words in italics show that Mr. Bland is obliged to beg the question, which is an unerring symptom of weakness. He afterwards says, "The '*Exceptio probat regulam*' does not apply here." Now we should be very glad to know on what plea Mr. Bland claims ex-

emption to this hackneyed maxim (which maxim, by the way, we hold to be downright nonsense), in his own case. If the common saying be true in general that the "exception proves the rule," of course Mr. Bland must bow to its decision. We shall, however, treat our author with every reasonable indulgence; we will even concede to him that the "exception *never does prove* the rule;" but, at the same time, we must remind him "non facit exceptio regulam,"—"the exception *never can* be admitted as the rule." His mode of reasoning—if reasoning it may be termed—reminds one irresistibly of that adopted by a certain universal-peace-propagating gentleman, who has been figuring of late in the columns of the *Times*. This gentleman having heard, or discovered, that, out of 70,000 militia-men, one man whose organ of acquisitiveness may have been somewhat largely developed, had, in a rather irregular manner, appropriated to himself an old lady's goose, concludes that the remaining 69,999 men who did not steal an old woman's goose were nevertheless persons of very questionable honesty. In like manner, Mr. Bland, having just met or *fancied* he met with a perfectly opposite assertion (to that of Sir W. Jones) from *one* Persian writer, jumps at once to the conclusion that there *may be* many others of the same opinion, and hence, &c. *quod quidem absurdum est*, as the mathematicians say.

Having thus pointed out what appears to us to be very unsound reasoning, on the part of Mr. Bland, in favour of his new theory, attempted to be founded on the Persian origin of Chess, we may now add that, strange as it may appear, his conclusions, even if he had succeeded in establishing his point, would have been altogether incredible. They would have simply amounted to this—that a lively and highly civilized people like the Persians, after having invented and for ages enjoyed such a fascinating recreation as the game of Chess, should have afterwards, most unaccountably, lost every trace of their own unique and ingenious invention; and that it should have been restored to them in the sixth century by their neighbours, the Hindūs, as a most rare and cunning device of the latter. Now, we appeal to Mr. Bland, as well as our readers, whether this is at all probable? Is it not utterly at variance with every known fact hitherto furnished by historical evidence on the subject?

It is one of the characteristics of Chess, that it takes firm root in every soil where it is once established. It found its keen and zealous votaries, not only in the splendid palaces of Chosroes, of Harūn, and of Tīmūr, but in the rude and primitive tents of the pastoral Calmuc,

human beings, that once got a knowledge of this mimic warfare and afterwards either forgot or neglected so attractive an acquisition. From the luxurious Court of Byzantium to the sterile rocks of the Hebrides, and the ice-bound region of the Ultima Thule, the game appears to have spread with the rapidity of light, and to have flourished with vigour, without ever losing ground, for nearly the space of a millennium.

We have already hinted that Mr. Bland appearcd to us to be himself well aware of the very slender ground on which his theory stood. This is evident, from numerous instances we could produce, only, from want of time and space, we must confine ourselves to a small number. In the first place, it seems to be a point of great importance with him to confer on his anonymous author, (that of the MS. of the Asiatic Society), the highest possible degree of antiquity. He says, in a note, page 16, "Al Rāzī, quoted in the preface, died A.D. 922 or 932, which date is the only limit we can assign to the age of the MS." Now, it is a great pity it did not occur to Mr. Bland that this would be proving a vast deal *too much*, which we ourselves always look upon with suspicion, as tantamount to *proving nothing*. Unfortunately for him, the author himself furnishes us with a few broad hints respecting certain periods of time previous to which, he could not, with any propriety, have lived. For example he quotes the great historical poem of Persia, the Shāhnāma, or "Book of Kings," by Firdausī, the Homer of his day. Now, Firdausī died in A.D. 1020, a century after Al Rāzī, an awkward fact which "lops us off at one fell swoop" 100 years from the author's pretended antiquity. But this is not all. In another place the author mentions repeatedly Khwāja 'Alī Shatranjī, or "Master 'Alī, the Chess-player," *(par excellence)*, who was the Philidor of Tīmūr's court at the end of the fourteenth century! Thus, the anonymous author, by his own shewing, (and we do not profess to know of any better authority), has been brought down a trifling matter of 500 years or so on the wrong side of Mr. Bland's *assigned* limit.

We are aware that Mr. Bland endeavours to make out that the "Khwāja 'Alī Shatranjī," above mentioned, "was a poet of Maverannehr," or Transoxiana. To this we reply, that even if he had been this poet, (of whose celebrity either in poetry or in Chess we know nothing), it would have very little mended Mr. B.'s case. The poet must have lived about A.D. 1300, more or less. The Ātash-Kadah, one of the few biographical works that mention his name, states that

whose panegyrist he was; and these reigned in Persia from the year 1260 to the middle of the following century. It does not state under what precise monarch the poet lived, but really the matter is of no importance whatever, as at the very least he must have flourished nearly 400 years after Al Rāzī. But furthermore, the poet was called "Abū 'Alī Shatranjī," i. e., "Abū 'Alī, the Chess-player." Now, suppose he may have been entitled to the prefix of "Khwāja," or "master," still he must have been styled "Khwāja Abū 'Alī" Shatranjī. The first part of his name could not, on any account, be dispensed with. We are aware that Mr. Bland possesses a valuable collection of rare biographical Persian MSS.; if he will kindly point out to us any *earlier* poet, or in fact any poet whatever, called "Khwājī 'Alī Shatranjī," we shall on this point stand most humbly corrected. That the circumstance may, however, be of any avail to him, he must be prepared to prove that this "*rara avis*" of a poet not only lived as long ago as Al Rāzī, but (what is much more improbable in a poet), that he was also a first-rate Chess player, and that the remarks made with reference to him in the Society's MS. (of which more hereafter), might by any chance apply. By the time Mr. Bland has completed these proofs, we shall see two suns in the same firmament; or what is equally probable, we shall see in history a record of two distinct men, each called "André Danican Philidor," and each the finest Chess-player of his own time, able to give odds to all comers, and that too without seeing the board, and encounter several adversaries at the same time.

In the anonymous MS. are given a number of Chess problems or positions, and of these not fewer than eighteen are by "Khwāja 'Alī Shatranjī. Now, there will be no difficulty in proving that the individual alluded to is the same that flourished at Tīmūr's court. The name of "Khwāja 'Ali Shatranjī" is mentioned with admiration by the historians of Tīmūr's reign. He could give large odds to the very best players of the day; not only did he give large odds, but at the same time he played to a marvel without seeing the board, and against several adversaries at once. He was also famed for the miraculous rapidity of his moves; for when his adversaries spent a wearisome long period in the most anxious state of reflection, 'Alī's move was made on the instant. In fact, he had the credit of being divinely inspired; for he had persuaded *himself*, as well as the more credulous and devout among his friends, that he once on a time saw in a vision the pious and blessed "Commander of the Faithful," Alī, (son-in-law of the prophet Muhammad), who presented him with

a *valuable* set of Chessmen, after which supernatural event he was never beaten by mortal man. Setting aside this legend of his namesake's present, 'Alī must have been a wonderful player; and a very appropriate compliment is paid to him on the subject, in plain and simple words, by the historian, "Ibn Arab Shāh," (who was his contemporary and intimate acquaintance), viz., "when 'Alī played no man could divine what his coming move might be."

Now, we shall proceed to show, beyond a doubt, that this, and none other, is *the* "Khwāja 'Alī" alluded to in Mr. Bland's (or rather the Asiatic Society's) anonymous manuscript. Most of the positions given as those of 'Alī Shatranjī, are accompanied by a brief but highly characteristic notice, which carries to our minds the fullest conviction. For example, prefixed to one of the positions, we have, "this situation occurred to Khwāja 'Alī Shatranjī, when playing blindfold with an adversary, to whom he gave the odds of a rook for a pawn." Further on, in more places than one, we have—"This situation occurred to Khwāja 'Alī Shatranjī when giving the odds of a Rook." Again we have—"This situation occurred to Khwāja 'Alī Shatranjī when giving the odds of the Knight for the pawn." Then, in more places than one, we find him giving "the odds of the Knight." These examples are abundantly sufficient for our purpose; but the last but one in the book is so neatly significant, that we cannot forbear adding it, viz., "This position is by 'Alī Shatranjī. It occurred to him when he played, *looking on the board*,[1] against an adversary to whom he gave the odds of the Rook." It is quite needless to say a word more on this subject; we defy Mr. Bland to point out tous any ot her mortal, be he poet or proser, named "Khwāja 'Alī Shatranjī," to whom the above characteristics will apply. No, there never was but ONE Khwāja 'Alī Shatranjī.

Thus have we proved, by the anonymous author's own showing, that he could not have lived and written before the beginning of the 15th century; and we verily believe the period of his existence to have been a century and a half later. Let us examine this point a little more in detail. Mr. Bland himself very accurately hits upon his author's identical portrait in pages 3rd and 4th of his Essay. He there states that "Ḥājī Khalfa, after naming two Arabic treatises on the subject (of Chess), by Sūlī and Abul 'Abbās, mentions also a work by a writer *of later date*, who composed in Persian, and who boasts

[1] The special mention of 'Alī's "looking over the board," in this instance, leads us to infer, that with him blindfold play was the rule, and looking on the board the exception.

himself to have been the greatest player on earth *in his time*, adorned with plans and figures, and a notice of authors who had preceded him. This would appear to be the same work with the MS. now under notice, and the arrogant style of pretension alluded to is supported also in the continuation of his (the author's) preface."

In this we heartily concur with Mr. Bland; at the same time, since he has favoured us with the original Arabic, and Fluegel's Latin translation at the bottom of the page, we regret that he has not given us the author's meaning in less ambiguous English. Ḥājī Khalfa, after mentioning two very old Arabic works on Chess, says: "Also a work by an author of *recent date*, who composed in Persian, and who therein boasts that he is himself the greatest player on earth *in these our days*." Mr. Bland will perceive that the phrase "more recent," which, *in a sense*, is quite true, is not that of the original. What we chiefly dislike in this style of Mr. Bland's is, that it is most exquisitely Jesuitic, as it leaves the reader to infer that the author lived merely some years—be they few or many—later than Al Sūlī and Abul 'Abbās. Again, the phrase, "in his time," is also true in one sense, but highly ambiguous. The reader is left to apply it to the wished-for *indefinite past* time of the anonymous author; but if we say so to Mr. Bland, he may reply, "Bless you, my good sir, no such thing; the 'his' refers to Ḥājī Khalfa, in accordance with his own plain Arabic text." Of course there is no disputing about taste; but for our own part we are no admirers of this kind of style, however *ingenious* it may appear. But to proceed. It turns out, then, that the anonymous author, and eke his book, were considered as *recent* by Ḥājī Khalfa, who lived and wrote a little more than two centuries ago! And thus the "*rara avis*" to which Mr B. attaches so much importance, is nothing more or less than a common-place domestic bird, of the web footed class, vulgarly called a goose. Finally, we have ourselves, at different times, asked the opinions of three gentlemen well versed in such matters respecting the age of this unfortunate MS., and they one and all concluded that it could not be above three hundred years old.[1]

Mr. Bland will perceive, then, that the whole of his theory, which is mainly founded on the antiquity of the Asiatic Society's anonymous MS., falls completely to the ground. There is no proof whatever that the Great game patronised by Tīmūr is older than the

[1] It is but fair to state that the manuscript, at first sight, appears to be older than it really is. It has unfortunately passed through bad hands, and

fourteenth century; and the only two writers that we know of, who have at all noticed it, clearly consider it as, at that time, a novelty. The earliest that we are aware of, is the author of the "Netāis ul Funūn;" quoted by Mr. Bland in p. 31; and we regret to have to state that Mr. B. has here overlooked what that author says, viz: "There is a fifth kind called the Great Chess, and *they have increased* it by a Zarāfa, and a Lion,[1] and other things, &c. Now, it is clear as daylight that this game resulted from, or was formed out of, a smaller kind of Chess-board, viz., out of the common game—of sixty-four squares; otherwise, how could the author use the phrase "*they have increased it!*" The next writer is Tīmūr's own special biographer, Ibn Arab Shāh, quoted by Mr. Bland in p. 5, who says—"The Great Chess has *additional* pieces, as already mentioned." Now, we would ask, *additional to what?* Why, to the common and well-known game, of course. Mr. B. altogether ignoring the *real* statements of these authors, very innocently adds here an indisputable truism, viz., "There is nothing in the Arabic words 'great' and 'little,' to infer any relative priority." We freely admit the soundness of this assertion; but, at the same time, we think there is a vast deal of significance in the word "*additional*," as well as in the phrase "*they have increased it, &c.*," which seems to have altogether escaped Mr. B.'s attention.

We have time to notice only one more of Mr. B.'s one-sided (we are almost tempted to say, unfair) quotations; and we are not sorry that our task is drawing to a close, for, to tell the truth, it is waxing a little trying to our patience. In p. 68 he states: "Sufficient importance is hardly attached to the circumstance that the board described in the Shāhnāma of Firdausi, (already alluded to), contains one hundred squares," &c. Now, how does this matter stand? Will it be credited by our readers, when we, on our reputation assure them, that in every copy of the Shāhnāma, written or printed, that we have ever seen, the board described as brought from India by a special ambassador from the king of Kanoj to Naushīrawān of Persia, contains *only* sixty-four squares, and neither more nor less! It is true that in another part of the poem, where the poet has occasion to

[1] Mr. Bland states in a note that "One MS. here has the word *Sher*," a Lion, no doubt a misprint in the points for "Shutur," a Camel." To this I have only to say that all the MSS. of the work now in the British Museum read "Sher," plain enough. The Camel in this game is called "Jamal," not

speak of the game, there is an evident interpolation of a couplet in which mention is made of two camels. Well, in the two finest MSS. of the poem in the British Museum, the board is described, in both passages, as consisting of sixty-four squares; and this, unquestionably, is the correct reading. It is quite possible that, by the time of Firdausī, the board of 100 squares, with the addition of the two camels, had been formed, by a natural perversion of the genuine board of sixty-four, originally brought from India; thus the poet, or more probably, some of his copyists, confounded the two boards. We know that the innovation of 100 squares is, at least, of older date than the time of Firdausī. Indeed, it would be the most natural form in the way of increase on the standard board of sixty-four squares. Be this as it may, we defy Mr. Bland to point out to us a single copy of the Shāhnāma in which the board brought to Persia by the Indian ambassador is said to have contained 100 squares.

In p. 68, Mr. Bland says: "The whole evidence drawn from the history of Chess, shews a tendency to abridgement in the game, in its gradual decline from the extreme size and powers of the Great Chess, to that which is now played." Now, we confess we have never been able to discover that any such tendency in the game existed; and we greatly regret that Mr. B. has not condescended to furnish us with a few specimens of his evidence. He here boldly takes for granted that the Great Chess was the original, of which he has not given us the shadow of a proof; this is not reasoning, it is mere school-boy declamation. The plain fact is, that the whole evidence drawn from the history of Chess, shows a perpetual and foolish tendency towards the enlargement of the game. The oldest form of the board that we read of, is that of sixty-four squares; and, from the time of Vyāsa Muni and Yudhishṭhira—some five thousand years ago, to the present day, we challenge Mr. Bland to point out to us one solitary instance, from the banks of the Ganges to the Mississippi (following the course of the sun), in which that magic board of sixty-four squares was ever abridged or diminished. Even in the long and round boards described in Mr. Bland's own pamphlet, the squares are still sixty-four in number; and we believe we could enumerate at least a score of instances, Asiatic and European, in which clumsy and unsuccessful attempts have been at sundry times made for the enlargement of this game; but not one instance of abridgement. This sort of mania, like the squaring of the circle, and the visitations of the sea-serpent, seems to have its periodical

ment, we would merely draw his attention to the two last innovations in Chess, of which we have any knowledge.

In the beginning of the present century, "Consule Planco"—that is, when Napoleon was Consul, a certain "citoyen" of the Republique Ligurienne, by name Giacometti, published at Genoa a book entitled "Nouveau Jeu d'Echecs, ou le Jeu de la Guerre." His board contains 153 squares, and no less than 72 pieces. Where is your Great Chess now, Mr. B? Have we here any tendency to abridgement? Not a bit of it. Giacometti completely beats you out of the field; his board is nearly a third larger than yours, and his pieces out-number Tīmūr's by sixteen.

What is very singular is, that the complacent Giacometti believes he is himself the first to have *improved* the game. He says, in his preface—"Quelle que soit l'origine du jeu des échecs; il est étonnant que, depuis qu'il se joue, personne n'ait songé a y faire des changements." Now, Giacometti, by his own sheer instinct, enlarges the game as if it were a natural propensity of the human mind; for he, good man, never heard of Tīmūr, nor of Carrera, nor of Gustavus Selenus, &c., &c. The work is dedicated, with all the honours, to Napoleon; but we are not aware whether the improvement was ever duly appreciated by *our* Tīmūr, whose taste was rather more refined than that of his Oriental brother. The very last monstrosity in this line, is that of the present day. It may be seen in shop windows;—a great board with sixty-four men, and we know not how many squares (for we never paid one moment's attention to the matter), intended to be played by four persons. It is curious how this circumstance, like a circle ending where it began, leads us back once more to the primeval origin of Chess. It was originally played by four persons, on a board of sixty-four squares; each person having four pieces and four Pawns. Thence naturally arose the necessity of uniting eight Pieces and eight Pawns on each side, so as to accommodate, when occasion required two players only. After this took place, one of the two Kings, on either side, would then naturally become a subordinate personage—in the East called Minister or Counsellor, and with us, Queen. Such we believe to have been the origin and progressive development of Chess; an inference far more conformable to all that we know of the invention and perfection of other arts, than the poetic idea of Sir William Jones, that "it was invented by one effort of some great genius." In fact, we know well from history, that this was not the case. We can trace the gradations

by four persons, with the aid of dice. Second, its mediæval period when played only by two persons; the dice were then banished, but the moves and powers of the pieces remained the same. Lastly, our own method, which is of comparatively recent date. The first period is altogether of fabulous antiquity; that is, of three to five thousand years old. Of the second, we cannot determine the commencement; only we know that the game, in this state, was brought from India to Persia about the middle of the sixth century. The method of play peculiar to this period, prevailed in Asia and Europe till the end of the fifteenth century, and in the East, we believe it prevails in some places to this day—especially in those parts where Europeans have not settled. The important changes and improvements which have rendered the game such as we now have it, originated, we believe, in Spain or Italy;, at all events, we find them described for the first time in the writers of those countries.

But to return to Mr. Bland. We have merely to say that we wish most heartily to shake hands with him in parting. Setting aside his *hobby*, no one can more appreciate his *brochure* than we do; and we like him not a bit the worse for keeping a hobby: in fact, we ourselves keep more than one. It would be a horribly dull world this of ours, did not every man ride his own hobby; if we all thought, and spoke, and wrote alike, why the very blood would stagnate in our veins, and we should never make any progress in the discovery of truth.

Mr. Bland thus concludes his preface, viz.—"In its present state this little Essay may be considered as a simple Pawn, advanced to support a system or to establish a position. It is hoped that those Orientalists and Chess-players who have better means of research, may be induced to assist the game in its further development, and that, to use a well-known term of Chess-play, they will not "refuse the Gambit." Well then, we have accepted Mr. Bland's Gambit, with what success we leave our readers to judge.

Postscript—1860.

With regard to Mr. Bland's "Gambit," we are proud to say that in the contest we did not avail ourselves of an excessively *bad move* on his part, of which we were not fully aware six years ago when we wrote the preceding remarks. We have since thoroughly perused the Asiatic Society's manuscript, and we are sorry to state, on Mr. B.'s account, that the anonymous author

perfect and original form," was invented in Persia!!! The author merely says, and that in more places than one, that "the large chess (Tīmūr's game) was invented by the Grecian Sage Hermes;" but nowhere does he say that the Persians invented it. It is truly astonishing that Mr. Bland should have had recourse to such a *weak move* as this; and more especially at the present day, when there are so many persons qualified to analyse his *game*, and to detect its more *serious* flaws.

They say that the pith of a lady's intentions is to be looked for in the postscript of her letter; so we take it that the essence of Mr. Bland's lucubrations is to be found in his peroration, which, in justice to him, we here subjoin. In page 69, Mr. Bland thus sums up:—

"Before, then, we bow to this opinion of the Hindū origin of Chess, or allow the four-headed divinity of the Brahmans to appropriate the wisdom of all the quarters of the globe, and their many-handed monsters to clutch every invention of the East as their own, a few queries suggest themselves, which claim an answer from those who consider their position too strong to be disputed. These objections may be classed under three general heads, and, to follow the arrangement of the work which gave rise to this discussion, they may be divided into an historical, a philological, and a practical difficulty in connection with the game itself."

1*st. The Historical Difficulty.*

"If Chess, in any near resemblance to that which we now play, was known in early ages to the Hindūs, where are their historical or romantic records of its invention or its use? Does any ancient Sanskrit treatise exist on its principles or practice? And, as the Persians are supposed to acknowledge its introduction into their country from India, do the annals of the Hindūs themselves equally relate their share in the transaction?"

2*nd. The Philological Difficulty.*

"If Chess is of Indian birth, and even allowing Chaturanga to be its parent, how did it retain the name of the game only, and yet change all the names of the pieces? Why should the Rat'h or Rot'h alone remain untranslated? The Persian terms endure in all the languages of Europe, although their powers have been modified and

3rd. *The Practical Difficulty.*

"If Chaturanga was the origin of all Eastern Chess, where and at what period did it undergo that sudden and almost total transformation necessary to obtain a resemblance to the Persian form under which it makes its next appearance? Was, then, the Chaturanga its purer state of being, and Shatranj only its Avatar among its more distant worshippers?"

To these very pithy queries of Mr. Bland's—for difficulties there are none—we subjoin the following concise replies:—

1st. *Answers to the Historical Difficulty.*

Chess, bearing a *close* "resemblance to that which we now play, was known in *very* early ages to the Hindūs." Their historical and romantic records of its use *are* in the Purānas, which works Mr. Bland either *could not*, or *would not*, consult. A very fair account of "its principles and practice" is given in the Bhavishya Purāna alluded to by Sir William Jones, though not well understood or explained by that eminent scholar. Lastly. The Persians are not merely "supposed to acknowledge its introduction into their country from India;" they *all* of them *do* believe and positively assert that such was the case. The latter part of Mr. B.'s question is altogether irrelevant. The Hindūs happen to have no historical records of the periods alluded to by the Persians, and, even if they had, their silence on the subject would not in the least have affected the argument.

2nd. *Answers to the Philological Difficulty.*

Mr. Bland is exceedingly unfortunate in his queries anent this "difficulty;" for in every one of them he intimates what is entirely *untrue*. The Persian chess did *not change* the name of one single piece. The *Rat'h*, or *Rot'h*, as Mr. B. has it, is not in the Purāna at all; the word there used is *Naukū*, or *Roka*, "a boat," which the Persians did not *translate* beeause they could not see the use of it; but they used the word *Rukh*, "a hero," instead; which, in their own language, made sense. Now, I would ask Mr. Bland in return, why do we use the word *Rook*, which makes nonsense? The assertion that "the Persian terms endure in all the languages of Europe" is exceedingly incorrect; O fie, Mr. Bland, this is really too bad. Had the Persians a *Queen* on their board? or a *Bishop?* or a *Knight?* Never. Their words for these

Minister, *Elephant*, and *Horse* respectively. Our Rook is to the full as near the Sanskrit *Roka* as the Persian *Rukh*. Lastly. Our Pawn is very easily derived from the Latin "Pedes," at least as much so as from the Persian "Piyāda." Mr. Bland will see then that his "Philological difficulties" are entirely of his own coinage.

3rd. Answers to the Practical Difficulty.

In answer to Mr. Bland's first question under this head we say, and have already proved, that the "transformation" took place in India, the period of which is uncertain. That the change was either "*sudden*," or "*almost total*," is untrue. It was neither the one nor the other, but a gradual improvement; like that of the Roman "quinquereme" into the British man-of-war. To Mr. Bland's very last query we answer *yes*, with this difference, that the Chaturanga was Chess in its *crude form*, not in its *purer* state; at the same time we must confess that we are too dull to see either the purport or utility of this last question.

APPENDIX B.

Page 3.—*Note* 1.

SINCE the first sheet was printed off, I have been enabled to communicate with Herbert Coleridge, Esq., the author of the series of Essays on Greek and Roman Chess alluded to in page 3. That gentleman has not only given me his permission to reprint them here, but has kindly revised the whole series, so as to form one continuous article, which I think every classical scholar will agree with me in considering a valuable addition to the present work.—D. F.

ON GREEK AND ROMAN CHESS.

The inventive genius of Greece and Rome, so transcendently displayed in the higher and more intellectual regions of art and letters, has left but a comparatively slight impress of itself on the things of every-day life. Deeply indebted as the nations of modern Europe are to one or the other of their classical forefathers for their arts, their language, and their laws, they can at least boast that their games and sports are their own, and may defy the ingenuity of a Meursius or a Scaliger to deprive them of the honour of such inventions as billiards, cricket, and cards. Setting aside athletic exercises, the games of classical antiquity were of the most simple and often of the most puerile character. Martial, I believe, somewhere mentions a game wherein the one player concealed a number of counters or dice in his hand, and challenged his opponent to state whether such number was odd or even. A wrong guess entailed the loss of

Chess is often decided among ourselves. It is difficult to conceive any one except a mere child being amused with such a game; but the money depending on each event no doubt supplied the interest, which was heightened by the extreme simplicity of the game and the consequent rapidity with which it could be played.

Anomalous, however, as this neglect of intellectual games may at first appear, it is not difficult to see how and whence it arose. The out-of-door life to which the Greeks were habituated, engendered a natural partiality for games and gymnastic exercises which tended to improve the personal appearance or bearing, or to impart superior strength and activity to the limbs. Again, it must be remembered that, through their peculiar form of government, political questions were fraught with so vital and direct an interest for a people, each individual of which might aspire to influence the policy of the state, that the want of recreations of a more elevated character would naturally be but little felt. Add to this the predilection universally manifested for those more brilliant displays, which conversation, aided by the noblest language ever spoken by man, could admit of, and we shall have little difficulty in understanding, if not in sympathising with, the neglect bestowed on games of this nature. A Greek would have been utterly incapable of appreciating the value of Chess as an educator and strengthener of mental power. He would have looked upon it, as Plato looked upon the *πεττεία* and *αὐλεία* of his day, as a species of mental legerdemain, so to speak, to be acquired as of course by long practice, but utterly unworthy to be seriously studied by any one who aspired either to the reputation of a philosopher or the character of a well-bred gentleman.

Notwithstanding all this, it seems indisputable that the game we are about to describe was, in one at least of its modifications, a contest of calculation and mental skill between the players. Even Plato does not hesitate to class it, together with arithmetic, logic, and geometry, among the arts which are dependant on reasoning alone, without the aid of manual skill or labour. (Gorg., p. 450.) It was termed *πεττεία*, from the *πέσσοι*, or smaller counters—probably at first mere pebbles—with which it was played, though the author of the "Etymol. Mag." (*s. v. πέσσοι*) suggests an absurd derivation from *πεντε* (five), because that was the usual number allotted to each player. Now, under this term *πεττεία*, two distinct games appear to have been comprised, about one of which we have much more copious informa-

boards; but there is reason to believe, from various expressions of ancient writers, that the men were moved rather on the lines dividing the squares, than, as with us, on the spaces included by those lines. If this were so—and the adjective *πεντέγραμμος* applied to the board by Pollux (ix. 97), and Sophocles (Fr. 381), seems to favour this conclusion—the board must have consisted of five parallel and equidistant lines traced on a plane, intersected at right angles by five similar parallels, thus including thirty-six or sixteen squares, according as the edges of the board were excluded or included in the number of the parallels. The central line of one of these sets of parallels was termed the Sacred Line (*ἱερὰ γραμμὴ*), on which a single piece, called the King, was stationed; and this piece, from the expression of the Scholiast on Theocritus, vi. 18, I am inclined to believe, was common to both players, and was employed much in the same way as the "dummy" in what is called 'two-handed' whist, which makes for the player who is entitled to lead at any particular time. It was, however, never moved, save in cases of extreme necessity, and when no other means of deciding the game, from the evenness of the players, was left; so that the phrase, *κινεῖν τὸν ἀφ ἱερᾶς* (to move the piece from the Sacred Line), passed into a proverb to signify that one was driven to a *dernier ressort*.

The above sketch contains all that is certainly known respecting the first species of game known to the Greeks under the name of *πεττεία*. As to its rules, or the mode in which victory was finally decided, we are utterly ignorant; but from its being occasionally classed by Pollux (vii. 206) and other writers as a species of dice-play (*εἶδος κυβείας*), I am inclined to think that dice were used as a *motive power*, so to speak, and that the moves were regulated, in some degree, by the value of the throws, as in the Indian games described by Dr. Forbes; while the solitary King, standing in the centre of the board, and only moved in cases of urgent necessity, reminds us of some variations of early European Chess. It would, however, be clearly useless to attempt a conjectural description of the game from such inadequate materials.

Of the second form of *πεττεία* we have fortunately more distinct information. This game, as is clear from the expression of Pollux (ix. 98), was played with more counters, or *πέσσοί*, than that which we have just described (the exact number is unknown), arranged upon a board divided into squares, each of which was called *πόλις*, or city,

or dogs, and were of two different colours, as with us; from which we may conclude, though it is nowhere expressly stated, that the game did not admit of more than two players. The object of each player appears to have been to enclose his adversary's pieces in such a manner as to leave him no further move; in other words, to force stalemate. And to do this, much skill and practice were required, as Plato tells us more than once, so that good players were by no means common. In one striking passage in his "Republic" (vi. 487), he compares the effect of Socrates's method of driving an antagonist into self contradiction, or the admission of some manifest absurdity, by a succession of well-directed interrogatories, with the gradual imprisonment of the adverse pieces at Chess by a skilful πεττευτής—a simile the truth of which those who have been accustomed to oppose men of double their own force at Chess will no doubt vividly appreciate.

It will be readily seen that neither of these two games can with justice claim to be considered even a rude or elementary form of Chess. They resemble Chess in its formal part, that is to say, in their being played by two players, on a board divided into squares, and with men of opposite colours, and so on; while of the one really distinctive feature of Chess, namely, "*difference of absolute value denoted by difference of form*," not a trace in these Greek games is to be found.[1] Games such as backgammon and draughts, which are probably the nearest modern representatives of the two forms of πεττεία respectively, are games of mere *position*, in the literal sense of that word—θέσις. Chess, on the other hand, is a game of *disposition*; in other words, it depends upon two elements, absolute force and relative position; while in other games, and, as far as we can judge, in the πεττεία of the Greeks, only the latter of these elements existed. It will perhaps be urged, that difference in value between the pieces may be inferred from the mention of a King, who occupied the central line of the board in the first form of the game, but it is difficult to conceive that this piece had any superior power or value over the ordinary counters. It is much more probable that it insured the victory to the player to whose lot it fell (if our previous hypothesis on this point be correct), by mere numerical preponderance. It is worth noticing also, that the *military view*, if we may be allowed the expression, of Chess—the notion so common to all nations among

[1] The passage in Euripides (Iph. A. 196)—ἐπὶ θάκοις πεσσῶν ἑδαμίνους μορφώσει

whom Chess has ever flourished, that the manœuvres of the Chess-board were but a mimicry, on a tiny scale, of the operations of real war—seems never to have suggested itself to the Greek mind, nor has any Greek writer, I believe, ever applied military terms to the games we have been describing—a fact which decidedly distinguishes the Greek πεττεία from the Latin *ludi latrunculorum* and *duodecim scriptorum*, hereafter to be noticed, as well as from modern Chess, and goes far to show that that subordination of the several pieces to each other in absolute value which forms the principal, if not the only real, resemblance between the armies of the Chess-board and those of actual war, was, in fact, unknown in the Greek game.

I will now proceed to consider what traces the Latin writers afford of games in any degree corresponding to our modern notions of Chess. We find, as among the Greeks, two species clearly distinct from each other, yet both bearing considerable resemblance to the Royal game, and named respectively *ludus latrunculorum* and *ludus duodecim scriptorum*, the origin of which terms will be explained hereafter. It will be convenient to describe these games in order.

Ludus Latrunculorum.—I shall make no apology to the reader for transcribing here, *in extenso*, the *locus classicus* of ancient Latinity with respect to this game. The description given in this passage is so full and generally clear, as far as it goes, that it will in a great measure relieve me from the necessity of citing the actual words of other authors to whom I may have occasion to refer, and it is in itself by no means unworthy of a lengthened citation on the score of poetical merit. It occurs in a poem of Saleius Bassus,[1] the "tenuis Saleius" of Juvenal, Sat. vii. v. 80, addressed to C. Piso, who, according to his panegyrist, appears to have been one of the best players of his day, and is complimented on his skill in the following lines.

"Callidiore modo tabulâ variatur apertâ
Calculus, et vitreo peraguntur milite bella,
Ut niveus nigros, nunc ut niger alliget albos
Sed tibi quis non terga dedit, quis te duce cessit
Calculus, aut quis non periturus perdidit hostem?
Mille modis acies tua dimicat, ille petentem
Dum fugit ipse rapit; longo venit ille recessu
Qui stetit in speculis—hic se committere rixæ

[1] The poem itself will be found in 1st part of the fourth volume of Wernsdorf's "Poetæ Latini Minores" (now rather a scarce book), at page 236.

Audet, et in prædam venientem decipit hostem.
Ancipites subit ille moras, similisque ligato
Obligat ipse duos—hic ad majora movetur,
Ut citus et fractâ prorumpat in agmina mandrâ,
Clausaque dejecto populetur mœnia vallo.
Interea sectis quamvis acerrima surgunt
Prœlia militibus, plenâ tamen ipse phalange
Aut etiam pauco spoliatâ milite vincis,
Et tibi captivâ resonat manus utraque turbâ."

From this passage, and others which might be cited, it is abundantly clear that the association of ideas which leads modern nations to compare the Chess-board with its array to the battle-field, was by no means foreign to the minds of the military people of Rome. The very words *latro* and *latrunculus*, used indiscriminately for the pieces or men, were old terms signifying a soldier, and are found used in that sense in several passages of Plautus and Ennius, to which I need not here stop to refer.

I shall dismiss some of the more salient features of the game, about which there can be little dispute, with a brief enumeration. It appears to have been played upon a board similar to our own, though we do not know the exact number of the squares, which, perhaps, after all, may not have been subject to any fixed law, with men of opposite colours, which are termed in different authors, *calculi*, *milites*, *latrones*, and *latrunculi*, and were made of glass, ivory, and sometimes even of more costly materials. The mode of capture resembled generally that described in the account already given of the second form of the πεττεία, from which source it was probably derived—it took place when a single piece was caught (*ligatus*) between two men of the opposite colour to its own, as is clear from the passage of Bassus quoted above. From a line in Ovid (A. A. III., 35.)—

Bellatorque suo prensus sine compare bellat—

it has been imagined that the pieces on the Roman board (like the Bishops, Knights, and Rooks on our own) were arranged in pairs, a supposition which, if true, would almost of necessity lead us to believe that a difference of form among the pieces did exist in the Roman game, but which, as will be seen hereafter, I think extremely doubtful. It seems to me that the passage merely alludes to the case of an unsupported man being caught by the opposite pieces, the word "compar" not being necessarily confined in signification to

11, though I admit that it is more frequently employed in that restricted sense. A difficulty has been felt with regard to the lines.

Ille petentem
Dum fugit ipse rapit,

and,

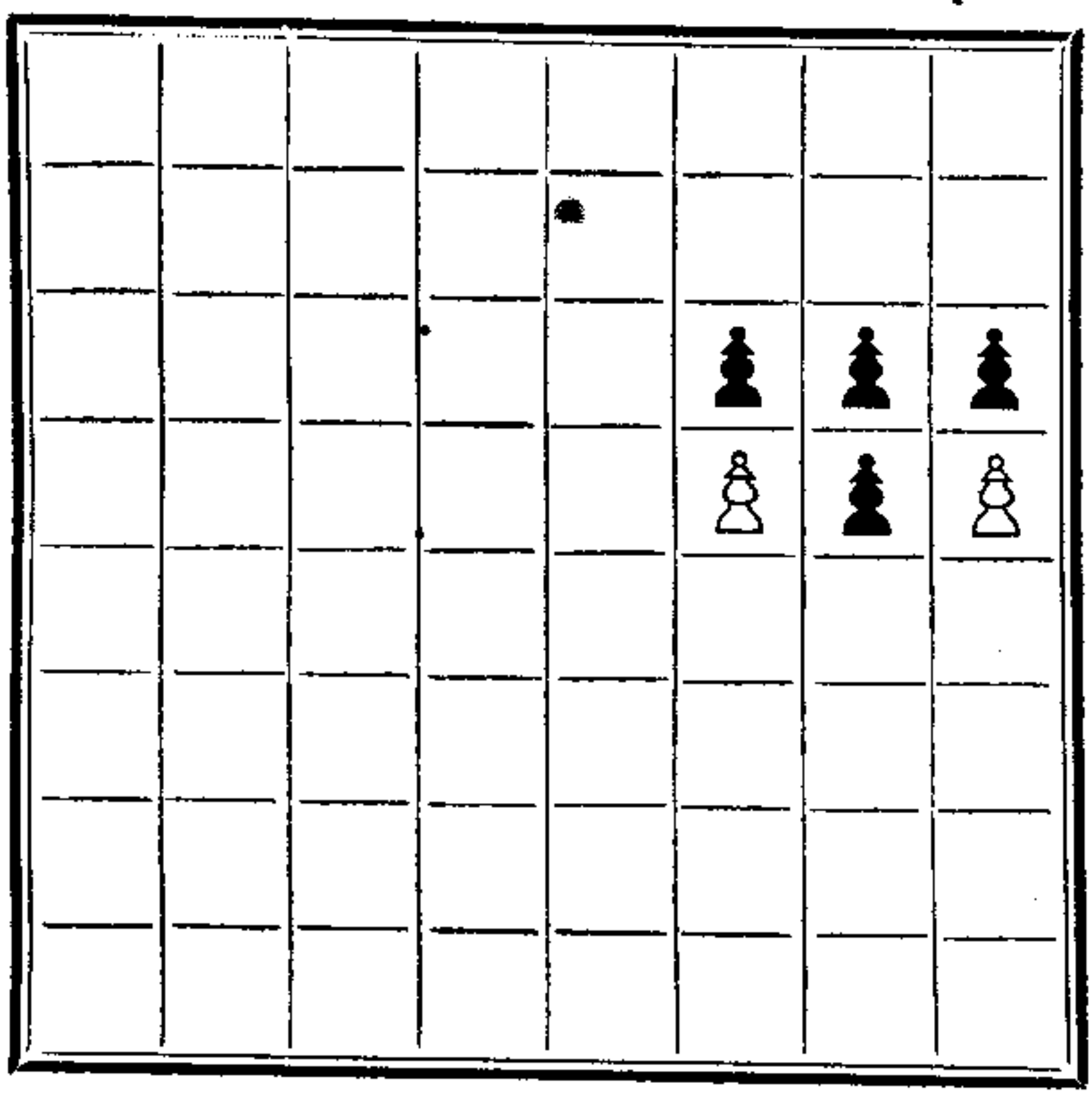
Similisque ligato Obligat ipse duos,

which neither Wernsdorf in his learned excursus to the passage of Bassus in question, nor Bekker in the essay on the Roman games appended to his Gallus,[1] appears to me satisfactorily to remove. Both of these writers draw a distinction between the actual capture itself, and the *alligatio;* and this distinction they explain by saying that the capture was effected when a man was caught between two others of the opposite colour to its own, while the *alligatio* consisted merely in so blocking up a piece, that it could not move without being necessarily captured, or, as we might say in the case of the king, without "going into check." Hence Wernsdorf remarks that, as one white man could be captured by two black men, so, on the other hand, two black pieces might be *alligati* by a single white one. It is very difficult to understand the latter branch of this proposition, unless we are prepared to admit that the same move which placed the white man (for example) *en prise*, at the same time had the effect of reducing both the capturing pieces to inactivity, an hypothesis which would bring every game to a speedy termination. With great deference to the high authority of both these learned Germans, and after a careful review of all that is to be found in ancient writers on the subject, I venture to propose the following explanation. I believe that the terms *alligatio* and *alligatus* uniformly express the operation of enclosing a single piece by two others of an opposite colour, and the position of a piece so circumstanced, respectively, but that the capture or escape of such enclosed piece entirely depended on the chance whether the player of the two pieces or his antagonist had the move at the particular time. It is clear from Sen. Ep. 117, 30 (ed. Tauchn.), that a piece which was *alligatus* might escape from the effects of the *alligatio*, and I am consequently led to believe that, in every passage in which that term occurs, it may be accurately rendered by our own familiar phrase "attacked." Starting with this conception, it will not be difficult with the aid of an ordinary Chessboard to render the two passages of Bassus quoted above intelligible and consistent.

[1] Sc. 10. Exc. 3.

DIAGRAM. I.

BLACK.



WHITE.

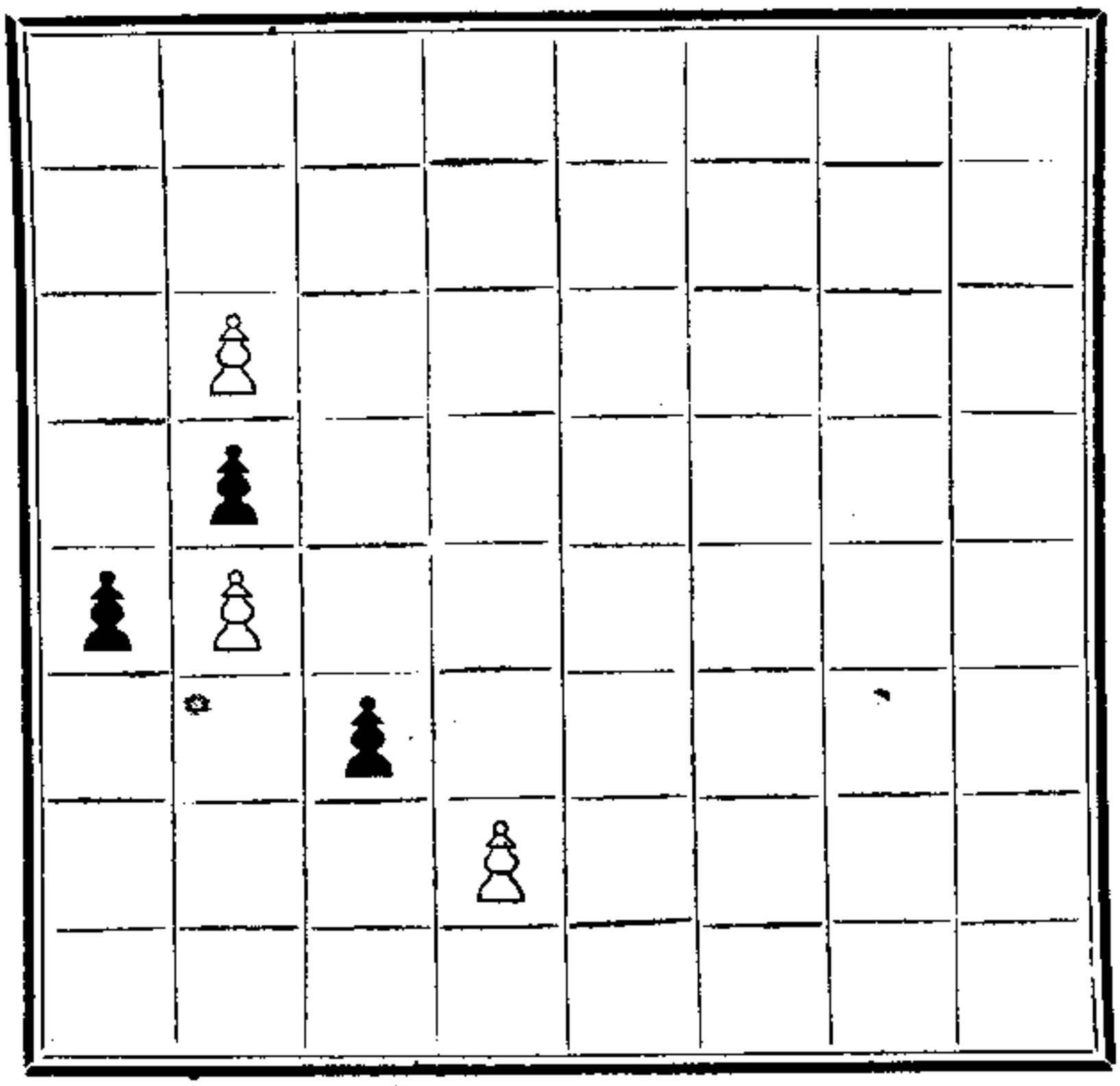
As an illustration of the first of the passages alluded to, (Diagram 1), place two white chess pawns on White's K. R. fifth and K. B. fifth (these squares are chosen merely by way of example), and let black men occupy the Black K. R. third, K. Kt. third and fourth, and K. B. third, and let us, moreover, suppose that White's last move was that which brought the white man to his K. B.'s fifth square. In this state of things it is evident that the black man on K. Kt. fourth is "en prise" or *alligatus* by White's forces, and might be taken[1] next move could White continue to play. Now, suppose Black to play from K. Kt. fourth to K. R. fifth, and it will be seen that by this manœuvre he not only escapes the threatened capture of his own man, but has also placed one of the attacking white men (viz., that on K. R. fifth) itself "en prise," and as, in consequence of the disposition of the pieces we have assumed,

[1] The actual capture itself I conceive to have been effected in a manner similar to what is termed "huffing" at draughts.

White has no mode of exit, it follows that the piece must be lost on its becoming Black's turn to play. The real difficulty in the passage lies in the word "rapit," which seems to imply that the capture was effected by the direct substitution of the taking for the taken piece, as with us, instead of being the result of position only, a conclusion to which all the other passages bearing on the game, both in Martial and Ovid, appear to point. The "quis non periturus perdidit hostem," unless it be a mere poetical flourish, and the *ἀνταναίρεσις* of Eustath. (p. 1397. 43,) may be thought to indicate the same thing. It is possible that both modes may have been employed together in some manner of which we can now hardly form a conjecture; but, in what precedes, I have preferred an explanation which has the merit of at least rendering the majority of passages in which the subject is alluded to in some sort consistent with each other, to an attempt at a conjectural restoration of the laws of the game, which, after all, could have no further claim to credibility than that it might be barely possible.

DIAGRAM II.

BLACK.



WHITE.

The second passage I have quoted may be illustrated (Diag. 2.) by simply supposing white pieces to occupy the white Q. second, Q. Kt. fourth, and Q. Kt. sixth squares; while black men are posted on the black Q. Kt. fourth, Q. R. fifth and Q. B. sixth, and that it being Black's turn to play, he moves from Q. R. fifth to Q. Kt. sixth. By this manœuvre, White's man on his Q. Kt. fourth *alligat*, or holds "en prise" the two unmoved black pieces, while it is itself in the same situation with regard to the two men on the black Q. Kt. fourth and sixth. I should not, perhaps, omit to state, that I have all along tacitly assumed that the Romans were in the habit of moving the pieces diagonally, a supposition which I shall hereafter show to be more than probable.

It must be borne in mind that I do not in any way undertake to assert unconditionally, that the positions I have here given by way of illustration were of ordinary occurrence, or indeed ever did or could occur at all, *modo et formâ*, in the Roman game. To do so would necessitate a far more intimate acquaintance with the other rules of the game than we are ever likely to possess, unless some long-buried mosaic or sculpture shall hereafter be brought to light, and enable us to re-peruse the brief allusions of ancient writers with clearer notions. Let any one who doubts this, and may at the same time be ignorant of the laws of Chess, read Vida's poem, "*Scacchia Ludus*"—a work a thousand times more full and explicit in the information it conveys than any of the passages to be found in the ancient Latin writers with respect to the *ludus latrunculorum*—and then let him try to construct for himself a code of Chess laws, or to exemplify on the board any of the manifold positions and stratagems so poetically described by the classical Italian. A comparison of the result of his labours with the rules of the game, as laid down in any standard Chess treatise, will probably, unless he be a second Deschapelles, convince him of the difficulty of the task. My object has been to render the few notices we have left to us consistent with themselves, which, if construed according to Bekker's and Wernsdorf's views, appear to me to involve irreconcileable contradictions. The illustrations I have given are simply possible positions, which satisfy all the passages which have occurred to me. I do not warrant the probability of their ever having actually happened, nor do I undertake to show by what series of moves the pieces may have been brought into the several situations

The Moves.—Our knowledge of the moves of the Roman pieces, such as it is, is derived mainly from a passage in the Origines of Isidorus Hispalensis, a writer who flourished in the early part of the seventh century. It runs as follows:—"Calculi partim ordine moventur, partim vagè; ideo alios ordinarios, alios vagos appellant; at vero qui moveri omnino non possunt, incitos dicunt."[1] It is assumed by Wernsdorf and others, that though apparently only *two* different modes of movement are mentioned in this passage, Isidorus really intended to describe *three*, one of which took place in a longitudinal direction (*recto limite*, as Ovid calls it[2]), a second laterally, and a third diagonally, the last of these being intimated, as he contends not without much plausibility, by the word *vagè*. As we know positively from Varro, that the board was divided into squares, I feel no reluctance to admit Wernsdorf's conjecture, but I would merely *en passant* observe, that the passage in question does not *in terms* compel us to believe in a transverse or lateral motion, though I agree that such licence did most probably exist; and secondly, that there is no positive certainty that the particular game I am now describing was referred to by Isidorus at all in the words quoted above. The only link between this passage and the other accounts of and allusions to this game, is the introduction of the word *calculus*, which is sometimes used by itself for the counter or piece used in the *ludus latrunculorum*, but which may equally well refer to the game hereafter to be described under the title of *ludus duodecim scriptorum*, and, in fact, does actually so refer in one or two places where there is no pretext for supposing that the former game is meant.[3] I do not by any means insist on these difficulties, but I mention them in order to show how little is *certainly* known respecting the game, and how much of what is written about it must necessarily be matter of pure conjecture or downright fiction. My own impression as to the word *vagè* is, that it signifies a style of movement identical with that of the modern King, viz., one square in every direction. I think it probable that the ancient pieces in no case had the power of advancing more than a single step at a time, partly from the want of allusion to more lengthened ranges, and chiefly because I believe that the additional complication thereby introduced into the calculations would have rendered the game far too abstruse and subtle for the ancient mind, which, though suffi-

[1] Isid. Orig. xviii. 67. [2] Trist. ii. 477.

[3] Petron. Arb. c. 33, ed. Burm.

ciently enamoured of metaphysical and mathematical profundities, seems (perhaps with some reason) to have been unable to appreciate any connection between recreation and mental exertion. The line of Bassus (v. 186.) "Longo venit ille recessu Qui stetit in speculis," does not militate against this idea, nor need we suppose that the piece so brought into action advanced otherwise than by single steps. With regard to the pieces termed *inciti* by Isidorus, I quite agree with Wernsdorf in thinking that this merely means pieces reduced to a standstill by *alligatio* or some other cause, and has no reference whatever to an imaginary "sacred line" beyond which the pieces could not move, and on reaching which they received a peculiar accession of power or value. This theory, which was first broached, I believe, by Salmasius, seems to have arisen from a desire to assimilate the Roman game as much as possible to our own, by the introduction of the most mysterious of all the operations of modern Chess, viz., that of "Queening" a pawn. Wernsdorf's examination of the word *incitus* and its senses is highly instructive and scholarlike, and will well repay a careful perusal.[1]

It will, I think, by this time be pretty evident to the attentive reader, that there is much in what has been stated, both in this and the preceding part of this essay, which would afford sufficient *prima facie* grounds for the opinion that a difference of form did in reality exist among the Roman pieces. It may be asked how, if, according to the expression of Isidorus, the pieces were moved in three different directions, those that were destined to act in one manner were distinguished from their companions whose line of motion was different. Again, the word *mandra* in the line of Bassus (v. 181), "Ut citus et fractâ prorumpat in agmina mandrâ," is explained by Wernsdorf to mean men or pieces of less value or power than the *latrones*,—pawns, as we should call them, and he imagines that their office was simply that of defending the pieces of their own colour, and perhaps of blocking up the exit of those on the other side, while the actual result of the game was decided by the manœuvres of the superior pieces. Martial certainly seems, in one passage, to countenance such an interpretation, in the lines

Sic vincas Noviumque Publiumque
Mandris et vitreo latrone clausos,[2]

though I do not admit this passage as decisive of the question. And

further, there are several passages of ancient writers, cited in the sequel, which at first sight may be thought to lend considerable weight to the opinion I am now considering.

I will now briefly state the one great difficulty which appears to me to stand in the way of these conclusions. I refer to the total absence of all allusion in Roman writers to any real variety of form among the pieces—a feature so prominent that had it ever existed, it could hardly have escaped some sort of notice. Turn to the poets of England, Italy, or Spain, who have ever touched upon or alluded to Chess, however incidentally, in their writings, and it will be found, that in nine passages out of ten, the point that has been seized and presented most forcibly to the reader, is one dependent on the peculiar names or forms given to the various pieces for its truth and meaning. But how many passages from Latin writers can be adduced, where even a metaphorical use of the nomenclature of Chess is to be found, or which give the slightest foundation for supposing that that game possessed any peculiar nomenclature at all? Yet it is difficult to suppose that the epigrammatic fancy of a Martial, who appropriated almost every available subject for his favourite style of composition, should have missed so fertile a field for the display of his wit, or that the genius of a Virgil, who did not disdain to render the whipping-top a classic game, should have failed to draw a simile from the fantastic and picturesque figures which meet and manœuvre on the Chess-board in mimic hostility. Surely we should hear of priceless Chess-men from the hand of a Myro or a Mentor, commanding at least as much notice from the poets as the rare cups and curious saltcellars, which meet us in every description of the cabinets or the dinner service of the Roman virtuoso. Nevertheless, "*conticuere omnes*," and I cannot but believe that this, though a purely æsthetical argument, will be quite as satisfactory to those who are in any degree acquainted with the spirit of the writers of old Rome, as any that may be dug up from amid the ponderous pages of a Casaubon or a Salmasius. I think, however, that independently of this ground, arguments may be advanced to meet most of the objections I have supposed. With regard to the first of them, even should we adopt the interpretation of the passage of Isidorus given above, we need not assume a different form for the pieces moving laterally from those moving longitudinally, if we only suppose the initial disposition of the pieces to have been similar to that which actually existed in the Chaturanga, a diagram of which is given at page 43 of this volume. Two of the armies, viz., the red and yellow,

may be supposed to be confined to merely lateral motion, while the other two, viz., black and green, are equally restricted in the other direction. The word *vagè* still remains, and though, perhaps, it is a mere speculation to attempt to fix its signification very definitely, it may mean that one of these sets of pieces, or that men occupying certain positions on the board, and under certain concurring conditions, had the power of moving diagonally. Then there is the argument founded upon the use of the word *mandra* in the passage of Bassus I have cited; and to this, if only it could be proved that the sense of that word contended for by Wernsdorf, is the correct one here, I am willing to concede whatever force may be supposed to attach to it; nor am I at this moment prepared to offer any preferable hypothesis. I cannot say, however, that his interpretation, even if parallel passages should be found to confirm the sense he assigns to *mandra*, is at all satisfactory to my mind, chiefly, perhaps, because the expressions which the poet here employs seem to me, on that supposition, to labour under a deficiency of poetical fitness and keeping, which does not accord with the general elegance of the other portions of the fragment. Had the *mandra* really signified a mere congeries of separate pawns or counters, I cannot but think that some different phraseology would have been made use of, which, if not absolutely in terms expressing, would yet have made the separate action—the personality, so to speak—of each pawn or counter felt and understood. If I were to hazard any conjecture, it would be that the line I have been speaking of, and that which follows it, "Clausaque dejecto populetur mœnia vallo," refer to some natural division or divisions of the board, each containing several squares,[1] like the river in the old Chinese game,[2] out of or into which the pieces passed under certain restrictions and conditions. This gives at once to *mandra* and *vallum* perfectly natural, and, in fact, their only legitimate meanings,[3] and at the same time renders the

[1] Salmasius, I think, suggested that the *mandræ*, in accordance with the proper and radical meaning of that word (that is, an enclosed space), signified nothing more than the squares themselves, to which Wernsdorf justly objects, that the lines dividing squares are merely lines of demarcation for the purposes of the game, not of defence, as the language of Bassus requires. This remark, however, though fatal to Salmasius's theory, would not apply to any great and principal division of the board, such as seems to have been the case in the example alluded to.

[2] See *Sat. Mag.*, vol. xviii. 3; vol. xix. 166.

[3] Mandra—*μάνδρα*—a pure Greek word, signifies in that language, firstly, a sheepfold, or enclosure; and secondly, the hollow of a ring where the stone

metaphorical language of the poet far more consistent in its terms with the action intended to be described.

Some few other passages of ancient writers remain to be noticed. Suetonius (Claud. 22) speaks of the Emperor Claudius as being accustomed to play at Chess with "ivory chariots on a board," whence some have inferred the existence of variety of form, though by what process of reasoning it is difficult to say. The passage merely shows that the counters were occasionally made in the form of chariots and other fantastic shapes, just as among ourselves costly figures, carved by Indian skill in the most delicate ivory, and representing men, elephants, &c., are substituted for the conventional, and I may add shapeless, pieces of the modern Chess Divan. Nothing in this passage points to any difference of form among these chariots or pieces themselves, however much they may have differed from those ordinarily in use. Again, Pliny (H. N. viii. 80, ed. Tauchn.), in a description of the sagacity of certain monkeys, tells us, on the authority of one Mucianus "(Simias) et latrunculis lusisse, fictas cerâ *iconas* usu distinguente." If this proves anything, it seems to show, in the most marked manner, that whatever these images (*icones*) may have been, they were at least identical in form, otherwise *usus* would hardly have been required to have enabled such gifted animals to distinguish their functions. It is a mere *petitio principii* to say that these latter words imply that practice enabled them to divine the moves and powers of the various pieces, for that the pieces were of various forms and powers is the very thing to be shown, and cannot fairly be assumed as a ground for preferring one of two equally probable interpretations. I fear, on the whole, though some stress has been laid on this passage, that Mucianus and his monkeys do not much help the question either way. The passage of Euripides (Iph. A. 196) has been noticed and explained already,[1] though, in order to guard against misapprehension, I may by a not uncommon transition, for the animals enclosed, as well as for the enclosure itself; and it is on this sense that Wernsdorf relies in support of his interpretation. It is to be observed, however, that in both the passages he cites to prove this use of the word (Juv. iii. 237, Mart. v. 22, 7.), the original sense of "enclosure" still adheres to the secondary or derivative, forming a sort of complex idea, which is easier felt than actually described. Thus the *stans mandra* of Juvenal is exactly our "cabstand," that is, not only a number of cabs, but a number of cabs in a certain defined space or locality. Is there any passage where *mandra* is used generally, as for "a flock of sheep," irrespective of *place* or *situation?* Yet such is the sense required here, if Wernsdorf's interpretation is correct.

[1] See note to page xx

just mention that by "complicated moves" I intended to express nothing more than the intricate combinations to which any system of moves, however simple in themselves, must in such a game give rise.

I have now gone through all the passages which have occurred to me in Latin authors, and which appear in any way to touch this question. I think that, looking at them fairly, there is not one (except, perhaps, that relating to the word *mandra*) which can be said to establish, or even to supply, anything like a definite ground for the belief that a difference of form did exist in the game we have been considering; and I think that the other arguments I have advanced, though appealing more directly to matters of taste and feeling, which of course affect different persons in different degrees, than to the strict weight of evidence, do yet go far to render the conclusion I am contending for probable. At the same time, it is but just to acknowledge that much of the evidence I have brought forward is of such a nature that a little ingenuity might cause it to assume a very different complexion, and to support, perhaps, even an opposite view to my own. This, however, is an invariable result in all investigations like the present, where we have not the facts themselves of a subject wherewith to elucidate the shadowy and faint allusions which meet and perplex us in the authors of former days, but are forced to content ourselves with the inverse process, as it were, of restoring conjecturally the substance by measuring and scanning the dim outlines it has projected in their writings.

In conclusion of this subject, it may be added, that the successful combatant in this game appears to have enjoyed the title of Imperator (Vopisc. Proc. 13),[1] and further that, in some way or other, the number of counters which each player retained aided in determining the victory (Sen. de Tranquill. 14), but this could only have been the case when the position of the pieces was such, that there was no chance of the game being decided in the ordinary way, which seems unquestionably to have been that of stalemate. The chance of winning a "drawn game" is often with us estimated in a similar manner.

Ludus Duodecim Scriptorum.—My notice of this game will be brief, as our information respecting it is but scanty, and it can have no pretensions whatever to rank as a genuine form of Chess. The board employed was, as we see by the appellation of the game itself,

[1] See the notes on this passage by Casaubon and Salmasius in the edition of the Hist. August. Scriptores, published in 1672.

divided by twelve lines, of which six were longitudinal and six transversal, thus enclosing—if the edges of the board were excluded in reckoning the number of the lines—49 squares or spaces—if included, 25 only. Dice were used to regulate the moves, and the privilege of retracing a move was also allowed; the phrases for advancing and retiring a man being *dare* and *reducere* respectively. I consider it to have been a rude kind of backgammon, the form of the board alone being different, and to have probably been decided in some analogous manner. A passage from Petronius (s. 33), which I have quoted above for a different purpose, shows distinctly that mere counters, as opposed to pieces, were exclusively used in this game, as with us at draughts: the words themselves are "pro calculis albis et nigris aureos argenteosque habebat denarios," which at once enable us to refer the game to its proper category, and manifest its true character.*

* The following references may be of service to those who wish to examine this subject further for themselves. Quinct. xi. 2 38, ed. Gesner. Ovid. A. A. ii. 203, iii. 363, and Cic. ap. Non. ii. p. 170.

APPENDIX C.

Page 83.—*Note* 1.

Description of Dr. J. Lee's two MSS. on Chess. By N. Bland, Esq.[1]

"Since the outline of these sheets was first sketched, I have been favoured with the perusal of two Arabic MSS., from the valuable collection of Dr. John Lee, and though they contribute no additional information of any extent on the subject of the Great Chess, they afford many interesting particulars on the practice of the usual game and on some points in connection with it. The more important of these two works on account of its antiquity, though possessing less variety in its details, is named the Nuzhatu arbābi 'l'ucúl fí-'l shatranji-mancūl,[2] and the author, who calls himself in his preface, Abū Zakarīa Yahyā Ibn Ibrahīm al Ḥakīm, describes it as a book on the invention and arrangement of Chess, compiled from various works. There is no division into chapters, but the usual subjects are discussed in the order observed by most Eastern writers, commencing with arguments in support of the lawfulness of the game, and testimonies in its favour from various writers. Its origin is explained according to the different stories already related in similar works, and among other fables respecting its invention, it is said to have been played first by Aristotle; by Yāfet ibn Nūh (Japhet, son of Noah); by Sām ben Nūh (Shem); by Solomon, as a

[1] Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. 13, p. 27, &c.

[2] "The Delight of the Intelligent, in description of Chess-play," MS., No. 146 of Dr. Lee's Catalogue of his Oriental collection, and No. 76 of the New Catalogue.—B.

consolation for the loss of his son; and even by Adam when he grieved for Abel.

Sayings of kings, sages, and physicians are quoted in praise of chess-play, including examples of some of the earliest Muslim doctors who either practised it or permitted it as harmless.

At the sixth page the classes (Tabaḳāt) of players are enumerated, and of those considered among the 'Āliyah, or highest class, are the names of Rabrab, Jābir, Abūl Na'īm, Al'Adalī, and Al Rāzī, the first and last of these being superior even to the others. The qualifications of the subordinate classes are also given, but no mention made of particular players among them.

At page 26 the value of the pieces is explained, agreeing in most of its conditions with the rules already quoted on the same subject; also the proportion of forces necessary to draw or win at the end of the game.

An extract from Al 'Adalī's work briefly describes the different kinds of Chess, of which the first is called the "Square Chess" being the "well-known game attributed[1] to India."

2ndly. "The Complete Chess, of which the board is 10 × 10, with four additional pieces in the same form, called Dabbāba, placed between the King and his Bishop and the Queen and Bishop on each side; their move that of the King, and their value half a dirham and a third of a dirham." Probably their value was proportioned to the side on which they stood.

Al Shatranj ul Rūmīya, which is said to be taken from the Hindīya or Indian game aforesaid. There is some difference between the powers of its Rook and Knight from those of the common Chess, and the Pawns do not queen, as (from its circular form) the board has no extremity. About seventy diagrams follow, exhibiting positions in the usual game, taken from the works of Al Adalī and Al Sūlī, with explanations; also three others exhibiting the mode of covering all the squares in succession by the Knight's move; the second mode is attributed to 'Alī ben Manī', and the third to Al 'Adali. Memorial lines are given for the rule. About twenty pages of the MS. are then devoted to extracts in verse on Chess, selected from various authors. There is no note of the scribe's name, nor period or place of writing. The copy, however, is evidently of considerable antiquity.

A second Arabic MS. in the same collection is entitled "Anmūzaj ul Ḳatāl,[1] which might be interpreted "Exemplum rei militariæ." It was transcribed in the month Rajab, A.H. 850 = 1446. A short preface, commencing with allusions to Chess and its praise as an amusement of kings and great men, proceeds to the title of the work and its arrangement, which is into an introduction and eight chapters, coinciding with the number of the rows of squares, so that "each Bait (or house) may have its Báb (door, or chapter); also a Khātima, or Conclusion. The contents are then enumerated.

The Introduction relates examples, similarly with the treatment of the same subject in other works of the early Muhammedan doctors, and even of Companions and Followers of the Prophet, who either themselves played chess or were spectators of the game. Some of these are also said to have played "behind their back," *i. e.*, without looking at the board. Conditions are laid down respecting the lawfulness of chess-play, which according to some were three; viz., that the player should not gamble (play for money), nor delay prayer at the appointed times; and that he should keep his tongue from ribaldry and improper conversation. Some of the Sháfiâh sect made the conditions four: not to play on the road; nor for a stake; nor to talk frivolously; nor to be estranged by it from the times of prayer. The sect of Al Shāfi'ī seems to have been the only one at all indulgent to chess-play, the other three Imams condemning it absolutely and unconditionally, while Abū Hanīfa would not even salute a person playing it, nor return his salutation. The argument is continued on the respective merits of Chess and Nerd as to lawfulness; this chiefly depended on the games being played for money or not, for where both were played for a stake, Chess was by many considered still more blameable than Nerd. The Introduction is concluded by a short chapter on the spelling of the word *Shatranj*, quoting as authorities the "Durrat ul Ghawwās,"[2] Al Safadi, and others. Shitranj is stated to be the more correct spelling, but Shatranj said to be the more usual. It is also discussed whether S or Sh should commence the word, and

[1] No. 147 of the Old Catalogue, and 77 of the New. The author of the Anmūzaj, Ibn Abī Hajlah, composed also the history of Egypt, entitled Sukkerdán, Sugar-Bason. "Ahmed ben Yahya Tilimsáni, vulgo Ibn Abi Hejla, ob. 776 = 1374." (Fluegel's Haj. Khalf, 7191.)—B.

[2] A grammatical treatise by the celebrated Harīrī.—B.

Shatrān, Satrān, Shash-rang and Sad-ranj, are offered as etymologies in support of the various orthographies.[1]

The 1st Chapter, "On the Invention of Chess," gives five stories, which are mostly those already known from other works; there is, however, one rather different from the usual accounts, relating it to have been invented for certain kings of Hind, who were wise men and unwilling to go to war, and for whom Chess was proposed as a sort of peace-arbitration by which to settle their disputes. Another version is that Nerd having been invented to prove to a king that mankind were slaves of chance, and their actions compulsory, some philosopher arranged the game of Chess to show that destiny was tempered by free will. The usual reward in corn is claimed by the inventor, and a separate section treats of its application in arithmetic, according to different methods. The first is the same given by Ibn Khallican;[2] a second, with a diagram, is taken from a work called Muházarát ul Udaba; another is calculated in dirhems; a fourth, from the Durrat ul Muzīya, in lunar years, and the last, by another author, makes the calculation in distances of miles.

Chapter 2nd divides chess players into the usual five classes, of which the 'Āliya is said never to contain three in any one age. The Mutaḳāriba, or second class, is inferior to the 'Āliya by a Knight's Pawn on the Queen's side, or by a Rook's Pawn; between the 3rd class and the highest there are the odds of a Queen; the 4th receives from the 1st something more than a Queen and less than a Knight; the 5th receives a Knight, and the 6th a Rook, and he who reqnires greater odds is not considered a player. Two other sections of this chapter describe the respective value of the pieces, and their powers.

Chapter 3rd gives an extract of eight pages from Al Sūli's work, which it is difficult to abridge without injustice to the importance of its contents. Some of the maxims are those found in our treatise on the game, but there are also many practical rules applying only to Chess as modified by Eastern laws, and very interesting as a specimen of these peculiar tactics. Al Sūli's instructions are commented by the author who has extracted them, showing in nine pages their illustration from war or history.

Chapter 4th sets forth the qualifications necessary for a chess-

[1] The origin of the word is simply *Chaturanga*; the above etymologies are mere pucrilities.—F.

[2] In the life of Abú Bekr al Súlí. See Vol. III of De Slane's Translation, p. 71.—B.

player, and especially treats of the proper times and seasons for playing, the best being considered to be when rain falls. The four temperaments[1] are associated with four of the pieces, the King, Queen, Elephant, and Rukh; and Hippocrates and Galen are quoted for cures effected by Chess.

Chapter 5th is anthological, and contains extracts in prose and verse, from various authors, in praise or blame of Chess.

In the 6th chapter the Complete Chess is mentioned, the account of it being taken from the Arabic work last described, or probably, both from an earlier treatise. Another variety is called Shatranjī Sa'īdīya, of which the arrangement is said to be similar to the Complete Chess, except that its squares are eight, as in the Indian or common game. In the Shatranjī Sa'īdīya, the Pawns are not allowed to queen. Other games are the Shatranjī Memdúda, and Rūmīya, of the former of which a diagram is given in the MS.

The second part of this chapter describes several ingenious games and amusements on the chess-board. The first is Mikhráḳ ul Rukh, a trial of skill between two players, with one Rook each; another, with the two Knights. In a third, the Rook alone is played against all the Pawns. Two other games are, to take all the Pawns in as many moves with the Knight, the Pawns in one example being placed diagonally across the board. In the Mikhrāḳ ul Afyál, the Bishops are to take all the men in a certain number of moves; and the last is the Mikhrāḳ ul Bayādaḳ, by Al Sūli, in which the eight Red Pawns placed on the line of the pieces, are to move, one by one, in four moves of the Knight each, into the corresponding squares on the Black side. A sequel to these games is the well-known problem of the Ship, first as described by Safadi, and then in other varieties. (Hyde, p. 23.)

The chapter following contains anecdotes of Chess, of which those of two blind players, and some others, have been already related by Hyde. The earlier part of the 8th chapter seems wanting, or at least does not correspond with the title; the few poetical extracts given are on the love of travel and its advantages, exemplified by the success of the Pawn, which becomes a chief when he leaves his own country. At the close of each of these eight chapters is found a selection of Manṣūbas, in diagram and in explanation, though their distribution in different parts of the treatise does not

[1] The Warm, the Cold, the Wet, and the Dry, which correspond with the four component parts of the human frame, and are introduced by Arabian doctors into the whole system of Physics.—B.

seem regulated by any intention beyond that of dividing them in portions. The conclusion of the whole work is a Maḳāma Shatranjīya, in rhetorical prose, similar to that of the celebrated Maḳámahs or Discourses of Harīrī, and forming a curious addition to the numerous imitations of that style which have been composed on other subjects. This Chess Maḳámah is dedicated by the author to the Sultan Malik ul 'Ādil, prince of Mārdīn, and was composed by him as a sequel to another Maḳāma of his in honour of Al Malik ul Nāsir Ḥasan."

NOTE.—I stated, in page 83, that there was a "bare possibility" of my having the perusal of Dr. Lee's Arabic MSS. in time for the Appendix. Again my expectations have been disappointed. I have, therefore, here inserted Mr. Bland's description of them, which will serve two purposes at once. In the first place, the reader will be enabled to form some idea of their value; and secondly, this account of them may at some future period lead to their recovery should they by any chance be offered for sale either here or abroad.—D. F.

APPENDIX D.

Chess among the Irish.

THAT the Irish may have received the game of Chess from the Danes and Norwegians in the tenth or eleventh century is quite possible; but it is much more likely that it was introduced among them by the Anglo Normans in the twelfth or following century. To pretend, as their chroniclers do, that they were acquainted with the game in the first century of the Christian æra is simply absurd. As the subject, however, is *very curious*, to say the least of it, I here lay before the reader a few extracts to that effect from highly reputable Irish writers, to which I append a few notes and comments of my own; the same notes being marked F.

Let us commence then with an extract from the History of Ireland by the Abbé Mac-Geoghegan[1] written in French some hundred years ago, and since then done into English. The Abbé, unlike most Hibernian chroniclers,[2] contents himself with, comparatively speak-

[1] The History of Ireland, Ancient and Modern, taken from the most authentic Records, and dedicated to the Irish Brigade, by the Abbé Mac-Geoghegan; translated from the French, by Patrick O'Kelly, Esq.; large 8vo., Dublin, 1844.

[2] For example, mark the laughable pretensions held forth in the announcement of a work published some forty years ago by "the O'Connor"—viz., "The Chronicles of Eri; being a faithful translation from Ancient Phœnician Manuscripts, containing the History of the Scythian-Iberian Colonies in Gallicia, from the years 1491 B.C. to 1006 B.C.; and in Ireland from 1006 B C. to 15 B.C.; with the Laws, Religions, Manners, and the National and Political Events of that People, circumstantially narrated during 1,476 years, and in a general manner 4,000 years previously"!!! Well, now, here we have the *authentic* history of

ing, a very moderate point of antiquity at which he considers the *authentic* history of Ireland ought to begin. He starts from the reign of King Kimbaoth, only about 350 years before Christ, observing, with remarkable candour, that "the monuments of the Irish before *that* period [1] are both uncertain and doubtful;" and to say the truth, we of this benighted land of the Saxon, would feel strongly inclined to apply a similar remark anent the said "monuments," even if the reverend author had commenced his story at a period some 1,500 years nearer our own time. To proceed, however, the Abbé tells us that there reigned in Ireland from A.D., 118, to A.D., 148, a king by name Cathir Mòr. This king, like a good Christian, left in writing a will or testament, whereof the following is an authentic copy. The Abbé states, p. 82.

"The will of Cathire More, cited by O'Flaherty, who mentions, to have *seen it in writing*, and to which Rossa Failge, his eldest son,[2] was executor, is the only thing curious in the reign of this monarch. I merely introduce it here to show the singular taste of those ancient times: this will contains the different legacies he had left to his children, and the nobility of Leinster.[3] To Breasal-Eineachglass, his son, he left five ships of burden; fifty embossed bucklers, ornamented with a border of gold and silver; five swords with golden handles, and five chariots drawn by horses. To Fiacha-Baiceada,

Ireland from 1,006 years before Christ, to 15 B.C., and, "*in a general manner*" 4,000 years previously—that is—this very *Irish* history commences 5,006 years before Christ, or about 1,000 years before the creation of the world! Here, I need not add any *comment*. This magniloquent notice is given out by the publisher, Sir Richard Phillips, in the fly-leaf to an edition of the "Poems of Ossian," 2 vols. 8vo., London, 1822; and we are there further told that "the ancient rolls from which these translations have been made, have for many centuries been in possession of the O'CONNOR family, and various specimens of them are deposited with the publisher for the inspection of the curious." In the preface to the "Chronicles," page x. there is a very *significant* hint given to such Anglo-Saxon critics as may start objections to their authenticity, viz., "The objectors may rely upon it, that *satisfactory answers* shall be given to all doubts and suspicions."—F.

[1] The reader will be pleased to bear in mind that Kimbaoth is the 77th in the list of monarchs that reigned in Ireland since the first landing there of the Milesians. Let us allow the average duration of a reign to have been twenty-five years, we are led back to a period beyond the building of Babel; and consequently the Irish language is the pure idiom that was spoken by Noah and his predecessors up to Adam.—F.

[2] It is not quite clear to me whether this be the eldest son of Cathir Mòr, or that of O'Flaherty. I think the latter the more likely.—F.

[3] Ogyg. part 3, c. 59.

another son, he left fifty drinking-cups; fifty barrels[1] made of yew-tree: fifty piebald horses, with the bits of the bridles made of brass. He left to Tuathal-Tigech, son of Main, his brother, ten chariots drawn by horses; five play tables; five chess boards; thirty bucklers, bordered with gold and silver, and fifty polished swords. To Daire-Barrach, another of his sons, he left one hundred and fifty pikes, the wood of which was covered with plates of silver; fifty swords of exquisite workmanship; five rings of pure gold; one hundred and fifty great coats of fine texture, and seven military colours. To Crimothan he bequeathed fifty billiard-balls of brass, with the pools and cues of the same material, ten tric-tracs of exquisite workmanship; twelve chess boards with chess men. To Mogcorf, son of Laogare Birnbuadhach, he left a hundred cows spotted with white, with their calves, coupled together with yokes of brass; a hundred bucklers; a hundred red javelins; a hundred brilliant lances; fifty saffron-coloured great-coats; a hundred different coloured horses; a hundred drinking cups curiously wrought: a hundred barrels made of yew-tree; fifty chariots of exquisite workmanship; fifty chess-boards; fifty tables used by wrestlers; fifty trumpets; fifty large copper boilers, and fifty standards, with the right of being a member of the council of state of the king of Leinster. Lastly, he bequeathed to the king of Leix, a hundred cows; a hundred bucklers; a hundred swords, a hundred pikes, and seven standards. Cathire, having reigned thirty years, was killed at the battle of Moyacha, near Tailton, in Meath."

Now we have just seen that Cathir Mòr reigned thirty years, and in the paragraph following, the Abbé tells us that he was succeeded in A.D. 148, by a terribly pugnacious fellow called Conn Ceadcatha,[2] that is, "Conn of the hundred battles." This proves that Cathir Mòr must have begun his reign at least as early as A.D. 118, yet strange to say, the Abbé is oblivious of these trifles, for he makes it commence in A.D. 144.

Our next extract on this subject is still more interesting. It is taken from a work published some thirteen years ago in Dublin, by John O'Donavan, Esq., author of our best Irish Grammar, and one of our first Celtic scholars. The work is entitled "Leabhar na g-Ceart," or, "The Book of Rights," with translation and notes.

[1] Not being well versed in ancient Irish history, I am at a loss to make out the peculiar value of the "fifty barrels made of yew tree." In England the yew tree would have been made into *bows*. I have, however, strictly adhered to the text.—F.

[2] The Abbé calls him Conn of the *hundred victories*—not necessarily true.—F.

The manuscripts from which the text is edited date from 1390 to 1418, and the work contains repeated allusions to the game called "Fithcheall," which is uniformly translated *Chess*. In the introduction to the work the learned editor has the following brief notice of what he calls, "*Chess among the ancient Irish.*"

"The frequent mention of chess in this work shows that chess-playing was one of the favourite amusements of the Irish chieftains. The word *Fithcheall* is translated "tabulæ lusoriæ," by O'Flaherty, where he notices the bequests of Cathair Mòr, monarch of Ireland, *Ogygia*, p. 311. In Cormac's Glossary, the *Fithcheall* is described as "quadrangular, having straight spots of black and white."[1] It is referred to in the old Irish stories and historical tales extant, as in the very old one called Tochmarc Etaine,[2] preserved in "Leabhar na h-Uidhri," a Manuscript of the twelfth century, in which the "Fithcheall" is thus referred to:

"'What is thy name?' said Eochaidh. 'It is not illustrious,' replied the other, 'Midir of Brigh Leith.' 'What brought thee hither?' said Eochaidh. 'To play fithchcall with thee,' replied he. 'Art thou good at fithcheall?' said Eochaidh. 'Let us have the proof of it,' replied Midir. 'The Queen,' said Eochaidh, 'is asleep, and the house in which the fithcheall is belongs to her.' 'There is here', said Midir, 'a no worse fithcheall.' This was true, indeed: it was a board of silver and pure gold,[3] and every angle was illuminated with precious stones, and a man-bag of woven brass wire. Midir then arranges the fithcheall. 'Play,' said Midir. 'I will not, except for a wager,' said Eochaidh. 'What wager shall we stake?' said Midir, 'I care not what,' said Eochaidh. 'I shall have for thee,' said Midir, 'fifty dark grey steeds, if thou win the game."'

[1] This definition is not quite so luminous as those of Euclid. What are we to understand by "straight spots of black and white?"—F

[2] I regret that I have it not in my power to inform the reader how many thousand years have elapsed since this Chess "partie" took place.—F.

[3] This must have occurred in the palmy days of Irelard, alluded to by our facetious friend "Michaelis Liber," alias "Mikey Free," who thus learnedly *discoorses* on the subject with the Major—"The song, your honour, is on the praise and glory of ould Ireland, in the great days that's gone, when we were all Phenayceans and Armenians, and when we worked all manner of beautiful contrivances in goold and silver; bracelets and collars, and tay-pots, illigant to look at; and read Roosian and Latin, and played the harp and the barrel-organ, and ate and drank of the best, for nothing at all but the asking." "Blessed times, upon my life," quoth the Major, "I wish we had them back again." "There's maybe more o' your mind," said Mike.—F.

"The Editor takes this opportunity of presenting to the reader four different views of the same piece, an ancient chess-man—a king—found in Ireland, which is preserved in the cabinet of his friend, George Petrie, LL.D.; he has never discovered in the Irish MSS. any full or detailed description of a chess-board and its furniture, and he is, therefore, unable to prove that pieces of different forms and powers, similar to those among other nations, were used by the Irish, but he is of opinion that they were. From the exact similarity, as well in style as in material, on the original, to those found in the Isle of Lewis, and which have been so learnedly illustrated by Sir Frederic Madden, in an Essay published in volume xxiv. of the Archæologia, the Editor is disposed to believe that the latter may be Irish also, and not Scandinavian, as that eminent antiquary supposed. It would, at all events, seem certain that the Lewis chessmen and Dr. Petrie's are contemporaneous, and belonged to the same people; and no Scandinavian specimens, as far as the Editor knows, have been as yet found, or at least published, which present anything like such a striking identity in character. Dr. Petrie's specimen was given to him about thirty years ago by the late Dr. Tuke, a well-known collector of antiquities and other curiosities in Dublin; and, as that gentleman stated, was found with several others some years previously, in a bog in the county of Meath."

"The fear fithchille, or chessman, is also frequently referred to in old tales, as in the very ancient one called Tain bo Cuailgne, in which the champion Cuchullainn is represented as killing a messenger, who had told him a lie, with a "Fear Fithchille" *i.e.*, chess-man."[1]

"Cuchullainn and his own charioteer, Loegh, son of Riangabhra, were then playing chess. 'It was to mock me,' said he, 'thou hast told a lie about what thou mistakest not.' With that he cast [one] of his chessmen at the messenger, so that it pierced to the centre of his brain."[2]—*Leabhar na h-Uidhri.*

Again, in a romantic tale in the same MS., the *fear fithchille* is thus referred to:—

"Though great and illustrious was Loeghaire, he fitted on the palm of one hand of the man who had arrived as would a one-year-old boy, and he rubbed him between his two palms, as the *fear*

[1] This means in English that Cuchullainn "is represented as killing with a Chessman, a messenger who had told him a lie."—F.

[2] Here is one of our good old-fashioned moves to which we alluded in page 169—just the sort of move we might expect on the part of Cuchullainn.—F.

fithchille is drawn in a *tairidin*."[1] See also battle of Magh Rath pp. 36, 37.

REMARKS.

The fac-simile of the Chess King above alluded to by Mr. O'Donovan, is two inches and very nearly nine-tenths of an inch in height; and about $1\frac{3}{10}$ of an inch in breadth as viewed from the back or front. It is carved of bone, of very close texture; and bears no small resemblance to some of the Lewis chessmen in the British Museum, described by Sir Frederic Madden, who, were he to see this relic, would in all probability determine its age and country. At the same time I cannot help thinking that Mr. O'Donovan's inference is a little Irish, to say the least of it—viz., that "the Lewis Chessmen are Irish also, and not Scandinavian, as Sir Frederic supposed." He overlooks the serious fact, that the presence of one stray swallow does not constitute a summer; and even if the whole set of chessmen to which this solitary king belonged, had been discovered, it would not have proved that these had been *carved* in Ireland.

It is, however, quite needless for us to enter into any argument on this subject till it is satisfactorily shewn that the Irish word "Fitheheall" really denoted the game of Chess. Mr. O'Donovan himself candidly confesses that, "he has never discovered in the Irish MSS. any full or detailed descriptions of a chess board and its furniture; and he is therefore unable to prove that pieces of different forms and powers similar to these among other nations, were used by the Irish, but he is of opinion that they were." As the case stands then, with regard to Irish Chess, we may safely say with Sir Frederic Madden that, "the fact is *not proven;*" and we may further state, though it may sound somewhat paradoxical, that even if the fact *were* proven, the more *improbable* would it become. It would simply lead into an inextricable dilemma, viz., either that the ancient Irish invented the game of Chess independent of the Hindūs; or that in ancient times, say two to three thousand years ago, the Irish must have had intercourse with India. Both of these suppositions are utterly inadmissible. The probability that two indivi-

[1] I regret to say that I am quite unable to *do* this extract into English, far less to offer even a conjecture as to the meaning of the word *tairidin*.—F

duals should, independent of one another, have each invented so scientific and complex a game as Chess, is certainly not above *one* to a *hundred millions*. Again, the supposition that the ancient Irish knew anything of India or of the Hindūs, who *did* invent the game, is equally absurd and extravagant.

APPENDIX E.

Chess among the Welsh.

The Welsh, as far back as the reign of King Arthur, had a game called TAWLBWRDD, *i.e.*, "*Throw-board.*" Modern writers and translators have converted this term into "Chess," just as they treated the "Ludus Latrunculorum" of the Romans. The same objections apply to this early Welsh Chess, as those we have just stated with regard to the Irish, with this difference however, that the "Tawlbwrdd" is proved *not* to have been Chess. A very able communication on this subject was addressed to the Editor of "The Chess Player's Chronicle" (vol. 2nd), which that gentleman has kindly permitted me to subjoin, viz.:—

"*To the Editor of the Chess Player's Chronicle.*

"SIR,—Will you permit me to occupy a brief space in your admirable journal, with the discussion of a topic closely allied to the object to which it is dedicated. Sir Frederic Madden, in his very elaborate and erudite 'Essay on Chess Antiquities,' endeavours to establish the prevalency of Chess in Northern and Western Europe long prior to the time of the Crusades, but he observes, 'I do not here insist on the claims of the Irish Chronicles to belief, * * *; nor on the more positive testimony of the Welsh laws of Howel Dha (about A.D. 943), which speak of some species of game played with black and white men (*werin*) on a table-board (*tawlbwrdd*). In both instances I shall consider the fact *not proven;* since it cannot be reconciled with the statements of Oriental writers, nor with the chro-

nology of the game. Besides these objections, the meaning of the terms employed is by no means certain; and may, with far greater probability, be referred to the game of tables or draughts than to Chess.' He adds, in a note, with respect to the Welsh game, 'The board was made of ivory, bone, or horn; and the game was played with eight men only on each side.'

"In a highly valuable edition of the 'Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales,' recently prepared and published with the sanction of the Record Commissioners, the subjoined annotation appears, among the Glossary of Welsh Terms :—'TAWLBWRDD (*tawl-burdd*) *throw-board*. This game was played with sixteen white men against a black king with eight black men. The nature of their disposition upon the board and their moves appear to be unknown.' In the body of the laws, there are several regulations affecting the value and donation of throw-boards. From these, some slight information may be gleaned with regard to the game itself, Venedotian Code, b. 1, c. 11, § 6, 'He' (the judge of the court) 'is to have a throw-board of the bone of a sea animal from the king, and a gold ring from the queen, and another from the bard of the household; and these trinkets he is neither to sell nor to give away whilst he lives.' Dimetian Code, b. 1, c. 14, § 20, 'the king is to confer upon him' (the judge of the court) 'his office, if satisfied with him, and instal him in a seat appropriate for him; then ornamental trinkets are to be given him, a throw-board by the king, and gold ring by the queen; and let him neither give nor sell them.'[1] Again, Venedotian Code, b. 1, c. 14, § 8, 'He' (the bard of the household) 'is to have a throw-board, of the bone of a sea-animal, from the king, and a gold ring from the queen.' And again, Gwentian Code, b. 1, c. 35, § 18, 'If the king be holding court in his canghellorship, he' (the canghellor) 'receives, on entering into office, a gold ring, a harp, and a throw board, from the king.' Welsh Laws, b. 5, c. 1, § 1, 'the duty of the canghellor is to stand and to be in the place of the king during his presence, and during his absence, in every thing; and his cross is an effective cross; and his interdiction is an effective interdiction; and he is to receive from the king a gold ring and a harp and a throw-board, when he is invested with his office; and he is to keep them whilst he shall live.'

"The foregoing provisions relate to the presentation of the throw-board, as a badge or ensign of office. The following determine its

[1] There is a similar provision in Gwentian Code, b. 1, c. 13, § 24.

value, under different circumstances; and they serve to show the materials of which it was composed, and the classes of society by whom it was chiefly used. Dimetian Code, b. 2, c. 35, §§ 15—20, 'The king's throw-board is six score pence in value; a throw-board of the bone of a sea-animal is three score pence in value; a throw-board of any other bone is thirty pence in value; a throw-board of a hart's antler twenty-four pence; a throw-board of a bullock's horn twelve pence; a throw-board of wood four legal pence.' Gwentian Code, b. 2, c. 18, §§ 2—10, 'The king's throw-board, his harp, and his cloak, are each six score pence in worth: the king's throw-board of a bullock's horn is twenty-four pence in value; a breyr's throw-board is three score pence in value; of wood, is fourpence in value; a taeog's throw-board is thirty pence in value; a throw-board of a stag's horn is twelve pence in value.' Welsh Laws, b. 5, c. 2, § 149. 'The throw-board of the king is six score pence in value, and it is thus shared—three score upon the white men, and three score upon the king with his men; to be thus shared—thirty pence upon the king and thirty upon his men, that is, three pence and three-farthings upon each of the men of the king; and the like amount upon each one of the white men: the king is valued at as much as eight men, because as much is played with him as with the eight men; and the half of that is the worth of the throw-board of an uchelwr.'[1]

"Lastly, there are these miscellaneous regulations concerning throw-boards:—Welsh Laws, b. 14, c. 19, § 7,[2] "Three pledges free to use, before they lapse: a milch cow, a harp, and a throw-board; for they will not be worse on that account.' Also, b. 14, c. 3, § 29, 'Three things which the youngest son is to have, in preference to his brothers, besides the privileged tyddyn,[3] and the buildings between which wind does not pass: one is a harp, a second is a throw-board, a third is a coulter.'

"Whether the article designated *Tawl-burdd* was a Chess-board, and the game in which it was employed was Chess, is the problem to be solved. The inquiry is highly interesting, as involving the date

[1] A *Breyr* and an *Uchelwr* were freemen of a superior rank; a *Taeog* was a husbandman, probably corresponding with the Saxon churl and the Norman villain. Laws of a similar purport may likewise be found in Venedotian Code, b. 3, c. 22, §§ 12, 23—16, and 207; Leges Walliæ, lib. 2, cap. 8, §§ 29—34; Leges Howeli Boni, lib. 1, cap. 22, § 9, and cap. 37, §§ 27—33.

[2] Likewise, b. 9, c. 38, § 13.

[3] The *Tyddyn* was the smallest territorial division.

of the introduction of Chess into Western Europe.[1] The particular year of the promulgation of the laws of Howel Dha, is a question vexed among antiquaries. It seems, however, to be assigned by all to the earlier half of the tenth century; the conjectural periods severally falling within a range of years extending from A.D. 914 to A.D. 943. Was, then, the game of *Tawl-burdd* the game of Chess?

"This mysterious board and a gold ring were presénted as ensigns of office, to the Judge of the Court, to the Bard of the household, and to the Canghellor or Cancellarius. While the gold ring, by its material and its form, might typify the purity which should ever distinguish the sentiments of the poet, the decisions of the judge, and the transactions of the king's representative; in like manner, the throw-board, by the nature of its use, might serve to indicate the mental ability which was no less needful for the adequate discharge of those officers' various functions. For their duties, it is obvious, exacted from them superior acumen and acquirements; and it may, therefore, admit of a plausible conjecture, that the game, whose instruments were, in these instances, adopted as the official symbols or insignia, was one marked out from other sports by its peculiar requisition of judgment and skill: and in this we might discover an attribute analogous to the chief characteristic of Chess.

"Moreover, the game of Tawl-bwrdd possessed these elements in common with Chess,—that it was played upon a board, and with pieces denominated, and therefore probably representing, men. But it also appears that there were sixteen white men on the one side, and a king and eight men on the other; and that the force of the king in play was equal to the power of eight men. Sir Frederic Madden would seem to be in error, in describing the game as having been played "with eight men only on each side." The whole of the pieces were worth, collectively, 120 pence.[2] The white men were worth 60, and the king and his men 60, pence. The king was worth 30, and his men collectively 30, pence. And each man (both of white men and of king's men) was separately valued at $3\frac{3}{4}$ pence. Consequently, there must have been sixteen white men, eight king's

[1] I trust I have satisfactorily shewn that Chess had been introduced into Western Europe at least a century and a half prior to the promulgation of the laws of Howel Dha. The main question however, is, as the author states—"was the game of Tawl-burdd the game of Chess?" a question to which, from the author's own shewing, our answer must be in the negative.—F.

[2] It is curious to observe the perfect identity of this mode of representing the relative value of the pieces, with that adopted by the Arabs and Persians (v. p. 95).—F.

men, and one king.[1] The facts thus elicited, as to the numbers of the men and the powers of the king, exhibit decisive points of distinction between Throw-board and Chess. Although, counting pawns, the Chess men on each side amount to sixteen; yet the *werin y tawlbwrdd* presented that number on one side only, and included twice as many men on that side as on the other. Moreover, on the throw-board there was but one king, and he was as powerful as eight men. And, as the king is said to be worth as much as eight men in money, *because* he was worth as much as eight men in play, it may be inferred that the several men, being identical in value, were likewise equivalent in force. The term *werin*, which in the Welsh tongue signifies *the common people*, lends an additional colour to this suggestion. The game of Tawl-bwrdd, therefore, could not have been Chess, according to the modern application of the word.

"But, in Welsh, *Tawl* is *a throw;* and *Tawl-bwrdd*, in its literal meaning, is *a throw-board*. This interpretation would seem to indicate that dice were employed in the conduct of the game; and perhaps might lead us to select *Backgammon* as its lineal descendant. Dr. Wotton has advanced a similar hypothesis, but on different grounds. In his *Glossarium*, he writes:[2] 'Tawlbwrdd—Mensa lusoria, similis, abaco qui in ludo Scacchiæ usurpatur. Occurrit inter domestica nobilium utensilia.—Lib. iii. cap. 7. Cui autem ludo destinatus erat hic abacus, incertum. Latrunculis ex utraque parte usos fuisse lusores constat, et ad Scacchiæ ludum proxime accedere videtur, quæ post Romanorum adventum nobis forsan innotuit. Crediderim quidem ludum quem nos anglice vocamus *Backgammon* hic designari, ni latrunculorum numerus obstiterit: Hujusce enim lusus nomen est purum putumque Wallicum, Cammon, prælium, Bach, parvum, quasi Prælioium. A Wallis igitur ad nos hunc ludum provenisse est verisimillimum.' But the Doctor's etymology is at best very doubtful; for *Bach* and *Cammon* (or *Cammawn*) do not appear to have been ever combined into an actual word by the Welsh themselves, and such a combination by a foreign people is highly improbable, and, indeed, altogether inad-

[1] "Sir Frederic Madden states that some of the men, and the Editor of the 'Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales' that the king and his men, were *black*. But the fact of their nigritude is neither asserted in, nor even constructively deducible from, any of the laws on the subject of throw-boards, with which I have hitherto met. I have accordingly adopted the expression "king's men," as being at once explicit, and free from objection as to its involving an assumption not warranted by existing information."

[2] Leges Wallicæ, p. 583, fol. Lond. 1730.

missible without direct proof. And although Dr. Wotton asserts, 'ni latrunculorum numerus obsterit,' yet the disparity between the numbers of the adverse forces, and the peculiar powers and single sovereignty of the king, brooking 'no brother near the throne,' do not appear to establish as conclusive a distinction between Tawl-bwrdd and modern Backgammon, as between that enigmatic amusement and Chess. The game of Draughts is equally excluded, by similar reasoning, from identification with Throw-board.

"There is preserved to us, however, sufficient information to show that there existed amongst the Welsh, during the earlier portion of the tenth century, and probably long before, a game which was played with men upon a board according to certain laws; which in some respects was similar to and in others different from Backgammon, Draughts, and Chess; and which may have been a species of rudimentary Chess,—an incipient germination of that noble plant—a nebular nucleus of that brighter orb. It remains a question for further investigation,—whence this game was acquired by the Cymry; whether it was, in fact, invented by themselves, or brought with them in their early migrations from the East, and preserved for ages, until ultimately lost, or exalted by successive improvements into Chess, in their final settlement in the then 'far West.'

"Your very obedient Servant,

"D. P. F."

REMARKS.

I have merely to offer a very few observations on the foregoing valuable communication. It is not impossible that both the Gael and the Cymbri may have had some acquaintance with Chess previous to their early migration from the East. The Gaelic and Welsh languages are remotely akin to the Sanskrit, Sclavonic, Gothic, Greek, and Latin; hence we infer that the peoples speaking those languages are of the same stock. Then the difficulty is—how should the Gael and Cymry of Britain alone have preserved the game (more or less changed), whilst the Celts of northern Italy and of Gaul, so far as we are aware, knew nothing of it? Is it not more likely that both the Irish and the Welsh *Chess*, (as the natives will have it,) is simply a modification of the Ludus Latrunculorum introduced into Britain by the Romans? I shall be told that the Romans never were in Ireland.

What then? There was a constant intercourse between the people of Britain and Ireland long previous to the period alluded to. It is needless, however, to enter into any speculations on this subject; as the Welsh game is proved *not* to have been Chess, and the Irish game is utterly unknown, and altogether visionary.

With regard to the author's concluding sentence—"whence the game was acquired by the Cymry," &c., I think I can furnish him with a kind of clue which I have very recently discovered. The ancient Persians had a game called *Nard*, absolutely, the same as the Welsh game, with one trifling distinction. The "Nard" was played on a board similar to the chess-board. On each side there was a king and eight men, one set black, and the other white. The moves were regulated by the *throw of the dice;* so far, the Persian "Nard" was a "Tawl-bwrdd." Well, it would appear that the Cymry dismissed the king from one side of the board, and substituted an equivalent, viz., eight additional "werin," or men; and this is the sole distinction to which I have alluded, a *distinction* without a *difference*.

Hyde tells us, (Hist. Nard. p. 3.). "Hic enim ludus per totum fere Orientem notus est antiquo ejusdem nomine Persico Nard." It is quite possible, then, that the Cymry were acquainted with this game before the period of their migration from the east. Be this as it may, the identity of the "Nard" and "Tawl-bwrdd" is a curious coincidence, and a question well worthy of further investigation. I do not think, however, that either of them is worthy of the name of "rudimentary chess—an incipient germination of that noble plant—a nebular nucleus of that brighter orb," as the author eloquently expresses it. I think the Cymry branch of the Celtic stock were much later in their emigration from the East than the Gael; and this would account for their acquaintance with the game of "Nard"—*ludus per totum fere orientem notus.*

APPENDIX F.

Chess among the Araucanians.

In the second volume of the "History of British India," by James Mill, Esq., we are told that the Araucanians invented the game of Chess! Well, who are the Araucanians?. the reader will most probably ask. Be it known then that Arauca is a fertile and independent territory in Chili, situated between what were formerly the Spanish districts of Concepcion and Valdivia. But what has all this to do with Chess, or with British India? That is just what we are coming to.

Mr. Mill, as is well known, entertained a very strange and ridiculous prejudice against the Hindūs. Rather than allow them the possession of any earthly merit, he scruples not to assert as *facts*, things that are not so; or, what comes to the same thing, to dogmatize in matters with which he is altogether unacquainted. His History is an elegant piece of English composition, but so strongly imbued with party feeling as to become utterly irreliable as an authority. These are harsh expressions, but I am quite prepared to justify and *prove* them, even within the compass of the following brief extracts from his History (Vol. ii., page 43), to which, for the sake of truth, I append a few notes of my own—Mr. Mill thus speaks:—

"Sir William Jones, in pompous terms, remarks: "The Hindūs are said to have boasted of three inventions, all of which indeed are admirable; the method of instructing by apologues; the decimal scale; and the game of chess, on which they have some curious treatises." (See the Discourse, Asiatic Researches, i. 429). "Invented apologues!" as well might he tell us they invented language.

And the "*decimal scale!*"[1] as if they were the only nation that had ten fingers! or, as if most nation had not been led, by the simple and very natural process of counting by the fingers, to denominate and distinguish numbers by comparison with that sum!"

"As the game of Chess is a species of art, the account of it seems to belong to this place; and as it has been rated high among the proofs of the supposed civilization of the Hindūs, we must see what it really imports. Though there is no evidence that the Hindūs invented the game, except their own pretensions,[2] which as evidence are of very little value, it is by no means improbable. The invention of ingenious games is a feat most commonly displayed by nations in their rude condition. It is prior to the birth of industry, that men have the strongest need for games, to relieve them from the pain of idleness: at that period they are most addicted to gaming; bestow upon it the greatest portion of time; and most intensely fix upon it all their faculties. It is, in fact, the natural occupation and resource of a rude mind, whenever destitute of the motives to industry."

"The valuable and intelligent historian of Chili observes of a tribe, but a few removes from the savage state;[3] "If what the celebrated Leibnitz asserts is true, that men have never discovered greater

[1] Mill here *strangely* (if not *wilfully*) perverts Sir W. Jones's meaning. By the *decimal scale*, Sir W. means, as every reader knows, not the mere art of *counting* by *tens*, which was common to other civilized nations; but that sublime and simple method of expressing in the clearest manner, to the utmost conceivable extent, any whole number, from unity up towards infinity, and any fractional number down towards non-entity, by means of *ten* numerical figures or characters. This is indeed an invention of which the Hindūs may be proud; an invention which neither the Greeks nor the Romans ever dreamt of.—F.

[2] I need not say that all this is utterly untrue. I trust I have satisfactorily shown, in the foregoing work, that the Hindūs, and they only, invented Chess. Again, Mr. Mill asserts that we have "no more evidence than their own word for it." This is equally incorrect. The writers of Arabia and Persia are unanimous in ascribing the invention both of Chess and of the ten numerical figures of arithmetic to the Hindūs.—F.

[3] Altogether untrue again. The Araucanians were far advanced beyond the "savage state," as shewn by the very author quoted by Mill. They were not merely a *tribe*, but a nation or community as large as Holland or Switzerland, though not so populous. The best proof of their civilization is, that all the force and fraud of the Spaniards never succeeded in wresting from them their independence. More than three hundred years ago, the Spanish General Pedro de Valdivia was defeated, taken prisoner, and put to death, by the Araucanian chief Caupolican; and ever afterwards this brave community baffled all the attempts of the Spaniards to subdue them. Their country is famed in Spanish story and song, as one of the finest regions in South America. Their war with the Spaniards has been celebrated by Ercilla, one of the first of the Spanish epic poets.—F.

talents than in the invention of the different kinds of games, the Araucanians may justly claim the merit of not being in this respect inferior to other nations. Their games are very numerous, and for the most part very ingenious; they are divided into the sedentary and gymnastic. It is a curious fact, and worthy of notice, that among the first is the game of chess, which they call *comican*, and which has been known to them from time immemorial. The game of *quechu*, which they esteem highly, has a great affinity to that of backgammon, but instead of dice they make use of triangular pieces of bone marked with points, which they throw with a little hoop or circle, supported by two pegs." (Molina, Civil Hist. of Chili, book ii. chap. x.)

"The Persians[1] claim the invention of this game; and as their game is radically different from that of the Hindūs, it is probable they are both inventions. (See Chardin, Voy. en Perse, iii. 62.) Gibbon, (vii. 276,) marks a fact in the narrative of Paul Diaconus, expressive of the manners of the Heruli: Dum ad tabulam luderet, while he played at draughts, says Gibbon; but he might as well have said chess;[2] for the word as much expresses the one as the other: And we know that, among the Scandinavians, a game very closely resembling chess was known. The ancient chronicles of the Scandinavians frequently present us with young warriors endeavouring to acquire the good opinion of their mistresses by boasting of their accomplishments, such as *their skill at chess*,[3] their dexterity

[1] In this brief sentence, there is such a total absence of truth that it scarcely deserves refutation. I have clearly shewn that no Persian author ever did claim the invention of Chess for his own country. It is quite possible, however, that some lying Persian *guide* or *Mihmāndār* did say so to Chardin. On what authority Mr. Mill asserts that "the Persian game is radically different from that of the Hindūs" is known only to himself; certainly Chardin says nothing on the subject; nor does he give any description of the game, whether Persian or Hindū. Of all Mill's writings, I take this sentence to be the most erroneous. There is, however, in Chardin one curious remark, made to him by the Persians, which I think worth recording, viz.:—"A well-played game of Chess cannot be finished in less than Three Days."—F.

[2] Gibbon had too much regard for his own character, to have asserted what he *knew* to be untrue. On classic ground, at least, Gibbon was unerring, and he was well aware that neither the Greeks nor the Romans knew anything of Chess. On Eastern matters, owing to his unacquaintance with Arabic and Persian, he is obliged to trust sometimes to very doubtful authorities; but even then, we can clearly see what pains he took to arrive at the truth.—F.

[3] Here again we have a glaring instance of Mill's inaccuracy. In the first place, there do not exist any *ancient* chronicles of Scandinavia. Secondly, the game alluded to, not only *very closely* resembled Chess, but *was* Chess itself, derived from Central Europe in the ninth century, as I have already shewn.—F.

in swimming and skating, their talents in poetry, and their knowing all the stars by their names. (Mallet, Introd. Hist. Denmark, chap. xiii). Mr. Barrow informs us that the chess of the Chinese[1] is totally different from that both of the Hindūs and Persians. Travels in China, p. 158. It has been therefore probably, in each of those cases, a separate invention. The idea that chess was invented by the Hindūs was, we believe, first started by Hyde[2] (de Relig. Vet. Pers. ii.), and therefore it has been taken for granted. That there are books in India containing the doctrine of chess proves nothing.[3] There are books in Icelandic, on the art of poetry, but the Icelanders were not the inventors of poetry."

REMARKS.

With regard to the Araucanians, and *their* claims to the *invention* of Chess, I have merely to repeat what I said respecting the Irish,

[1] Of the Chinese game, the reader will easily judge for himself by perusing the last portion of our seventeenth chapter of the preceding work. To assert that it is "*totally different*" from that both of the Hindūs and Persian (which, by the way, are precisely the same game), is altogether erroneous. The Chinese Chess is simply the Mediæval game in a *bewitched* or *stereotype* condition, like everything else belonging to the "soi disant" Celestials.—F.

[2] This is a gross error—the *idea* was not *first* started by Hyde. It existed in the writings of the Persian and Arabian authors for at least a thousand years before Hyde lived. Surely Mr. Mill might have seen, from the numerous examples quoted by Hyde, together with his Latin *translation* of the same, (for of "Oriental languages Mill knew nothing and cared less,) that this *idea* of the Hindū origin of Chess was not of Hyde's own starting. Finally, so far as I am myself concerned, I beg to state, that I take nothing of the kind "for granted." I have carefully examined Hyde's original authorities, and I find, that, with a few trifling exceptions, his deductions throughout are perfectly sound and satisfactory; and I trust it is not too much on my part to say that I cannot pay Mr. Mill the same compliment. Finally, Mr. Mill's reference to Hyde "de Relig. Vet. Pers. II." is doubly wrong. In the first place there is nothing said in that work of Hyde's respecting Chess; and, secondly, the work is only in one volume, 4to., not *two*, as here indicated. This can hardly be called a mere "error of the press."—F.

[3] This is contemptible cavilling on the part of Mill. He conjures up a shadow of an argument in order to show how easily he can blow it away. The existence of Hindū treatises on Chess, alluded to by Sir W. Jones, is not, as Mill well knows, intended to *prove anything*—it is simply an incidental remark, hence this last assertion by Mill is a mere truism. If the *multitude* of books "containing the doctrine of Chess," were of any avail as an argument for the invention of the game; then most assuredly the honour would have belonged to the English, who so far as I know, have as yet very modestly refrained from putting forth their claims on such grounds.—F.

viz.—the probability that two nations, independent of each other, should have invented a game so ingenious, so scientific, and so complex as Chess, is so extremely small as to amount almost to an *impossibility*; nor can we for a moment suppose that the Araucanians had any intercourse with the Hindūs, whose claim to the invention is indisputable. Equally untenable is Mr. Mill's assertion respecting the "Chess of the Chinese," when he says that it is "totally different from that both of the Hindūs and Persians," and that "it has been, therefore, probably in each of those cases, a separate invention!" We must in charity suppose that Mr. Mill really knew nothing of Chess, *whether* Hindū, Persian, or Chinese.

I now come to what I believe to have been the fact. The Araucanians, for the last three hundred years, had for their neighbours, both to the north and south, the Spaniards, from whom they adopted all improvements in agriculture, &c., then known to the latter. We are told in "Murray's Encyclopedia of Geography" (Art. Chili), that "they raise Indian corn in abundance: they grow most admirable potatoes, which are probably indigenous; and have a good stock of horses and horned cattle." Now what is more natural and probable than the fact that the Araucanians acquired their knowledge of Chess from their Spanish neighbours, some two to three hundred years ago? As to the assertion of the Rev. Abbate Giovanni Ignazio Molina, that "Chess has been known to them from time immemorial," I hold it to be of no greater weight than that of his contemporary, the Abbé Mac-Geoghegan—*in re* Cathir Mòr, &c. Besides, what does the expression "time immemorial" amount to? Simply this, some indefinite period beyond the recollection of that *trustworthy* personage who occasionally figures among us under the appellation of the "oldest inhabitant."

Lastly. Mr. Mill's remark on the passage from Paul Diaconus, expressive of the manners of the Heruli," viz.; "dum ad tabulam luderet," is not worth one moment's consideration. Here, however, it must be confessed, that he has some excuse, for the *learned multitude* are, generally speaking, on his side. To all such I recommend a careful perusal of my friend Mr. Coleridge's masterly "Essay on Greek and Roman Chess," given in Appendix B.

It may be supposed by those unacquainted with the subject that I have spoken with undue severity of Mr. Mill's History. I therefore subjoin the late Professor Wilson's opinion of it, viz.—"Of the proofs which may be discovered in Mr. Mill's history of the operation of preconceived opinions, in confining a vigorous and active under-

standing to a partial and one-sided view of a great question, no instance is more remarkable than the unrelenting pertinacity with which he labours to establish the barbarism of the Hindūs. Indignant at the exalted, and it may be granted, sometimes exaggerated descriptions of their advance in civilization, of their learning, their sciences, their talents, their virtues, which emanated from the amiable enthusiasm of Sir William Jones, Mr. Mill has entered the lists against him with equal enthusiasm, but a less commendable purpose, and has sought to reduce them as far below their proper level, as their encomiasts may have formerly elevated them above it. With very imperfect knowledge, with materials exceedingly defective, with an implicit faith in all testimony hostile to Hindū pretensions, he has elaborated a portrait of the Hindūs which has no resemblance whatever to the original, and which almost outrages humanity. As he represents them, the Hindūs are not only on a par with the least civilized nations of the Old and New World, but they are plunged almost without exception in the lowest depths of immorality and crime. Considered merely in a literary capacity, the description of the Hindūs, in the History of British India, is open to censure for its obvious unfairness and injustice; but in the effects which it is likely to exercise upon the connexion between the people of England and the people of India, it is chargeable with more than literary demerit: its tendency is evil; it is calculated to destroy all sympathy between the rulers and the ruled."[1]

[1] History of British India, by James Mill, Esq., fourth edition, with Notes and Continuation, by Horace Hayman Wilson, M.A., F.R.S., &c., &c. London, 1840. 9 vols. 8vo. *Vide* Preface by Professor Wilson, page vii., &c.

Explanation of the three folding Plates inserted at the end of the Volume.

PLATE I., page 140.

A representation of Tīmūr's Great Chess-board and Men, as described by the anonymous author of the Persian MS., No. 260, belonging to the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. The three ranks at the top of the Plate contain the Persian names of the various pieces, &c., corresponding to those given in the three lower ranks.

PLATE II

The letters H, C, and G, respectively denote the Horse or Knight, Camel, and Giraffe. Each is supposed to have started from the central square marked thus ×; hence their various ranges and powers, are at once seen.

PLATE III.

Representation of Tīmūr's Complete Chess, with all the additional pieces and Pawns filled in—as given in the Arabic MS., No. 7,322, belonging to the British Museum. The four ranks at the top contain the Arabic names of the various pieces, &c., corresponding to those in the four lower ranks.

REPRESENTATION OF TIMUR'S GREAT CHESS BOARD AND MEN

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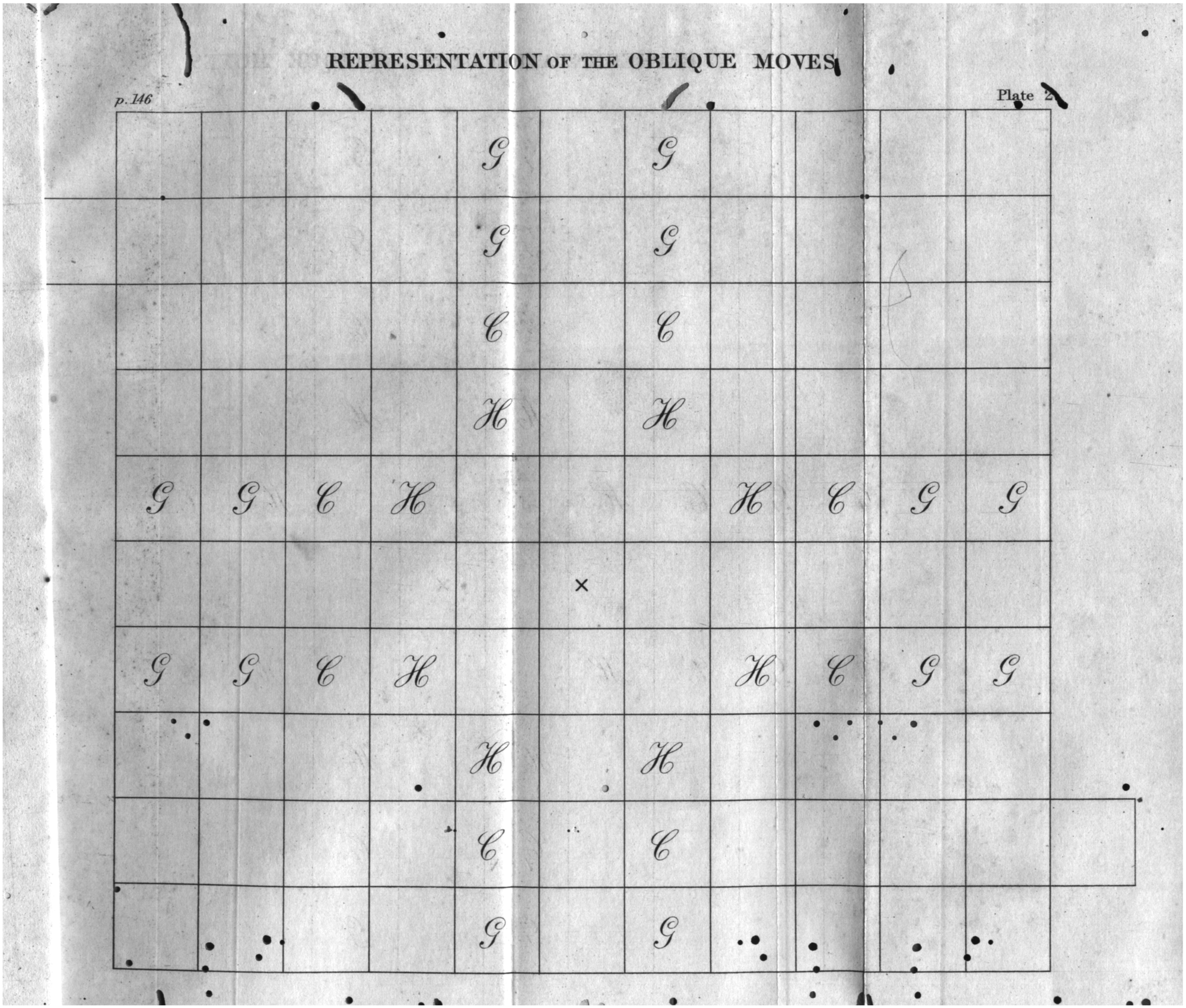
Plate 1

	Pīl		*Jamal*		*Dabāba*		*Dabāba*		*Jamal*		*Pīl*
Ḥiṣn	*Rukh*	*Asp*	*Ṭalī'a*	*Zarāfa*	*Wazīr*	*Shāh*	*Farzīn*	*Zarāfa*	*Ṭalī'a*	*Asp*	*Rukh*
	Piyādai Rukh	*Piyādai Asp*	*Piyādai Ṭalī'a*	*Piyādai Zarāfa*	*Piyādai Wazīr*	*Piyādai Shāh*	*Piyādai Farzīn*	*Piyādai Pīl*	*Piyādai Jamal*	*Piyādai Dabāba*	*Piyādai Piyādagān*
	Pawn's pawn	*Vinea's pawn*	*Camel's pawn*	*Elephant's pawn*	*Farz's pawn*	*King's pawn*	*Wazīr's pawn*	*Giraffe's pawn*	*Scout's pawn*	*Horse's pawn*	*Rukh's pawn*
	Rukh	*Horse*	*Scout*	*Giraffe*	*Farz*	*King*	*Wazīr*	*Giraffe*	*Scout*	*Horse*	*Rukh*
	Elephant		*Camel*		*Vinea*		*Vinea*		*Camel*		*Elephant*

Citadel

REPRESENTATION OF THE OBLIQUE MOVES



REPRESENTATION OF TIMUR'S COMPLETE CHESS

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Plate 3

	Fīl	*Asad*	*Jamal*	*Thaur*	*Dabbāba*	*Kashshāf*	*Dabbāba*	*Thaur*	*Jamal*	*Asad*	*Fīl*
Ḥiṣn	*Rukh*	*Faras*	*Ṭalī'a*	*Zarāfa*	*Wazīr*	*Shāh*	*Farz*	*Zarāfa*	*Ṭalī'a*	*Faras*	*Rukh*
	Baidaḳ ul Rukh	*Baidaḳ ul Faras*	*Baidaḳ ul Ṭalī'a*	*Baidaḳ ul Zarāfa*	*Baidaḳ ul Wazīr*	*Baidaḳ ul Shāh*	*Baidaḳ ul Farz*	*Baidaḳ ul Fīl*	*Baidaḳ ul Jamal*	*Baidaḳ ul Dabbāba*	*Baidaḳ ul Bayādiḳ*
			Baidaḳ ul Thaur			*Baidaḳ ul Kashshāf*			*Baidaḳ ul Asad*		
			Pawn of the Lion			*Pawn of the Sentinel*			*Pawn of the Bull*		
Pawn of the Pawn's	*Pawn of the Vinea*	*Pawn of the Camel*	*Pawn of the Elephant*	*Pawn of the Farz*	*Pawn of the King*	*Pawn of the Wazīr*	*Pawn of the Giraffe*	*Pawn of the Scout*	*Pawn of the Horse*	*Pawn of the Rukh*	
Rukh	*Horse*	*Scout*	*Giraffe*	*Farz*	*King*	*Wazīr*	*Giraffe*	*Scout*	*Horse*	*Rukh*	*Citadel*
Elephant	*Lion*	*Camel*	*Bull*	*Vinea*	*Sentinel*	*Vinea*	*Bull*	*Camel*	*Lion*	*Elephant*	