CHESS IN ICELAND

AND IN

ICELANDIC LITERATURE

WITH HISTORICAL NOTES ON
OTHER TABLE-GAMES

BY

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MCMV
The story of its compilation may explain, although it may not excuse the mongrel character and untidy arrangement of this volume. Many years ago, at an age when neither the author’s acquaintance with Icelandic literature nor his familiarity with the game of chess was in any wise commensurate with his interest in these subjects, he wrote and published two brief articles concerning chess-play in Iceland. * The periodical of very restricted circulation in which these essays appeared has long been out of print, and is rarely to be found either in private or public collections of books. Certain circumstances determined the writer to reprint them for limited distribution in Iceland. Upon reading them in the printer’s proofs, their meagreness and defects became markedly evident; thereupon some omitted incidents in the history of the game in the northern island were hurriedly written out, and added to the earlier matter. Subsequently, in the same planless way, further passages illustrative of the subject, discoverable in the older or newer literature, a number of notes on the terminology of the game, especially as it is represented in Icelandic lexicography, and various other items of greater or less interest, were likewise appended. While making these hasty studies and additions, the knotty question of knafist, or knotting, came up, and led to a desire to ascertain what that mysterious sport, mentioned at such an early period, really was, or, at least, what it was not. Editors and commentators of the old northern monuments are, in the first place, divided in opinion as to whether the word just cited represents the same game or two different diversions; in the second place, they have

* Compare pp. 1 and 10 of the present volume.
explained or translated these vocables in many varying ways — as chess, draughts, backgammon, fox-and-geese, and so on. In order to learn whether any of these still practised sports resemble the extinct northern one (or ones), it was deemed essential to devote, preliminarily, a few pages to the history and nature of the different table-games which were introduced during the early ages into Germanic Europe. It was found, however, at the very outset of this investigation, that, except in the case of chess, the historical accounts which had been compiled, in any country, in regard to those games, were of the slightest character and of little note or value; from this sweeping statement are only to be excluded the contents of the second part of Thomas Hyde's noteworthy treatise, “De ludis orientalibus,” which saw the light just before the close of the seventeenth century. But that scholar devoted comparatively brief space to the games in vogue in central and northern Europe, confining his enquiries, for the most part, to the lands of the East, and to the two classical countries of the Mediterranean. Other treatises on Greek, Latin, and Asiatic games are, like Hyde's book, very generally in Latin, and have thus not been generally available to the compilers of manuals treating of these pastimes. In addition to the not inconsiderable bibliography of printed literature in connection with this topic, the remarkable manuscripts relating to medieaval table-games, now known to be preserved in several European libraries, had, in a casual manner, come to the cognizance of the writer. Their existence was, for a long time, a sealed fact to most scholars; few indeed had examined their pages — brilliant with the highest art of the illuminator — and of these few, none, so far as is known, had carried their studies beyond the portions devoted to the venerable game of chess. It is, moreover, less than half a century since the groups of codices at Rome and Florence, in some respects the most important of all, were alluded to in any printed publication, while the one housed within the monastic walls of the Escorial, which owes its execution to Alonso the Wise of Spain, had never been critically treated, even as to its chess section, until within the last decade or two; while its accounts of other table-games in use in the thirteenth century have remained up to now a field unvisited by the investigator.

The author, in pursuit of his purpose, began a cursory examination of such of these documentary relics as were within his reach, and of such printed sources, hitherto unfamiliar to him, as might cast any light on his subject. The result was that a considerable amount of material, little of which had as yet found its way into manuals of games or into encyclopedias, fell into his hands. To all this it seemed essential to add some slender notices of the modes or modes of practising each variety of these old amusements, in the hope that the changes which they had undergone, from time to time, might be traced, and a fairly complete idea of the terminology used in connection with them, at different periods, might be gathered and studied. For it is from a comparison of the technical terms belonging to them, the precise signifi-

fications and probable etymologies of such words, that we can hope to derive more thorough information as to the origin, development and spread of the game; and, despite his own light success, the writer is still convinced that a closer scrutiny of these elements, and a more careful search into their relations to each other, at various ages and in various languages, will not only enable us to clear up, partially at least, the many lacunae in our knowledge of the beginning and growth of this social diversion, but will result in a valuable contribution to universal folk-lore, as well as to our knowledge of a not uninteresting field embracing both oriental and occidental linguistics.

The interest of the writer in these new researches, as they went on, was greatly spurred so that he wholly abandoned for a time the theme with which he had set out, and suddenly devoted himself to this other which had obtruded itself upon his notice. So absorbing did the novel subject become that, in the end, it has grown to occupy the whole remaining part of this first volume and rendered a second necessary, if so be that the author is to complete the treatment of Iceland's part in chess history and chess letters. The absurdity of the extraordinary and extravagant course thus pursued is quite plainly evident to the author himself. It is as if a cook, starting to make a pasty and having partly completed it, should end by turning it into a pudding, or as if a scribbler, having begun a poem on love or some other fine emotion of the heart, should suddenly try to transform it into a dissertation on affections of the liver.

The specially regrettable thing in regard to the work is that neither of the two matters discussed has been handled with proper fullness and thoroughness. This is partially owing to the way in which the compilation has been made. From the beginning, whenever an amount of copy sufficient to fill a printed sheet was prepared, it was at once sent to the press; and this inconsiderate and eccentric method of composition is the cause, to a great extent, of the repetitions and other imperfections which will be found, thick-strung, in the following pages. The author, then, cannot pretend that he has presented a satisfactory sketch of Iceland's chess; nor does he flatter himself that he has done more for the other table-games than to call attention to certain historical sources, which demand investigation by younger and less occupied hands. These games, always of a minor importance when compared with chess, but most of them nevertheless as old as civilization, and as widespread as human culture, have hitherto been dealt with, as to their historical position, if so much dealt with at all, by scholars who had little practical familiarity with the games themselves, or by professional compilers who were utterly unconversant with the ways and means of scholarly research — in other words by investigators who were not players, or by players who were not investigators. In fact, if we except chess, no table-game has had any adequate notice given to its origin or history except by writers or in writings not easily accessible to the general littérateur.
especially, as this book abundantly shows, is rich in singular errors, and striking by equally singular omissions, in its attempt to illustrate the technical words and phrases belonging to those widely disseminated recreations.

The second volume will contain, it is hoped, a detailed account and discussion of the *kunstaf* matter; a list of Icelandic chess proverbs and sayings; notes on the carved chessmen and other chess objects found in the Museums of Scandinavia and England, commonly regarded as the productions of Icelandic workshops; reprints of Dr. Van der Linde’s article on Icelandic chess, published in 1874 in the *Nordisk Skaktidende*, of two brief articles relating to chess in Iceland for the *Deutsche Schachzeitung*, and of the complete Icelandic text of Olafur Davíðsson’s paper on chess in his “Íslenskar Skemtanir”; and will close with a Scandinavian chess bibliography with notes, compiled in Icelandic but never yet published.

[Willard Fish]

Thus far the preface, written in the last weeks of the author’s life. An additional pencilled memorandum indicates his intention to acknowledge with his thanks the help and counsel which he had received from various sources. May this brief mention reach those friends whom he had in mind!

The proofsheets of the present volume were examined by Mr. Fish on page 344. During the summer of 1904 he was engaged on the preface, and at the time of his death, Sept. 17, 1904, he had compiled a portion of the index, and had corrected the first proofs for the final pages. The work has been concluded with the assistance of Mr. George W. Harris, Librarian of Cornell University, and Mr. Hálfdán Hinsholm of Reykjavik, who were testamentarily named for this purpose. The latter has revised and completed the index itself.

A reproduction of the latest photograph of Mr. Fish, taken in April, 1904, forms the frontispiece. The original frontispiece selected by the author, who had even placed his name on the title page, directly precedes the text. An eminent English authority on chess, Dr. Harold J. E. Murray, identifies it as appearing on the title page of an Italian work published at Milan in 1829, and entitled: “Volgarizzamento del libro de’ costumi e degli officii de’ nobili sopra il giuoco degli scacchi di frate Jacopo da Cesole tratto nuovamente da un codice Magliabechiano”. The preface

of this work states that the illustrations were copied from an older edition of the same work entitled: “Libro di giuoco di scacchi intitolato de costumi degli’huomini, et degli officii de nobili. Impresso in Firenze per maestro Antonio Misermini Anno MCCCLXXXIII.” Dr. Murray also quotes Van der Linde’s description of the aforesaid work in his “Geschichte und Litteratur des Schachspiels”, 1874, I., Bellagen, p. 123.

Some of the material already collected for the second volume may appear later in the annual publications relating to Iceland, to be issued by Cornell University on the foundation left by the author.

It is further the purpose of the undersigned, as literary executor, to publish a collection of reprints of the tales and sketches composed by Mr. Fish in 1857–61 for the *Chess Monthly*; and in a memorial volume which has been planned, some account will be given of Mr. Fish’s devotion to the game of chess and his efforts to advance its interests.

Horatio S. White.

Villa Landor.

Florence, March, 1905.
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THE GAME OF CHESS
IN THE
LAND AND LITERATURE
OF
ICELAND

1. — Polar Chess.¹

The island of Iceland is an anomaly and a marvel—an anomaly in its
cultural history, for almost everywhere in its domain we find the living
fierceness of volcanic heat coping with the death-like desolation of Arctic
cold; and a marvel in its political history, which exhibits the spectacle of a
pagan people, at an age preceding the morning of modern civilization on the
mainland of Europe, building up, without any aid from the jurisprudence or
polity of Rome, a complex but consistent code of laws, and a remarkable
system of self-government, in which both the rights of the individual and
the general good of the community were cautiously cared for. In the inge-
nious minds of its early lawmakers originated the existing form of trial by
jury—that palladium of personal liberty; while the people themselves, sprung
from the best blood of mountainous Norway, whose inborn love of freedom
had sent them to the distant oceanic isle, created, as if by an impulse of in-
stinct, a representative parliament, the yearly sessions of which took place,
almost without a break, for nearly nine hundred years; so that its legiti-
mate successor—the present Althing—may boast of being, by some centuries,
the oldest legislative body in the world. The classic writers of the Common-
wealth thus established, bequeathed to posterity many delightful pictures of
the wonderful life of the unique insular nationality, and of that of their kin in
the other Scandinavian lands—narratives scarcely excelled in literature for
minute and characteristic detail. The old Icelandic poetry, too, from that sub-
lime mythological and legendary epic, the so-called Elder Edda, down to the
elaborately wrought longer Skaldic lays, and the brief, metrical impromptus
and epigrams—witty, dashing, biting—scattered throughout the sagas, mar-
kedly displays the fact that the imagination is not alone excited by the genial
air, the spicy perfumes and the luxuriant nature of the South, but glows with
fervor even in the rocky, treeless, icy North. Like the very earliest blossoms
of the Northern temperate zone—such as the winter-born trailing-arbutus and
the modest hepatica—the flowers of poetry bloom even amid the snows.

¹ See the Chess Monthly, (New York 1877), 1, pp. 201-203.
The name of the game in Iceland is etymologically similar to that current among the central occidental nations, originating in the speech of Persia. It was also much often, by Iceland writers, taft (pronounced table), although that word was, and is, properly a generic term applied to all games played on a board or table—usually with round pieces or men—the term itself being a corruption of the Latin tabula. It corresponds to the early English and French tables, as in Chaucer's lines ("Death of Blanche," I. 51):

For me thoughte it better play
Than plays at chess or tables.

In its generic use it might mean either chess, draughts, backgammon, fox-and-geese (in Icelandic reðkhóp, that is, fox-chess), nine-men's-morris (Icelandic mýtna, frequently called in America tee-see-men-morrie), or any game for which a plain surface and men, or pawns, or figures were necessary. With the word taft it may be compared the German brettpiel (from brett = board and spiel = game) signifying literally any game played on a board with men. Skak-taft would be, therefore, a precise designation signifying chess-tables, or that kind of which they call chess. There were other words of the same sort, such as hnaefotaf, hnaettaf, knotaft (these three, being possibly variants of

ino mindeste vinding, da den eumens maðskip er ganske borttaget, og dog kongen ikke saa mat: hvis han settes skak i det røvme er det faldt Birt; hvis ikke kaldes det lille Birt, Himmenn, beemman, Pefillir, kunges-mat, og Hildir, kongekastings, holdes for et stort ekstreme vindinger, og hanslagte for den døde spræng, at trædfagen nu den eneste skakmat i begyndelsen af spillet, måledes, at den hverken er bønne at skak i forveenen, og at heller har sort sig af stedet. Det andet skakmat fører kongen af en af kongemesterne: det treffer, naar han besat riget af den konge, som tilhører den anden konge, og anden staaer pa sitt nække. Hukommelse er ned disse de skatte, og regnes dog ikke for haandfæl, dog bestaaer deri, at kongen satser mat med det samme en kongtig kommer ud, eller i det træk som gjør en konge til makker, den mindste fullkomne vinding er Fredom, naar der settes mat med damen. Den største delikatere vinding er 9 fold, og delen derover, dog skal det være en stor spiller, og hans modnede kun lidet røvme, naar han kan konges drives naar. I andre lande er man fornemt med endnu skakmat, men her settes kongen saa mange skakmat, som man haver maadskip til; dog skal spillet være bragt i sinad en orden i foretak, at det kongen settes det første mat, da følger de andre strax derpaa, uden at gøre, at det bliver til træk isolation, eller at kongen kan slippe fra sengen af disse mater midlertid; men denna omgang kan den mindste forresten tabe hele spillet. Gode spillerne kunde sette em, til de skabte skakmat ad gaagen, endomt det andet partier ved alle reglerne, og er overt derti. I skakspillet tager her flere serier, og lisser samarbejde det ikke af uden delige officerer, overanden gennem leder den anden behov, kun for at finds disse storte og ansigtsfulde sorder over ham. Dette her makker andre minder nebs seer paa, det da bruge meget et konge skakmat, hvorved begge leger bliver mindere kærlighed. Alligevel da det er et stort kunst, at kunne jævnt giøre mange dobbelt skakvindinger; til det kommer haande saa paa saa dyb efterlange, og at holde dekkere bestandig fælde. Skak spilles ved Island paa flere molder, der bliver for vidtlemte. Det nævnte, at lige naledes det det en stor kunst, at kunne jævnt giøre mange dobbelt skakvindinger; til det kommer haande saa. Paa det saa dyb efterlange, og at holde dekkere bestandig fælde. Skak spilles ved Island paa flere molder, der bliver for vidtlemte. Det nævnte, at lige naledes det en stor kunst, at kunne jævnt giøre mange dobbelt skakvindinger; til det kommer haande saa. Paa det saa dyb efterlange, og at holde dekkere bestandig fælde. Skak spilles ved Island.

In "Blaughtersche Schatzkäschen" (II. pp. 177-178), Dr. A. van der Linda reproduces this passage from the German original (p. 204), interspersing it with brief comments, some pointed and proper enough, others less so. He has copied the German text in his series of articles "Skak paa Island," which will be found in an appendix to this volume.
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the same word), interpreted by some as draughts, by others as fox-and-geese, but perhaps more likely to have resembled the former, buðlabrot, Freyæstof, and bøtrabrot (backgammon, also simply bøtrabrot). The indistinctness of the word loft has given rise to much confusion. Not a few of the passages in the old writings, to which references are often alluded as clues to chess, really relate to draughts, or some other game resembling it, rather than to chess. The pieces, or higher figures, have the common name niðs (men), and hence chess is occasionally spoken of as maunatst or maunsok, to distinguish it from draughts and other sorts of tables.

Konungur; Drottning, Frú.

So the Icelanders designate the two chief pieces of the chess field. Konungur (abbreviated konung) is cognate with our word King; of the last two words, drottning is the genuine Icelandic equivalent of our Queen, while frú means lady, and its former use in Icelandic chess is probably owing to Danish influence. The usual name of this most powerful piece is now drottning.

Hrókur; Biskup; Riddari; Peð.

The first word is, of course, the very early Eastern appellation of the Rook, a term hopelessly disguised by the popular etymologies given to it in the various countries through which it has passed—one of its phases being a confusion with the fabulous bird (rook) of the "Arabian Nights," a process of etymological obsurraption repeated both in England (rook), the chess-piece and rook, the bird) and in Iceland, the form hrókur being ascribable to the influence of the older word hrókur, a rare Icelandic name of a bird. The name of this piece is sufficient evidence, if there were no other, of the English origin of Icelandic chess, since, in the other Scandinavian dialects, the rook (in accordance with the German nomenclature) is known as the "tower" (Swedish torn; Danish torn).—Biskup is our Bishop, English and Icelandic being the only languages in which the piece bears this ecclesiastical title (German lüfter; Swedish, lopare; Danish, lærer—literally "runner," but in the sense of "herald" or "courier"), although its Polish name is pop (i.e. priest.). In English its earliest title was arba (Arabic al-the, and fl-elephant), and so it was called by Caxton (1475):—"The manner and nature of the draught of the Alphyn is suche that he is black in his propre siege in nette on the right side of the Kyng, and he that is wyte on the left side." The appellation was occasionally used in England as late as the sixteenth century, for Rowbotham, the translator of Vida's "Scaccia" (1580) says:—The Bishops some name Alphins."—Riddari is the ordinary translation of our word knight; and it is worthy of note that while the Swedes call this piece, according to the older dictionaries, the "horse" (höftr), or like the Danes adopt the German word springer (Swedish, springare; Danish, springer—from the springing or jumping character of its move) their fellow Scandinavians of the Northern island

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retain the medieval term (derived either from the Romance caballus as horse, or from the Germanic ride, ritter, or else borrowing the form of the Germanic knecht, kniht, signifying a military leader or horse-soldier of rank, and corresponding to the one employed by the Italians cavaliero, Spaniards and Portuguese cavalleiro, French chevalier, and English knight). It is to be remarked, although the Germans and the continental Scandinavians possess a word cognate with the Icelandic riddari (German reiter; Danish, ridder), those words are never employed in chess. —Peð comes from the Middle-Latin pedes (with the inflectional stem pedos-) meaning foot-soldier, thus having the same etymology as the English Pawn, the French pion, the Italian pezzo and the Spanish peón. —The names of the chesemen used in Iceland and Iceland and not only reveal the track pursued by the game in reaching those countries, but betray the fact that chess in the Middle Ages was especially a diversion of the court and the cloister. But much more light might be thrown upon the story of chess in Iceland by a careful study of the nomenclature employed, at present and in the past, by the chessplayers of the island—if undertaken by an investigator familiar alike with the story of chess and with Icelandic philology and letters.

Ská (skáka); Mát (máta).

Here the first word is the English chess and check (sháka being the verb, to check). The varying forms of these words, in all the European tongues, are derived from the Persian shat (or shad, signifying "King"—the game thus owing its name to its most important—allimportant piece. The English "check!" (interjection) in Icelandic ská! As in English, the exclamatory phrases, shak skýr (check to you) and shak komnuna (check to the King) may likewise be used when attacking the opponent's chief piece.—Mát is the English "mate." (máta being the verb, to mate). The origin of both being virtually the word used by every nation—is the Arabic maqt—dead (or, according to recent investigators, the Persian māct=surprised, confounded); "checkmate," therefore, means simply: "the King dead," or "the King is dead" (or "the King is confounded"). The Icelandic renders "checkmate" by the phrase ská og mátt (i.e. "check and mate"). The verbal expression being sháka og máta.

6. Dr. A. van der Lüde, in his "Quellenstudien zur Geschichte des Schachspiels" (1881, pp. 14, 15) cites the latest authorities, the Orientalisten Gildemeister and Dury. The former, in an article in the "Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft" (XXXIV, p. 902) says:—In shahmād die Zusammenstellung eines persischen Substantivs mit einem arabischen perfekt in unangemessener Formulierung und besonders . . . untereinander, wohl man den indischen Itlurabafas überlassen. Mát ist vielleicht mit Mirz Kasef volk als Adjektiv in der bedeutung verwebt, nicht aber noch ein einwändig zu fein, daß die bei den Persen gebrauchten Substantive unbedeutung und besonders . . . untereinander, wohl man den indischen Itlurabafas überlassen. Mát ist vielleicht mit Mirz Kasef volk als Adjektiv in der bedeutung verwebt, nicht aber noch ein einwändig zu fein, daß die bei den Persen gebrauchten Substantive unbedeutung und besonders . . . untereinander, wohl man den indischen Itlurabafas überlassen. Mát ist vielleicht mit Mirz Kasef volk als Adjektiv in der bedeutung verwebt, nicht aber noch ein einwändig zu fein, daß die bei den Persen gebrauchten Substantive unbedeutung und besonders . . . untereinander, wohl man den indischen Itlurabafas überlassen. Mát ist vielleicht mit Mirz Kasef volk als Adjektiv in der bedeutung verwebt, nicht aber noch ein einwändig zu fein, daß die bei den Persen gebrauchten Substantive unbedeutung und besonders . . . untereinander, wohl man den indischen Itlurabafas überlassen. Mát ist vielleicht mit Mirz Kasef volk als Adjektiv in der bedeutung verwebt, nicht aber noch ein einwändig zu fein, daß die bei den Persen gebrauchten Substantive unbedeutung und besonders . . . untereinander, wohl man den indischen Itlurabafas überlassen. Mát is
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When Chess came to Iceland.

In regard to the date of the introduction of the game into Iceland it is undeniable that the country's most distinguished son, Snorri Sturluson, was more or less acquainted with the game, when he narrated, in St. Olaf's saga, the story of King Canute the Great and his retained, Jarl Úlf the rich. This saga was composed not far from the year 1230, but the incident related occurred two hundred years previous, so that, if we could accept Snorri's account as absolutely correct, we might infer that the oriental sport had become an accustomed diversion at the courts of the Scandinavian North as early as the first part of the eleventh century. But it is more than probable that the game played between Canute and Úlf was another sort of "bretspiel" (tart, or "tables"), while Snorri, knowing only chess, or deeming it, as it was in his own time, the proper court-game, uses the words skálad (game of chess) and riddari (knight)—the latter being the sole piece named. A suggestion has been made that a knowledge of chess might have been brought from England to Iceland, in the latter portion of the twelfth century, by any one of three well-known men, or by all of them. They are not the only natives of the island who sojourner in Great Britain during that period, but they are the most noted, and the most likely, from their surroundings, both in England and Iceland, to have learned and imported such an intellectual amusement. The first of the three notabilities in question was Þórarinn Pórraloch, bishop of Skálholt, Iceland's southern see (d. 1132 A.D. 1199). After his death he enjoyed the singular honor of canonization, not by the pope, but by authority of the Icelandic Althing, or parliament (1199)—an act popularly ratified in the Scandinavian countries and Britain (and even by the Icelandic colony then existing in Greenland), in which lands he was always styled St. Thorlak, and had many shrines erected in his honor. His appointed festival (Thorvalkams) fell on December 23. Somewhat before 1190 he went, for purposes of study, to Paris, and thence to Lincoln in England, passing six years in those two places. In his saga, one of the most interesting of the histories of the Icelandic Bishops, we are told in reference to his stay in the English city that he "learned there great learning," and returned home with a varied and extended knowledge. He was followed into foreign regions by the Icelandic notable, Hára Svinhjarnarson, a man of many accomplishments—scholar, poet, artist, physician, jurist. His most important visit to the continent apparently took place before or about 1190. He went first of all to the Orkneys, whence he returned to Iceland, but subse-

tors thereof would have been obliged not only to note, at the beginning of each game, the title of the opening played, but also to designate the particular style of ending brought about by the winning party. There are also enumerated, in accounts of the Icelandic game, many other technical terms, which, in this sketch, we have been obliged to leave unnoticed. It cannot be doubted, as has already hinted, that an art having so extended a nomenclature must have been practiced by a great number of individuals through many generations.

When Chess came to Iceland.

In regard to the date of the introduction of the game into Iceland it is undeniable that the country's most distinguished son, Snorri Sturluson, was more or less acquainted with the game, when he narrated, in St. Olaf's saga, the story of King Canute the Great and his retainer, Jarl Úlf the rich. This saga was composed not far from the year 1230, but the incident related occurred two hundred years previous, so that, if we could accept Snorri's account as absolutely correct, we might infer that the oriental sport had become an accustomed diversion at the courts of the Scandinavian North as early as the first part of the eleventh century. But it is more than probable that the game played between Canute and Úlf was another sort of "bretspiel" (tart, or "tables"), while Snorri, knowing only chess, or deeming it, as it was in his own time, the proper court-game, uses the words skálad (game of chess) and riddari (knight)—the latter being the sole piece named. A suggestion has been made that a knowledge of chess might have been brought from England to Iceland, in the latter portion of the twelfth century, by any one of three well-known men, or by all of them. They are not the only natives of the island who sojourner in Great Britain during that period, but they are the most noted, and the most likely, from their surroundings, both in England and Iceland, to have learned and imported such an intellectual amusement. The first of the three notabilities in question was Þórarinn Pórraloch, bishop of Skálholt, Iceland's southern see (d. 1132 A.D. 1199). After his death he enjoyed the singular honor of canonization, not by the pope, but by authority of the Icelandic Althing, or parliament (1199)—an act popularly ratified in the Scandinavian countries and Britain (and even by the Icelandic colony then existing in Greenland), in which lands he was always styled St. Thorlak, and had many shrines erected in his honor. His appointed festival (Thorvalkams) fell on December 23. Somewhat before 1190 he went, for purposes of study, to Paris, and thence to Lincoln in England, passing six years in those two places. In his saga, one of the most interesting of the histories of the Icelandic Bishops, we are told in reference to his stay in the English city that he "learned there great learning," and returned home with a varied and extended knowledge. He was followed into foreign regions by the Icelandic notable, Hára Svinhjarnarson, a man of many accomplishments—scholar, poet, artist, physician, jurist. His most important visit to the continent apparently took place before or about 1190. He went first of all to the Orkneys, whence he returned to Iceland, but subse-

2 In elaborating this conjecture I have been greatly aided by my friend, Mr. Bogi Thr. Mælæs, Danish assistant-archivist, and one of the most profound living students of Icelandic history.

3 Ok nam par canu miki uk. — Biskupa Sölja, (Kápmynaglerar) 1560, L. p. 22.
resented as playing chess with another Icelander, Hrani Kóbránsson, in Norway.\[11\]

The incident described took place in the autumn of 1238 while Snorri was still living. This is another piece of testimony tending to prove the great sagaman's acquaintance with chess.

All these three observant and acquisitions students were in England, among men and youth who felt a keen interest in the revival of learning and the arts, at a time when chess had come to be extensively known—especially in the convents and schools; for it was about 1180 that the abbot of Cirencester, Alexander Nockam, produced his treatise, "De naturis rerum," which had a special chapter—and a very remarkable one—devoted to an exposition of chess. This was the earliest chess-writing in England, and of course, before it could have been composed the game must have become widely spread and esteemed.

2. Chess in the Sagas.\[12\]

In treating of some of the places in the Icelandic sagas where chess is mentioned, we shall pay heed only to those passages in which the word *skíth*, or *skolith*, or *skíthvarl*, or the names of the pieces given, indicate that, in the mind of the writer at least, the incident recounted relates to chess, and not to some other game at "tables." The first citation is from St. Olaf's saga, an historical record usually ascribed to Snorri Sturluson, but which, in any event, he edited, since it is a part of his great work, the "Heimskringla"—the sagas of the kings of Norway, of whom Olaf the Holy (Ólafur helgi) was one. But really the field occupied by Snorri's work embraces not only fully, but Sweden and Denmark likewise, the author portraying, more or less fully, the stories of the kings of those lands during the period he treats.

Ólaf Saga helga.

Canute the Great (Knútur ríki), the ruler both of England and Denmark, "Sovereign of five Realms" as he is styled in the old British chronicles, once to Southern Sweden—then Danish—to suppress a rebellion, which had been incited by his son Harðanuot (Hordaknutur) and by Úlf Jarl (Úlfur Jarl, or Earl Wolf), a powerful chieftain and courtier. Rumors of the advance of the royal fleet having reached them, these latter deserted their followers and allies, among whom were the kings of Sweden and Norway, and hastened to make their peace with the monarch. The fleet sailed into the mouth of Helga river (Icelandic, *dýr helga*—the holy river), where a fierce battle ensued. The Anglo-Danish King's own ship was at one time in imminent danger, but Úlf Jarl, at great personal hazard, succeeded in saving it. Canute now went to Roskilde, the capital of his Danish domains, where he arrived the day before the feast of St. Michael in the year 1027. Here Úlf Jarl, eager to wipe out his former offence, welcomed him with a splendid banquet, and endeavored, by merry words and submissive speeches, to reinstate himself in Canute's graces. But all his efforts to please the inclined monarch were futile; the latter continued to look grave and ill-natured. In the course of the evening the Jarl challenged his sovereign to a game of chess, and the chal-
In 1157, something more than a hundred years after the death of Canute, another historic game of chess, and another royal violation of hospitality, took place in the ancient city of Roskilde. In that year the kingdom of Denmark was divided between three monarchs, Svend (Sweyn), Valdemar and Canute the Young. The game was played as a test of their relative strength.

Fifth. This took place, after years of conflict between Svend on the one hand and Valdemar and Canute on the other. Each king was to rule over a third of the realm, and each owed the other the support of his subjects. But it did not last more than three days. Canute asked his brother monks to give him a few days of festivity with him at Roskilde. Svend came with a crowd of soldiers. One evening at the chessboard, Canute sat at the chessboard and Valdemar sat at the other side of the board. Canute replied: "You would have run much farther away at the Holga river, if you had been able. You did not call me a coward then, when I came to your help, while the Swedes were slaying your men like dogs." The next morning the pious Canute, who rebuked his irreligious courtiers by the sea-side with such religious philosophy, and who had just returned from an humble pilgrimage to Rome, sent one of his Norwegian men-at-arms to take Canute and Canute, in which the poor Jarl had taken sanctuary, and had him slain in the choir. This adds another to the singular parallels of history, for Ulf Jarl appears to have been Canute the Great whom Thomas-a-Becket was to be Henry the Second.}

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laid in his brief reign on each plough in the kingdom), had begun to rule wisely and well over the fierce and war-loving people of his realm—then a much bigger country than now. In the summer of 1250 he was on his way to defend the town of Rendsburg on the Eider, against the attack of some predatory German bands, when he received an invitation from his brother Abel to visit him in Sliesvig. The unsuspicious and open-hearted Eric accepted. After dinner, on the ninth of August, the very day of his arrival under the fatal roof, he retired to a little pavilion near the water, to enjoy a quiet game of chess with a knight whose name was Henric Kerkwerder. As they were thus engaged, the black-handed Abel entered the room, marched up to the chess-table, accompanied by several of his retainers, and began to overwhelm the King with abuse. Finally the unfortunate Eric was seized, thrown into chains, and basely murdered the same night. Poor King! Little did he merit so cruel a checkmate, for the commencement of his career was full of promise for himself and his dominions.

**Fingils Saga skarða.**

Our next chess event took place in 1241-42 and is narrated in the saga of Fingils skarði (which is to say, Fingils of the bare-lip). It chances also that this incident, like one already treated, has a certain relation to Snorri Sturluson, for Gissur Vørvaldsson—known as Earl Gisur (Gisur Jarl) in Icelandic history—though he appears in it, was the chief actor in the history of the great historian. Boðvar, the son of Pétur Sturluson, and therefore the nephew of Snorri, after the conclusion of the political feud which terminated in his uncle’s death, was obliged not only to take an oath of feudal loyalty to Gisur, the enemy of his house, but to hand over to the latter as hostages his own son (Fingils Bóvarsson, the son who afterwards became noted as Fingils skarði) and his own brother (Guthormur Pétarson). Fingils was at that time only fifteen years of age, but sturdy of arm and will as the race he sprang from. He spent the first winter at Gisur’s residence, called Tunga, and Gróa, Gisur’s wife, treated him most kindly. It happened, one day, that Fingils and Sámur Magnusson, a kinsman of Gisur, quarreled over a game of chess. Sámur wanted to take back a knight, which he had set en prise (i.e., en prise), but Fingils would not permit him to do it. Then one of Gisur’s retainers, called Markús Markarson, advised that the knight should be allowed to go back to its old square, “and don’t be brawling at chess!” he added. Fingils said that he did not intend to accept either counsel or command from Markús, and suddenly swept the men off the table, and let them fall into their pouch; then, standing up, he struck at the ear of Sámur (with the pouch of chessmen, as the construction would seem to imply), so that the ear bled. At the same time he exclaimed:—“It is much too know that we cannot venture to hold ourselves equal in anything to the kinsmen of Gisur.” Then there was a running out of the room to inform Gisur of the deed, and of Fingils’ slighting remark; Gisur entered and asked whether Sámur did not dare to avenge himself. Guthormur and Gróa were sitting at the same settle, when Gisur came into the room, and they heard that he scolded the boys angrily; whereupon they drew near, and with them. Fingils was answering Gisur in a way that was very provoking. Gróa took her husband’s hand and said:—“Why do you act in such an angry way? I should think that you are the person to be responsible, even if he should do something demanding legal compensation”—meaning that Gisur was obliged by law to pay fines for acts committed by hostages while in his household or charge. Gisur answered:—“As to that I will not accept your judgment.” She replied:—“Then I will pay the fine, if you be adjudged.” With that they led Fingils aside, and begged him to reply submissively to Gisur, but Fingils cried out that he would not do that. Various persons then offered their advice, calling the whole thing a childish affair. So the matter was allowed to rest, but after that Gisur was always colder towards Fingils. —This story is interesting in more than one way. It shows that even youth—of the better classes—were, at that day, acquainted with chess; that the custom was to keep the chess-sets in pouches, or purposely-made bags; and that chess nomencloches thus early included a phrase equivalent to our croupier. The young chessplayer, Fingils, became in time a champion of high importance, warmly trusted by his friends, feared by his enemies, and of all Icelanders of his time stood highest in the regard of the Norwegian King, Håkon the Old. He was slain in a political fight January 22, 1285, only thirty-two years of age, and his saga—which is a part of the great Sturlunga saga—was written not many years afterwards.

**Gaumundar Saga góa.**

We have alluded, on another page of this volume, to a bishop of Skálholt in Iceland who was popularly canonized and styled St. Thorlak. A like instance also occurs in the history of Iceland’s northern see—that of Hólar. Gaumundur the Holy, a most pious prelate, who presided over the Hólar diocese, died in the year 1227, and many were the miracles performed by him both before and after death. His successor was Bóthir, a Norwegia, whose unauthorized consecration by the primate of Thrandheim was not very gratefully received by the Icelandic clergy and people who were thus placed under his jurisdiction. His life is contained in a short appendix (for he held his office only eight years) to the saga of Bishop Guðmund, and it includes the following anecdote:—“It happened once in Hólar, at Christmas, that two deacons, or minor priests, were playing chess, one of whom was hasty of speech and quarrelsome. Bishop Bóthir came into the room, sat down on a settle in front of the players, and interfered in the play by giving advice to one of the combatants, in whose favor the game soon began to turn, so that he was near wiping out his adversary, a feat which was largely the result of the

16 "If sb. else were to say, 'I’m a king and this is my land,' Borgis Bóvarsson or Sám Magnusson would retort, 'What are you then, a king? Look! Here it is me who's king! In this province, I am a king. That purely yours! You can't get here without my leave!"
bishops' counsel. Then, naturally, the priest, whose game had gone so badly, became angry, and said to the bishop, without any regard to the latter's episcopal dignity: — "It is better for you, brother Bötlóf, to go to the cathedral, and read over the talk you have got to make to-night, for what you said last night was all wrong; moreover your predecessor, the holy bishop Gjómsund, gave his attention rather to the saying of prayers and the giving of alms than to the schemes of chess." Therewith Bishop Bötlóf answered his deacon more wisely and calmly than he had been addressed: — "Thanks, my good deacon, I shall take your wholesome advice, and betake myself to the cathedral. What you say, too, is true—many things and great things distinguished the character of Bishop Gjómsund, when contrasted with mine." The chronicler goes on to say that Bötlóf was always thereafter a quiet and modest man—in fact, not severe enough for those he had to rule. He died on a visit to Thord-hjorn—which was called in those days Niðarós—and was buried in the monastery of Helgísstur not far away from that episcopal city. 86

Kroka-Refr Saga.

There is a brief Icelandic saga, the text of which, in its latest and best edition, fills only a little over forty not very large pages, which is known as the saga of Kroka-Refr. It is the history of an Icelandic, who received from his parents at his birth the name of Reður (= fox), on account of the character of his bearer developed subsequently, became Kroka-Refr, that is "Refr the Wily." The book is full of adventures, and the number of manuscripts of it extant evince the popularity it long enjoyed. It has, however, been classed among the fabulous sagas, but the various later editors agree in recognizing not a little historical truth at the bottom of it, and consider that some of its events, which are recorded as having taken place in the tenth century, were really transmitted traditionally—somewhat distorted in their chronology—to the period when the saga was written down, about the middle of the fourteenth century. The scenes are laid partly in Iceland, Norway and Denmark, but in good part, too, in the fæðsland of Greenland, among the Icelandic colonists, so that the saga belongs, in a certain sense, to the literature which relates to the early Icelandic discovery of America. At any rate it shows that, three centuries and a half after the first voyages to the New World made by the Spanish and Portuguese, in the western hemisphere, the idea of commercial and friendly relations with the settlements in the new world, to which these voyages gave rise, was still in

86 "Ísar bar til íslensk tína á hólasat, at jöulum, at tvrja dýkur-laga súðrit skáðuð, var aunar dýkjanum fræðri ok upphlóðaði minkil, kom þa herra Reður biskup ím í stofna, ok seltit níðar þar efnam þraumman sem klukkarlir í tállur, haglu til mið hún klukkurum, þak það hallast tætt, at það erum var koði at mútt, at miði tilhugum súðrit; reððum klukkr-sú, at er veggveik tætt, veg skægjandi til biskups: betra er þær, lóður Reður; at færa át til kirkjus, ok fær því reððum þegar þau, er át át til ínns, þíttat það aút langt í fyrri súði; starfsfél og Gjómsund biskup, sem fyrir jok var notari, ok sewið efnumeðan ok ðjúgumæðum súðrit, í þvatthjónum. Í þeim varar herra Róður-biskup dýkjanum að frega, þegar er þaðar-lagur súðrit um vali; var því valið: haf því fyrir, ðjúkki minni þetta þíturhlutf skal eða, at færa til kirkjus, ségr þó þat joy eða, at rottur eða ann ðjúkki herra Reðurum ok níðar; þar herra Róður biskup í þumum hlutum þaðar-lagur ok ðjúkki, er kom elgj stjóra til þau sína umdurnum sem hafli; var því sem hafli lítit gamur at gæfin, at hafli upp þarlegum Gjómsundum biskupum. Var hvarn Hólskópum að vel á ári, at er foran um andælis í Niðarós ok Hólskópum. Biskups þögur II. (containing the appendix, or Þatleh, to the Gjómsund Saga ána gels by Abbot Arvollareyns), pp. 186–189 (Kaupsómannsháls 1878).
the occasion to send to King Harald three valuable gifts of Greenlandic origin. These are a full-grown white bear in good condition; a tannstaft, made with great skill and the skull of a walrus (or perhaps some object formed out of the jaw), having all its teeth, which were carved and, in places, enamelled with gold. When the tannstaft is presented to the King, Óláfr accompaniments the gift with this speech:—“Here is a tøft, my lord, which is sent to you by the foremost man in Greenland, who is called Gunnar; he demands nothing for it except your friendship. I was with him two winters, and he treated me nobly; he will most gladly have your favor.” Then the writer adds:—“-væð verði hnefstaft og skilstaft.” This statement would be most interesting could we make sure of comprehending it rightly. Tannstaft (tann = tooth, or task) may mean:—1, a set of men used in playing any game of tables, made of (walrus) teeth, or (walrus) task; or it may possibly signify:—2, a board for such a game, made out of the same material; or one may conceive that it might include:—3, both the men and the board. This is, however, little more than guess-work, on account of the dubious signification of the word tøft, which we discuss elsewhere. It is also difficult to understand the final underscored phrase except by assigning to tannstaft the second of the three meanings which we have indicated. Literally the phrase reads:—“It [i.e. the tannstaft] was both a hnefstaft [board for playing hnefstaft] and a skilstaft.” Now we do not precisely what short of a game hnefstaft was, nor can we be certain that the writer intends to say that the two games were played on a board, marked or designed in precisely the same way for whichever game it was used. It may possibly be that the surfaces used for the two games were of quite unlike forms, and that the board was both a hnefstaft and a skilstaft, because one was drawn upon one side of the board and the other upon the other, as one sees old (or even modern) chessboards having upon the reverse side a fox-and-geese board, or a twelve-man-morris board. Were the meaning that only a chessboard, with its sixty-four squares, was represented, and that it was used also for hnefstaft, it would go far to tell us what hnefstaft was, namely, that it was drafts (checkers), or some allied sport. There is little doubt that an Icelander writing in the fourteenth century would know all about the game; perhaps it was even so familiar a diversion that the author of the saga took no pains to describe it precisely.

Mágsa Saga.

In the varied domain of the literature written in the speech of Iceland a special field is occupied by the Romantic or knightly sagas. These are mainly translations, or paraphrases, of tales drawn from the mediaval legendary cycles of western Europe. In their Icelandic form they date back to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and are the work of writers attached to the Norwegian court. In one of these compositions, the long Karlmannsnjóga saga, there is a casual mention of chess. It is stated—we quote from both the extant manuscripts, one of which is slightly earlier than the other—that the renowned champion Oddgeir (Holger Danske) was playing chess with Glo- riant, a daughter of King Amiral (Jau Oddgeir ok konungs dóttir löwa at skiltstaft), when ill tidings were brought in, whereupon Oddgeir shoved the board from his knee and spake (Oddgeir skaut tøfform at konjum sér ok meðli)18 concerning the evil intelligence thus received.

Tristram was not aware of the changed situation until they were at a distance from the land. Then he said to the merchants:—"Why are you doing this?" They answered:—"Because we will that you accompany us." Then he began to weep and to be distressed, and to bewail, as did also the knight, out of his love to Tristram, their sad condition. Therupon the Norsemen took his teacher and let him down into a boat, giving him an oar. And now the sails are set and the ship is at full speed, but Tristram is sitting sad and sorrowful at the mercy of these strangers. Afterwards he wanders about—a Northern Ulysses—for a long time, meeting with many marvellous adventures. In the English poem, Tristrem, as he is there called, catches sight of a chessboard on a chair, and wagers with a sailor twenty shillings against a hawk; he wins six hawks, which he offers to his brothers; and his fosterfather, Roland, taking the fairest one, bids him good bye, and walks away with the other youths. Tristrem continues to play, and gains a hundred pounds by his skill, but suddenly noticing that the boat is moving, weeps sorely. Then his master is sent off with the boat and oar, and Tristrem is left a captive.

A third one of these knightly romances, the "Braga-Mâgu sagâ," has two long chess episodes, not unlike each other. King Ætæmundur, by some called Loðóvíkun (lunmar nefna hann Ætæman, er hann ók heisvating; en meri nýkkur svo hølt til vísu sia titul, er af ei heisárunna er skrýmr, at hann númi við af þof hafrum særórum Karlsvagnarbotn kletur, ok svo segja fætur barður, at hann haft Loðóvíkun heilíti), who ruled over Saxony (Saxland), finds a princess captive in the hands of a Jarl, Hirtungrun, and longs to possess her. He demands the amount of her ransom. The Jarl replies that he will only release her in return for three objects of great value belonging to the king. These three things the Jarl was to be allowed to select. After consultation with one of his counsellors, the monarch tells the Jarl that he will accept the terms, with the proviso that, if he chooses, he may subsequently redeem the three valuable objects by substituting for them two costly gold rings, which he shall deem of half the value of the precious objects pawned; for the other half of the debt the Jarl and he are to play three games at chess, the winner to possess all the valuables in question. The Jarl agrees, and

says:—"I need not go to your camp or treasury to select the three things I desire; I choose, as ransom for the maiden, the horse you now sit on; the falcon which rests on your wrist; and the sword which hangs at your side." "Even if you had searched my treasury," replies the King, "you could not have chosen three objects which I so unwillingly part with; but, however that may be, I shall stand by our agreement." He then strips himself of the three rare possessions, and sends them by his man Brofir to the princess that she may herself purchase her freedom. But he orders to be brought a beautiful chessboard which he owns, and declares himself already ready to play the three stipulated games. The two begin their

Walter Scott published in 1801 an elaborate edition. The following stanza (xxv-xxvi) describe the carrying off of Tristram:

A chéfer he fond li a cheiro
He asked, who would play?
Da mariner apré honnor,
I child, what willow lay?
"Ogilie na haune de noble air
Tuaveh shilling, to say:
Whelker so umcas eynor fair,
Bere hém højo owcy."
Wip wite
Pe mariner swore bi faye:
"For syge, ich held hør títle!"
Now højo her wedde lyce
And play pilh bagnáce; Ysect he bøp pe long naco And enfre bøp þor inne. Du pley bighnac to arine, Tristrem depre avinace. He dede als so pe wince, He gaf hee he gæn winne Is raf; Of pleye ar he wald blisne, Sex basishe he gæt a gæf.

Rohand toke lese to ga,
His sons he eloped owy;
Pe fædu hatch he gan to,
Rat Tristrem wan þat day.
Wip he he left ma
Pass for to play;
Da mariner swore al on,
Jest paws wold he lay
An atorne;
Tristrem wan þat day
Of him an hundred ponde.

Tristrem wan þat þor was loid.
A tunaum heer was made;
No longer lu þe mariner seyd,
Of gate nas þer no bade.
As pát est et and play;
Out of hæmen þal rode;
Open þo se so gray
Fron þe brorcus trude
Gate feto;
Of led þal were wel glade,
And Tristrem bore wepo.

His meister þau þal fand
A bot and an are:
Hyn seyden: "Zoed hee le bor,
And here shallow to bare:
Cheue on aylar hawd,
Whelker þe leser woca
Sick er stillie stande:
Da child alsh wip on eare.
On spid:"
Tristrem spere ful sara,
Peul long and pouget it gale.

These stanzas are in volume II of Kölbing's publication, pp. 11-12. Once more, in this old English poem, chess is mentioned. It is when Tristram goes to Ireland. He had been severely wounded, but he was still a man far a gae at (dacta CXLII, p. 35):—

An byra man hee was ill,
Pe he war wounded wane;
His gles wern so sellico,
Pe wondour pouget hem pare;
His harp, his crowle was rope; His table, his chee hee ban;
Here is a distinction made between tables and chess, as elsewhere in early English.
Jarl Ásmundi. Though still a boy, he—like Tristram, of whom we have just read—was an adept in all the accomplishments of the day, and it was whispered that King Ólafs vér (Louis), though older, was filled with jealousy of the precocious youth. Just then, as we are told, the King was keeping high festival, and he and all his ministers and men-at-arms drank deeply at daily banquets; and there was a good deal of talk, says the sagaman, “as there is wont to be at drink.” This talk turned one day on the many arts known to the King. In the course of it some of the retainers asked a man called Úlfur (Wolf) whether he thought it possible to find in the land any one who was the King’s equal in feats of skill; of course, they added, there can be nobody who would not shirk playing chess with him. Úlf said it was not unlikely that a person might be found who could play that game nearly as well as the King. The others ascertained that there could be no one in the world able to do even that, and one of the men, Sveinn by name, added:—“We know that you are thinking that Rognvald jarlsson does not play any worse than the King.” “I don’t say that,” replied Úlf, “but I do think that Rognvald plays well.” Sveinn then said:—“It would be futile to put Rognvald before the King in regard to any sport or skill, but the King shall know what disgrace you are casting upon him and his rank.” “Repeat my words rightly to the King, and I shall not disavow them,” retorted Úlf. Sveinn replied:—“It will not need to report worse ones,” and the company separated. Not long after, the King sent for Úlf, and said to him:—“We learn that you declare Rognvald jarlsson to be better at chess than we.” Úlf said that those were not his true words, “for I have never thought of underrating your strength at chess, or at any other art, but often I do not remember that I say over some not very good drink.” And further:—“I am glad to hear that you are considering the question, in discussion the King said:—“Two conditions I desire to lay upon you; the first that Rognvald must meet me; the second is that otherwise I must have you slain.” Úlf replied:—“I hold a man when his life’s at stake; if you make it a mortal matter, then I must try to get Rognvald to play with you.” Úlf then goes off to ask the young champion to come to his rescue by meeting the King over the board. The Queen, unhappy at the prospect of bloodshed, sends a message to Rognvald urging him to accept the King’s challenge. Rognvald declared that he consensed—chiefly because the Queen wished him to do so—on condition that the playing should take place outside the King’s castle; a grove near the castle, in which tournaments were held, was accordingly selected and the day for the combat fixed. Rognvald’s father, a man of frank and upright character, predicted much evil from the encounter, but all met at the appointed hour and place, including many courtiers of the court, and also the Queen. Rognvald told his men to see that the horses of himself and his brothers were saddled as soon as the chessplay seemed to be half over. On arrival he found the King and Queen seated on chairs, of which there were two others. Rognvald, after saluting the sovereigns, took one of the seats and awaited the King’s pleasure. A chessboard was lying on the knees of the King, who began by saying:—“Is it true, Rognvald, that you have offered to play with me? If true, I love you, and I will play a better chessplayer than I!” Whereupon Rognvald:—“That I have not said, but I have announced to you that this would make me come to you with chess, unless you come to-day; although I do not know too much about the game, still I am willing to set according to
rode off without finding him, but soon learned that he remained behind to some purpose; for, enraged at the treatment of Rögnvald, he used his battle-axe to cleave the unworthy King's head. Thus this unhappy chess-match led to many woes. The Queen invited the emperor Carlomann to avenge the death of her husband, but, after much fighting, the clever Rögnvald was reconciled with the powerful monarch, married the beautiful Queen Ermanga, and passed his last years in peace, encountering, as may be hoped, no more such stormy chess incidents as the one here recorded. 56

Other Sagas.

In the Viglendar saga, one of the fictitious sagas, or wholly invented tales which came long after the close of the classic period, and are little known.

56næma thaugnýsins kunnag, þvi at hann hafrv eini taddrægu sin meira frammi hafi; var ek ekki helsta þetta tattf, þvi at þær þakkar alveit komist, þitt hann bafr. Sínan settist Rögnvald safer, og setind þær sauð af, og þókk konungur hógrækt. Rögnvald stód þá upp með nema hestvi ek fyrir, og þar þat eigi spis til greina. Konungur var þar hafið reif. Sína þeirra tattf hrjóla; var þall þakka það komst af nóf, og þókk konungur þeim;kunnag. Konungur s var þar þátta, og eirei í þingi. Allir mun þora þar þopla


Fraga-Móga Saga, edited by Geirnfluftar Pétursson (Kjómsóknabilin 1858), pp. 43-45.

Another and earlier MS of this saga was edited by Gudbrand Cæcilisdrís in his “Fornar- ulfr Sigurðar” (Land 1884), pp. 1-42, the text of which differs somewhat from the later one which we have cited. In the introduction to his collection, Cæcilisdrís treats interestingly of the origin of the Mógis saga (pp. 35-37). In the MS he uses, the King, who contended in the first chess episode with Hringur, is here called emperor, and Hringur is introduced as Ísæu, Jarl of Ireland. The result of the three games is the same, but after the first contest, when his opponent tries to decline the priceless objects, and to terminate the match, the emperor says: —Ye cannot be allowed to run away without having received compensation; for now I intend to give you a most meritorious mark. The other, or Rögnvald episode, though more concisely recorded, does not vary much from that in the younger

transcript. The saga exists in both French (“Quatre de Quatuor,” or “René de Mont THROUGH LACONIUM”) and Danish (“Lærredskabet”). The latter came from the end of the thirteenth century. In both, the main incident is the chess match between Rögnvald (Renéau) and the King. The first of these productions was well known to the Englishman, Alexander North- ham (Secchiarius), and is mentioned in the chapter de Ratiis of his book, “De natura rea-

rum,” the date of which is about 1190. In the course of the chapter the writer contextual — “Quo post militis Relationis transacta sovent occasione Ilium illius, quo Reginaldos [Rögnvald] filium Rhenæ in calculis ludorum urem genere cum illa ludenda in palatio Caroli magni cum uno accoiacere intereunt!” — once the nesciachoppi opiates that the ancient medical version learned the story outside of France it was probably in England—to which, as we have seen in another place, not a few of the levers of literary ability resorted in this very twelfth century. Giunti Paolo supposes that Northham knew the legend in an earlier form when composing his rom-
3. — The Story of Frithiof. 20

There is a romantic, or non-historical, saga, the action of which is largely laid in a tract in Norway, which is styled Frithiof's Saga. In it there is an episode describing a game at "tables," of the sort known in ancient times as "hnefatafl," between two of the characters. The passage has been thus Englished: — "They [the sons of King Belo] sent their fosterer to Frithiof to bid him come help them against King Ring. Now Frithiof sat at the knife-play table, when Hilding came thither, who spoke thus:—"Our kings send thee greeting, Frithiof, and would have thee help in battle against King Ring, who cometh against their realm with violence and wrong." Frithiof answered him nought, but said to Björn, with whom he was playing:—"A bare place in thy board, foster-brother, and nowise mayst thou amend it; say, for my part I shall beset thy red piece there, and wot whether it be safe. Then Hilding spake again:—"King Holgi bade me say thus much, Frithiof, that thou shouldst go on this journey with them, or else look for ill at their hands when they at last come back." 'A double game, foster-brother,' said Björn; 'and two ways to meet thy play.' Frithiof said:—"Thy play is to fall first on the knife, yet the double game is sure to be." No other out-come of his errand had Hilding; he went back speedily to the Kings, and told them Frithiof's answer. They asked Hilding what he made out of those words. He said:—"Whereas he spake of the bare place he will have been thinking of the lack in this journey of yours; but when he said he would beset the red piece, that will mean ingibjorg, your sister; so give you all the heed ye may to her. But whereas I threatened him with ill from you, Björn deemed the game a double one: but Frithiof said that the knife must be set on first, speaking thereby of King Ring." 21

On the incidents of this Icelandic saga, Einar Tegnér, the foremost of Swedish poets, built, in the first quarter of this century, his immortal poem of...
THE STORY OF FRITHIOF

(for, in that day, Norway was partitioned among various sovereigns), and Frithiof's good sword and warlike skill are needed. The Kings consequently send Hilding on an embassy to the aforesaid warrior. Hilding finds him playing chess with his trusted companion, Björn. The indirect, allegorical way in which Frithiof contrives, by addressing remarks concerning the game to his adversary, to answer Hilding's queries, is thus described by the poet.

We translate literally, and do not attempt to preserve either rhyme or metre:

Frithiof plays Chess.

The story of the poem follows closely that of the saga. The hero of the poem, as of the saga, is Frithiof, a Norse peasant-warrior; the heroine is Ingeborg, a daughter and sister of kings. These two were placed, when young, under the care and in the house of the same foster-father, Hilding, where their affections soon turned to each other. "King Bela, who was on terms of intimacy with his bold brother-in-arms, Thorstein, the father of Frithiof, did not look with displeasure upon this disposal of his daughter's hand. But, unfortunately, Bele and his friend, Thorstein, died, and the haughty sons of the King came to reign in his stead. They had no idea of seeing the proud blood of Odin mingle with that of a peasant, and Frithiof's suit was sternly and publicly rejected. The disappointed hero retires to his estate, full of bitter thoughts against his sovereigns. But all at once a war breaks out between the sons of Bele and a neighboring monarch, King Kingingorp in Balders's garden
All the day long a sucking weeping;
Cannot also to sit on my knee
The weeper with eyes of blue?

"The Queen, Björn, then kindly humbled;
Dear to me in every contest
She's the chessboard's noblest figure.
How ever it go she must be saved."

"Frithiof, wilt thou never answer?
Shall thy foster-father have thee
Unsealed from thy tower's depth?
Because thy doll-play will not end!"

Frithiof then arose, and taking
Hilding's hand in his responded:
"Father, I've already answered,
Thus have I sealed my soul's restored.
Ride and tell the sons of Bele
What I've said; they scorned my friendship, Broken are the bonds that bound us,
Never will I be their man."

"Well, follow then the path thou choosest,
I cannot but anger measure,
Great Odin guide all things aright!"
Spako old Hilding as he went.

The modern Icelandic translation of Tegner's poem was first published at Reykjavik in 1866 under the title of "Fríðþjófs saga," and was rendered in the original metres. It may, with truth, he said that the reading of this version affords even greater pleasure than the perusal of the Swedish original. In the first place, the rendering is very exact, and the melody of the verse most effectually reproduced, and, in the second place, not only the proper names and the old mythical terms, but even the incidents of the tale have an effect, which, when given in the language of the saga, which it is difficult to match in any modern tongue. The translator is the Rev. Matthias Joachimsson (6. November 1835), the foremost Icelandic poet of the present generation, who has published many volumes of original verse, while among his

27 The play upon words cannot be preserved in English; bonds, the Swedish verbvalig, signi-
28 A free translation is that by the Rev. William Lovewyck Stanley (Dublin 1857), though

26 CHESS IN ICELAND

Frithiof's Saga. It may be styled a love-epos, composed of lyrics, in each of which the metre corresponds to the sense. As the commentators of his time rendered the name given to the game in the old saga by "chess," the poet was enabled, partly by paraphrasing the original account of the game, partly by availing himself of his knowledge of chess and its nomenclature, to construct, out of this portion of the saga, a lyric of striking interest. Thus, although the anonymous author of the Icelandic saga did not have chess in his mind, but quite a different game, Tegnér, by the sixth song or canto of his poem ("Frithiof plays chess"), has managed to connect, by a new link, the art of chess with Icelandic literature.

25 Tegnér first published some cantos (XIX-XXIV) of his poem in a literary journal "Iduna," in its eighth (1839) and ninth (1841) parts. This magazine appeared at Stockholm, and was the organ of the "Goldschreiben" (Goldschreibbund) - a bellissimo society, which, drawing up an "Old Swedish Literatur und Geschichte," and from patriotic themes, the "Frithiofs Saga" was issued as its complete form at Stockholm in 1855, and has since gone through a great number of editions. The chess game is still in its poem, it has been rendered into nearly all the languages of Europe - even the modern Greek and the ancient Latin - and into some of them by many different hands. Two Danish men, Harriett and the other (Bergen 1839) by H. Penn, they were soon followed by several others. The first German version was by Ludolph Schley in 1855 (Uppland); the first English rendering was that of William Siemens in 1855 (London); the first French one was not issued until 1845 (Paris) by M. L. de Pauli; the first Dutch one was given to the public in 1841 (Utrecht) by P. L. F. C. van Roosdorp, and in the same year the poem appeared in Italian (Venice), rendered by Polish men in 1856 - parts having appeared previously. The earliest Slavonic version was the Russian one of 1841, followed by the translations into Finnish (1852), Debouion (1851), and other tongues. The most recent and exact edition is the German rendering by Ewald Engelmann (Stuttgart 1857), emended with engravings from drawings by a group of noted German artists. Frithiof's Saga has been more or less dramatized, and all its most popular cantos have been repeatedly set to music by Swedish and German composers. An excellent bibliography of the Icelandic saga, and its poetical paraphrase by Tegnér, was prepared by Gustaf von Lieben (3d ed., Frankfurt 1873) - fairly complete down to 1871 - and was issued, together with the Swedish text, a German prose translation, very full illustrative notes, and a complete Swedish-German vocabulary; it is to be regretted that Lieben's list of editions, translations and comments, have not been continued.
THE STORY OF FRITIHOF

Canto from the second edition of the "Frisbjöösnaga" (Reykjavik 1884), pp. 39-41:

FRITIJOF SITAR Å TALFI

Set med främsta fosterländer
Frisbjöösnaga så talferhjärt;
Resell stille och sundagulli
Barter skapade här i.

Hiding på i talfer vender,
Römmun tagar prada dräner.
"Så och tag vil förgr unall,
Foster kvar, och så fört roj all." 

"Kryknja hör och filiala
Håll! Frisbjöö plynghar hela,
Maxbygn kör på lilla så hela,
Laudab givsval trogråhur hjär.

Drapning målade: "Taj, så götun,
Rabbing är i skörd bokn;
Römmun hoom hjary sak ruo,
Dönnun juöjan skotapoin er.

"Ega ol, färst, maga hara,
Obnem þrekast jöbhia arn,
Kolv, þer þeringsvini nothi megi,
Morii þerður eir þær.

"I, hrafna, hrokk þei setar,
Hela valda skal og hóbur,
Hafn þei framhaf hafn vald.
Drar sig i ni skaljööber jvå.

Ingeborg i Balderskagen,
Sitter och fórgötar same.
Kan han den ut striða uj locka,
Gierloncram med历年 blown?

"Drotning, Björn, du skjönt jagar,
Var mig kör från barndomheggar
Hun är speltis böiti dregga,
Har daf gåar, hon räddas mi.

"Frisbjöö, vil du leka svara?
Skalk din fosterländer jak
Görran från dig går, smeden
Roter skal Vestal t te, t?"

Dja sig Frisbjöö upp och lade
Hindungs hand i din och se:
"Fadar, jag har svarat redan,
Du har bön ni sjelfi bedent.
Rid att Beles numra lata
Havd jag sagt; de krekna ni ara,
Igin bad jag du mig fatta,
Gafnlig jag var dera man.

"Vål, din egna hana vadtr,
Rj kan jag din verta klasa,
Ole styre till det hela!"

Nade Hindungs och förvarnas.
for originally those were addressed to the poet's lady love. These earliest "Friðþjófnirurum"—which lack the manuscõgur—are in five cantos. A notice of the work was published by Eugen Kolbing, with some extracts, which are compared with portions of the Swedish poem, in order to prove the probability of Tegnér's acquaintance, not only with the ancient saga, but with this more modern metrical version. Dr. Kolbing's essay is of interest, but Jón Pórkelsson, the younger, considers that the Friðþjófnirurum do not rise, in point of literary skill, above the average of similar productions of an equally early date. More recently these old rimur have been printed in full at the end of Ludvig Larsson's edition of the prose Friðþjófs saga, and carefully annotated. The account of the game at hnefataft occurs in canto ii, stanzas 12-22, as follows:

Eðki fræga erindi munnum
Osmarr háðður en þenni,
Kapllan þa fyr kongu rum
Mot hætin melin viða.
Hægri spárli hildinga að,
Hvæt skil orða þyssu,
Greinum mik og, hvæt garþaþin, það,
Ef granmer villi þess hafna.

Fyrir þa hæti um við Damn,
Svæði fara tima,
Hvegrs, got eg, þar hætti að hvít
Hafna í dreitr díma.

Bar en og þeir hætri af hendi þin
Hvítum vanntíu kas,
Veik þá tatt þess váum sin
Vopnfosum og broist.

Jórunn gð tanbraða tókn og
Tresám fyrri þa teleð,
Hinn kvenn samnið af hafnusum lagt,
Hringa mann vaða skýra.

Svo mäðru fyr yótna við
Sváði þýnnar guða,
Hvegr og eðla honna nýtt,
Hlitta broði meða. 36

In the present century the history of Friðþjóf has been twice similarly treated, but subsequently to the publication of Tegnér's work. The first is in the "Rimur of Friðþjóf frækna," comprising seven songs, composed in 1857 by Ærlí Sigurðsson, of Skútí, in North Iceland, a little-known rimur-writer. They exist, still unedited, in the manuscript collection of the Icelandic Literary Society (Bókmentatalag) at Copenhagen, with other rimur by the same hand. They are little likely to see the light, since the libraries

36 "Beiträge zur vergleichenden geschichte der romanischen poesie und prosa des mittelalter" (Dresden, 1876), pp. 207-2127, being an essay "Über die verschiedenheit bearbeitung der friðþjófssaga."
4. — Stray Notes.

Magnús Olafsson's Latin Poem on Chess

The reverend Magnús Ólafsson, a posthumous son of a poor peasant, was born in Eyjafjarðarsýsla in North Iceland in 1373. His mother, in wandering about one winter night to beg food for her child, perished with cold, and was found, the next morning, with her living son lying upon her breast. He was adopted by the well-to-do Benedikt Halldórsson, who had discovered and rescued him, and who sent him, later on, to be educated at the Cathedral school of Hólar, whence he entered the University of Copenhagen about 1399. He became a man of great learning, compiled what may possibly be looked upon as the first printed Icelandic lexicum (*Specimen lecticum Runicum*); published at Copenhagen in 1650, served for a while as rector of the Hólar school, and died as priest of Laufás, not far from his birth-place, in 1636. He was a constant correspondent, on archaeological and philological subjects, of the distinguished Danish antiquary, Ole (Olaus) Worm, to whom he dispatched in 1627 or 1628, a set of Icelandic chessmen, accompanying them by two stanzas in Latin, which we here copy, with the author's notes, as printed in Worm's correspondences, making only some slight orthographic (or typographic) changes in the Icelandic vocables:

*AD D. D. OLAUM WORMIJUM*

De Skakis ad eum missis.

1. Lateros ad illis
   Ludere hast redes,
   Cero conamo levi
   Clarum vis dace in lato,
   Crescam dementi
   Gocia gravem roet
   Gens discordior, esse.

2. Translatid in monstis
   Thumos pleonasta Cyron,
   Sidron, nice, formos;
   Satellites, alvo,
   Postigam Vener virtus
   Vener exsistere
   Fecro quod convenient
   Ciasmur luminum.

Skallus siro Shelmastur in voce liugra Noreg, idem est, gres Latro vaticinus (Schoeber etiam Garcia. Latro doctor) Item ad skakis (infiniter est inaequa, non ad eum.)

Talis forma Rhythmone generalissima olim tuit in Lingua Norveg, ut etiam Danica, gres afflictant Driotrigi, qu. vulgo cantabile; Driot enimurbationis significant. Hac etiam Heroum facie decentiatur.

The popularity of this brief poem is that it is an attempt to reproduce in Latin the so-called drottninghvers, an antique Icelandic metrical form in which the very ancient skaldic versiun, which appear in so many of the sagas, are
Concerning the Game of Chess.

They [the Icelanders] have also in their country especially occupied themselves with the practice of the game of chess, which they are said to play in such a masterly and perfect way that they sometimes spend some weeks' time—playing each day—on a single game, before they can bring it to an end by the victory of the one or the other combattant. But of whom they first learned this art I have not read.

The other witness to whom we refer is a book widely read in its day—both in English and French. It was styled "An account of Denmark, as it was in the year 1692," and was published at London in 1694. A second and a third issue followed within a year, but the best edition in the later one of 1738. The author was Robert, Viscount Molesworth (b. 1656, d. 1726), who, besides having been sent as an extraordinary envoy to Denmark, was a member both of the Irish and the English parliaments, as well as of the English Royal society, an intimate friend of the great Earl Shaftesbury, and both the friend and advisor of Queen Anne and King George the First. He was the author of other productions besides the "Account of Denmark," but that is the book on which his literary reputation chiefly rests. In the first issue of Molesworth's work occurs (pp. 39-40) the following brief paragraph on

Chess in Iceland.

Island and Feroe are miserable islands in the North Ocean; Corn will not [will occur—edition of 1738] grow in either of them, but they have good

* Sculde skriftefet Peder Clausen Friis, — Udgivne for den norske historiske forening af Dr. Gustaf Svenn (*Kristiania* 1881), p. 102, the text, in the quarto orthography of the writer's time, reading thus:—

"On Skag-Tagfti."

** In subsequent editions (see that of 1734, p. 26), this is corrected to Iceland.
and a half afterwards, perfectly true. Finally, in a footnote, he falls foul of the information given by Moleworth in regard to Icelandic chessplaying, saying that his remark merely shows what was thought at Copenhagen in 1692 about chess in Iceland. But at any rate it does show that, which counts for not a little, for in the 17th century, as both before and since, Copenhagen was the one European capital in which trustworthy accounts about Iceland and its customs were to be had. Then, as now, every year witnessed the arrival of Icelanders in Copenhagen, and the departure of Danes—merchants and officials—for Iceland; then, as now, there was always a considerable colony of Icelanders—numbering in this year of 1900 some seven hundred souls—resident in the Danish metropolis; then, as now, there was always a body of intelligent young Icelanders—the number this year is sixty or more—from all parts of their native land, pursuing their studies at the university of Copenhagen. What was thought about chess in Iceland at Copenhagen in 1692 would, therefore, be apt to be pretty near the truth.

The Chess Lays of Stefn Ólafsson.

Next to Hallgrímur Pétursson, the almost inspired writer of the "Fifty Passion Hymns," the most prominent Icelandic poet of the 17th century was undoubtedly Stefn Ólafsson, born somewhere about 1620 and dead somewhere about 1688. The son of a country priest, he had half a score of brothers and sisters, and, a country priest himself, he became the parent of nearly as many children. Late in life (1671), he was made a royal dean. It is a fact worthy of mention that directly from one of his daughters were descended the two most noteworthy poets of the island during the first half of this century. 42 Like the priest, Hallgrímur Pétursson, he was also a hymnologist, for besides composing original hymns he rendered into Icelandic many of those of the famous Danish hymn-writer, Bishop Thomas Kingo. He possessed a layman's wit as well, and an abundant measure of wanton humour. Many are his still-remembered quips and epigrams and quaint and curious conceits. He was, moreover, learned in ancient lore, and a good Latinist, both in verse and prose. But what we have to note in these pages is his three chess poems (if we may use the word), each of a single eight-line stanza—models of compactness, of hidden fancy, of sonant alliteration, of correct metrical form—indeed, in this last characteristic, they show some of the weaknesses of his age, and of the age of the rimur-writers, with whom sense had sometimes to give way to sound or rhyme. About the authorship of the third piece there is some dispute, though it is ascribed to his pen in the two oldest MSS. We first present the Icelandic text of the three as it is given by his latest editor, Dr. Jón Porcelain the younger, whose knowledge of the post-reformation verse of Iceland is unequalled. His edition is published by the Icelandic Literary Society. 43

42 It may perhaps be considered, in its way, a notable comment on Dr. v. d. Linde's disbelieve in the Icelanders' fondness for chess that an Icelandic, Mr. Magnus Smith, resident at Wuppertal, in fact, is now the foremost chess-player of Canada, having won the championship of English North America last summer (1899).

43 Bjarni Thorarinsen (1679-1811) and Jóannes Hallgrímsson (1607-1615).

44 Many of the hymns of this bishop of the Danish island of Fyn (1613-1705) are still kept in the hymn-book of the Danish church.

Chess in Iceland

Táflusar.

I.

Til Þórsteins Magnússonar, er skáldlaug motti munn í skók.

Munli og sm og mooli og á
Á sem hana Steina falli í stríti,
Henvan britt gletan grá,
Gef Í slán tvo og lýs,
Gamila hripe fjórun frá,
Fikkari ún rélla peílan skáli,
Falli þannin frænasurk.
Fái hana mála egg og lá.

II.

Jón bekkur ekk skók
Skók hana af nór hvern brók,
Biskupinn fikk róðuk,
Bídaðarinn og þegund,
Á gíslan er kamb gugiðingi,
Gíslan hún ekki að ná brók,
Kvangurinn með forfang
Fikkim málaði okki.

III.

Fallega spóri frállan skólan síða,
Fyrir að, sem þó þeir nefndu að ana,
Høndan bénist hættin í slættun skróli,
Hrók skólan bisktp í sór skóla,
Bídaðarinn stóður, reindr, þáður, høndur
Reðaðar veður með íbjrí að peði,
Hondskon hildakon hókakon nokkonð lóka,
Vit lekkinn gekk, ána hrekkakon bekkir okki.

The following literal English prose translations, with their brief comment, are the work of an Icelandic hand, and reproduce with all possible clearness the meaning of the original:

Chess Laws.

I.

To Þórsteins Magnússon, when the poet lost a piece at chess.

My malediction I utter — May Stein’s men fall in heaps! May my fearful incantations bewitch him so that peril shall beset two or three of his pieces.

Both the rendering of the stanzas and the comment have been obligingly made in English by my friend, Mr. Sigfús Blöndal, whose great familiarity with his own and other modern literatures is well known.

It is possible that the adversary at chess, to whom these lines are addressed, is that Þórsteins Magnússon (d. 1656), chief official (týslmansár) of Skiptafellssýslu, the county next to that in which the poet dwelt, who was the author of a description of the elevation of the volcanic Katla, which took place in 1655, and of other works still in MS. Or was he the Þórsteins Magnússon, who, in 1709, wrote the “Rímur af Þróld Guðráskyni” (preserved among the Arna-Magnússon manuscripts)? But the latter’s home was far from that of Dean Stein. Nothing is known, or surmised, of the poet’s other opponent at chess, alluded to in “Jón” in the second piece.

II.

at once! May the Old One lose her life! May the wee pawns grow fewer and fewer on the squares, and may he be mated with the low and high mates!

John is the better man at chess; he has wrested from me each rook; the quiet of my bishop, my knight and my pawns is ruthlessly broken; the Old One is moving about aimlessly, not seeing his prey when within reach; my king is overmastered and completely checkmated.

III.

She is spoiling all beautifully, that damned jade, your queen, whom you are now moving; she steals away from her house, clever in her coarse boastfulness, neatly picking the stupid rook from the throne. The knight, on hand, kept ready for combat, well guided, falls afoot; he is his own wrath, and dares only attack sullenly a puny pawn, while the cowardly rook, fearful of the bishop’s menace, keeps to his border line and thus evades the stratagems of the enemy.

Comment.

The text of the three stanzas is, in some places, very difficult of comprehension, and possibly corrupted. The following notes may perhaps be of some use to the student:

I.

móli og sm og mooli og á. — Here two constructions are confounded: móli un and loggja á, the meaning of both these phrases being “to pronounce and impart a magic spell;” the use of móli un can only thus be accounted for, or defended. This sort of metaphorical confusion occurs sometimes in Icelandic, though hardly as frequently as in the classical literatures.

felli í stríti, literally “fall in the straw;” compare stríl-drepa, “kill a great number.”

grá “gray,” but used here in the same sense as in grátt gaman, “dangerous,” “dreadful.” A kindred use is to be seen in Falgrár enn grá, “the perfidious” (in the Njáls), and in the compound gróðngar, “malignant.”

gísl i énin, “give [to danger] at one and the same time.” This is the only rational interpretation, as two or three men cannot be given up (that is, by capture, to the adversary) at one and the same move, but they can be simultaneously endangered or menaced.

frænasurk is simply “song,” but here in the sense of “incantation.” mála big og hel alludes to the singular Icelandic custom, now obsolete, of arranging the men, or closing a game, in such a way that there might be a sequence of mates—the more numerous the better. The multitudinously mated player was hindered meanwhile from moving by the circumstance that every succeeding move of his adversary was an additional checkmate. The first three mates effected, uninterrupted, in this manner were known as the “low checkmates”; big mót; if more followed they were styled the “high checkmates,” hel mót. See the essay on chess by Úlfur Davíðsson.

By the title of the “Old One” the poet alludes to the chess-queen. This epithet, in medieval chess, was sometimes applied to the bishop.
in his "Gáitur, pulur og skemtanir," wherein the names of the different checkmates are enumerated—reprinted as the second appendix to this volume.

II.

skilh, "shook," "wriggled," "wrested."

forfang, can have but one meaning here, namely, that the king was overpowered, but its etymology is doubtful. Mr. Eiríkur Magnússon, of Cambridge, points out to me that it may be the Danish forfang (Swedish, forfin); I believe he is right, and that it can possibly be used as Icelandic, in which case it is likely that it is employed in the sense of eiga falt i fangi, or something to that effect—the meaning being nearly identical.

ofdætt. Mr. Eiríkur Magnússon proposes the ingenious textual emendation ofdtætt, which, from a graphical point of view, seems probable; ofdætt, "without treachery," that is "genuinely," "thoroughly," would yield an excellent interpretation. If, however, we read ofdætt, the signification must be something like "shamefully or proudly treated by the adversary," (compare ofdlættir); but as ofdætt can hardly be brought into grammatical relation with any of the words in its vicinity, I feel convinced that something is at fault with the text—unless there be an unpardonable introduction, by the poet, of a meaningless word simply to furnish a rhyme, in accordance with a deplorably frequent usage of the period.

III.

frílan sallians, literally "the devil's companion;" but, in cursing, the genitive form of the devil's numerous names is only used appositionally, so that the meaning would be "the damned harlot."

hámin s, compare hennja ("restrain."); hennja, hávar, here with the sense of "skilled in." I suspect that Stefán Gilsson wanted to say hánin, "educated in," but as this was impossible on account of the alliteration, which demanded a word beginning with h, he substituted hámin in the sense of the other vocable. Such unwarrantable substitutions are especially common in the rimur.

fóki must here mean "the press or thronging of the chessmen."

háskagi hóskins, here the "danger arising from the bishop," not the "bishop's danger." Analogies are numerous in the poetry of the time of the thirteenth century, nískan húska, most probably the rook is meant, as the word hókr is often used in a bad sense, like háski, and indicates sometimes a proud, sometimes a corrupt person, the latter especially in the compound heima-brókar, eða hóksinn can only mean that the rook kept itself close to the border of the chess-board—bekrar-rand. hrekkuin bekkir ekki, that is "does not know the dodge, artifice, trick," "evasates the stratagem or attack of the bishop." 26

On account of its remarkable use of identical vocal sounds—carried as it is to an extreme—the third piece is often committed to memory by young

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26 The third of these pieces, as we have stated, has other claimants to its authorship. Mr. M. S. A. attributes it to Gudmundur Bergþórsen (1655-1700), a prolific rimur-writer; and there is a story which relates it is to Hagekarþor Brynjólfssoní, the unfortunate daughter of the well-known and erudite Brynjólfur Brynjólfsson, bishop of Skálholt. An account of this tale is made by Mr. Ólafur Davidsen, in the article which we print later on.

27 "Om diger professionally," p. 265.

of “drottvæla hrynjandi”—the precipitating, dropping, or running sort, of drottvæla hâttr”, alluded to by Eiríkur Magnusson (of Cambridge) in the interesting introduction to his rendering of the medieval religious poem, “Lilja,” (London 1870).  

The following feeble attempt at a quasi-metrical paraphrase will possibly give the English reader an idea, though a faint one, of these Icelandic verses. No effort has been made to adhere, with any exactitude, to the laws which govern the Icelandic alliterative system. The reproduction in another tongue of the complicated structure of Icelandic poetry—its hidden imagery and symbolic verbal paraphrases (kennings), its combinations of rhyme and alliteration, its assonances and resonances of every sort, its great variety of metres—is impossible unless some of its striking features be omitted. Yet, with all its complex features, Icelandic poetry can hardly be called—at least in the most modern examples—artificial. Alliteration, so difficult in the other Germanic languages, which are now spoken, has become natural to the Icelandic; and in no land is improvisation so common, or in appearance so facile—not even in Italy, in which, as a foreigner expressed it, there is no need of “an art of writing poetry,” but only of “an art of not writing poetry.” But here are the versions which do such scant justice to their originals:

I.  
I adjure thee, fell face,
That thou fall foul of Steinl!
That thou try all thy treachery
To trip up his troops!
That his queen thou make quail,
And his pawns quit their actars,
Till his king be well-anmailed
By a murderous mate!

II.  
From the chess-field John chances
My champions, the rooks;
My knights and my bishops are bungled;
My pawns are baubled and bouded;
My Old Woman has wandered astray—
Willows and wild are her ways—
And, majestic monarch no more—
A mate has murdered her spouse.

III.  
Your Queen’s a doubly damned jade;
She’s dished my standard mired doth,
And skalny, stormy walking, striding
To stem the stormy stir and storm;
She’s made my blonby knight afoard
To nab a nimble nairy pawn,
And kept my wretched rook a-curling
Rolling along the regal rank.

Stéfan Ölaufsson, like Magnús Ólaufsson, of whom we have only just been treating, was a correspondent of the erudite Olaus Worm. In the latter’s published correspondence, already cited, there is a letter from the Icelandic poet dated from his parish, Kyrkjubær, September 15, 1648, in which the closing lines mention the transmission of a snuff-box carved out of a whale’s tooth, and state that the young artisan who wrought it also made pretty chesmen of the same material, and at a moderate price:—“His adjute pyxidem, a quodam juvene Islando ex dente balene formatum, quas notissam pulverizatam sternuntamites evocandis observari voluit. Hei juvenis plebsique artificiosa, quae sua usurar, imitatur, ipsa sibi magister; in primis vero latroncullos scocchidibus affaire format et mediocri pretio vendit.” Thus we have accounts, by two contemporary parish priests of Iceland, of the manufacture by natives of sets of chesmen—two centuries and a half ago—which does not look as if the Icelanders had so little fondness for the game as Dr. Van der Linde would have us believe.

Among the Lexicographers.

It is only by turning over the many volumes devoted to the elucidation of the extensive vocabulary of the Icelandic tongue, in all its periods of development, that we shall be able to acquire a definite idea of the words and phrases connected with the terminology of chess. In the course of our researches we shall doubtless come across some interesting facts and some amusing fallacies, and we shall especially learn how impossible it is to make dictionaries without a combination of philology and technology—without the assistance in every art and science, in every branch of human action, of a technical specialist, familiar with the exact significations and shades of meaning of all the terms used in the field in which he labors. The study of philology, and in particular of its department of etymology, shows how difficult is the task of delving truth out of the deep obscurity which envelopes the early history of human speech, and teaches us how long and persistent is the life of an error, however often and forcibly it may be refuted. We have already observed that the studious priest, Magnús Ólaufsson, working in his distant and lonely Icelandic parish, produced, in his “Specimen Lexicet Runic,” the first attempt at any sort of an Icelandic dictionary which got itself printed, and we have learned what he knew about the philology of chess. He was evidently an admirer and practitioner of the game, but from its scope he could not well introduce any of its terms into his Runic glossary; yet we have been able to note, through another product of his pen, that he regarded the name of the game (skáli) as akin to the German schach, signifying “rober” —in the making of which unlucky guess he does not stand alone, as we shall find when we come to examine the work of the latest Icelandic lexicographers.

But the earliest Icelandic dictionary of a more general character was that of Guðmundur Andrésson (Oudmundus Andreas, d. 1654), whose “Lexicon Islandicum” appeared at Copenhagen in 1683 —of course with notable omissions and with some errors, especially of arrangement. He interprets the word skáli, by the Latin Ludus latrunculorum,” and derives it from a Hebrew verb—which he quotes—signifying “commove, ludeere.” Hebrew, it will be remembered, was the favorite tongue of etymologists (and the tower of Babel their great castle, or storehouse, of primitive sources) in the time when that famous chess-writer, Sir William Jones, had not yet introduced Sanskrit to the erudite world of Europe. The compiler of the “Lexicon Islandicum” proceeds to explain one of the technical meanings of skáli (in its sense of check) as “ejudem ludi in regem irruptio, unde at skála, id est...”

"Lilja" (The Lily), edited and translated by Eiríkur Magnusson, p. xxxiv.
insultare regulo, duoi latronum, vnlgo pro summamente," the final word being intended for skolhni (little used in Iceland, the regular form being shok og wuloss, or for the Danish skakmat). Mott he defines: "Nex, mors: sic vocant in Iudo latrunulum extremum reguli interimum, cuo cedem ejus, cum e medio tollitur," and hints that he does not know its origin unless it be from another root of questionable meaning. Of the chessmen, he treats only hopkar, "longurio, latro, latrunulum satelles, elephantes" — the last word evincing some little reading in chess history, and poth, "petides in Iudo latrunulum," saying that it also means "boy," quoting a diminutive, pothiner, nas — this final word, for etymology's sake perhaps. Pothner, we may remark, is not a common form. He has retar, "luctor quadrans, unus in Iudo latrunulum." Toth he gives a context and elucidation in his latrunulum. Taff he gives the origin of in the dictionary, explaining it as "ludus talis aliæ vel latrunulis structus: generaliter enim hee voca ista omnino significat: quin et ipsa simulacra, quae ludatur — about as good and as comprehensive a definition as can be found in far later works. It is followed by taffa, "orbiuci aleo" and taffanor, "frittolus," whereas he says, the general verb taffa, "talis, aliæ vel latrunulis ludere" and then he presents us with another verb not found, we believe, elsewhere, of puna taffa, "colliger et claudere simulacra lusoria." — the phrase being, he tells us, an "adagium pro jactura." This word for "on-pouch," or replacing men, after a game, in their pouch, is significant, as we may understand, when we hear, in the sagas, of the noun punaery. Finally the author cites taffanor mustat, "vocator qui gnarus est incogniti." Thanks to Dr. Daukes about the Eastern game are few, but bow many more references to chess are to be found in any dictionary, issued anywhere, before the end of the 17th century, and particularly in one of not more than 200 not very large quarto pages! Husefattar, occurring so frequently in later works, is not given in any of its various orthographical forms.

Much larger and more matter-of-fact is the "Lexicon Scandica" of the Swede, Olauor Veredus, which saw the light eight years later (1601) at Upsala. But it yields comparatively less of matter having reference to chess. The definitions are in both Latin and Swedish — which latter we cite in parentheses. There is first skolhni as the name of the game (with a citation of the Olaf saga helga), "ludus latrunulum" (skakpel), followed by the verb shokk (ssle), "stratagemathos in Iudo istic uti" (skaka), and the remainder of the rubric, relating by error to quite another verb, shakka. Under taff (p. 232) and most of its derivatives, the explanatory words are generally chess terms, as taff, "latrunni" (skakko), taffatn, taffanor, taffatnorr, "vile et stratagemata in ludu latrunulum" (list och konst att spelas skack i bräde), taffoppo, taffat. There are several references to old authors, especially to what is called the "Urem Snorraimo Book," an ancient codex which contains a number of "Suðurlanda sogur" like the Mægus saga. 54 At the end of the taffi rubric, the author, singularly enough, puts the word mott (written

54 This important MS, one of the many Icelandic book-collections which reached Sweden in the 17th century through the Icelandic, Jon Ragnar, was subsequently lost because several of the Swedish scholars of that time, non like Veredus, the elder Rasbeck, Locenius and others of their sect — were unable to make up their minds at first, in inserted tables afterwards, they could trace back from sea to siren, from siren to gradina, and from gradina to the remotest progenitor. These genealogies went back far beyond the Iceland-world and the legends of the people, while the narratives of the wanderers themselves had been transmitted with the detail of a diatribe. The families that migrated in the 5th and 6th cen.

55 Following the story of the Old-Norwegian philology, from its beginning down to our own day, it is impossible not to feel ashamed when one considers the number of learned labours which, in one community so small as the population of Iceland, has produced. As in the ancient days, when the sagas recounted his tale and the skald recited his lays, nearly all the literary life of the North was here — while the other greater and richer lands of Scandinavia were well nigh barren — so, in modern times, she has been the chief interpreter of her own creation, which, embodying the history, the mythology, the laws of the early Gothic world. It is true that the island commonwealth possessed — to begin with — a splendid history. All the lore of the primordial ages was hers. Her sons still spoke the language of these days in which there were giants; to them the larger utterances of the gods were still household voices; even the whisper of a child's theme, at the dawn of our civilization, they could yet not efface. The key of the treasures concealed by the mysterious runes — powerful as the seal of Solomon against the envoys of other lands — was likewise in their possession. All the details of the Old-those the Norsemen found their final truth on Iceland's shores. Only among his mountain lingers, at last, the faint echoes of the songs of the heroes who battled, and hunting, adventured, in the twilight of our race. Every Tuesday, and Wednesday, and Thursday, and Friday, the morning breezes brought to her ears — and are bringing them yet — messages from the hall of Valhalla — messages which would be meaningless, even if they were not dead to them, in the ears of the degenerate children of the Goth and the Saxon. The sturdy republic which the Offering of kings and vikings built up amid the snow of glaciers and the fires of volcanoes, continued to be governed by the archaic codes established by the Moses and法令es of the ancient times. To these Norse Northernmen, too, were sent alone in their day all, glory, but only Iceland knew of the lands of the Hesperides beyond, or could guess what that ancient glory foretold. They felt, too, the burden of the past, and the honours and duties of their inheritance, for the sake of which, in the earliest days of life, they were taught the art of warfare. The empire of the South could not be kept in its glory, back from sea to siren, from siren to gradina, and from gradina to the remotest progenitor. These genealogies went back far beyond the Iceland-world and the legends of their people, while the narratives of the wanderers themselves had been transmitted with the detail of a diatribe. The families that migrated in the 5th and 6th cen.
CHESS IN ICELAND

A long interval separates Ólafur Véður from the scholarly Icelander, Björn Halldórsson, whose “Lexicon Islandico-Latino-Danico-Latrunicum,” edited by Rasmus Kristian Rask, was published at Copenhagen in 1814. Feeble as the work of the latter, when compared with those which have superseded it, it was, in its day, a great boon to students of the ancient Northern literature—to the cultivation of which it gave a marked impetus. Rask was assisted, in his editorship, by several Icelanders then studying in Copenhagen; Danish definitions were added to the Latin ones of Björn Halldórsson, and are here, as usual, cited in parentheses, while Icelandic terms are in Italic. The name of the game, skáli, is explained as “ludus latriunculorum” (the better Latin)

tures from the northern borders of the North Sea, to the east of Kent, like those that in the 17th century, crossed the broader seas that separated Old England from New England, took little or no pains to hand down to posterity the annals of their progenies; but the Icelanders, whenever they chose, could walk again in the recorded footsteps of their fathers, who, in the 9th and 10th centuries had left the shores of Norway and the islands of Scotland, to take possession of the rich valleys that open to the ocean along the shores of their northern home. And as each of those valleys began to make its history, every incident and accident, every joy and grief, was remembered and transmitted and described again and again to the descendants of the initiators to the latest generation. But this all was not true of the home-land merely. Icelandic hands and story-tellers, champions and rambler, brought back from foreign court and camp accounts of the life of the outer world—the doings of kings and warriors, of courtiers and priests, of soldiers and peasants—and told these to them again and again, to the children of their children and their children’s children. Then it happened, in the course of time, as was natural, that Iceland not only kept the old tongue, but learned to wield the new pen as well—the new pen that Christianity brought with it. In the houses of her chiefs, in the cabins of her yeomen, in the cloisters of her priests, hundreds of children, through countless generations, wrote down the sound and shape of the words that were vanishing, and the tale of the deeds that were fading. But few of these were written beyond the pale sun and during the brief sunshine of winter—the most powerful people, the most learned, the most wise who long ago have left past records, the knowledge of what their far-away forefathers thought and wrought: of how they lived, and of what they prayed to, and of what they fought for. Thus each great man’s house, in the lapse of years, as the men that wrought in those days, too—became a literary home rich in lettered wealth elsewhere unavailable—in the varied learning of the North-Tentrional, and pilgrim and chronicler and rhymer and romancer. There could be read such legends of the ancient Northmen as were not to be found in other Germanic lands; such narratives of the Scandinavian kings as no other Scandinavian region possessed; such lives of English saints and Scottish island saints as Britain knew not of. But in the end the love-loving lads were to be divided and isolated from many of this well-earned wealth and glory. The manuscripts on vellum and paper—so many that the number of them still extant incredible—were carried away—as Rome despised Greece of her marbles, as Napoleon despised Italy of her excavations—to enrich and make famous the libraries of foreign lands, not a few of them in actual transit by accident of fire and flood. But it turned out that to the foreign despil

er the manuscripts were destroyed. They were worthless except to those who wrote them. They were as unadulterable as were the hieroglyphs carried away by the Romans who pulled them down on the banks of the Nile to set them up again on the banks of the Seine. Thus the children of Iceland had again to rescue from oblivion the records of our ancestral wisdom. They had to interpret to the Glink and to the Gudlaug their father’s language, the family words their ancestors had formerly committed to stone and parchment, to recreate and measure, and measure, of which their new owners proved to be cheerful keep

STRAVES

ism, "ludus accacorum," has not, we see, even yet reached the Icelandic philologist, and is succeeded by the compound, skakobol, skakoburinn (the plural only), "lustrunculi," (brikker i skalpis); and by the verb, skåli, under which several phrases are cited: skoli for, with a figurative meaning, "tua res agitur" (et omderus udtury; skal betyde: nu er du i knibe, eller og: nu er min tilstand bedre end det)—with no attempt at an elucidation of the technical, as skokk, "skakk, "superiorni" etcetera). (vise sig overmodig om ent mestigseren beskytter) a phrase which we shall comment upon later; and at rýja skåli, "frangere mandram" (befri kongen fra skaliskal)—this last given as a real technical phrase, "to

ties of the learned flock were the names of the scholars of Upsala and Stockholn, but the labour between the covers was to a large extent that of the line of Icelandic "travellers," as they were styled, which from Jón Rognan was carried on through the brothers, Gud

madur and Hjóli Gafison. They had been summoned to Sweden by the College of Antiquities (Antiquitates-Collegium) first in the hope of obtaining more spill from Iceland, and sec

by to enable the learned editors to read thevellums they had already gathered. It is as amusing, as it is sad, to read of the rivalry between Denmark and Sweden in exploiting the strange values that had been opened in the distant land, to which so little heed had been paid in the preceding centuries. Secret agents—Icelanders—were sent home by Sweden, and the harvest gathered was landed on her coast, while the boat and agent went on to Copen

hagen. It was a singular commerce. What we have said of the works of the Swedish school is equally true of those of the Danish, which, in these days, was also the Norwegian. It is easy to note, for instance, how many of Odd Wern’s publications in the 17th century were the result of Icelandic knowledge and tell—his own letters indicate this—and books edited by Steenstrup and Rasmussen could hardly have been issued without the source. As a matter of course, a work like the "Biskupsforlaget"—the bishop’s Poikrates Skjálas, Brynjolfr Breiðmarzus (the "discoverer of the Edin"), and Körber Philosofus, the diligent anastat, Björn Jónsson (k Skirbak), and, above all, by the illustrious Persson, Olaus Hafnir, the foremost Northern scholar of his day—there were the real workers in the lingu

istic field. To some others of less merit, the lexicograis Magnus Vigfusson and Gud

mundur Andersen, and the grammarians Blandlt Jónsson, we have already alluded. Take away from Danish Old-Northern words in the next century the names of Torfus—who lived through its first two decades—Arni Magnússon and Jón Þorlaksson, to mention those of the bishop, Finnur Jónsson, whose monumental "Historia ecclesiastica" (1 vols.; 2nd Haf

nee 1712-1728) covered the Catholic period of the island, during much of which the classic spirit was still alive; of the lexicographer, Björn Halldórsson; of the juridical archaeologist, Páll Vitald; and of the commentator, Grímur Jónsson Thorvald—take away these names, and of how high a quality is the foreign residuum? Take away, again, the names of Finnur Magnússon, Sveinbjörn Skagfoss and Jón Sigurdsson from the earlier portion of this cen
tury, and of the same high class only one single name—that of Rask, a great one—one—remain. But Rask, at the very outset of his career, made himself an Icelander by passing the better part of two years on Icelandic soil, and by long and close association with Icelandic students in Stockholm. Of the valuable work done by such learned brothers, the society of Northern Antiquaries, far more has come from the pens and brains of teachers than appears on title-pages and in indexes. Natives of the island are still active in the Swedish school, but the living names—within these last years a teacher and a scholar at least have passed away in the person of Kornelius Glaeser—a lexicographer. But it ought to be acknowledged that in the generation now upon the stage, Denmark is represent

ed by its kings of the foremost order—those of Kiel and Oster—those of Kejser, Kyst, and Sigurd, and Bugge. But the general literary production of Iceland in modern times, is less than those that we are treating of, it is likewise surprising that the number of books now, which may be added to 20,000, more in Northern America who still prefer to speak their own tongue rather than the English. This is the population of a minor city. The larger last of civilization. But an examination of the press—journals, magazines, books, pamphlets—and a comparison of it with the literary productions of any other community of many times the size, will show how marvelous is the love of learning still fostered by the rocky soil to which the Edin and Sagas of Iceland’s first centuries owe their birth.
release the king from check at chessplay, though it may not be easy to comprehend the exact application of the term, which is found in no later dictionary (cifra means "to break, break up"); at nissa alla menn i skak, "exceut lar" (tale alle brikker i skak)—menn referring to all the figures; at eige einn mann op, "monochor eise" (have on brikke tilbage)—where again man may mean, apparently, either piece or pawn. Of the chessmen the following are mentioned in their proper alphabetical places: 1, hokur, "longur," "latrunculorum satellites" (brikker i skakspil)—the Danish, as well as the Latin appellation of the rook being apparently unknown both to the author and the editor. Under this rubric is repeated the proverbial phrase already entered under skak, namely, at skaks i iroksvaldi, "auto ritate aliejuos potentiorius siti" (troske nogen i haab om stromsens bekyldelse)—which is the same definition as above in slightly different words. 2. Po, "latrunculorum verna," "antambula" (on hunde i skakspil, and figuratively, "humuncul, "nannus" o dr. dog, unyttig mensen); with po lingur, "vel potlingur" (f) and vedmaur in the metaphorical sense of "pusis" (pussle, en little dreng), and ilustrative phrases. As to other words, having more or less a chess character, retur, "square," is found with the significant of "bed in a garden," and then comes retur i skok borsh, "loculus latrunculorum in alveo" (tavl pa skakbrettet). Taf, here written, in accordance with its pronunciation, tab, its derivative and compounds, do not receive any chess definitions. Hnfit=pugnus (mave), also written kneft, is here, but there is no trace of hnaefoft in any of its shapes. Stonz (that is, stone), is explained as "incitae in ludo latrunculorum" (skak mat), instead of citing its real significance, "drawn game" as in the definition. It is not unlikely that Rask—seen linguistic student and observer as he was—when, later in life, he returned from a journey to India, the birthland of the game—was possessed of a better knowledge of chess and its technical terms.

The next lexicological work to be brought under notice is the Danish-Icelandic one of Konrads Gislaason (b. 1598 d. 1610), "Dinesk ordbok med islen skam ‘pyssingum" (Kaupmannahöfn 1581)—a most valuable, admirably produced work, and the result of immense industry. To be first observed is that the game of chess (skakspil) is given as skokta; to play chess is leika a skoktaft, leika skokta; to check is segja skak, skakka; checkboard (skakbræt) is skakborsh, or more restrictedly, skokborsh; chessplayer is skakmaur; chessman (—cheese figure) is maaur og paök, and a set of chessmen is the plural of the same expression—menmaur og paök, indicating that, in the author's opinion, maaur og menn relate only to the higher figures—excluding the pawns. All the names of the pieces are specially treated except konungur; but the queen is styled frá, the name drottning being given only to the queen at cards. Mið (i skak)—Danish "skakmat," which is not literally exact; with a wide knowledge of chess usage in Iceland, it would have been skak og und. Konrads Gislaason's dictionary, however, is the only Icelandic one, which, so far as we know, registers the word putt—our "stalemate."—It is convenient to notice here, although out of its chronological order, another, much smaller and less pretentious Danish-Icelandic dictionary—but a very excellent one of its kind—the "Ny dansk ordbok med islen skam "pyssingum" of the pains-taking priest, Jonas Jonasson. This was printed at Reykjavik in 1890. The author makes chess (Danish, "skak") both skak and tott, and has the phrases, "play chess," tefra, and "offer check," skakka.
CHESS IN ICELAND

cheess in Iceland, and which bristles with misinformation. Under taft we have tæfta taft (to play taft), tafonungur ("sacculus laturculorum"), and other compounds. A compendium of the "Lexicon poeticum," the original edition having become rare, has been published by Dr. Sveinbjörn Egilsen's son, the still living Benedikt Öradal, a man of great ability and versatility—poet, publicist, satirist, naturalist.

It was likewise for the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries that Eirikur Jónsson (b. 1822, d. 1899), an Icelandcr, whose life, like that of Konráð Gíslason, was passed in Denmark, compiled the "Öidnordisk Ordbog" (Kjøbenhavn 1853), intended, we believe, as a sort of prose complement to the "Lexicon poeticum" of Sveinbjörn Egilsen. Skák includes the phrase segja skák, to give check; and is stated to have foreseen the figurative meanings, namely, 1. A somewhat high-lying flat (level place) in a tón (the meadow surrounding an Icelandic farmstead); and 2. A (low) loft in a house, of which it embraces or covers only a portion—we translate the Danish descriptions literally, and shall return hereafter to these senses of skák. Under skáskof, we have, here as elsewhere, the phrases tæka skáskof and læsa að skáskof; while the word is also rendered "chess-play," the "game of chess," and additionally "chess-figures and chessboard as well." The two compounds skáskork and skáskumatur (chessplayer, chesswoman) follow. Under the verb skák occurs the phrase, skákka einhverjum (to offer check to one—the verb then governing the dative), with the passage, which we already know from the old texts: 

"He captured a knight in giving check.

" skákka fari of the name, rendered by the

"he captured a knight in giving check.

The latter is based on the familiar metaphor, skákka á hrekkvaða (vice sig annarsne, disting under en mægtigares beskyttelse—the interpretation being virtually that of jÖrn Rónnhaldsson); but thereafter is quoted another and similar phrase, which we will not here reproduce here, and which is said to possess the same significations, to wit, skáka í slagi einsvera—"to check (attack) under the protection (shelter) of one." Mot and meda are indicated as Icelandic. Tæfta í uppnámsm is "to play a piece so that it can be taken" (i.e. to set it en prise). Stans (eller stans) is interpreted as "stoppage" (Danish, "standsning"), but is not connected with chess, and we are told that it has no plural. Tæfta occurs in its place without definition, but with it are cited both jafnleik and jafnleik (the latter inserted in no other dictionary)—they also without definitions. They seem respectively "drawn game" (remise) and a game or situation by drawn. The chessmen explained are hrókr, ridari, and pos. The first-named reads (we English the Danish renderings) as follows: 1. (bird), se hraukur; 2. the rook at chess; 3. a tall, drowsy fellow, a lout; 4. "the principal manager, mover; hrókr ala fornæegra, the chief originator of all social amusements." It is also noted in Iceland as "a glance how far these metaphors (3 and 4) relate to the bird, or to any other literal signification of hrókr. Hnef is "the principal piece in a game called hneftaf, and hneftafl is a piece in that game; while we are supplied with the usual orthographical variants. Taft and its family take some space. We have already alluded to tæfti. Tæfti, itself: 1.

"(Danish telexeg, i. e. "taft, tafta"

"and frengir) (chess pieces); her arn brigri Í tæfti, "something underneath is going on." b. a move at "tables; verði tæfti, tæfta, te he restored" (a move to late); 2. (Danish, tæft, set on men as "tables") or at chess; hann var farbaf tæfta, he overturned the men. The noun tæfta is here a board for tables, "chessboard," and subsidiarily "figures" in a game; tafonungur is "an affixe at tables," and in the plural tafonungur, "knowledge, skill in table-play;" tafonungur is "one who plays tables, chess." Under the verb tæfta we have tæfta skák, "play chess" (St. Olaf's saga; tæfta eð samhver (to play with or against anyone); tæfta um einhver (to play for something; with the proverbial saying, þér er un lif er at tæfta (when life is at stake); tæfti, the participle, has a singularly modern meaning in vera upp tæftir (to be played out, i. e. finished, ended, exhausted). But of the various Icelandic dictionaries that of Guðbrandur Vigfusson (Oxford 1872)—the sole author of which he was, although the title-page includes a second name—is by all odds the greatest and best; indeed it is high time, with twice itsle annually, to consult it among the foremost books in any library, and works—in or of any language whatever—which have hit hitherto seen the light. To some extent it likewise treats the modern dialect of Iceland.

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58 Guðbrandur Vigfusson (b. March 13, 1837, d. January 31, 1891) is the representative Icelandic scholar. With a knowledge which would have given him the highest place as a Germanist, he chose to restrict the work of his life to a field in which he may be said not only to have had deep, but not even a second. For no man has ever been more thoroughly the linguistic history of his native land as he of Iceland, and of its broader old-northern domain, and none has ever been so minutely familiar with every period, and every product, of a literature of so great a compass, and of such long duration. His condition was not merely profound, but amazingly comprehensive. It is impossible to review the offspring of his pen, from such essays as the youthful and able tracts on the chronology of the "Old Icelandic" ("Om titulat i Íslanda vísugar") to his book on the "Old Icelandic under the auspices of Oxford University, without a feeling of stupification at the depth and breadth of his learning, and the continuity and bulk of his labor. His mind and mem- ory were filled with all the life and lore of by-gone times. He had wandered through every highway and byway of his life and past, through and past those of the past all the lands traversed and chronicled and sung by his sagas and his stanzas, until he could be, come, as well, a citizen of any age, a contemporary of any generation—voyaging backward, hither and thither, in time, as a man travels to and fro geographically. To employ a comparison suggested by the game of chess, he could reproduce every forgotten episode, re-shape every lost literary creation, revivify every vanished name of all the centuries which make up the seven ages of Icelandic letters, just as the blindfold player of many simultaneous games rebuilds, after each of his moves, by flashes of vision, a wholly differing position, bringing again to life his vision a battle scene which had disappeared—a field-scene of somber and stragglng, moves and counter-moves, pieces and pawns, wholly other than those which he viewed a moment before, or will view a moment later. He could almost interview the heroes of his literature, the poets of ancient days, and get the real personal and historical passage out of Snorri Sturluson himself, or persuade Egill Skallagrimsson to interpret an obscure knapping, or replace a corrupted word. ""Guðbrandur," says Dr. Konrad Maurer, "he knew all, was alles, was marvellous, was eine ganz unwechselhafte legitime mens, von raumweisen, fassungsprogrammen und unselbständigen neigen. Seine theorie auf unten und die in der selbstständigkeitstheorie der handschriften zurecht zu finden, und von hier aus für seine quellenausgaben stets den richtigen text zu wählen und die nötigen varianten auszuwählen. Seine in der keplerschen theorie der Variationen und Every day so complete, that, perhaps, as Dr. Maurer says, his trust in his own vast powers now and then betrayed him into errors, which less self-confidence would have led him, a man of considerable distinguishing qualities, to avoid. But his inordinate desire for the best, other than critic's decided certainties. His life was too industrious, and therefore too socia-
which fact adds greatly to its value. We shall endeavour to discuss its statements at some length, and to connect with them some observations omitted when reporting the chess vocabularies and phrases included in preceding dictionaries.

**Skab**—We are told that the word is of Persian origin; we have the verbal expression gof skab (play chess), while, with the same meaning, we are given under tofta, the form, tofta-skabuf (play chess), but we nowhere find Konrad Gisladson’s leika að skabuf (precisely our English “play at chess.”) The term for chessboard is skakborð, and under toft, also tafborð, while skakuf does, in fact, admit of many interpretations, though the few who knew him nearly cherished for him an ardent esteem. “The more closely the career and life-work of Vigfusson are examined,” asserts Mr. Edmund Goss, “the more his genius will be found to shine, and only those who have, in some poor and undistinguishable degree, followed where he led, can even begin to estimate his greatness.” Enumerating the philological characteristics, he concludes:—“Who has seen that will forget that pale and fretted countenance? Who will forget the enthusiasm, the fidelity, the sweet and indelible upwelling?”—Guðbrandur Vigfusson’s colleague and fellow worker, Professor York Powell, declares that “those who knew him will not need my testimony to his strong, sincere and generous character, his extraordinary and well-controlled memory, his wide learning in many tongues, his sagacity and uncannied industry, and his fine literary taste. For myself, I can only say that the longer I knew him the more I honoured, revered and loved him.” He calls him “the greatest Scandinavian scholar of our century.” Another of his Oxford contemporaries, the head of Corpus Christi College, Dr. Charles Flanner, characterises him as “one of the most remarkable men that Oxford has seen during the present century,” and adds that “to say that his loss is irreparable is to use feeble language.” After an enumeration of some of his works Dr. Flanner goes on:—“But in spite of all that he did, it is rather on what he was that those who knew him best will love to dwell; on his simple and noble character, his genuine and unexceptionable piety, his constant superiority to an unctuousness of every kind, his unerring love and single-hearted devotion to learning, his scorn of anything like pedantry or pretence, his loyalty to his friends, his remembrance of, and gratitude for, any, even the smallest acts of kindness done him.”—In the case of those who were privileged to know him there will remain that longing memory of which the great Italian poet speaks for—

*Lo chi d’ètno detto al dolce amico addio.*

Guðbrandur Vigfusson was a man of simple life, of kindly nature, of generous sentiments. As a writer of Icelandic his style was as clear as it was concise, and it possessed an unadorned, sometimes subtle and ornate, which made it a pleasure to read. In Norway, Germany will well remember. He rarely allowed himself to be drawn into polemics—which have such a baneful fascination for so many of his literary contemporaries, with whom argument too often degenerates into abuse, and criticism into vituperation—even when, as was often the case, some point of his work was at issue. In the pages of the “Gønnskóla” there is a beautiful passage where he tells us of a dream he had before he died. It was a book on the Orkneys, comprising the Landnámabók, or Book of Settlement, and other works relating to the earliest age of Icelandic history and the foundation of the Icelandic state. It will doubtless reach the learned public in time, and will add to the vast debt which the world owes to him and to his memory. A complete list of his multitudinous works, and of the biographies published since his death, compiled by his friend, Jón Pálsson, the younger, and reprinted with the excellent life and portrait, will be found in the “Gønnskóla” (XIX, pp. 1-45, Reykjavik 1894). He buried, in the morning prayers of all learned Oxford, under the green turf and amid the walls of the cemetery of St. Sepulchre. The accidental and sudden death of the subject of the article, and the suddenness of the end, will add to the vast debt which the world owes to him and to his memory. A complete list of his multitudinous works, and of the biographies published since his death, compiled by his friend, Jón Pálsson, the younger, and reprinted with the excellent life and portrait, will be found in the “Gønnskóla” (XIX, pp. 1-45, Reykjavik 1894). He buried, in the morning prayers of all learned Oxford, under the green turf and amid the walls of the cemetery of St. Sepulchre. The accidental and sudden death of the subject of the article, and the suddenness of the end, will add to the vast debt which the world owes to him and to his memory.

**Stray Notes**

is restrictedly defined as a “game of chess” (that is, “partie”) for which there are numerous references to the old writings—one to the year 1150 (the partie, which we know of, between Valdemar the Great and one of his countrypeerers); another to 1238 (Bishop Bødtolf and the dean), and again to deaths of the 14th century in the “Diplomatarium Norvegicum” (Kristiania 1849-95)—in which last the meaning would hardly be “a game,” but rather a “set of chessmen,” or a “chessboard,” or both. Here Guðbrandur Vigfusson, in accordance with the encyclopedic character of his book, says:—“There is no authentic record of chess in Scandinavia before the 12th century, for the

just before he made his last visit to Copenhagen. It alludes to his “Origines Islandicae,” and some other of his literary plans; it will give, too, an idea of his force, informal English. It is dated from the Drury, Winchester, March 31, 1887,—"I write this with a somewhat relieved mind, having lately cleared my desk, and sent to press a mountain of MSS towards the Origines Islandicae. The Landnámabók is all in plain, text, translation and introduction, some 310 pages. The whole work is (after the fashion of the Corpus) to be in 2 vols, divided into 6 books, the books into sections, whereas Landnámabók is 1.; the 2d book is on the Constitution, Civilian leading, and ancient laws; the 3d book on Conversion, and Lives of Bishop. All this is in the printers’ hands, and makes volume one. The 4th, old Sagas; 5th, Vinlandic and Arctic records.

I am now on the wing to Copenhagen, on a short visit, to finish some MSS work. I did a pile of work in 1884—so shall one day be an accomplished man here, Independent of Copenhagen.

It has long been a day dream—a waking dream as we say— to see Iceland, and I long more to see Florence than Rome; on account of her pure Italian, glorious records, Michelangelo. The gods know whether I may not one day make use of your most kind offer. I am in England (Oxford) an here-life, have a few friends—Mr. Powell in first rank of such; but don’t mix in society, never did, never could. In a drawing-room I feel dull and uncomfortable; it is a sort of ‘mental antipathy’ as your countryman, Wenham Philomene, so well and appropriately calls it. In term time I can give (though usually reading on a case, no public lectures), and in the vacations I have been quite a choice of working with Mr. Powell, who is all the terms takes up with lecturing and coaching—a great pity to see us for that. In the long vacation we mean to do a great spell of work (or rather I am translating for the 6th volume, so that the bulk may be line), in the course of the summer; then remains the Index (horrible duty), and a few essays.

I have some hope next Xmas of being able to reach Iceland, if my health permits. In the summer I am supposed to be bound here, for then the printers have more leisure, and they promise to make two-fold progress in June—September; and that means a great deal.

As a rule as to give my respectful compliments to your mother. Next I beg you excuse a hasty and disordered letter. Is there any thing I can do at Copenhagen for you? If so, a message will be addressed to Mr. Broose, the librarian of the Royal Library (St. Kongl. Bibli).

I should advise you to get photographs of specimens of these old types:—

1. 1450-85.
2. John Matheson’s types—1550-1515.
3. My Godfrey’s first types, the first book I saw in them was Heminges’ Fia Filiz, 1572, 15* or 8*— I write from memory. These types were battered and were used for 16 years—the last book I have seen in these being Wid❖es [Possibly], 6th edition of 1714.
4. Toth’s types.
5. Harrow’s types.
6. Harrow’s types.

I made some very important studies on this subject in 1869 or about then, so something hangs or sticks still in my memory.

I am now staying a few hours with my old friend of Oxford and Dictionary memory. Dean Kilnman. By to morrow I leave for Denmark via Harwich and Edinburg, west of Jutland; hope to be at Copenhagen by Easter. Mean to see old friends in Jutland, my countryman, Honora Finsen, in Ribe, and Danish friend in Copenhagen. Have in my mind to look up the theories about ultima [Third] being in Jutland; will see it by the way. Powell and I have spoken of making a little publication at the forthcoming centenary [Origines Dacense, a brief essay on the subject I am big with.].
passage cited from the Fornaldar sögur* (that is from one of thevellums of the Hervarar saga) “is mythical,” and as to Olaf's saga helga, he considers the game between King Canute and Ólaf Jarl to be þreifast, as it is undoubtedly was. He goes on to inform us that “in Iceland there is still played a peculiar kind of chess, called völd-skák, in which no piece, if guarded, can be taken or exchanged.” This variety, it is said, “may be remarkable—say, it may be a very delightful—say, it may be of Icelandic invention, since nothing similar is reported from other lands, and we can add that, only a few years ago,—twenty years after the publication of the “Dictionary”—its practice was still continued in the island. It must be one of the oldest “abarten des schachspieles,” as the Germans call them. Stakmaður is interpreted both as “chessman” (figure), and “chess-play,”” while the other, but similarly formed skákmaður (being, as we are told, the Old High German “sächman” and modern German “schächer”) signifies “robor,” “highwayman,” and is cited as occurring [only] in the Æfreksaga, or story of Dieterich (Theodoric). The verb skáka (check) “is frequent in modern usage” as a chess term, and is used, in a metaphorical sense, in skáka i því skjóti, “to check one in that shelter, i.e. to take advantage of one (unduly).” A modern use of this metaphor may be seen in the following sentence written very recently:—hann skákaður (checks, attacks) i því skjóti (shelter, protection, cover) áð hann siglir við afgrýninga, “he attacks (acts) under that cover, so that he may escape responsibility.” In the skák rubric we have, too, a definition, (marked as section II.), given to another figurative usage, “metaphorically a seat, bench, or in the popular phrase, geðir, geðir, skáka, take a seat.” From this concept, therefore, at Eiríkur Jónsson’s vocabulary, and at the present one, we note that skák, in its figurative sense, means:—1. an (elevated?) portion of the home-meadow about an Icelandic bær; 2. a low loft in a house covering only a part of the ground-stor; and 3. (here), a seat, bench, settle. All three have been verbally explained, by a native Icelandic scholar, as bearing a certain resemblance to each other—all conveying the idea of narrowness and length, or regularity, or (like the shape of a bench or settle). It is possible too to suggest a rank or file on the chessboard (of the same outline) as the link which connects them with skák=chess. It is also suggested that definitions 2 and 3 may be one and the same, namely, a portion of a loft arranged as a large settle. The relation to skáka (check) of the meaning “attack” (in the phrase cited, skáka i því skjóti) is less remote, but the whole subject demands investigation by a competent Icelandic linguist.

Names of the figures.—The special sechic uninsignificances of konungur (king), drottning and bishop are not referred to, although we have then sætt in the compounds, drottningar (king’s pawn) drottningarspe (queen’s pawn) and bishopsspe (bishop’s pawn). And the following are included in their alphabetical places:—1. þrúkur (rock) the derivation of which is set down as “from the Indian roch=elephant’s castle, through the English—which, as is now known, is not correct. The word roch or roch does not exist in any Indian tongue; and, in no language, does any word similar to it mean “elephant’s castle.” 2. þrúkur (rock) as a chess term, with the German turn and Danish taur—both meaning originally “tower;” and perhaps also with alfin, alfi, the medieval name of the chess bishop, formed from the Arabic il=the, and il=elephant—thus affording, if our suggestion be correct, a good instance of the complex con-

fusion which usually arises when a philologist, ignorant of chess and its history, tries to write about the game and its terms. The truth seems to be—to state the matter briefly—that the Sanskrit name of what we call the rook was roha (in the Bengali idiom, roha), meaning (war)chariot, and that when this word had made its way to Perso-Arabian regions it found a somewhat similar name—say, raki or rok—among the Arabic people (as the name of a waggon, or other vehicle, and that the influence of false etymological ideas led to the substitution of the extra-Indian word for the Sanskrit term. This statement is not too clear—and not at all satisfying—but the exact source and story of the technical chess-word rook (and consequently þrúkur), are still shrouded in doubt, despite the efforts of many Orientalists (to elucidate them. Its connection with the appellation of a gigantic Eastern bird called roc (in the “1001 Nights”) is as fabulous as the existence of the bird itself; and equally devoid of demonstration are some other etymological affiliations which have been suggested. Arrived in Arabic Spain, the word took the form of roye, and, successively, in early Italian of roco, in old French of roc and in English of rook, adapting itself in England by popular assimilation to the already existing form “rock.” (the name of a bird); from England it passed—with a knowledge of chess—to Iceland, where an old word þrúkur (apparently of varied meaning, but most likely cognate, both etymologically and in signification, with the English bird-name) was likewise in existence, and was seized upon as familiar, by the popular mind, the popular name, the popular rook, the rock, as we have before hinted, is that the only nations, outside of the Romance group, to permanently adopt the ancient Perso-Arabic name were England and Iceland—so that the geography of the term indicates the path of chess after its introduction (through Spain) to Europe. Gudbrandur Vigfusson’s definition is the “rock or castle in chess;” and he has the compounds, þrúkkun, “castle of the rook.” In connection with this word, he cites two proverbial phrases, the first of which is: skáka i þrókkun, “to check in the guard of the rock.” At first sight, his rendering of the saying seems to be meaningless as an English clause, and impossible as the description of a movement at chess. But recurring to the translations of the saying given by Bjorn Halldorsson and Eiríkur Jónsson, we can see that, as a metaphor, the signification is to “show one’s self bold or arrogant towards another, knowing that we can do so safely, being ourselves under powerful protection;” to “attack another boldly, protected by higher influence.” The literal meaning would seem to be to “give check to the king with a piece that is guarded by another;” as when a bishop gives check, on an adjoining square, but taken by the king because it is protected by a rook—which would be exactly to skáka i þrókkun. The synonymous phrase, skáka i þóki, we have examined under skák. The second of the proverbial sayings under þrókur is eiga sér þrók í horni, of which the lexicographer himself furnishes no rendering, and which none of his predecessors cite. Literally it is to “have or possess a rook in the corner;” figuratively, it would be to “have support at one’s back, or in reserve,” to know that one has a protector or aid in a known place, and therefore at once available in case of need—just as when the white queen threatens to attack, or mate, the adverse king by moving upon the latter’s first or royal rank, the player of the black pieces may
comfortably feel that he can nullify the action by means of his rook, which is still standing in its corner. The use of hrókur, in these metaphorical expressions, is evidently owing, in part at least, to the fact that hrókur is a distinctively chess word, while king and queen and bishop and knight are not; they, therefore, do not lend themselves so easily to similis, or metaphors, which originate on the chess table. It is under this that we must seek one of the compounds of hrókur, which is hrókandi, a mate effected by means of a rook. 2. Riddari has, as a subsidiary signification, "a knight in chess," with references to Glaða saga helga and to the Sturlunga saga—being the episodes of Knút (Canute) and Ólaf, and of young Fðrigl and Ólaf Jari. But no compounds are cited, although we have under pöð (see below) riddar pope, that is, "knight's pawn." 3. Pöð has for its only etymological elucidation, "[Fr.[la]ch pón, and is defined as "a pawn in chess," and thereafter are huggspé, "a king's pawn," hrókspé, riddarpóð, drottningpóð, biskupspóð; pöðr, with the citation of Mágus saga, 23, 45 (the tales of Birþungur and Rögnvald), or pöðr fyrir, "checkmate with a pawn." Next follows, under a rubric of its own, pöðr naður, "a footman" (with a citation of the Karlamagnús saga, 31); and with the additional gloss, "a pawn in chess=pöð.") Noteworthy is the derivation of the Icelandic form from the nominative stem of "pex=óð," rather than from the low Latin inflectional stem (pedon-), of which the Romance and English languages have availed themselves ("pion," "pawn"). Or is there a long-lingerling reminiscence of the Arabic and Persian words (bašag, pišagah—"as they are transliterated by Van der Linde—in the Icelandic form?

Other Chess Terms. The remaining words of a chess character occurring in the "Icelandic-English Dictionary" are:—1. Miði, no derivation being suggested; the definition is "checkmate," with references to the Viglundar saga 31 (the episode of Óðr), the Fornaldar sögr (1, 445—"the Hervarar-saga), and the Böggis Mágus saga (the Rögnvald tale): "various kinds of mate are pöðr, gleðr mar, frettering mar, hrókandi, heinnandi," to several of which we have already alluded. Gleðr mar literally means a "straddling-mate," and is described by Mr. Ólafur Davíðsson, as a mate or mates effected by the queen and rooks in three corners of the board, the king to be mated being in the fourth—and doubtless one of the success mates in the same game, on which we have commented, in our first essay; its title comes from the adjective gleðir, "standing astraddle," "with one’s legs wide apart." The verb miða has merely the definition:—"to checkmate, in chess."—2. Softspé is given as "as equal, drawn game," utilizing the Viglundar saga (the episode translated in a preceding page), but it is not treated as a special term, the inference being that it is applied to other games. The similarly formed compound, pöðr påd (drawn by perpetual check), finds no place anywhere in the "Dictionary," perhaps on account of its modernity. 3. Uppnóði, of which the second meaning given is "a chess term, tafa i uppándi, to expose a piece so that it can be taken (Sturlunga saga, iii. 152)—(the passage being the known one from the anecdote of Fðrigl skarði): "hence the phrase, vera i uppándi, to be in immediate danger." Of course, i uppándi (accusative) and i uppándi (dative) are exactly the French en prise (of which, for lack of an equivalent expression, we make use in English). As we have elsewhere suggested, it is worthy of remark that a technical chess expression

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of this character should have been invented and established in Iceland five hundred years ago—happily formed and precise as it is—when many of the modern tongues of Europe have been satisfied to borrow a foreign phrase to describe this chess situation. Literally uppándi means the "taking up," in the sense of "capture," and i uppándi is in the position of being taken up (picked up, or captured).—4. Vól (meaning "power," "might," "authority") receives a subsidiary interpretation as in "chess, a guard," with the compounds: hrókvald, pöðrvald, the former of which we have discussed, indicating, as the most suitable rendering, to be "defended by," pöðrvald thus signifying, "defended by a pawn."—5. Laggar has in the "Dictionary" only the literal senses of "lock of hair; a rag, tatter," no mention being made of its modern employment in chess as "interposed piece," which, it is possible, grew out of the sense of "a filling" for a crack, hole or the like, or a "stop-gap," inherent by daily usage in "rag."—6. Stena, of which the same note may be taken of the absence of any chess definition, is explained as "akin to staðla (st- in-2) by a philological law," a rare verb having in it the stem stend, the equivalent of our similar English form. It is interpreted as "a standstill, hesitation," and, in a phrase, "amazement;" it is used in Icelandic chess, as already noted, as "a game drawn by reason of lack of mating power." The noun is followed by a verb, sténa, "to pause, stop."—These include, as is believed, all the terms relating to chess which are discoverable in the Oxford dictionary. The most important omission is perhaps pott (stalemate, which is left unrecorded because it is never met with in any of the classical writings.

Tafa, hnefaflaft.—The former word is said by Dr. Guðbrandur Vigfússon to be "from the Latin tabula, but borrowed at a very early time, for it was in the oldest poems;" and it is described as "a game, like the Old-English tables or draughts; used also of the old hnefaflaft, and later of chess and various other games"—whereafter follow numerous quotations. Then are cited the compounds hnefaflaft, skaklaft (chess) and göðaflaft, as well as the popular sayings:—se ferða tafa sinni, "to be too late," literally "to be too late at or for the game;" krafða til tafa, "tricks in the game," "foul play." Finally we are told that tafa is used also "of dice-throwing, diceing," and illustrative passages are given. The rubric closes with various compounds, in which tafa is the first element, such as tafaflótt, "a chess-board (for playing the hnefaflaft or chess);" tafaflótt, "asts of playing;" tafafl, "a bet" (literally, "game-money"); tafaflaftur, "a player at chess or hnefaflaft;" tafafluni- kvar, "a bag for the pieces;" tafaáskri, "skill in playing;" —all with citations. It should be observed that in the quotations in which tafa appears to mean "set of men," or "board," or both "men and board," and its plural tafa seems to have the sense of "pieces," "figures,"—some of which senses we have noted in reading the Krókarfæs saga—the author attempts no precise elucidation of these distinctions, a fact which doubtless comes both from his want of chess-knowledge, or knowledge of what the game tables, was, and is, today, in the late and, therefore, uncommonly modern character of their significations. His next rubric is the brief one devoted to tafa, "a piece in a game of tables." Under the verb which is formed from the noun tafa, to wit, tefsa, the rendering is "to play at chess or draughts;" and, after several passages, is noted the metaphorical phrase, tefsa [any one] upp, "to take one up, beat in a game of draughts." Like the primitive noun, "the word is
of extraordinary labor, and, as a vast storehouse of passages from the old writings, is of the highest utility. But its author's knowledge of the laws of etymology and of foreign idioms was not too extended—indeed the lineage and affiliation of the vocables which he treats seem hardly to have come—in a manner at all complete—within the scope of his work; but in the case of chess, he once or twice attempts to consider the matter of derivation, doing so, however, with disastrous results. He does not illustrate the word skakkamæfr, in its chess sense—as he does not find it in the classic—only in the sense, skakamæfr=röber (Danish, röver), noting, in a proper way, its Old High German and New High German kinship ("scht., schm., nbt. schärer")—though here may be, so far as Icelandic is concerned, another case of an effort at popular etymology on the part of the saga's compiler—and ends with passages from the Æsir. In the next column, he treats skaktafl, "skakipill, bret med tillhorende brikker (Töff)," then, after entering his illustrative quotations, he turns into the field of etymology, and says: "...At skakipill i det latinske sprog heter ludus latrunorum eller latrunculorum synes henpege derpaa, at vi i skiktlafl har det samme skak som foreskommer i skakmafr"—that is, in the skakmafr=röber of the preceding column. This means: That chess in Latin being called ludus latrunorum eller latrunculorum would seem to indicate that in skaktafl we have the same skak which appears in skakmafr" [=röber]. This is a gem of blundering. To understand it fully, we most remember that in Latin, latrunculus is a diminutive, signifying "robber." Now, first of all, chess is not called in (ancient) Latin ludus latrunculorum, nor by any other name; for the Romans knew nothing of chess, since it was not introduced into any part of the Roman dominions until some centuries after they had ceased to be Roman, and, in fact, was probably not in existence anywhere until the Roman empire had itself gone out of its own admission. It is true that in very early modern times, some writers of Latin, out of ignorance, employed "ludus latrunculorum" to designate the game of chess, but the more intelligent have used "ludus sacchorum, (saccorum)," a neo-latinism formed from the oriental name of the game, at least as far back as when the friar Jacobus de Cen-solis wrote his widely read Liber de morbus hominum, towards the beginning of the thirteenth century. The old Romans did, indeed, have a division styled "ludus latrunculorum," that is, "the game of the little robbers," but it had no resemblance to chess except that it was a "brettspiel," played with pieces, like many other games. So much for ludus latrunculorum. Now for skakmafr: The skak in this word—which occurs, to our knowledge, nowhere but in what may fairly be characterized as the Danish saga of Piërek, a story told in connection, principally, with localities south of the Baltic—was once supposed, by the etymologists, to be of Hebrew derivation, but only two lexi-
cologists, so far as we know, Magdus Olafsson, as we have heard, and Dr. Friznetzer—have ever connected it in any way with the word, or game, "chess." It is now generally recognized to be, as Dr. Frizner's etymological statement tends to show, a word of Teutonic origin, occurring even in Anglo-Saxon, although it is lacking among the very oldest Germanic forms. On the other hand, the word chess—if one may here repeat the oft-recorded explanation, and, consequently, the word skak (as in skakmafr=chess-player), which is merely another form of chess—both come from a Persian word (shah—the final A pronounced like a German ch), meaning "king," which
word is even now a living vocable in Persian, being the title still borne by Persia's ruler. Chess and skakd, therefore, signify "(the game of the) king," and have nothing whatever to do with any robbers—either Latin or Germanic.—Another instance of Dr. Fritzsche's etymological skill cannot be explained with so much ease. Under the somewhat objectionable expression frestumudr he reproduces the meaning given to it in the "Index Jumne gothicum," of Verulius (1931)—which we have already copied in its proper place—and then says (we render literally):—"This explanation is assuredly erroneous, and originates in the similarity of the fret, occurring in the word, to the verb frets; but fret is rather a corruption of fers, which primarily had the signification of vesiter, but afterwards took the form of fere, viere, from which we have derived the name of 'queen,' which this piece now bears in the game of chess—see A. van der Linde, 'Geschiichte und Literatur des Schachspiels,' II, 150 ff., compare 157." Thereupon Dr. Fritzsche cites the Magus saga, and refers the reader to an even more objectionable term frottrutumdr, in relation to the first element of which he has a briefer but similar explanation:—"In frottrutumdr the word frottrut seems to correspond to the Latin virgo, French vierge, which, in the Middle Ages, was a common appellation for the queen at chess;" and again he cites V. d. Linde's "Geschichte" (II, pp. 149 ff. and especially the notes on pp. 150-151). Although he does not say so precisely, it is pretty plain that he has got into his head what Dr. V. d. Linde calls, on one of the very pages (150 referred to by the lexicographer, "das berühmte worstteit mit der vierge;" perhaps originally a half-played blunder which has been traced no further back than the year 1610, seemingly finding its birth in a once popular anonymous Latin poem entitled "De Vetula," first published at that date. In a day when the science of etymology was young, some one else, if not the author of the poem just alluded to, ventured to suggest that because the Persian word fers—if meaning vesiter—which was used in the period of Asiatic-European contact, is the name of the piece standing beside the king—had a certain phonetic and orthographic resemblance to the French vierge—meaning 'virgin,' therefore (a queen, too, being a female) the chess people had finally bestowed its present appellation upon what is now the game's most powerful piece. In other words, it was a case of what we call popular etymology, or etymology by incorrect assimilation—such as we have two or three times cited in earlier portions of the present work. But this is just what the pages of Dr. V. d. Linde's work, to which Dr. Fritzsche appeals, are devoted to disproving, as he would have seen by a closer examination. The use of vierge or viere, by a few comparatively late writers, as a title for the chess-queen, had nothing to do, in any etymological way, with the old Persian name, fers. But, be that as it may, no one who compares several of the other Icelandic chess terms with those here explained by Dr. Fritzsche will have any belief whatever in his theory of the affinity between fers and vierge and the cited Icelandic names for certain styles of checkmate, thus strangely glossed by the industrious Norwegian lexicologist. Chess reached Iceland in the 12th century, many generations before vierge (or vierge) was ever used as the name of the queen, and many more before any ignorant writer thought of resurrecting fers. After the century of its arrival, there could not well have been—so slight did the intercourse soon become—any bond of union between continental and Icelandic chess, by means of which this fantastic

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The mention of these notes on chess terms by the compilers of Icelandic dictionaries, or word-lists, extended as they are, something might still, very likely, have been added by more careful research, as well as by consulting the glossaries published in connection with a good many editions of the sagas, and of other ancient Icelandic writings. Of course, there are not a few technical words connected with the chess of later periods which are found in no printed vocabulary. Some of those of which no lexicographer has availed himself—are doubtless preserved in the MS dictionary of Jón Ólafsson (skr Grunnvik), which we shall find frequently cited in another place, or in similar cited collections; others—especially those of the present day (like hreikskipt—castling, for instance)—have never been written down in any list, whether MS or printed. But the number of words relating to chess and its practice which we have been able to gather from well-known and easily accessible lexicons forms an abundant proof of the unusual part which the game has played in the life and literature of Iceland. Moreover, over the many metaphors and proverbial sayings, drawn from the chessboard and the movements of its figures, which we have encountered in the course of our investigations, are so many additional demonstrations of the same fact.

Dr. Van der Linde and the Spillabók.

On the very last page (412) of one of his really epoch-making works, the "Quellenstudien zur Geschichte des Schachspiels" (1881), Dr. Antonius V. d. Linde has a brief notice of the diminutive "Spillabók," printed at Akureyri, on Iceland's northern shore, in 1588, which devotes several of its contracted pages to chess. He begins by saying that just as the final proofs of the "Quellenstudien" reached him, he received, for inspection, from the distinguished German chess-writer and chess-collector, Mr. T. v. d. Lasa, a copy of the miniature book of games (miniaturspielbuch) in Icelandic, which its owner had acquired with a good deal of effort. He thereupon gives its title in full: 22 and then follow a description and criticism of the newly discovered manual, evidently written with haste, and without having an Icelandic scholar at hand:—"Die schachsticke heilein: konung, drotting ella frø, byskup, riddar [riddari], hrekkur hrekur) ella flarm (flair), pes—also kein traditionelles auge von hier sonder (was das angebliche keltische its owner acquired with a good deal of effort. He thereupon gives its title in full: 22 and then follow a description and criticism of the newly discovered manual, evidently written with haste, and without having an Icelandic scholar at hand:—"Die schachsticke heilein: konung, drotting ella frø, byskup, riddar [riddari], hrekkur hrekur) ella flarm (flair), pes— also kein traditionelles auge von hier sonder (was das angebliche keltische

the “Spilháði,” which is under criticism, nor in the reference, in which the critic himself makes, to the narrative borrowed by himself from Eggert Olafsson. The explanation of this fact is that, if it did occur, it would be as a linguistic malformation, which no Icelandic could possibly be led to concoct. Pedriff (that is to say, in the nominative, pedrífrur) means “mate (by a pawn),” and mót (not mót) means “mate,” so that the two terms combined would be as if we were to talk in English of a kind of mate called “checkmate mate,” or “smothered-mate mate.” What Dr. V. d. Linde intends to say is doubtless simply pedrífrur, but the blunder of reading the abnormally pedrífrum in two different places and in two different works, where it did not exist at all, betrays a state of mind hardly conducive to sober criticism. But why are we told that it is a “fantastic trick” (spilhlið). Why should “mate by a pawn” or “pawn’s mate” be any more ridiculous than a good many other chess eccentricities, which are to be found uncondemned, in Dr. V. d. Linde’s and many other people’s works on chess? Why is it a “spilhlið,” when the “odds of the capped pawn,” or “mate with a pien coiff” is not? Why is it any more of a “spilhlið” than a “suicidal problem,” or a “smothered mate?” Why is it more of a “spilhlið” than any one of a hundred singular conditional problems set forth in the critic’s own most interesting chapter on “Das Problemschach des mittelalters,” 35 for instance, one, in which white “gives check with one pawn and mates with another;” or another, in which there is a “mate in three moves, the bishop on b 4 moving only when he captures a piece;” or still another in which there is a “mate in five moves with one bishop at g 6,” and so on, this being his most serious insinuation. He observes, preliminarily, that “one cannot, with certainty, determine anything about the usages of a country from such a small compilation, but nevertheless it excites an unfavorable prejudice, when, in the year 1638, not only are such fantastic plays as pedrífrum still taught, but even a method of casting is prescribed, in which the king is moved, for example to b 1 or c 1, and the rook to e 1 or d 1.” It is true that the mode of casting is prescribed in the little volume, only the prescription is exactly in accordance with the rules for casting all over the wide world of chess—even in the works written or edited by Dr. V. d. Linde. The trouble, as usual, is not with Iceland, or Icelandic chess, or the diminutive Icelandic manual, but with the critic. At Wiesbaden—the same last page of his book is dated at that city—there was evidently no Icelandic interpreter, and the critic, unaided, failed to understand the conditional phrase which we have underscored in the Icelandic text given—eptr. hit hvarru megin hróskþipt er. We will now render literally the whole extract in which Dr. V. d. Linde has discovered such a mate’s nest:—“So long as neither the king nor the rook has moved from its place, the player can castle, that is, change the squares of the rook and the king in such a manner that he places the king on the knight’s (g 1) or the bishop’s square (c 1), and the rook on the queen’s (d 1) or the bishop’s square (f 1), according to the side on which the casting takes place—that is to say, when no other piece is between these two pieces, for neither king nor rook can leap over one another. Dr. V. d. Linde thus reads both his Icelandic and the squares of the chessboard wrongly. It is easy, however, to see that in casting on the king’s side the king is moved to the knight’s square (g 1) and the rock

35 "Geschichte des Schachspiels", II., pp. 209, 278.
to the bishop’s square [f1]; and that, in casting on the queen’s side, the king goes to the bishop’s square [e1] and the rook to the queen’s [d1], as stated by the Icelandic compiler, who gives the two differing moves of the king in one phrase, and the two differing moves of the rook in another—the grouping being a little awkward, perhaps, but neither incomprehensible nor erroneous—if only a man be sure of his squares and his Icelandic. But Dr. V. d. Linde may, possibly, be allowed to stumble as he pleases whenever he gets to Iceland, for all the rest of the chess world he is pretty well at home. Of this “Spilabók”—containing the first printed Icelandic description of the game of chess and how to play it—though very briefly stated, the reader will find in the next few pages an account in German, written for the “Deutsche Schachzeitung,” a year or more before Dr. V. d. Linde saw the book. It was from that article, in fact, that Mr. V. d. Lasa knew of the little work’s existence. A re-examination, made at the present time, of the Icelandic publication shows us that Dr. V. d. Linde, instead of running a tilt against fancied facts, might have found, by a little more careful research through the tiny pages, real errors quite worthy of his critical metal. He would have ascertained—we take the misstatements in their order—that the compiler makes the “Persians” call this game “Sedrenz” (it should be written in Icelandic Sídrænna), which he renders by “a hundred difficulties” (hundrað armæs) in complete ignorance of the actual origin or significance of the word; that he gives to the rook the alternative name of fill (plural fillar), “elephant;”* that he asserts that some say that the pawns may move two squares at the first move if the player so will (þótt sumir þau stókksta yfir eitt list í fyrdum leik af manni sæg þáttis); that when a pawn has made its way to the eighth rank the player may change it for any piece which he will of those which have been captured (þótt, sem kætur þar upp, velst siger fyrr fylli það hefn þannmann, sem hann vil, af þeim, sem faltinn eru); and that he finally sums up several methods of action which some players have the custom of pursuing (sumir laftaian hafa þat veiðu, þótt liða), these being: 1. To consider the last man besides the king which a player has near the close of a game, as uncaptured, unless the other player checkmates at the third or seventh move after taking him; 2. To make the latti—the pawn which has been moved to the eighth rank along the king’s file—except from capture, like the king himself; 3. To give the king, at his first move, the movement of the knight; and 4. Not to allow an interposed piece either to guard an attacked piece of his own side, or to give check to the opposing king. Let us look, for a moment, at each of those abnormal methods of play:—1. In this obligation of the player having the stronger array to bring the game to an end at a certain move, we may, perhaps see a forerunner of the rule, only of late generally adopted, which compels the player having the superior force to effect mate within fifty moves from a particular stage of the game, or to consent that the game be regarded as drawn. This exemption of a queened pawn from capture has, we believe, never been praised except by these exceptional players of Iceland. 3. The believer in the force of tradition might trace, in this giving the power of the knight to the king at his first move, a faint remembrance of the custom in Lombard chess, which bestowed upon the king, when first moving, the privilege of covering three squares (going from his own square to the third one from it)—which was the germ of the later “casting.” * As to this idea of not permitting an interposed piece to exercise its checking power, we may recall the fact that even in Germany they have debated the question:—”Kann ein schach- deckender stein auch ein schachbieter denk in?” According to this theory, we take the black king might capture a pawn, let us say, even if, by doing so, he apparently moved into check from an interposed or “plumed” piece. In the names of the pieces we observe fillarnir as synonymous with “the rooks”—the word being a definite form of filli=elephant (plural fillar). It is notable enough to know that this Arabic word in its literal meaning, as applied to an animal, existed already, at a very early day, in the Icelandic vocabulary; and, so far as its signification as a chess-word is concerned, it would indeed be very interesting if only it were cited as an appellation given to the bishop, instead of to the rook, for, except in the very oldest Indian, or ante-Persian, form of the game, the rook was never known anywhere, until in quite recent times, as “elephant;” and such a usage in Icelandic chess practice must have been extremely limited, or have existed only in the mind of the word-monger, borrowed, perhaps, by him from Danish books as an evidence of his learning. But one of the changes which the Indian game is supposed to have undergone at the hands of the Persians was the transfer of the name of “elephant” from the corner-pieces (our rooks) to the pieces which stand beside the king and queen (our bishops). Afterwards the Persian (or quasi-Persian) filli was replaced by the cognate Arabic fil (elephant), just as it had itself replaced the Sanskrit hasti. And this Arabic term for the bishop had a long life, extending through the Spanish elfil (as in the Arabic article the fili=elephant), Italian alfino (now alfiero), old French auffin (in modern French éfil, by volksetymology, having become éfoun=fool, another form of fol), and Old English alfín. To continue this digression a little farther—the rare and very modern usage, which occasionally makes the rook an “elephant;” is derived from its name in the oft-reprinted and oft-translated Latin poem (1525) of Girolamo Vida (who got the term, as a military expression, from Virgil), who calls it elephans turritus, or “tapered elephant.” This “tapered elephant” was meant to lead to the adoption of the title of tanner for the rook in the German, Scandinavian and other idioms (German, thorn or turn, Danish tenum, Dutch hout, Hungarian básty, modern Greek purgos and the alternative English form, castle). The influence of Vida’s “Schachheft” (“Scacchia Ludus”) was so great that in literary chess the term “elephant;” for rook (instead of for bishop) also sometimes occurs, and this is the case in Denmark, whence the knowledge of it, as an echo of Vida, found its way into Iceland. Readings of early English chess literature will remember, in this connection, the “Plaisanter and Witty Playe of Chesse” (1552), which is cited under the name of Roffredthorpe, the phrase, “The Rockes some call Elephants, carrying towers upon their backs, and men within,” the idea of which the author obtained from Vida, and which was repeated in the first English version (1597) of Vida’s work in describing the chess-pieces:—

90 See V. d. Linde’s “Geschichte,” II., p. 390.
91 Both these quotations are given in V. d. Linde’s “Geschichte,” II., p. 181.
—— The chess board; the names of the chess-figures; their positions; the law that a white corner square shall be at the right hand of each player; the moves of the chessmen; practice is better than rules; in attacking a king, the player must say skák (check), and it is usual to do the same thing when attacking the queen; there are three kinds of "check" (or "checkmate") or "game-endings"); 1. Simple check, from which the king escapes, by moving, by interposing a piece or pawn, or by capturing the checking piece; 2. When a king has lost all his men, and is so beset that he cannot move without going into check — this is called pat (stalemate); 3. Checkmate by means of a pawn is called pörfur (and is deemed unsavourable to the defeated party; gleðarmatr ("straddle-mate") is explained as a marvellous position, in which the mated king is in one corner of the chess-board, and the mating queen and rooks in the other three; and heimaend (home-mate) is when the king, still unmoved, is mated on his original square. Jafnafot (drawn game) is described, and we are told that the King's pawn when queened is styled lalli, while leppur signifies "an interposed piece." Then we learn that dregskádd ("guard-chess") is a mode of chess-play, in which the men protected by other pieces than the king cannot be slain, while in contradistinction to valdáskádd the usual mode of play is known as dregskádd ("capturing chess"). A roughly-made little woodcut of an empty chess board, scarcely five-eighths of an inch wide, and not too rectangular in outline, adorns page 29. — We note the following chess-expressions (several of which are, however, given elsewhere in the present work): retir (square); memnir (the men); heltri menn (pieces, as distinguished from pawns); drepa (to capture, literally "to subtract"); færja (to move a piece or pawn); hrókisug (to castle); hrókisug (castle); leikur (move); nökt-stöðsmaður (opponent); beða fyrir (to interpose); taflmann (players). — As the book is now not easily to be found, we reprint the original text of the whole chapter on chess: —

3. Skáttafli.


Menn teita að sverdum talþróðin, og eru á því 32 hvítur forhyrnir smáæri och eins margir svarth. Myndinnar eða mennirinnar, sem teita er með, eru vanlega úr tejo eða fílabini. Meðal þeirra eru 8 heldri menn, sinn með hverju mött að störð, nafti og tign, og er gagn þeirra skipað eða því þeirra stendur á þetta sá hina. Hún þingstandar um þeirra, sem kallast þeir, og þeir er fylkt fyrir framan hina stórur.

Kongurinn er aðstæður. Pagar han enn unni, er talfr í ævi.

Drottningin eða Frún er bættu maðurinn höfði til að verkja eða valda konungin og sækja á þjóðmenninum.
and the turbulent waters shot it wholly out from the world. For the few families who live on the rocks and earn their subsistence by gathering the feathers of the birds that haunt the precipitous cliffs, and by fishing in the surrounding seas, has been provided a small church, over which the poorest paid pastor in Iceland presides. The ancestors of these families came to the solitary spot, to escape the consequences of a feud, just after the days when chess had made its way from England to Iceland. It is a widespread belief, in Iceland, that the exiles have always found the game a great solace in their isolation, and that many of their number have attained great skill in its practice.

Our story says that a fourteen year old boy once came with his father, from their home on the lonely isle, to visit the episcopal seat of Hölar in North Iceland—in one of those good old years when Hölar still had its bishops, who, with their brother-precates of the Southern see of Stakkolt, were the great dignitaries of Thule. The lad had never been outside of Grímsey before; his manners were consequently rough, and respect for the grandees of the world had not been one of the habits he had acquired. But one thing he had learned, and that was chess. While the two stood, with others, in the court of the bishop's house, the prelate himself passed through, and all doffed their hats except the boy. Being reproved by one of the bystanders, he asked: "Who then was that man?" "The bishop, you fool, the biggest priest in Iceland." "Oh, the bishop, does he play chess well?" But of course, he does, for our parson is the second-best player in Grímsey," said the boy. This remark was reported to the bishop, who sent for the young son of Grimsey. "What was it that you asked in the court?" "I only asked one of your people if you played a good game of chess; for if you do, I should like to try one with you." It happened that the bishop was not only an excellent chess player, but also rather proud of his superiority to others. Amused at the boldness of the insular Thriastar, he ordered the chessboard to be brought and to his astonishment speedily succumbed, in three straight games, to his young opponent. "Where did you learn your chess, boy?" demanded the beaten bishop, who in no wise took his defeat with episcopal serenity. "From my father and his people in Grímsey, for in the winter we play from early in the morning till late at night." "I should rather say," exclaimed the humiliated bishop, "that you learned it from the devil, and that you have been neglecting your prayers." "Why, if that be the case, I should be quite able to beat the fellow you mention, since I can beat the parson, and the parson, who is very good and pious, can beat anybody else." The bishop regained his good humor at the lad's reply, invited him to remain at Hölar, and finding him clever at other things besides chess, put him into the cathedral school. Later in life, he received a living, and became, like his own parson, a good and pious priest—quite able to withstand the assaults of the great adversary.

Tables and Hanafatafi. 63

Taf. Throughout the whole of western Europe, during a period beginning at a date at least as early as the tenth century, there was played, particularly by the higher classes, a household game, the European name of

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63 The matter which is given under this rubric is, in every respect, unsatisfactory. To make it at all valuable would demand far more time and research than the writer has been
which was derived from the Latin word, tabula, which is likewise the source of our common English vocable, "table." The amusement was thus called, of course, because, in order to play it, a "table," "board," or other flat surface, was, first of all, necessary. The name usually assumed the plural form, indicating that this "table" was divided, either literally or by painted divisional lines, into two, is to, two parts. In Italy this division was styled tavola; in France and England tables; in Spain tablas; in Portugal taboleias; in Germany tabelepiel; in Iceland tafl (the f, as already been stated, pronounced like b); and in Denmark tavle. In Anglo-Saxon it occurs as tabel, having an allied verb tabblan, "to play at tables" (like the Icelandic verb tófla, of the same origin), and the compound toffelstam (literally, "table-stone"), signifying a "man (or piece) at tables." In Gaelic, as would appear, it was known as taibhdeall, and in Welsh as tawel-broad—the last element the equivalent of the English "board." But there is no need of continuing this list; it is sufficient to say that this word tabulatum penetrated into all the countries of the extreme Occident. The domain, however, in which it was especially well-known, at the time of the revival of letters, was the region which included the Italian and Spanish peninsulas, France, and the islands of Great Britain and Ireland, or, in other words, the very tract over which chess spread with such comparative rapidity, after it had once passed from the old Moorish to the Christian provinces of Spain. We hear less of it, in those early centuries, in the lands of the Continent to the east and north of the Rhine, but that is no doubt owing to the later-developed culture and literature of those parts.

Abundant are the allusions to the game in both the poetic and prose literatures of the Middle Ages, so little has been written in regard to its character and story that there have been few attempts to evolve any theory as to its birth-place or birth-time. The citation of it in Anglo-Saxon writings proper—in which, of course, there is no authentic mention of chess—would indicate that it preceded chess as a European game. Indeed, there are some obscure allusions—in what literature survives from those ages of obscurity that followed the close of the Roman period, which may possibly refer to tables; and which might almost incline us to believe that the peninsula of Italy was its first European home. We know that the use of dice was considered essential in playing the game, and dice, even under their modern name, certainly go back to the time indicated—not to speak of the fact that, under a different appellation, they were an important feature in certain ancient Roman games. For the etymologists are pretty well agreed that from the low-Latin dasus (a corrupted form of the classic participle able to devote to it. The story of hard-tables-backgammon (if, indeed, we have the right to use that composite title) is full of fascinating problems awaiting solution; while an adequate reply to the question, "What was the game?" can only be given by one who is content to delve diligently in many fields, especially, in the Cithole. Of the pages which immediately follow this note none but those which attempt to narrate in brief the probable evolution of the game of draughts entail anything which can be regarded as novel.

The word "table" (perhaps by reason of its plural form) might come sooner or later, to be sometimes employed, by uninformative writers, generically—to signify all household games played on a table or board, with pieces or figures—that is, which were table-games, or what the Germans mean by "Spielepiel." In this sense it would naturally be called chess, and this gives rise to some confusion, not very marked, however, except in the case of the Icelandic form tafl (plural taf); as we shall note hereafter.

STRAY NOTES

dasus = "given," then "(thrown)"
the words daso (Italian), dé (French) and
die (English) are most probably descended.
But, however far back it may
date, the game of tables certainly makes a frequent appearance, especially in the Italian, French and English literatures, from before Boccacio until after
Shakespeare, and is often so introduced as to show that the writer draws a
marked line of distinction between it and chess. A multitude of such pass-
ages are familiar to the chess investigator, and we shall not attempt to cite
them all.

We begin with French medieval productions, in which, as Ströhmeier has
observed, the games of chess and tables are often coupled together,
implying that both were favorites at court and castle. In the "Chanson de
Roland"—the work of a Norman troubére of the eleventh century—we are
told that

"Il joue aux tablas avec les chevaliers
Et en se disant il plus sauvé o il vivait,
—"the idea here expressed that chess was better adapted to the wiser
and elder members of courtly society being of not uncommon occurrence.
It is found again, for instance, in the poetical romance, of the "Comte de
Poitiers."

Le veut et se sauge en casse.

The so-called ten-syllable "Geste d'Alexandre"—pretty sure of the twelfth
century—has a passage describing the slaying of a terrible and savage
beast, with a hide so huge that a hundred knights could repose on it "et
se jouant les tables, as eschés et als dêes" ("and play at tables and chess
dice.") In that vast metrical production of the thirteenth century, the
"Roman de la Rose," ascribed to Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meung,
and begun before 1280, we are again told:

"De guex d'oeus, d'eschés, de tablas," where, as elsewhere, the mention of dice, apart from tables, is warranted in other ways than in connection with that diversion.

44 The essay of Dr. Fritz Ströhmeier, "Das Schachspiel im Altrömischen," forms a part of the volume of "Altemedien," dedicated by his disciples—all scholars of note—
"Herz prof. dr. Teuber zur feier seiner fünfzehnjährigen thätigseit als ordentlicher profesor an der universität Berlins" (Balle a. S. 1893), in which the essay with which we are concerned fills pages 381-403. It is, of course, altogether invariable as regards the game of
chess, and incidentally of much interest for the study of tables as well during the period
treated. But a special paper on the latter game, equally thorough, equally acute, would
be a great boon to investigators. The other countries of the west are all fields—untilled, or comparatively unvisited, so far as chess, and tables, likewise, are concerned—demanding fa-
bours as skilled and erudite as Dr. Ströhmeier.

45 Chanson de Roland (ed. Michel, Paris 1847), viii, v. 16-17, p. 5; and ed. Gauthier, 16
ed. (1843), v. 110-112.
47 Barteau, "La langue et la littérature françaises" (Paris 1897), p. 219, 41-41 (accordin
g to Dr. Ströhmeier), or in "Li Roman de la Rose" (ed. Michelaut, Stuttgart 1846),
v. 31 ff., p. 102.
The writer probably refers to what used to be called the "casting of maine," being, very likely, the same as la mine which greatly puzzles Dr. Van der Linde in his "Geschichte" (II, pp. 159-160). "Throwing of maine" as a game, we hear of at fashionable Bath as late as the year 1700. 42 Provençal literature, in the romance of "Gerard de Rouissaille," affords almost the same phrase: "D'eschays sab e de taizouz, des joxz de datz," also, as we see, including the dice. 43 Similarly, it is said of Duke Robert of Normandy, father of William the Conqueror,

De noir an jeu voluntiers
Esthet li dux lot custoumers;
Tabler amont, echets e des, 43

with which Strohmeyer compares a like expression from the "Roman de Rou" of Robert Wace:

Richart sunt en danesie [i.e.oislandie] e en normant parler...
L'autre sont e le meen lien preude e diner,
Las chartres sunt le e les pure deriere.
Li pere l'ent bien fait e desine e doctrene:
D'echets sunt o des tabler sun conspaignon mater. [i.e. matre].

This is not the only time that, for the sake of rhyme or through ignorance, these minstrels talk of gaming at the game of tables (as well as at chess). Nor is this the only passage in the "Roman de Rou" which alludes to tables. In the second volume of the same edition we find these four lines, the beginning of an anecdote:

Li duns anna jeu comenciables.
Dadus d'echets, gazou de tabler,
Yn iar se soit at tablerie,
Entre lui e ou chassailer

the story terminating, some forty-five verses later, with another mention of the "tablier" or table-board:

Li duns est le cons resumer
E le tablier royn oster. 12

These lines are likewise cited by Madden, in his "Historical remarks on the introduction of the game of chess into Europe" (1832, p. 288), from a British Museum MS of Robert Wace's metrical romance. In the somewhat later "Fiorabras" (though far earlier than its earliest fourteenth century MS—

42 Main, in this sense, is the ordinary French "main" (= hand), and is used here, like the corresponding English word, as a technical gaming term, like a "hand at cards," "a good whist hand," and so on. A "main," in Anglo-French is a "hand at dice," and the "throwing of maine" is casting dice to win which thrower will make the better or winning "hand." The word is not to be confused with "myrme," which occurs in early English phrases relating to chess, and perhaps to other games, in the sense of "maine" (placae).

43 Ashburn's "Social life in the reign of Queen Anne" (London 1888), II, p. 111—quoting from an old pamphlet, the title of which we give later.

44 "Girart de Rouilly" (ed. Konrad Hoffman, Berlin 1550), v. 4283 F.; see likewise "Gerard de Rouissaille" (transl. of Moyer, Paris 1844), section 221.


going back probably to nearly or quite the twelfth century) we are told of some of the paladins that

Li plusieurs vont en tabler et en contier juec, 44

while that other chanson de geste, "Parise la duchesse," which is from the thirteenth century, says of Hugo, the son of Parine:

Puis aprist il en tabler e en contier juec
Il n'a lomme en ceste monde qui l'eu poinst mouter, 43

—mating (mate) again applying, if we take the sense literally, both to tables and chess. Dr. Strohmeyer has another passage of the same character from the romance of "Aiol et Mirabel" (a tale having a quasi connection with the Icelandic "Elis saga"), which is almost unique in this romance literature in condemning the practice of the game of chess: "as enies ne as tables, liens, ne juec," 43 being the advice of a father in taking leave of his son. From a British Museum MS of the "Roman de Tristan" (reg. B. A. xviii, f. 190 b)—the original of the Icelandic Tristrans saga—is quoted by Massmann, in his "Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Schachspiels" (1839, p. 61), a phrase in which it is stated of the hero that: "il scort tant des echez et des tables que nul ne l'en peu mauter [=uated]." Barsich, in his already cited "Langue et litterature francaise," extracts from the story of the sexually transformed Blancaudin the following triptet:

Li listiers par sa tain sage
Que bien l'aprest de ses langure
D'onten, des tables et des des. 43

in which we again have the dice as a third amusement. Of passages in which chess is not mentioned we have an example in the old Belgian chronicle by J. d'Outremeuse, styled, we believe, the "Myrme des hystores" (i.e. p. 351), where we are informed that "Toudis prendoit delectacion au jeux de taubles," (where it would appear from the form "jeux," as if the word were used generically). Ducange, in his great lexicographical work (sub tabula), refers to a Latin document dated 1545—originating in France and seemingly theological in character—in which the canonical view of playing
at games is set forth: "Non posit, nec debat ludere... ad aliquot ludum taxilorum, excepto ad sceceos et ad tabulas"—an immunity not always accorded to tables, but frequently granted to chess.

In early English the game of tables plays nearly as important a rôle as in early French—during those days when there were Norman courts on both sides of the Channel, and while much of the old Norman spirit and taste still remained. As it has already been observed, chess could hardly have been mentioned in Anglo-Saxon writings—certainly not until the years immediately preceding and during the transition to the modern idiom—the period which used to be styled "Semi-Saxon." But it is only necessary to consult the dictionary of Bosworth and Toller (1882), to learn that, on the other hand, tables was popular enough when the old dialect was still spoken. As usual among the lexicographers the rubric _tafel_ exhibits a lack of technical research—the compilers giving up the task of investigation at the outset, saying: "What was the precise nature of the games, to which this word and related forms are applied, does not appear; some of the references below imply that games of chance are meant"—and thus Tacitus and the Germanic love of gaming are lumped in, in close imitatio of Guðbrandur Vigfússon, whose classic allusion we have already cited. The most important Anglo-Saxon references are those to the well-known Exeter MS (Codex Etonensis), a collection of Anglo-Saxon verse given to the library of Exeter Cathedral by the first bishop, Leofric, and in which it is still preserved. It has been edited by Thorpe (1849), and again, in part, by Gollancz (1890). Among the excerpts drawn, with varying orthography, from this anthology, in lexicons and elsewhere, are:

- Sembis briu-landu, Sembis gewiflig, the first line of which Gollancz renders "One is expert at dice;" "Dryten deop sumnum tæfal crafte" ("skill at tables," Thorpe, p. 311); and thereafter:

M. Hy twegen woonon
Tæfel yeastian

(these two shall at tables sit," p. 340). Four or five lines farther on we find the expression hond tofsernesse ("hand of the player at tables"). The only other recent Anglo-Saxon lexicological work—due to English scholarship—beside the two editions of Bosworth, is Street's "Student's dictionary of Anglo-Saxon" (Oxford 1897)—an unpretentious, but, in many respects, useful work. The compiler, however, repeats the old blunder of connecting _tafel_ with chess, and like his predecessor gives three significations to the primitive noun, namely: a game; a die; and a man, or piece. He has, likewise, the derivatives _tafein_ (to fumble), "to gabble" (or rather, if we are not mistaken, "to play at tables"); _tafero_ ("player"); _tafeinga_ ("playing"); and the adjective _tafel_ ("table of playing tables"). The only compound is _tafelestan_ rendered "die, or piece used in game"—which is even more unsatisfactory, than anything that precedes it. The larger dictionaries cite instances of the use of _tafel_ (and its derivatives) from vocabularies or glossaries—earlier and later—like that compiled by the abbot Ælfric, styled the grammarian, who flourished not far from the year 1000—a generation or more before bishop Leofric. On the whole, from a very superficial examination of the more accessible sources, one gets the idea that the game of tables was pretty well known in England during the tenth century, and possibly even before—which is a good deal more than two hundred years earlier than we hear authoritatively of any chess-playing in that region.

Old codices strengthening this supposition. In the course of time it would be found that knavish-minded people acquired the knack of causing the dice to lie as they wished by an adroit use of their fingers—a sort of liberal greasitization. That, as a remedy or safeguard against this, would be invented the dice-box, as we now know it, in which the thrower had to shake the dice so that the rattling could be heard before casting them; it was of such a form too, that there was little chance of digital tricks; and the box, too, was then more or less-shaped. This looks very much like the kernel of the matter, in which case all the rest of the story and comment would be largely a myth evolved by the lexicographers. The throwing of the dice was an important action in all kinds of gaming into which dice entered; hence, in one of the Celtic Idioms at least, a verb meaning "to throw or cast" appears, if we may believe the dictionaries themselves, have been formed out of the Latin tabulae, from its sense as the application of a dice-game. That the dice is used in this latter interpretation. Dice are still sometimes seen by bystanders as a thing entirely original. When we see an individual definition like this: "a die or piece in a game," we may generally assume that the writer knows nothing about the game of which he is speaking—and such definitions are very frequent.

Thorpe's edition (like all his work) was excellent for its time; that of Gollancz has remained unfinished for half a decade.
Earlyest, perhaps, of aU the occurrences of the word “tables,” in what may be looked upon as English literature proper, is in the celebrated rhymed legendary story of Britain known as the “Brut,” from the mythical “Brutus the Trojan” (the fabled founder of the newer Troy, which is London), whose name, in the crude philology of that age, was connected with the word “Briton.” This production is commonly regarded as “the first great piece of literature in Transition English.” Great it certainly is, if measured by the number of its verses, which are upwards of thirty thousand—those early birds being truly epic in their fertility. Layamon’s “Brut,” as it is termed from the name of its writer, is a version of the Anglo-Norman “Roman de Brut,”—by that Jersey poet whom we have just quoted and who is usually designated as Robert Wace—which was itself a versified paraphrase of the Latin “Historia Britonum” of Geoffrey of Monmouth. Layamon composed his poem, as it would seem, not long subsequent to 1200.

The second or later of the two differing forms in which it has come down to us, can hardly be more recent than the fourth decade of the century. It was printed by Sir Frederick Madden in an edition of high merit. 84 The reference to “tables” occurs in verse 8133, which reads in the earlier MS:

Summas sponden on cendralde

while, in the later, the last two words become mid taul, that is, “Some played at the tableboard (at tables).” This, it must be remembered, is a generation, or a generation and a half, subsequent to the first known mention of chess in Great Britain by Alexander Neckham (1150), and chess must have by now got to be pretty well acclimatized, side by side with tables, in the courts, castles, cloisters and schools of England, and even among the well-to-do burghers of the great cities. Next in time comes the romance of “Sir Tristrem,” with which we have had already something to do in the earlier pages of this volume. It was doubtless in existence before the close of the last quarter of the thirteenth century. In its occurrence, as will be recalled, the usual coupling of tables and chess (verse 1277):

His harp, his crowle was rike,
His talere, his chess he bare. 87

Contemporary with the author of “Sir Tristrem” was Robert of Gloucester, who ceased to write before the following century began. The work of which he is the reputed composer was a rhymed chronicle of England somewhat like the “Brut,” and like numerous other histories in verse produced in the

84 Layamon is an instance of the derivation of a personal name from the official title. The word is identical with the familiar Icelandic Spómær (“lawman”). The poet doubtless filled the position of a judge, or justice of the peace, or possibly sheriff.
85 Published by the Royal Society of Antiquaries, London, 1847, in 2 volumes, following the same society’s text (by Thorpe) of the Rivet Anglo-Norman code.
86 We have hereofof cited the noted edition of Walter Scott, but the latest treatments of the text by that master of English and Icelandic, Eugen Köhler, (Heidelberg 1883), and by G. P. McConnell (Scottish Text Society, Edinburgh 1888) are of course characterized by more modern philological methods. Mr. McConnell follows Scott in ascribing the authorship of the poem to Thomas of Merslesome (about 1210).
87 The citation preceding a description of a chess-game. In another MS (verse 3039 ff.) we have the lines given as follows:
Go we now to chamber none
On some manner to make vs game
To the dices or to the tables.

The great dictionary of Dr. Murray and his associates quotes from the “Cursor Mundi,” which is a collection of homilies in rhyme ascribed to 1300, a fragmentary passage: “I ha ne liked... til idel games, chess and tables.” 86

The Oxford dictionary accompanies it by a similar citation from the “Handleing Sin,” a rhymed version (finished about 1229) made by Robert of Brunne (or Robert Manning), of the “Manuel des Pechers” [pêchés], a French work by a writer, William of Waddington. The stories—sermon-like in character—are not dissimilar to those which a greater pen afterwards told in the “Canterbury Tales.” The excerpt is

Take for the chess or the tables. 87

The chief prose production which remains to us from this dawning period of our early literature in that morality (or, as some one has called it “divinity”), the “Ayenbite of Inwy” (i.e. the “Remorse of Conscience”), a translation into Kentish English by a Canterbury friar, Dan Michel (a native of Noygates, Kent), of “Le somme des Vices et des Vertus,” which was written, it is said, for the use of the French King Philip III, by another friar, Frère Lorons (Laurentius Gallicus). The sentence, as given by Mur-

87 The complete passage of John of Salisbury have been edited by J. A. Giles (Oxford 1848).
88 This was the MS used by Zoëtta, and the quotation will not be found in his “Romance of Gey of Warner,” edited for the Early Text Society (London 1889), p. 184.
89 Edited by Morris for the Early English Text Society.
90 The “Handling Sine” was edited by Furnivall for the Roxburghe Club in 1862.
Shakspere, in whom technical blunders are rare, shows that he was familiar with the mode of playing tables, when he sarcastically says of Boyet:

"This is the ape of form, monesier the dices, / That when he plays at tables, oblieth the dice / In honourable terms." 82

Here the dramatist properly uses dice in the plural (as two, or three, were employed at tables). In the "Winter's Tale" (iv. 3) he has both (die and dice), the singular form being of very rare occurrence in any earlier writer. The citation we have given is a sufficient indication that "tables," as the name of a game, was still well understood in the closing years of the 17th century. In the very first year of the 18th, was issued a satirical tract in verse, "Letting of humours blood," a passage from which is reproduced by Thomas Wright in an essay of which we shall soon have more to say, as follows:

An honest viceroy, and a blind consort, / That to the alehouse friendly would resort, / To have a game at tables now and then, / Or drinks his pot as soon as any man.

Thomas Dekker, the dramatist and satirist, has at least two references to the game, under its old appellation, during the first quarter of the century. The name even lingered here and there to a much later period. Two generations after Shakspere's employment of it, the diarist, Pepys (1660), could write: "I walked... to my Lord Bromley's, and there staid awhile, while they being at tables;" but in a sixpenny pamphlet entitled: "A Step to the Bath with a character of the place," printed anonymously a generation later (in 1700), which is, however, supposed to be the work of Ward, one of the social heroes of the once so fashionable English watering-place on the Severn, and from which we have already indirectly quoted, there occurs a list of names of games: "From hence we went to the "Groom Porters," where they were a-labouring like so many anchor-smiths, at the oaks, back-gammon, tick-tack, Irish, basset and throwing of maims." Here we have both "back-gammon" and "tick-tack," but "tables" was evidently growing obsolete. 83 The two most modern instances to be found of the use of "tables" are interesting as containing the technical-term "back-game." The first is in the "Non-Juror" (1716) of the dramatist, Colley Cibber: "A coquet's play with a serious lover, is like a back-game at tables, all open at first;" and the second is in Mrs. Barbauld's letters of Richardson (published in 1804, but the passage dates from 1753): "I must now, as they say at tables, endeavor to play a good back-game." 85 After this, so far as written evidence is concerned, the word tables, as the title of a game, passes out of the domain of current English speech. Possibly the earliest published work which plainly

82 See the edition of Dan Michel's "Ayenbite" by Morris (London 1880), p. 45, and for the other passage, p. 59.
83 See the edition of this bulky production made for the Early English Text Society by Pantin and Donaldson (London 1809-74), p. 54.
84 It is in this tale that Chaucer indicates a certain amount of knowledge of Alfonso the Wise, the true royal writer on chess. He alludes to the "tables Toledanae" (that is, "tables of Toledo"), which were astronomical tables by the wise Spanish king, who left his mark on the medieval science of star-gazing, as on so many other things.
86 The rev. John Northbrooke's "Treatise on dicing, dancing, valn plays" (London 1745). The book was several times reprinted, the edition of 1779 having a more explicit
indicates the beginning of the period of exclusion in Cotgrave's French-English dictionary, which was first issued in 1611 and lastly in 1673. He uses the English terms “backgammon” and “trictrac,” but ignores “tables,” although he employs the French word more than once, even giving a variety of the French “tables,” known as “tables rabbatées,” which he renders by “the Queen’s game, doublets.” The very oldest lexicographical appearance of the game “tables” is, perhaps, in a vocabulary dating back to the early days of the 16th century, which is preserved in the British Museum. Among the English name of games (nomina ludorum) there given as glosses to the Latin terms, are the following:—Latin scaccus, English “cheese;” Latin tabulae, English “dyse;” Latin tabella (tabella t = tabella), English “tabules,” a form much resembling that adopted in one of the Celtic idioms—and Latin scaecarius, English, “checky.” English students of words, from first to last—from this old glossary to Cotgrave—have thus cited and treated the name of the game for three centuries and a half.

In next looking at Italy, and the references to the game of tables in the speech of that peninsula, we shall have to begin with Ducange’s laborious work. He has a rubric: “Tabula, seu Tabularum ludus, vel alea, alebros, in quou tesserei jacuantur,” which opens with the names of many classic writers (Isidor, Martial, Julius Africanus and others less known). He then cites the early statutes of some Italian cities (Pistoia and Verceili among them), but without giving any dates. Mostly later references—besides some that we have noted in previous pages—are to a history of Jero- salem (Historia Hierosolimitana, ed. Robertus Monachus, being the rest of the old history of the crusade dating from the twelfth century; the writer, however, calls the game (if he indeed means “tables”) alesc, and follows it by a mention of scaci (chess); and to the “Constitutiones” (chap. 8) of the Emperor Frederick II (1194-1250)—issued in his capacity as king of Naples and Sicily, as it is well to remember. Finally Ducange lets us know that there is a late Latin verb tablare, meaning “to play at tables” (“tabula, ludeo”) and he cites a passage from the “Constitutiones” of Julian Antec- cessor (115. cap. 439): “Neque episcopus, neque presbyter... neque alius cujusque rei religiosa consortii vel habitus constitutur tablare sudeal, vel socius ludentem fieri, vel spectator.” But no date is given to this excerpt. Julianus Antecessor was, however, a Roman jurist of the sixth century, who was a teacher of law in Constantinople during the reign of the first Justinian. He translated the “Constitutiones” or statutes (called “No- vellen”) from the original Greek into Latin, which remained for many centuries the authoritative code of law for all Europe. Julian seems to have been engaged at this work in 556. Of course, though perhaps probable, it is not absolutely certain that in this citation the word refers to exactly that table-game (or that form of tables) which prevailed four centuries later, and of which we have been treating. If it does, the fact leads to some important inferences regarding the introduction of the game into Europe. This verb existed likewise in later Greek, and this fact suggests some remarkable conclusions. We find it in every general Greek dictionary, ὑποτάζειν (“to play at tables or dice”), and it is given as derived from the Latin tabula, (which is itself represented, in a now defunct form, by τάβλης, a dice-table; and then we have other forms, ταβλικύς, a dice-player; ταβλικύριος, a place for dice-playing; and a comic word, ταβλιτεργη, formed in imitation of Καλλιτεργη, so as to signify “a game at dice,” in connection with which we may observe that a colloquial, comic vocable of this sort hardly gets into speech or literature unless the thing satirized or treated risibly is very common, and very much talked of. We may take it for granted, knowing what we do of lexicographers’ ways, that the “dice” comes in here simply because it is used in the game of tables, and that τάβλα, or, for instance, signifies merely a board with which tables is played (table-board); and so with the other words. The first notable fact about all this is that tables was played in the Eastern (Byzantine) Empire, and that it went thither from the Western (Latin) Empire. Unfortunately the Greek sources cited are mostly of an unsatisfactory character. For ταβλικύριον we are referred to Suidas, who is supposed to be the author of a dictionary and to have lived in the Byzantine Empire in the 10th century, but in fact noth- ing is really known about him. His glossary received many accessions after the original compiler was dead, and nobody can say which are the original words and which the later additions. It is very much the same with the “Greek Anthology,” which is cited for τάβλα and ταβλικύριον. That well-known body of clever sayings, striking bits of verse and epigrams went on growing from classic times down, perhaps, to as late a date as 900. Zo- naras is a reference a little more defined. He was a historian and lexicographer, and flourished in the opening years of the 12th century; he uses the verb ταβλικύριζε. The last citation is from Thomas Magister—a Latin name as will be seen—the writer of a Greek grammar, and hence styliced also Gregory. He (it is, in fact, he makes use of ταβλικύριζε, and he belongs to the very ultimate age of the Eastern Empire, being assigned to about the year 1310. A great deal might be made of all this if only some learned and patient Goeree would be good enough to look up all the passages in which these borrowed words occur, and weigh them carefully. Even without inves- tigation the matter shows itself a subject of high interest. The interested student will find further instances of the employment of these Greek derivatives of the Latin tabula in the great “Thesaurus lingue grece” of Henri Étienne (Stephanus), among them references to a Greek glossary older than that of Suidas. Its original compiler, Hesychius of Alexandria, lived, ac- cording to some in the 4th, according to others in the 6th century; but his vocabulary, like that of Suidas, was increased during subsequent generations, making dates difficult. The “Thesaurus” furnishes many very valuable citations, but this is somewhat of a digression. In the romantic literature of Italy tables does not seem to play anything like the rôle it fills in French and English, or else no one has taken the trouble to bring together the passages in which it is mentioned. With that remarkable character, the Emperor Frederick II, just cited, begins, as far as our certain knowledge goes, the medieval game of tables in the new Italy—as do so many other things—and it is next spoken of about the end of the century in which he died in the “Cento novelle antiche,” a collection of tales made up, as is known, from many sources. Their originals are found in ancient and later chronicles, in the romances of chivalry, and in the fabliaux of the French trouvères. The name of the story writers that followed, there was the same custom of grouping tables with chess which was so common in Old French. In one of the hundred “novelle” we are told that of the characters on the scene at
one time: “Appresso mangiare, qual pro se una giuncara a zara, e qual a tavola o de schacchi, o ad altri diversi giuochi, e il duca si prosee una giuncara con un altro nobile cavaliere.” In the world-renowned narratives of Boccaccio, which were produced not more than half a century later, is found almost the same phrase (giorno 3, introd.): “Chi a giuncara a scacchi e chi a tavola.” This was reproduced by still another teller of tales a century and a half later, the Florentine Francesco Sacchetti, in words again nearly identical.

Petarach, in his most important Latin prose work, the “De remedis utriusque fortune”—a production overflowing with full of erudition, in an age when learning was the rare possession of a few—alludes to the game of tables. The “De remedii” was the most popular of all lay Latin writings in the centuries which lie between the 13th and the 17th. The libraries still preserve many reproductions of it in manuscript, while it was translated —despite its length—into many tongues, and, when printing came, was issued in many editions. The first German version was given to the world adorned with a multitude of wood-engravings by the cunning hand of Burgmaier, the favorite disciple, in that branch of art, of Albrecht Dürer. The “De remedii” is in two books, the first attempting to show that good fortune is not always a thing to be coveted, the second that ill fortune is not always a thing to be deprecated. Each of these books contains a certain number of dialogues, the interlocutors, being in the first book, Joy (or Hope) and Reason, and, in the second book, Sorrow (or Fear) and Reason. It must be confessed that the first speaker has very little to say for himself, his office being, in general, to utter the briefest statements of fact, or ejaculations, to serve as hooks upon which Reason may hang lengthy arguments and harangues. There are two dialogues relating to the game of tables. The first (book I, dial. XXVI) treats of alae ludus, which is tables, and of ludus calculus, which latter is called, in the English rendering, “lotes.” Both are described, but we quote only the earier portion concerning “dice,” or “tables”—both titles being used by the translator, who is Thomas Twyne. His version is very quaint; it is styled “Phisieke against fortune, as well prosperous as adverse,” and was printed, in attractive black letter, at London in 1579; it well deserves reproduction by reason of its delightful English. The “tables” chapter, in the earlier book, is entitled as we have hinted: “Of playing at Dice and Lotes” (De ludis aequi et ludo calculo. Dialogus XXVI): “Joy. —I am delighted with playing at dice and lotes. Reason. —In the one of these games is loss in the other folly: yet it is reported that Scoevola frequented them both, & that which is yet higher is the Augustus the Emperor used the one. Yet notwithstanding, that this first chose these to be a recreation to hym self from the ceremonies of the Goddes, & the labors of men, in the knowledgr whereof he excelled, and Augustus from the cares of his great Empire, which he governed long and wel, now and then to refresh himselfe from his toyle: I wyl not commend the like in thee. For great and learned men have certaine strange and peculiar appetites, which if thou imitate awszel in maners as in doctrine, thou mayst some fal, for al things are not worthy to be praised, which are prayed. Joy.—I take pleasure in playing at Tables. Reason. —Who would not be delighted to throw forth a couple or more of squared bones, with certaine numbers marked upon every side, and looke whiche way they runne, that way to direct the fingers, to place the round Tablesmen in order: A glorious exercise, which is lyke to deserve a famous name, with a triumphant charriot, & renowne dayes.” This is valuable because of the light it throws on the character of the game of tables—being almore the sole, and certainly the best description of it, brief as it is, in the general literature of the Middle Age. The other chapter (book II, dial. XVI) is one of the briefest in the whole work. Twyne calls it: “Of vnfortunate playing at Tables” (De adverso ludo tabellorum). We give the whole of it: Soroce. —I haue lost at Table playing. Reason. —Dy my not tell thee when thou wonymest, that it was but vruie, and not gayne! Sorone. —I am drawne drye with gamyng. Reason. —This game of is of the same qualitie that Phisitians be, by ministring of a little, to drawe forth with a great deake: but beleuere mee, thou hast more cause now to reloycye, then when thou triumphedst with fals joy. Better is sharper chastisement, then deceitfull flatterie. The lytle vantage which thou gottest then, dryd byng thee vnto the whoolepools of gaimynge now, and this losse wyll reclayme thee thence aganey. It is better to goe the right way with a foule brydel, then to be dryneu into a pyt out of the way with a golden payre of coues. Soronce. —I haue lost at tables. Reason. —But thou hast wonne at the game of manners, yf what thou hast donee thou marke diligently: otherwise good medicines were in vayne gathered togetheer for an incurable disease, yf neither losse nor shame could routhe thee from this bottomlesse pyt of destruction: for when an experience byngeth no profit, there is it in vayne to secke to doo good with woordes.” It is to be observed, however, that in this dialogue Petrach styles the game to which he is alluding ludus tabellorum, which is literally, “the game of the die,” but being the counterpart of the
cited one from the first book, the translator doubtless felt himself authorized to consider it "tables." 24

In all the larger bibliographies of chess there is included the title of a quaint work in Italian written by bishop Angelo Rocca (or "Rocchia," in Italian) in 1503 (or 1547), and published at Rome in 1617, in which he has much said of the game of tavole. The author writes to prove that tavole, dico and tavole—tavole con dadi, as he takes care once or twice to say—

24 Before citing the original text of Petrarca, we may, by way of introduction, the remarks of the Italian Zedekauer—"the title of whose treatise we quote on a following page—on the subject of tavole. Petrarca, in the games on which he dwelt in the X过了，12th and X过了，14th centuries, in Italy. He says:—'Tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole tavole 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especially for dice (l and chess (alosaurum in super furiae vel schachorum), among the clergy of the peninsula. Those devoted to gaming are called (elettorii (eupiicos), and alsea is again used of the game a few lines further on. The writer gives an account of his reproval of a Florentine bishop (or a bishop of Florence). The latter excused himself for his interest in chess by saying that the ecclesiastical statutes did not directly prohibit that game. To which the episcopal critic responded:—"Chess, indeed, the statute does not expressly punish; but both kinds of games are comprehended under the name of alea. If then that game (alea) be forbidden and nothing specified about chess, still, the same word includes both, therefore both are condemned." The logic of Bishop Damiano was not any sound, but the Florentine bishop, "being mild of disposition and shrewd of wit," as we are told, yielded to the argument offered and promised to err no more.

The reader should notice the use of alsea both in the singular and plural. The joining together of alea and sacochi, after a custom which we have seen was so common everywhere in that age, and the fact that they were the same games familiar to the convents and schools of the time, make it pretty certain that the dice-game alluded to was tables. We can hardly fancy a wine bishop addicted to such a diversion of mere chance as the casting of dice without the opportunity of making any use of his intellect, such as tables would give him. With this episcopal epistle we must take leave of Italy until she produces a Strohmeyer, who will thoroughly search her older literature for the many scattered notices of chess and tables which it doubtless contains.

As to Spain there is the same lack of material, in an accessible shape, as in Italy. The celebrated MS book of games, composed by the count-marquis, and probably under the direction of, Alfonso X, king of Leon and Castile, and still one of the choicest treasures of the library of the Escorial—that vast monastery, mausoleum, palace, which lies within an easy morning’s journey of Madrid—is both the earliest treatise on chess and the oldest document relating to tables which have had their origin in Europe. Unfortunately for our present purpose little heed has been paid to any part of this venerable literary monument except to the pages which treat of chess. Van der Linde alone, has endeavored to give a list of the subjects dealt with in the non-chess portion, but he does not go farther. According to him the first book, this splendid codex concerns chess only; the second treats of games played with three dice Libro de los dados; and the third, which Van der Linde calls the Libro de las tablas—whether this be the actual title it is not easy to say—apparently embraces games played with dice and men, or, in other words, the varieties of the game of tables.

Van der Linde’s enumeration of the chapter-subjects, that is, of the different games, in this third section is as follows:—Doblot, falsas, seis, das e alsea, emperador, medias,

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87️⃣ CHESS IN ICELAND

scholar, Lodovico Zedkauer, and his treatise, “Il giuoco in Italia nel sec. XIII e XIV,” was published at Florence in 1866, but is little known abroad. In it (pp. 9-10), after treating of dice-play pure and simple, he says:—”Non meno numerose che le variazioni del giuoco dei dadi sono quelle del giuoco di tavole. Ecco si distinguano da quello, perché vi si adoperano le pedine [strictly pawns,” but here, as in some other writings it was to be found] and tavole in tali tavole [here ‘table-board’ simply] sopra di cui (super alea) ora si gettano i tre dadi [meaning that, in addition to dice, necessary in all dice-play, we have here a board and men]. La parola tabula non significa lo scacchiere [board], ma le pedine [men, that is, all the pieces of the game] lo scacchiere [which is used in this game] si chiama tabolerium. Eovvia la disposizione degli stati, che si debba giuocare con tutte le tavole (‘conriginta tabulina’—that is thirty men were used in playing the game). Si mille giuoco vi viene raffigurato negli affreschi, che si trovano nel portico della chiesa di Lecce, vicino a Siena.” In the wood-cut which accompanies this passage, representing a portion of the fresco alluded to, it is not easy to distinguish the character of the board, but there appear to be, as stated, fifteen men on each side. At the present day tavola reale (singular) is in the Italian common name for backgammon, the adjective perhaps indicating that it is the best or oldest of all varieties of tables, or that it was once a court-game. Tommasso, the lexicographer, says that it is played by means of “2 tavolate (the 2 divisions of the board) insieme riunite, dove sono veniniquatro scacci [points] movendo via via le pedini secondo i punti che con i dadi si scegiono”—a seemingly awkward definition in which “scacci” must refer to the points (twelve on each side), of the table (backgammon) board, or to the spaces occupied by these points, affording a parallel to the oldest Arabic usage according to which the same word (beil-house) was applied to the “square” on the chess-board and the “point” of the board on which “pand” was played. In modern chess the Italian “tavola” means “drawn game”—whether drawn by reason of lack of mating force, by perpetual check, by obstinate repetition of the same moves, or by the fifty-move limit. We must not forget to say, before taking leave of Italian tables, that in the tenth century the higher clergy of Italy are charged, by at least two authors, with devotion to dice. One of these accusers is Rhetorius of Verona (but a native of Ligno), who attacks the Italian bishops as living luxurious lives, in a passage cited by Gregoryvius and copied by Van der Linde. The other similar charge, aimed against all the clergy, is to be found in the letter of citation against Pope John XII, who was dethroned by the Emperor Otto I in 963. Unfortunately we cannot give the Latin text, and hence do not know the words used to express the kind of “dicing” they indulged in. The German expression is wersfeitmen, that is, “they diced.”

In the following century we have the famous letter of Petrus Damianus (Italian “Damiano,” but who has positively nothing to do with the Portuguese Damiano, one of the earliest writers on chess, though the two are often confounded), a cardinal and bishop of Ostia, hard by Rome. We know what word he used. He speaks of the passion for bird-catching, the chase and

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88️⃣ See his “Geschichte” (I, p. 129) where is given the excerpt from Gregoryvius, “Rom” (III, 1870), p. 290. The works of Rhetorius were published by the brothers Batalerii at Ve- rena (1752), and there is a notable account of this pedile (in which he is styled Rader) by Albert Vogel: “Rathorius von Verona und das siebente Jahrhundert” (Jena 1854).

89️⃣ 82—Al quod ego acharum, legumam non possis; sed utrique legi in re quae non sis comprehendis. Quaeproppr dum alia prohiberis, et nominatim de sechis nulli dixeris, omnium procul dubio utrumque legem vast venantum comprehensum, non esse vestimus actatam emunatum.”—B. Petri Damiani Opera tom I. (Rome 1609), p. 21, Epist. X. ed Aldermann II Romani patrum maxe, de Bibliothecarum cardinalem. Forelliussi says (sub vero) that alsea is a general name for all games, has simpleque quin mixtum, which are played to nothing but the men, while alsea is used for those in which chance exclusively prevails (dice only, for instance). The word is indeed used in the singular and plural of the noble bishop is thus explained.

90️⃣ 87—Quellensammlung der Geschichte des Schachspiels” (1891), pp. 72 ff.
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emperador, la pareja de entrada, cab, equaval, todes, tablas, la bula, cortesía, la bula de bacará, los Romanos veñoncomtrat. Of these dolels is doubly less the doublets of our old lists of amusements, and is thus defined by one of the latest of our larger English dictionaries (the "Century"): "A game with dice upon tables, somewhat resembling backgammon," added to which the following quotations are given:

They be at their doublet still,
a phrase from Latimer's fourth sermon before Edward VI (1549); and

What! where's your clock? . . . To tell you truth, he hath lost it at doublets,
a passage occurring in "The Ordinary" (1551) of Peter Cartwright, who, singularly enough, was at one a poet, a dramatist and a divince of some little eminence. Fallas, in our Alphonsoan list, is probably the English fails, a variation of backgammon which seems at one time to have been common; dos e as in our dose-ace, used in connection with dice, and found in Shakespeare, and may resemble the backgammon variant described in the "Compleat Gamester" (1739) under the title of "Size-ace;" emperador is perhaps the kind of tables called in France and England in the fourteenth century "the imperial game"; todols, or something similar, is found in French notes on table games; tablas is, of course, the ordinary form of tables; la bula Van der Linde seems to connect with puff, the German name for backgammon, of which there is an early variant, buff. Several names—of these games are very likely varieties of tables, but in the present state of our knowledge it is idle to discuss this section of the Alphonson MS. Its fourth and final division is of a miscellaneous character, including first an enlarged chess (grande ajedrez), followed by a game styled tablas de aliceres (in the orthography of the MS) a sort of combination of chess and tables, as is to be inferred; then comes a kind of astronomical chess—the combined result perhaps of don Alfonso's two favorite studies—the heavens and the chessboard—styled escaques, the title of which looks as if it might be a variation of the word chess; and then the section closes with a very simple sort of dice-game called atquereus. This great work may well be ranked as one of the hundred most famous codices in European libraries, was compiled, too, at the instance of a most famous king (between 1551 and 1593), and is, artistically, of magnificent execution. It ought, moreover, considering its date, to be of considerable value to the linguistic student. Under all these circumstances it does not seem too much to ask, in these days of reprints and reproductions, of early-text societies, of accurate and easily executed copying processes, so that interesting a monument of royal scholarship should be made more available to investigators; and that the Spanish government, having already given to the world the astronomical works of this enlightened monarch, should follow such a good deed by another. Brunet y Bellet likewise consecrates one of his chapters (the fifth, "El Ajedrez," 1870, pp. 243-259) to the "Libro de don Alfonso el Sabio," in which he confines himself rigidly to the chess portion of the codex. But Alfonso, the most profligate of all royal authors, and who contributed in so many ways to the development of his country's language and letters, alludes in other writings to the game of tables. It is mentioned in his remarkable code of laws—still the basis of Spanish jurisprudence—known as "Las siete partidas" (in its part II, as published, title V, law 21); and again, on more than one page, in his historical work on the Crusades ("La gran conquista de ultra mar")—the most familiar passage, perhaps, being that in which he relates how the father of Godfrey of Bouillon made his sons learn the "juegos des ajedrez e de tablas." Of another Spanish sovereign there exists a notable relic in the archives of Barcelona. It is an inventory of the effects of Martin of Aragon, the immediate predecessor of Ferdinand II, the husband of Queen Isabella of Castile—the two being those jointly ruling monarchs who played so large a part in the history of the Crimea. Martin, who was the last of his house, that of Barcelona, died in 1410. The list of chess boards and chessmen, table-boards and table-men, in the king's possession is extracted from the inventory, made doubtless after his death, and printed by Brunet y Bellet. It is too long to be given here, but we reproduce one or two of the items relating to tables, in the orthography of the original. We find un tabler de jugar a tablas ab hes pejares de naçere ('a table-board with points of Jasper and mother-of-pearl'), this board, with its resplendent "points," having on the reverse side a chess-board inlaid with the same rich materials; and there were other boards of the same sort, chess on one side and tables on the other—exactly similar to the chess and backgammon boards of to-day. One had tables on one side, and the other side was devoted between chess and "nine men's morris." Another board is described as a table-board of Juljube wood (un tabler de taules de gingolera), and there were cases (estuches) containing sometimes men for tables, sometimes chessmen, as with the inventory speaks of a case of precious wood of two divisions, in the first of which were 32 table-men and in the other 32 chess-men, half of each of ivory and the other half of ebony (de dues cases

STRAY NOTES

The archbishop of Rome, later, wrote an interesting essay on "The European names of the chess-men" (1794) has described the game of faygel. "It is a very old table-game" [as old evidently as the days of King Alfense], "and one of the numerous varieties of backgammon that were formerly used in this country. It was played with three dice and the usual number of men or pieces. The peculiarities of the game depended on the mode of placing the men on the points. If one of the players threw some particular throw of the dice, he was disabled from bearing off any of his men and therefore faygel in winning the game—and hence the appellation of it." Faygel is the orthography in the last sixteenth century MS on tables preserved in the British Museum, to which we shall refer.

See the "Compleat Gamester" and other early treatises on games, English and French; also the preceding p. 80.

To this game (as we learn from the just-cited "Century Dictionary" sub faygel), Ben Jonson, in his "Every man in his humour" (act ii, sc. iii), thus alludes:

He's no procuress, that I'm certain of,
Nor rigid Roman Catholike. He'll play
At faygel and tick-tack: I have heard him swear.

The etymology of Francis Deuce—be he wrote an interesting essay on "The European names of the chess-men" (1794) has described the game of faygel. "It is a very old table-game" [as old evidently as the days of King Alfense], "and one of the numerous varieties of backgammon that were formerly used in this country. It was played with three dice and the usual number of men or pieces. The peculiarities of the game depended on the mode of placing the men on the points. If one of the players threw some particular throw of the dice, he was disabled from bearing off any of his men and therefore faygel in winning the game—and hence the appellation of it." Faygel is the orthography in the last sixteenth century MS on tables preserved in the British Museum, to which we shall refer.

Ticknor, the historian of Spanish literature, states that Alfense "first made the Castilian form of the national language," and estimates at a high value the king's Code, and adds: "The king's Code, saying that they gave the right direction and character to Spanish prose—"A service perhaps greater than it has been permitted any other Spaniard to render the prose literature of his country."
The word "kurrîter," in this passage, has been much debated. It is too early to be considered a reference to the alfa bataz, or modern chess called in German the "Current oder das welsch schachspiel"; and if it means the "Courrier spiel" mentioned by Jakob von Ammenhausen in his chess poem (1337), and long played at the chess village of Ströbeck, then this must be its first appearance in literature. There are various references

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The poet, Wirtz von Gravenberg, composed this work, derived from French sources, at the very beginning of the thirteenth century.

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STRAY NOTES

It's meanwhile taken for granted that tables came over the Alps, or across the Rhine, before the introduction of chess, but when the latter event arrived it was at once seen to be a table-game like the diversion with which people were already familiar. So, as in Iceland and Holland, it was deemed necessary to distinguish them. The old game, because it was played with dice, or accompanied by the casting of dice, was called wurzelfabel (or "dice-table"), the later became schachzabel ("chess-tables"). The first appearance of chess in Germany is in the fragmentary Latin poem, "Ruedel," seeming composed in Bavaria—close by one of the most frequent routes between Italy and the North—and now assigned to the middle of the 12th century. Being in Latin H, of course, throws no light on the vocable zabel. In the compound schachzabel the second element underwent much popular deterioration, for we find schachzapel and schafzapel (which latter, according to Van der Linde, now lingering as a Bavarian name for the morris-game, not to speak of the later schachzettel (exactly corresponding to the Icelandic stakkaft). Wackernagel (p. 36) cites from the inventory of a nobleman's possessions (Count Sibotos von Neuenburg), towards the end of the 14th century, four wurzelfabel and four wurzelfabel, and ivory men belonging to both games (elefanten tapiden tam ad wurzelfabel quem ad schachzabel pertinentes). In Middle High German literature there are various allusions to tables. In the "Wigalois" (v. 10582 ff.) we have an allusion to the splendid boards and men of early times, contrasted with the cheaper wooden ones of later days:

Dâ lagen vor der freussen fer Wurzelfabel unde karrier, Geworft von hellesheine; Mit edlem gesteine Spillem si, mit hellesheine, Alsa man nu freussen spielen silet.

The word "kurrîter," in this passage, has been much debated. It is too early to be considered a reference to the alfa bataz, or modern chess called in German the "Current oder das welsch schachspiel"; and if it means the "Courrier spiel" mentioned by Jakob von Ammenhausen in his chess poem (1337), and long played at the chess village of Ströbeck, then this must be its first appearance in literature. There are various references
to Currier-schach and Currier-spiel, as well as to current-chess, in the index to V. d. Linde’s “Geschichte.” Wackernagel quotes (p. 258) a passage from an early source—he gives no date—attacking the game of tables: “Noch ist einer leier spielt, des herren splugent, von dem doch vil schiden und schande gemerkt werden muss; seuerfohl ich das spielt in nemmendich und nicht draught-board ! W. is not chess a further and more complicated development of draughts? Happily the various investigations of the history of chess have answered these queries. Whatever else is known with certainty as to the story of chess, this is at any rate sure, that the game existed long before draughts had come into being. And another thing may be taken as equally a matter of fact, and that is that draughts is of very ancient origin Dutch, Danish and Swedish literature—the name being always a derivative from tabula, but exact references cannot yet be made. In Icelandic, as we have seen, the word tafl is frequent in a very remote age.

As to the Celtic lands there seems great reason to believe that tables, in at least one of its forms, was a familiar diversion at a very early period. The old Irish and Welsh literary monuments abound in notices of games—all of which ignorant translators generally render by chess. But from lack of any systematic investigation by Celtic scholars the subject is still most obscure. But it is not improbable that the Britons acquired from the Romans a knowledge of certain classic table-games, and retained their practice. The word taebhord ("throw-board" as it is rendered), if we are not greatly mistaken, has tabula as its first element, and the English board (celtic bord) as its second. This is a Welsh term, which seems to have been widely known and used. It occurs repeatedly in Dr. William Wotton’s “Leges Wallisii" (London 1720, p. 266 and 283), in a passage cited both by Van der Linde and Forbes.108 In Erse, at the present time, the game of backgammon is called taighn (=tables). The lexicographers give, as corresponding to the Anglo Saxon saefol, the Gaelic tabhsbas (backgammon) and the Welsh taesbord (which the earlier Bowsorth renders "gaming table like a chess-table"). Bowsorth (1838) likewise cites taol and taol as Celtic forms of tabula (the latter Armoricam).—Although the information is hardly in place here, it may be of interest to know that in all the Arabic lands from (at least) Persia (the game of) backgammon is called ( התא ) that is “(the game of) tables.” The word taol is, of course, a descendant of the Latin tabula, but at what time it came into the new Arabic it is perhaps impossible to ascertain—though it was surely more than two centuries ago. Modern Italian words abound in all those Vulgar-Arabic idioms which are spoken along the Mediterranean shores, and this is very likely no older than the Italian form (tsolda).

Chess and Draughts. Before we endeavour to consider more fully the question of what the game of tables really was, and in order to clear the ground somewhat, we will note that certain writers have hinted that the Icelandic tafl (in one or another of its varieties at any rate) may be identical with the game of draughts; it is therefore desirable to look a little at

108 The passage names the objects to be conferred by the Welsh king on certain court officials at the time of their installation, among them being a taebhord. The varied value to be placed upon the taebhord manufactured of different materials (a battle’s horn, a hero’s sword, a bone of a sea animal, wood) is also indicated. Besides the list of objects one gets the idea that the sense of taebhord might be “dice-box” or “pygmy.”
it more clear that the inventor had in his mind's eye the continuous forward, and never retrograde move of the pawn, as the foremost characteristic of the move of all the figures in the modified game; and, added to this an essential feature, the subordinate one of the pawn-attribute of changing its character as soon as it could no longer continue its forward march. He neglected, too, to perceive that the capturing method of the draughtman originated in the early Asiatic-European move of the bishop—to the third square diagonally, leaping over any intervening piece (that is over any piece occupying the central square of its march), exactly as the draughtman now leaps over the opposing figure which he thereby captures. He tells us elsewhere in his invaluable writings that, up to the date of its introduction into Spain (or, perhaps, a little later), the chessboard was all of one colour, the squares indicated only by lines; he even states the fact more definitely, saying that before the date of the chess-work compiled under the direction and authority of Alfonso X, no indication is found, in or out of Spain, of a particular coloured board; but he omits to observe what influence this novelty would be likely to have in helping to originate the new departure in the history and use of the checkered table. For this new colouring of the squares would, of course, at once give a great prominence to the diagonals, making them of even greater distinctness—as will be understood at a glance—than the rectilinear near squares. We may, therefore, say that draughts is a simplified chess, designed to avoid the difficulties of the Indian game, and evolved from the Indian chess by a process like this:—1. The squares used were limited to those employed by the queen and bishop in the old chess of Spain (namely the diagonals only, for the movements of the queen as well as those of the bishop, were then restricted to a single colour—as we now say the chessboard has become parti-coloured); 2. Two ranks were then left between the arrays of the opposing players for the opening battlefield (i.e. skirmishing-ground); 3. The men were next given the move—as it was at that time,—of the chess-queen (one square each way diagonally), while, as their capturing-moves, was borrowed the ordinary contemporary move of the bishop (to the third square, diagonally jumping over any intervening obstacle); and, as a final characteristic, the men received the attribute of the chess-pawn, which, upon attaining the eighth rank, acquires a great increase of power, together with the new faculty of making retrograde moves. Thus we see that, at the bottom of the inventor's mind, was the idea of diminution as a simplifying-force—elimination of the squares by one half (32 in place of 64); of the battlefield free to both forces at the outset by one half (8 ranks in place of 4); of the number of figures by one forth (24 instead of 32); and of the variety of pieces by five-sixths (chess having king, queen, rook, bishop, knight, pawn, all with varying powers). The evolution of the new game, as here portrayed, seems so natural as to prove itself,—in several very early chess MSS, composed on this side of the Pyrenees, the chess matter is followed by explanations of other table games, such as "tables" and "merelles," but among these additional games draughts is, so far as we know, never found. This strengthens, if that were needed, the existing opinion as to the Spanish origin of the game. The story of the beginning period of draughts, its close connection with chess (as a game of pure skill, into which the element of chance by the use of dice does not enter), and its late appearance in the cis-pyrenean parts of Western Europe seem to forbid its identification with "tables," or with the Icelandic "auft," to which latter matter, though, we shall again refer.—There is some obscurity about the origin of the continental and therefore earliest appellation given to this chess-derived game—in Spanish, as finally, and exclusively adopted, juego de damas; in French, jeu de dames; in Italian, giuoco di dama; in German, damaspiel. Van der Linde ("Geschichte," I, pp. 287 and 324) at first thought that the word damas formerly signified simply "man" (i.e. in a game), but subsequently abandoned—partially at least—that idea ("Quellenstudien," p. 241), although in French dame, in draughts, still has that peculiar sense. In connection with the last citation he suggests that it is originally a Provencal derived form of the Latin domina (=mistress, lady), but as a chess-term it was first used by the Spaniard Lucena (1497), where it is employed alternately with fers (or, as Lucena writes it, afferaz), the Asiatic-European title of the piece now known as "queen." Lucena, as the earliest writer on the new or modern chess, styles the transformed game "Queen's chess" (de la dama), because of the fuller power given to the old "fers." The chess which was passing away he calls "the old" (el viejo). This, of course, gave prominence to the word dama (=queen). But it appears probable that the expression "queen's game" (juego de damas), came in part, as is hinted elsewhere, from the adoption of the old move of the chess queen (one square diagonally) as the normal move of each of the men at draughts, but perhaps more from the frequency of "queens," or crowned pieces (in the new game). In chess, the change which the pawns undergo, on arriving at the eighth rank, is not of very frequent occurrence, and was formerly made at random, while, in that game, the player has the choice among several pieces, the powers of any of which the metamorphosed pawn may assume. In draughts, the act of "crowning" occurs in nearly every partie, and in many several times, so that each player may easily have, and does have, three or four or more "queens" (or, as we call them in English, "kings") on the draught-board at once. In this light the name "game of the queens" becomes most appropriate.—In the same way but little labour has hitherto been spent in endeavoring to explain the exact propriety of the English name of the game. The earliest distinct allusion to draughts is in the (p. 78) quoted passage from the "Destruction of Troy" (early in the 15th century), where we read:

The drosheis, the dury and other drogh [i.e. tedious] games.

But the game and its name became very familiar early in the 17th century, when William Perkins, in his work "A Case of conscience" (1619), speaks of "the games of chess and draughts." In France it was described in a book entitled "Recritions mathematiques" in 1539 (Rouen), and a special treatise by Pierre Malot. "Le lev de dames," appeared in 1669 (Paris); and in England no book devoted to it saw the light before William Payne's slender volume, "An introduction to the game of draughts" (London 1756). In Germany an inedited MS by Johann Wolfgang Schmidt, composed at Nuremberg in 1700, is preserved in the Royal Library of Berlin, while "Das erklaerte Damenpiel" ("The game of the damsel," "T. V.") was issued at Magdeburg in 1744. In Holland, a "Verhandeling over het Damspel," by Ephraim van Embden, appeared in 1785, but in all other lands the oldest printed treatise bears a nineteenth-century
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DATE. In Iceland very little was heard of draughts until within the same period, nor is it any way common in the island even now. It came from Denmark, and is usually mentioned by its Danish name (dannm, duesepp). Its Scotch name, dambrod, indicates its introduction into that country from France. — Draughts, it may be remembered in conclusion, like all similar games, has its different ramifications, or species. In the United States (notably in the rural districts) is often practiced the sort locally known as “give away” or a kind of suicidal draughts, in which each player tries to force his opponent to capture as many men as possible, the real object being to lose the game instead of winning it. To the same genus belong the suicidal problems of chess.—A more important variety is called “Polish draughts,” played on a board of 100 squares (10 x 10), each player controlling twenty men. Van der Linde says that this is the only draughts now practised in Holland—the latter treatises on draughts in the Dutch language limiting themselves to this species. No investigator has ever, so far as we know, tried to trace the origin of this so-called Polish game. Whether it came from Poland or elsewhere, it appeared in France a few generations ago, attained a great vogue for a while, and is probably still played. The French chess-players, Philidor, in the last century, and Deschappelles in the present century, were known as adepts at this enlarged draughts. In

The word draught, or draft, besides its various other meanings, has that of “move” in a game, and at a very early period is so used in English chess. Thus we find in Chaucer’s “Death of Blanche la Duchesse” (651-654):

At the chesse with me she gan to playe;
With her faire draughts divers she shal on me and took my fowr;

and in the early years of the 15th Century, in the verse of Thomas Occleve (b. about 1370, d. 1454):

And for that amoung draughts onchoone
That into the chess apertene may.

and only a little later, in that of John Skelton, in his striking piece of imagery drawn from chess:

Our day be dasyd
To be checkmate
With draughts of both.

Draughts was a very common word, to express what we now call “move,” in all the Old-English productions relating to chess, while its cognate, draft, still continues to be used in Swedish in the same sense. Thus in Barchier’s “Famous game of chess-play” (1599)—a revision and enlargement of the earlier work (1614) of Arthur Saut, bearing the same title—we find the following verse referring to the usual mode of deciding the first move by lot:

If on your wits any light
The first draught shall you play;
If not, be wise by right.
At first to lead the way.

Now the game of draughts has no checking, no mating, no casting, no variety of movements among its men; hence it is possible to consider it as a simple collection of moves, or as a collection of simple moves—a game of moves and nothing else. This suggestion as to the immediate origin of its English appellation may be a far-fetched one, but no more acceptable explanation can be found in the dictionaries, though the idea is perhaps best of all expressed by Skeat in his well-known “Etymological Dictionary,” in which he styles draughts “a game of alternate moves.”

Mérelles (mynas).—There are two table games of minor note of which something must be said, chiefly because one of them at least—as we shall learn in the sequel—has been regarded by some writers as related, directly or indirectly, to the Icelandic hnefataf, while both have been practised, for generations, by the Icelandic people. The first one is, perhaps, best known in general literature by its French name, mérelles, or maréles. It was intimately associated by the earliest European writers on chess with that game, forming the third of the triad of table games (cheess, tables, maréles) treated by such early writers as Alfonso X, and the authors of the so-called “Bonus Socius” and “Civis Bononiar” MSS at Florence, Rome and elsewhere. The last two of these old works, so far as the space they devote to chess games has been ably edited and commented on by Von der Lasa and Van der Linde; but very little attention has been hitherto paid to the positions occupied by the two other games, this being especially true of the maréles section.

We shall nevertheless endeavour to treat this maréles (or “morris-game” as it may be styled, for distinction’s sake, in English) with some of its varieties, as completely as we may, considering that no work, or even essay—a general tenor—concentrated to its history and character has yet been published, and that we must therefore depend upon driblets of information—always scanty of detail, and nearly always inaccurate—drawn from many sources. It ought to be premised that the table game called “morris” belongs to the class which has received the generic title of “line-games,” or games in which the men are placed and played on lines and not on spaces (that is, neither on “squares” nor “points”). To this class it is supposed that many games familiar to the older Mediterranean lands appertained. It may be further premised that in the case of the morris game the lines are right lines, and drawn, first, in order to form quadrangles, and, secondly, in order to connect internally the sides and angles of these quadrangles. It may, moreover, render the following pages a little easier of comprehension if we state that it has been surmised, though not proved, that the germ of these games was a single square, with lines running from the centre of one side to the centre of the opposite side, and from one corner to the other corner, and that the

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114 In England (and in American treatises) known as “the losing game.”

115 Books on Polish draughts have lately been published in Germany. Possibly the game was originated at the half-Polish, half-French court of Stanislaus Leszinsky, the exiled king of Poland, (father-in-law of Leopold I), who, from 1736 to 1761, resided at Nancy and Louis ville as prince (or “king”) of Lorraine and Bar. — Hyde (1694), of course, knew nothing of the Polish game. His treatment of the ordinary game of draughts is, perhaps, the most unsatisfactory portion of his two volumes. He makes it identical with the Roman Indus intranumeratus, but at the same time seems to think it of oriental origin. He gives representations of two draughtsboards, one of which has sixteen men arranged on the first two ranks of each player—In which case each is made, not only of the diagonals but of all the 64 squares of the board (see Hyde, II, pp. 172-181).
line of development which this game subsequently followed increased the number of these quadrangles from one to three, drawn concentrically, or, in some regions, as it would seem, joined by grouping.

We shall put together all that we have been able to gather from different countries—each land by itself—relating to this long-used social diversion—its story, its name or names, its method or methods of play and the part it has had, if any, in each country's literature. The geographical arrangement adopted, however convenient it may be in other respects, has the disadvantage of rendering repetitions unavoidable.

We begin with Spain, because the oldest mention of the game known to us is Spanish, but unfortunately we are not in a position to say definitely what that mention is. It occurs in the important Alphonseine codex of the Escorial (which dates back to about 1280)—its existence therein being positively stated both by Van der Linde and Von der Lasa, but since these writers concern themselves solely with the manuscript's chess pages, they throw merely the faintest glimmer of light upon our topic. The former, in his largest work, ("Geschichte," 1, pp. 133 and 279), only informs us that the MS, as left by its royal author, certainly treats of mérèlles (in German, mühlespiel or mülespiel), although Van der Linde himself displays no very exact knowledge of what the morris game is; for, on the last page just cited, he gives, in a general way, the contents of the codex but in a somewhat singular manner. It consisted, according to him, of a series of "spielbücher"—"welche erstens das schack, zweitens das trictrac, drittens das mühlespiel (dosas y tablas) behandeln"—thus seeming to imply that the words dosas y tablas signify either mülepiel, or both trictrac and mülepiel, whereas the word dosas refers to games played with dice alone, and tablas to games played with both dice and men. The indefatigable Dutch scholar, in a later treatise ("Quellenstudien," 1901), comments on the chess section of the codex much more fully than had heretofore been done, having had access meanwhile (not to the MS itself but) to an old transcript of some portions of the Escorial volume. He tells us (p. 73) that one of the games outside of chess described in it, is alquerque. This assertion is repeated (pp. 277-8) a little more in detail, and supplemented by this statement: "Auch das mülepiel ist ein linespiel; Alfonso hat viele varianten und spielt auch hier liberall mit schackpeons" (that is, used as morris-men), but we are not told what, according to Alfonso, is the Spanish appellation of "mülepiel."—of the sort now known to the Germans—nor what the variants are of which his commentator speaks. Of alquerque he tells us enough to show that the name of the Spanish writer, whom we shall shortly cite, was greatly indebted for the information he gives us, to Alfonso's work. Van der Linde reproduces our figure 1 and informs us that it constitutes a quarter of an alquerque board represented in the codex, upon which that game is played with 2 × 12 chess pawns, placed and moved always upon the lines. Amongst the forms of alquerque given is one denominated juego de cercar de librea ("harc-hunt"). There is also described, as we are told, a more varied, which was played with the help of dice—or, as the codex has it, "alquerque de nueve que se uyea con dosas"—the modern author (Van der Linde) here correcting his former misunderstanding regarding dosas. He adds that this alquerque de nueve was played with twelve white men against one black; but the word nueve, although it may possibly signify either "new" or "nine," is here more likely to mean the latter, (nine men morris), in which case we confess ourselves unable to comprehend the "twelve white men against one black." Thus far Van der Linde. Tassilo von der Lasa, unlike Van der Linde, had the opportunity of examining the codex; the accuracy of the information he gives us can therefore not be questioned. In the pages of that great work, "Zur geschichte und literatur des schachspiels" (1897)—the final and finest product of a long life rich in many abundant literary harvests—he comments on the chess writings of the Spanish monarch. Introductory to his treatment of the subject he says: "Der codex ist ziemlich umfassend und beschäftigt sich neben schach mit verschiedenen spielen, wie würfel, mühle, tric-trak, jedoch nicht mit damaspiel. Das schach macht aber bei weitem den grösseren tholl des ganzen aus" (p. 116).

The only further addition, and that a too slight one, to our knowledge of the Escorial codex, comes from a modern Spanish source. We find it in the remarkable, and, in many respects, valuable treatise of José Brunet y Bellet, entitled "El Ajedrez" (Barcelona, 1890). The volume contains a chapter on the "Libro de don Alfonso el Sabio" (pp. 245-269), in which, however, the author, like preceding writers, has very little to say about any other game than chess. That little occurs when he is describing (pp. 253-4) the miniatures which adorn the 13th century MS. He observes that in the supplement (called by Van der Linde "Book IV") are 14 miniatures illustrating some old varieties of chess, as well as some other games, amongst them five belonging to the pages devoted to alquerque, from one of which he quotes this inscription: "Esta es el alquerque de doce que juega con todos sus trebolos." This means: "This is the alquerque of twelve, which is played with all its pieces." "Alquerque of twelve" most likely refers to a kind of alquerque played by men. Then the modern writer continues by saying that this game is called in Castilian tres en raya, and in Catalan morres, "del cual hablamos en capítulos anteriores." He notes that Alfonso speaks of the pieces as trebejos (modern trebejos), a name which is still sometimes given to the pieces at chess.

Turning next to the anterior chapter to which the author of "El Ajedrez" has alluded, we shall try to give a tolerably complete abstract of its earlier paragraphs, although we shall find but little relating to the actual morris game as we of English speech understand it. In fact all that we may be able to glean in regard to the nomenclature of the Peninsular mérèlles will not make it possible to draw any certain deductions as to its character, much less present any clear or accurate account of the game as played by the Spaniards, or to comprehend its technical terms. Brunet y Bellet follows his second chapter, in which he treats of "El juego en tiempo de los romanos," with an appendix, or extra chapter (pp. 204-211), which he begins by alluding to the well known work on chess of the Sicilian Carrera (1618) who, he tells us, applied the name of "line games" (giuochi di riga, or in Spanish, juegos de raya) to all varieties of this category of table games,
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amongst them being a kind of draughts (damas), played on a table "divided into triangles by lines" as in the existing morro games, and with pieces half white and half black, which is styled [by the ancients] grammismus or diagrammismus or gramma—this last word signifying "any sort of line."

"This game," says Carrera, "is to-day unknown, but there was formerly played, and is still actually played, a similar one with twelve white men and twelve black; but it is necessary to note that this game is diverse from that which the Sicilians call marree, and the Spaniards damas."

He then describes the method of playing one of the rige games, which he asserts is styled rige di tre, and which is one that children play everywhere, drawing the board upon a stone, brick or plank, or even marking its outlines on the earth, each player employing three men—never more. This game is called in the Catalan dialect morro, and in Castilian tres en raya. Carrera comprises under the name of giuochi della rige all those games which are played upon a flat surface marked in lines of one form or another, and using a greater or less number of men." The game described by Carrera, as reported by Brunet y Bellot, it will be seen, is the English "three men's morris" (see fig. 1).

In spite of the two argumentative paragraphs which the Spanish writer then bases upon Carrera's use of the word damas, it is quite evident that the Sicilian's employment of the term was the result of ignorance, for damas means, and meant even in Carrera's time, the game of draughts. Resuming, Brunet y Bellot declares that in the days of Carrera the Sicilians might have employed marreia or marrele for the Spanish (juego de) damas—played on a chess-board—but that at the present time the Italians understand by marelle the Spanish (juego de) morro, that is to say, (giuoco di) rige, with twelve white and twelve black men, called in Catalan castro, a name which is equally applied in Castile to that game. It is also known as alquerque or tres en raya—just as Carrera calls both the games giuoco de rige, and just as the Catalans apply that of morro equally to the line-game of twenty-four men, and to that of six—the white and three black—the latter being tres en raya among the Castilians.

All this seems unnecessarily perplexing, but we get from the final lines a clear idea that the simple, single-squared "three men morris" is surely known in Spain. The author, however, makes confusion worse confounded by inserting in his text the design of what he labels a board for "alquerque or marro of twelve men," which we copy (fig. 2). Now this board is made up by uniting four of the little "three men morris" boards of Tuscany (or Italy, and other lands) or, what is the same, four of Hyde's copped-crown boards, and is different from any of the larger morris or marelle boards which we find elsewhere (in recent and of social games published in Paris and Milan, alluded to later). Afterwards he goes on to say that it is very possible that this diminutive morro or giuoco de rige (that is, a fourth of his alquerque board), using only six men (three for each player), Its board traversed by four lines and divided into eight spaces, may be the primitive form of the game of lines (raya), from which is derived the other and more complicated varieties of these games. Combinations of this original form he cites the alquerque represented in the designs; the game called asato in Spanish, and the game called fox and geese in English, of the board of which latter he gives a sketch. Later on we shall find fuller mention of this asato, but certainly, as we have already said, it has not been our fortune to discover in actual use in any other country a composite morris board of the character of that asserted to be alquerque by Brunet y Bellot. But we see the extracts from Italian and French handbooks of games farther on.

The definition given in the "Dizionario de la lengua Castellana por la academia española" to tres en raya, under the word raya, is as follows: "A game which is played by boys with pebbles or pieces upon a square divided into four others [that is lesser ones], having lines drawn from one side or the other to the centre, where they are joined by diagonals drawn from one corner to the other parallel".

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17 See the subsequent treatment of Hyde's statements in the account of the morris game in England.

18 The text of the early paragraphs, of which we have made use, is from Brunet y Bellot's supplementary chapter, is as follows: "Dos Pietro Carrera, ne es obra Il Gioco de gli Rucczi...Edito...Milano, 1617, dice: El autor da el nombre de juego de la Riga, Raya, a todos los que se jueguen con tableros señalados por rayas, en otro es de una sepa...Damas jugado con un tablero dividido en divisas por rayas, como en el actual Morro grande, y con estarla unas, mitad blancas y mitad negras, el cual juego es llamado Gramismus...Disscriminae in Gramo, aunque este último nombre significa toda clase de Riga, ó Raya..." "Este juego, dice Carrera, es hoy desconocido; pero se jugaba también, y aún se juega hoyendo, entro sanimejante con doce piedras blancas y doce negras; y dando ad- vertir que este juego es diferente de aquel otro que los sicilianos llaman Damas, y los españoles Damas." Descrito después el modo de jugar el último de los tres en raya, dice: "Los enanas Maro de Tresa, y que es el mismo que todavía juegan los nordeños por partidas señalándoles el tablero sobre una piedra, ladrillo ó madera, ó bien haciendo la raya en la tierra, y con tres piedrecitas madas; juego llamado en castellano Moro, y en castellano Tres en Raya; Carrera, en una palabra, comprende bajo el nombre de Juegos de la Riga a todos aquellos que se jueguen con tablas, marcando por rayas de una ó otra forma, y con mayor ó menor número de piezas;...Es tiempo de Carrera podría llamarse el Maro de Riga ó Marrele ó Marelle a nuestro juego de Damas, con el tablero y enrasado, sesquipedado; pero los italians entiéndan, ahora, por completo, nuestro juego de Morro, es decir el juego de Riga de las doce piedrecitas blancas y doce negras, llamado Castellano Moro de Riga, en castellano, nombre que no es de igualmente en Castilla al que también se llama Alquerque ó Tre o Raya; del mismo modo que Carrera da a los dos el nombre de Giuoco di Riga, y los catalanos llamamos Morro al Riga de 24 piedrecitas y al 36-tres blancas y tres negras..." In his next paragraph the author goes on to observe: "Es muy posible que este último sea el primitivo de los juegos de rayas, del cual se derivasen los otros diferentes de tablero más complicado ó mejor multiplicado, y en las repeticiones del mismo primitivo mejor dispuestas, atravessado por cuatro rayas y dividido en ochos espacios, pues no son otras cosa los tableros del Morro (fig. 9), Asato, Ladrones, Fox ond Geese [see a later page], etc. y es posiblly y casi probable que las Damas han nacido de piezas blancas y negras en Espania, Francia y otras naciones se juegan con mayor número—no sean otra cosa que el asalto Morro aplicado al tablero a ajedres de 8 x 8 casillas, cuando este juego se vulgarizó por el Occidente"—a valuable guess.
other. The aim of the game consists in the placing, by one player, on some one of these right lines, his own three men, and the skill of the game consists in preventing the other player from accomplishing the same purpose with his men." The Spanish definition is followed, as is customary, in the earlier editions of the Academy’s dictionary, by a brief Latin one, which in this case reads: "Pamatorem autorem ludis lineis transversis in quadrum dispostit." It will be seen that the Academy’s definition seems to be, so far as the board is concerned, a description of the alquerque of Brunet y Bellet (four small squares making one large one). Alquerque, in the same lexicon, is explained to be identical with tres en raya. The incomprehensible thing in the definition just cited is that, while Brunet y Bellet speaks of the board as used for the "alquerque or board of four lines in quadrat," the plural tres propios, in the Academy (and other late) dictionaries, implies that each alquerque player had (as in the smallest morris game) but three pieces—which looks impossible. The statement may be only one of those examples of confusion, through ignorance, on the part of the Academical lexicographers, of which we have already seen so many in this volume.

In the voluminous “Diccionario enciclopédico hispano-americano,” recently published at Barcelona, we are referred under alquerque to tres en raya, and under the last word of that phrase (XVII, 1895) we find this definition: “Juego de muchachos, que se juega con unas piedrecillas ó tantos, colocados en un cuadrado dividido en cuatro cuartos con las lineas tiradas de un lado ó otro por el centro, y situadas los diagonales de un ángulo ó otro. El fin del juego consiste en colocar en cualquiera de las líneas rectas logrando que uno de los muchachos gane el que lo pone más cerca.” The dictionary of the Academy under morris, gives, not only the game here mentioned, but another plainly more violent athletic exercise, in which one band of players confronts another in a sort of tournament. It seems, therefore, that as the name of a table-game, morris is no longer used in Spain, unless dialectically.

Hyde, one of the historians of chess, in his chapter entitled “Historia triodi”—of which we shall have a good deal to say when we reach the subject of the morris game in England—remarks that certain writers state that the game is called in Spain alquerque, but that some other writers, and among them Corvarrubias, apply that name to chess, or draughts, but that alquerque, as he supposes to show, arises from tres propios or tres tantos propios. “From this, we can form an idea,” says the wise Hyde, “how great are the errors of authors in assigning and explaining the names of games.”

Little information, but an abundance of misinformation, as to the game is to be drawn from the larger and better bilingual dictionaries of the present time. For instance, in recent editions of Salva’s French and Spanish dictionary (1988), we have, in the French part, mérèlles (singular) interpreted by tres en raya, “juego de muchachos,” while the plural mérèlles is rendered by “cincunco (otro juego de muchachos).” Tres en raya can surely not signify the French mérèlles (singular). In the Spanish part we find alquerque rendered “mérèlles, espaha de jau de damaes”—a repetition of an old piece of inexactness criticized and condemned even as far back as the days of Hyde. Under tres en raya again we find the definition, mérèlles, “jeu d’enfant qui consiste à sauter à cloche-pied en pousant avec le pied dans un sens prescrit ou un palet ou des lignees circonscrites,” one phrase “his own three men” (les tres tantos propios), in the Academy (and other late) dictionaries, implies that each alquerque player had (as in the smallest morris game) but three pieces—which looks impossible. The statement may be only one of those examples of confusion, through ignorance, on the part of the Academical lexicographers, of which we have already seen so many in this volume.

In considering finally the whole question of the morris game in Spain, one is almost inclined to think that of the two forms of the larger mérèlles involving three squares, one drawn within the other, neither has ever existed in that country. We find, for instance, that no one of those who have written about the codex which owes its existence to Don Alonso gives any hint of the treatment of either of these forms in that famous work. Von der Lasa, in noticing other early codices, often alludes to the presence or absence of the morris positions, and occasionally characterizes the game found in them as the “larger” mérèlles. He has however nothing to say about any mention of the game as he understood it, in the Escorial MS; but the strongest negative evidence is that of Brunet y Bellet, who supposedly has had frequent opportunities of studying the royal compilation. He takes pains to copy in his book the board of four united squares (alquerque), and we may reasonably suppose that had there been any markedly different kind of what he follows Carrera in calling juegos de raya, he would have also figured the board upon which it was played. Certainly, as has been already hinted, we discover no trace in the Spanish lexicographical works of any other sort of mérèlles than the three men morris and its quadruplo, alquerque. If it be indeed true that Spain has never got beyond the three men morris and the composite alquerque, that fact will have great weight in discussions upon the origin of the game, for apparently this shuts out India and Arab as probable home-lands of mérèlles. Still, in this connection, one thing must be much more carefully considered than has hitherto been the case, and that is the derivation of the word alquerque. The latest Spanish authorities make two rubrics of this vocable. Under the first it is referred to tres en raya as a synonym, in the second we are told that it signifies the space in an oil mill into which the “must” of the olive is placed, between the two millstones which it undergoes. Both are explained as coming from the same Arabic root, or possibly from two Arabic words of intimate connection. The first syllable is the article al (el), the other, kark or karak. The editors of late issues of the Academy’s dictionary think that the Arabic root might mean “that surface.” From the interrogative sign which follows this etymological suggestion—which however is omitted by the later makers of dictionaries—it would appear that the question has not been very thoroughly investigated. We can therefore only treat it in a purely guess-work way, and say that,
If the Spaniards adopted an Arabic name for a certain flat surface to be found in oil mills, and if they then applied that name to a game played on that flat surface (perhaps largely on the "flat surfaces" of the oil mills themselves), it would hardly be considered an invincible argument for the eastern origin of the game.

If in Italy the mérèles game is not heard of quite so early as in Spain, yet it is not far behind in point of time; while, on the other hand, it seems to have been cultivated in the central Mediterranean peninsula to a greater extent than in the western, and elaborated into a pastime of higher distinction. Its first mention, so far as we know, is in the works of the pseudonymous "Bonus Socius" and "Civis Bononaias"—writings which have been happily criticized by Van der Linde as the "Académies des jeux" of the middle ages, since in them are treated the three most esteemed table-games of that remote day. Nicholas de (Saint) Nicolai, who called himself "Bonus Socius," if not an Italian, of which there seems to be little doubt, was at least a resident of Northern Italy; though it is proper to add that no place called San Nicola (or Nicolai) has yet been identified as his possible home within the limits of the Italian territory. If this "Saint" were on one side, Nicola di Nicola would be simply "Nicholas, the son of Nicholas," or in English "Nicholson." In his brief general preface to his compilation, he tells us that his book treats "tam de ludis scacchorum, alaeorum, quam ab eisiam marcellorum." To be specially noted here is that the last word is not feminine, but is written as if derived from the singular "marrellum" or "marrellum;" Von der Lasa, indeed, cites an old plural, merelle.108 The Ludus alaeorum was of course the game of tables. Many transcripts of the Latin text of this work are in existence, and not a few codices of the French rendering in Florence, Rome, London, Paris, Brussels and Wolfenbüttel. The German translations are in the shape of extracts or abstracts.

Not very much later came the second similar production—that of the "Civis Bononaias," who not only informs us that he is a citizen of the North Italian Bologna, but also recording his name in some enigmatic verses prefixed to his work, concealed, however, in so clever a way, that none of the many who have studied the lines have succeeded in drawing aside the veil.109 Transcripts of this work, also in Latin, are not uncommon, but, unlike its predecessor, it has never been rendered into any modern tongue. In one of the later codices we find the title given as "Tractatus partiitorum scacchorum, tabularum et marcellorum." Partitum has the meaning, in all the three

108 See the "Festeckricht" of the Academic Chess Club of Munich (1886, p. 51), in an essay by Von der Lasa on medieval Chess, including an admirable account of the early MSS from that of Alfonso on.

109 For these Latin rhymed stanzas, which are six in number, see Van der Linde's "Quellenstudien" (pp. 183-184). The lines bearing upon the author's cognomen and residence are those of the fifth stanza and the first line of the sixth:

Hoc hules squannell scrips et tota
Quae scire potere tradere tota ignota.
Verseum principis aitbus in nota
Mendacem media littrae remotae.
Civis Nononaias litem qui collegit.

There are many of these enigmatic utterances in medieval Latin literature. It would seem as if one familiar with that field might interpret the sense here concealed.

games, not of parties but of "positions"—orations, or positions, in chess coming first in both of these early compositions, followed by like positions in the games of tables and mérèles. In one of the "Bonus Socius" Latin MSS at Florence, if we understand Van der Linde's account of it correctly ("Quellenstudien" p. 184 the author, in addition to his "ludus marcellorum," enumerates several other names given to the game: tacella, tria, flieto. Tacella may or may not be a misunderstanding, but the Latin "terti," like the Greek τρίτη, is found with this meaning in some dictionaries, while flieto is in Italian one of the ordinary modern appellations of the game. The surprising thing is that this last name should go back, seemingly, to the XIVth century. In that age, to judge by these illuminated records, our morris game had a splendour to which in later times it has never attained. For the morris game in these North Italian "Académies" are in general hand-somely, even luxuriously, executed with miniatures and other brilliant displays of colour. Those of Italian execution are even outdone in this respect by some of the French vellums. It is plainly to be seen that they were intended for the use of courtly circles, or for the homes of the nobility—mérèles in the XIVth and XVth centuries, thus sharing the aristocratic associations to which chess and tables had long before become accustomed. When we look, however, at one of the redactions of the "Civis Bononaias,"—the remarkable volume belonging to the Victor Emmanuel library at Rome—we are struck at once by the appearance of the pages devoted to the mérèles game. The exterior lines of the board are often, by a sort of double lineation, drawn in two colours. The mérèles pieces, in those days, had their own peculiar names, something after the manner of those used elsewhere. Each player was ruled over the movements of "noons," "stars," "shields," "crosses," "squares," and "rounds" (or discs). The moon is designed as a crescent orbit; the star has long, shimmering rays; the shield is triangular; the cross is of the Greek form; the squares and rounds are not outlined, but are solid bits of colour. In Latin these names are luna, stella, scutum, crux, quadratus, rotundus. Generally, in these codices, the collection of mérèles positions begins, without any title, or prefatory remarks, with the conditions of the first problem, as in the Paris Latin MS (National Library 10287—formerly 73190, pp. 178-186)—one of a very gorgeous character: "rubet primo trahunt et rubet rotundus nunquam movablet, nisi semel; et si bene ludatur neutrus vincit." The final position in the volume bears the following inscription: "Si curae trahunt suum crucem, rubet rerumier cum quadro, et capient scutum, vel e converso; si trahunt lumen, rubet copient stellam vel e converso; et postea in omni tractu capiet quadrus, et vincient rubet." It will be seen that the players (or their men) are styled red and gold instead of white and black, as at chess, which increases the magnificence of the diagrams, even if it does not add to the dignity of the game.

It is remarkable that a casual examination of several of these MSS, which, although at first composed in Latin, originated in medieval Italy, and many of which were written down by Italian scribes, should yield such a scant amount of information as to the rules of the game. The names given to the pieces are, as we have said, six in number. If the names were not duplicated, this would seem to decide in favour of six pieces for each player, according with any variety of mérèles known to us. But some of these pieces are found occurring twice in a single position, and it looks as
If some of them (namely the “squares” and “disco”) sometimes occupied the board even to the number of three or four. So far as we have been able to ascertain, none of the solutions given help us more than very slightly as to the character of the play. We are told that the gold takes the moon, or that the red captures a cross, but by what sort of movement this action is performed, we cannot always even guess. The same is true of the positions given at the game of tables, and we may almost say the same of the chess problems, except that in the last case we are aided by many other old records relating to the game. Possibly a wider study of this singular production, especially of its little known versions in French, might aid us in narrating the number of men and the laws of the game.

After this period of brilliancy, marelles, so far as we can learn, drops out of literature in Italy, but the game continues to be played by the people in more than one of its forms. Without recourse to the dialects, we find the following appellations given to it in the encyclopedias and dictionaries: gioco di malino, tavola di malino, filo, filo, filetto, tavoletta, marelle, filo-malino, scaricalcino, and mullino. Some of these evidently relate only to the “three men morris,” or the smaller marelles, such as tavoletta, scaricalcino, mullino, while others, like filo, are seemingly used for any of the varieties. Scaricalcino (literally “unload the ass”) may have suggested itself from the similarity of milino (null, malino being an alternative orthodox) and malino (little mule)—asses and mules being, too, the customary carriers of corn to the mill. Now-a-days, we believe, scaricalcino is more often employed in the sense of the English “leap-frog,” just as marelle (from marello) in French has come to be the name for “hop-scotch.” Apparently, too, the compound filo-malino is the title of a frequently occurring position in the game, but has grown to be used occasionally of the game itself. The most singular word in this list is perhaps marelles, which occurs in the XVIIIth century, and possibly still earlier. Whether it be allied to marelles we are not informed; even in the pretended etymological dictionaries no derivation is suggested. It is noteworthy that the appellation marelles (“indus marel- lorum”), which occurs in the very first writings on the subject composed in Italy, should not have found its way into the Italian language as well as into the French. In regard to this, as to other related matters, it is to be hoped that some Italian linguist scholar will be able to carry these hasty researches to a more satisfactory result.

Giovanni Gherardini, in his “Supplemento a vocabolario Italiani” (III, Milan, 1854), gives the phrase giocare a filetto, of which he says: “Ho udito dire in Toscana e’ giocare a filetto, per significare che parecchio strettivo vive in tutto il reame con molta economia. Lo schermo consiste su l’attare sottole; o pure è tratto da un gioco di questo nome, detto altramente gioco di marelle o tavola di malino, e presso i Francesi jeu de marelles.” In the “Dizionario della lingua Italiana” of Tommaso (1869), the largest work devoted to the vocabulary of the Italian tongue, we find under filetto: “Chiamasi così una sorta di gioco detto anche gioco di marelle”—citing here as an authority Fanfani, a contemporary lexicographer. This is followed by a few lines endorsed by the initials of the editors (Meini, etc.) explaining “giocare a filetto”: “Il quale gioco si fa su una tavola simile alla tavola di marelle, ma dove sono segnati dei quadrati sopra alcuni dei quali, chi gioca cerca di disporre tre pedine in fila; nel che consiste la vincita. Il filo filetto. Ho fatto filetto.” In saying that marelles is played on a board like a draught-board, the writer ought to tell us how great is the similarity he wishes to imply. In the case of these two games, both boards (like all other boards) are flat, and it is also true that both are quadrilateral in shape. Here certainly their similarity ends.

The modes of playing the various sorts of the morris game now prevalent in Italy, may be gleaned from a very recent publication of the “Boyle” or “Acodémie des jeux” class by J. Gelli, entitled “Come posso divertirmi?” (Milan 1900). It includes fox-and-goose in its chapter devoted to “Il mulino” (pp. 228-233, figs. 108-107)—but that game we shall examine in subsequent pages. In the German dictionaries we sometimes find the word doppelmahl, or the double-morris game, played on an enlarged board, and having a greater number of men and “points” than the simpler game. In the same way, the Italian writer styles his various kinds of marelles simple mullino (mulino semplice), double mullino, and so on. The simple sort is, of course, the three men morris, of which we have the following description (see fig. 1): “The game of mullino (literally ‘little mill’), a diversion for children when it is simple, for adults when it is complex, is styled also gioco del filetto and gioco della tavola, and is played, in all its varieties, by two persons. The mullino semplice board is formed by the sides of a square, by interior diagonals, and by two medial lines parallel to the sides. The points at which the lines intersect, or join each other, are nine in number, and represent the squares (or ‘points’) occupied by the men. The board can be drawn on paper, on the ground, or on the flat surface of a table; the two players furnish themselves each with three pebbles, three small balls, or three pawns (counters) of different colours, so that those belonging to the two adversaries be easily distinguishable. The first player is decided by lot, and in successive parties the winner of the preceding encounter has the opening play. The opening player places a man on one of the points, the second player one on another, and so on. The first combatant, having entered all his men, when it next becomes his turn, moves one of them, following always the lines, and going from one of the nine “points” to an adjoining one. His adversary does the same, and the game continues until one of the players succeeds in ranging his three men in a line, either right, horizontal, vertical or diagonal. The game ought to be won by the first player, provided he places his first man at the central point, as it rarely happens that the first pawn or man played by his adversary ever succeeds in securing that point.

The mullino doppio has a board with which we have never chanced to meet in Italy, or, in fact, anywhere else—except in some very recent publications like the present—which although the compiler of the book claims for it great antiquity. It is composed of two concentric squares (that is, one enclosed within the other). The space between these squares is divided by twelve right lines into twelve small squares, the points at which the lines join being twenty-four in number, giving that number of “points” or “houses” for the men (fig. 3). But we will repeat the author’s description in full: “The mullino doppio was a favourite enjoyment of the ancient Greeks. The board is composed of two concentric squares, the space between them being divided into equal quadrangular portions by [twelve] right lines, which join the other lines at twenty-four points, forming therefore twenty-four ‘points’
for the men. Of the latter, each player is provided with five of the same colour (different, however, from the colour of those of his adversary), which he arranges on the five points of one side of the larger or outer squares (20, 21, 22, 23, 24). On the opposite side of the larger square the adversary places his (1, 2, 3, 4, 5). Each then advances his men, alternately, from point to point, always following the lines, and when one of the players has enclosed one or more of his adversary’s pieces (rendering it impossible to move it farther), the man is considered captured. The game is ended when one party—therefore the winner—has captured all the men of his opponent.”

The multiello triplo is the morris board commonly used in America, but which seems to us to be infrequent, at the present time, in Europe, especially on the continent, having not only the right lines which connect the middle points of the lines forming the squares, but the diagonals joining the angles. The description is: “The board is formed of three concentric squares with parallel sides [see fig. 3]. Eight lines unite the angles and the middle-points of the sides. Once this game enjoyed an extraordinary popularity—so great that even now it is found drawn on the opposite side of many chess boards. Each player has nine men (in colour unlike those of the other player) and places, or enters them, alternately with his adversary, upon any of the twenty-four ‘points’ formed by the intersecting lines. Then, by successive moves, he tries to form a filato, that is, a line of three men, of the same colour, arranged either horizontally or vertically. This line is called a filo, or filato. Every time a player makes a filato, he can select and remove from the board one of his opponent’s men, respecting, however, those with which his adversary has already formed a similar filato. When a player has no more than four men left on the board he is declared the loser.”

The multiello quadruplo is, singularly enough, the alquerque of the Spanish writer, Brunet y Bellet [see fig. 2]. “It is formed,” says the Italian compiler, “of four multielli semplici.” Each player has five men, and the game is won by him who places all five in a straight line. The number of “points” is twenty-five. The author of this new Italian “Boyle” commits an evident blunder or two. In his multiello doppio he says that the number of lines forming the small squares is nine, whereas a glance at his board would have shown him that they were twelve. He apparently has no knowledge of the board (three concentric squares without the diagonal lines drawn from the angles), which is the sole one given in the early MSS, and which, in at least the greater part of Italy, is the one to be found on the reverse of the chess boards sold at the shops [see fig. 5]. We know not, therefore, how much of his information is to be regarded as trustworthy. We fear that for some of his material he has gone into foreign fields—planer indications of which we shall soon meet with.***

In contrast to the statements of this very recent publication, we find in another late work, “Il libro dei giocucci,” (Florence 1899), no knowledge of either of the so called multiello doppio, the multiello triplo (twelve men morris), nor the multiello quadruplo (alquerque). The compiler of “Il libro” treats only of the simple three men morris and the antique large morris game—as Von der Lasa styles it,—which appears in the XVe century MSS, that is, lacking the diagonal or corner lines. The writer says that “on the back of every chess board is seen inlaid or traced the figure of the filato, a game of great simplicity. It is played with nine white counters and nine black, by two players, that one winning the game who succeeds in first placing three counters in a row upon one and the same line. And this is the way of it. Each, at the beginning of the game, has his men outside of the table; one of the players first places a man upon any one of the twenty-four points of the board, an advantage which, in commencing the game, is decided by lot; at the subsequent games, he who has just lost enters his counter first. Next, the other player places one of his men; then the first again, and so in sequence until all the nine are entered. Afterwards each

*** As the manual is the freshest, as well as the most complete Italian work of its character, we copy completely its section relating to this class of line-games: “Il gioco del multiello, giocato da fanciulli quando è semplice, da adulti se complesso, viene detto anche del filato e della canna, e si gioca in due. 1. Il multiello semplice è formato dal lato di un quadrato, dallo diagonale o dalle due linee medio, parallelo al lato (fig. 1). I ponti, dove le varie rette si intersecano, rappresentano le caselle, e sono 9. Trascini la figura su un piano di carta, e sopra il terreno, e sopra il piano di una tavoletta; i due giocatori si malmene carrelli di tre sassolini, di tre palline, di tre bolle o di tre pedine di coloro diverso, perché riesca facile distinguere quelli che appartengono pittosto all’uno che all’altro dei due avversari. La sorte decide chi è di mano al principio del gioco. Nelle successive le ha il vincitore dell’ultima partita. Il primo che gioca posa una pedina sopra una casella, il secondo sopra un’altra e così di seguito per turno. Quando il primo giocatore ha messo tutte e tre le pedine, quando è di turno, muove una di esse, seguendo sempre una delle linee trasverse, o di casella in casella. L’avversario ne fa altrettanto, e il gioco continua fino a che uno dei due giocatori riesce a disporre le sue tre pedine sulla stessa retta, orizzontale, verticale o diagonale. La partita generalmente viene finita dal primo giocatore, se collocata la pedina nella casella centrale (vedi fig. 1), e perciò, quasi sempre resta stabilito che la prima pedina giocata da esso avversario non può collocarsi sul centro.

2. Il multiello doppio è rappresentato dalla figura 2. Gli antichi greci vi si distinguevano essi. Si compone di due quadrati concentrici e a lati paralleli, collegati tra di loro da
as rendered into French, was popular, is shown by the number of transcripts still existing, but how much of this popularity was due to any one of the three games therein treated—rather than to any other—it is of course impossible to say. The earliest French codices date from the very first years of the XIVth century, and none is later than the XVth. Two are preserved in Paris, one in Montpellier, another in the invaluable collection of books at Wolfenbüttel, founded by the duke Augustus of Brunswick-Lüneburg, who himself compiled the library's first catalogue, and who, under the pseudonym of "Gustavus Solomus," composed the great folio on chess which was published in 1616. Another of these French codices—all of which are vellums—is in a private collection in England. So meagre is our information in regard to them, that we are only certain of one thing, namely, that the rather fantastic names given to the méréles men in the Latin MSS were retained. This we learn from a casual citation of two of these pieces' names, estolle and guerre, found in the Fountaine MS—the one preserved in England.

And now as to the French appellations given to the game—a matter, the elucidation of which has its difficulties. The word méréles—the most common designation—is derived by the French etymologist Scheler from the Latin—more immediately from the low Latin. He says: "Le mot méréle est marcella significat proprium le pael, le pion ou le jilet, dont on se sert pour le jeu; feminin de meareo (bas Lat, Merellus); on le rattacha à un type martellus, marcella (d'où mairello, marcella), qui serait un dérivé du Latin matara, matarius, sorte de javeline, mot d'origine gauloise, et dont la racine, à juger du gala meareo, 'jaculator,' exprimait l'idée de jeter." The final portion, especially, of this etymological note can hardly be called precise in its treatment of the vocabulary's early history. The writer's definition of the morris game is even more unsatisfactory, since he ignores the old game, or méréles proper, entirely, and mentions only the children's out-of-door game, which the French style also méréles(s), but which is known in English as "hop-scotch," an athletic diversion practised in the open air upon a sort of board outlined on the ground, or floor. Littré is more diffuse. For the sake of exactitude and convenience we copy from his massive dictionary the whole section devoted to méréles, including definition, description and etymology.

We shall see, in a later page, that definition I refers to the lesser méréles, and definition II to the larger, or double méréles. But to proceed with the quotation: "Ancienement, table carrée, sur laquelle des lignes partant des angles ou du milieu de chaque côté et se réunissant au centre, indiquaient la place que devaient occuper, et les quilles qui pouvaient suivre les marcelles ou mérélas; jeu qui se jouait sur cette table; nom des jetons employés à ce jeu. II. Nom d'un jeu, qui se joue avec les pions et aussi avec des petits cailloux de diverses couleurs; il consiste d'un figure formé d'un grand carré, plus un carré plus petit renfermé dans le précédent."


This etymology goes back, as we shall see, to Lyde, the English orientalist, and even to a period much earlier.
plus un petit carré qui occupe le centre de ce dernier; une ligne partant du milieu de chacun des côtés du grand carré vient se terminer aux côtés du troisième et petit carré; cette figure est tracée sur un carton; quelquefois les enfants la tracent sur le sable ou sur une pierre. Le jeu de la marelle consiste à aligner sur une seule ligne les trois pions. III. Par assimilation de figure, jeu d’enfants fait en manière d’échec, avec de la craie, où les joueurs, marchant à cloche-pied (=hopping), poussent du pied qui saut un petit palet dans chaque espace de l’échelle; la figure même que l’est tracée sur le sol.” The third definition, as will be noted, is the sole one known to Scheler,—our hop-scotch.

In his supplementary remarks, Littre tells us that, of the two orthographical forms, marelle and marelle, the former is the older. He has derived his definition I, and taken the history of the word, in a very interesting volume by La Borde entitled “Notice des époques du musée du Louvre” (Paris, 1853, II, p. 381). We cite La Borde’s historical note on the name in full from his own work: “Ce même mot avait servi antérieurement, c’est à dire à partir du XIIe siècle, à désigner les médailles ou la monnaie de convention de plomb, de cuivre et quelquefois d’argent, dont chacun avait droit de faire usage; à l’église, pour constater la présence des moines aux offices; au marché pour prouver l’acquittement d’un droit; dans les travaux et les ateliers, pour représenter, à la fin d’une semaine, les prix des journées, et à autres usages. C’était en réalité la suite et l’équivalent des tessères de l’antiquité, et ces médaillons restaient dans la langue et dans l’usage jusqu’au XVIIe siècle. Ils étaient faits en carton, en cire, en plomb, en cuivre; les maurells à jouer étaient le plus souvent d’ivoire et d’os; on en a fait aussi de divers bois.”

As to the etymology, Littre is very brief; he remarks that the game was “ainsi dit de marelle, ou mérelle, ou merel, palet. Dans plusieurs provinces on dit marellez pour une fausse assimilation avec maraire.” Under the word mer elle, to which he thus refers us, we find the following still briefer etymology: “Les Lat. merelles, dont l’origine est inconnue.”

In section I of Littre’s definition he states that the lines described on the square start des angles ou du milieu de chaque côté, and unite in the middle. As he speaks of but one square, it is evident that he is speaking of the little (or three men) morris, and the conjunction ou should therefore be et. In his section II, the definition is a very clear description of the older, or most used form of the larger morris (sometimes called the double morris), for we find it in no mention of diagonal or corner lines. But at the end of this section comes a striking bit of inaccuracy. The lexicographer states that the game of marelles consisted in placing in a row (aligner) on one and the same line “les trois pions.” But for the morris board which he has been describing, not three men but nine are necessary. He has confused the nine men morris with the three men morris explained in the preceding section. As to section III, relating to “hop-scotch,” it is quite certain that the sport received its name from the resemblance of the design drawn on the ground in order to play it, to the lines of the morris board. It must be remembered too, that the morris game was also sometimes played out of doors, its board being likewise marked out on the turf or pavement, and perhaps on a large scale, so that this fact very likely had its influence in conferring upon the French “hop-scotch” the name de marelle, marelles. There is a good deal of irregularity about it, but it seems as if an effort is made by the French to use the singular (marelle) for “hop-scotch,” retaining the plural (marelles) for the table game, although the distinction, if it exist, is often lost sight of.

One of the most important French and Italian dictionaries (that known as “Le nouveau Alberti” 1855, edited by Ambrosetti, Arnaud and other Italian scholars), informs us that in French “le jeu de marelle s’appelle aussi le jeu du moulins.” This would appear to be confirmed by Von der Lasa in his “Zur geschichte und literatur des schachspiels” (in a footnote, p. 145). He is criticising the French journal, “Le Palamède,” for saying (1857, p. 82) that the game de marelles is no longer known or understood. He adds that the “Compliment du dictionnaire de l’Académie” (Brussels 1853, p. 649) “sagt ganz richtig: ‘Grand jeu de la marelle; s’appelle aussi le jeu du moulins.’” It is worthy of note that the dates of “Le nouvel Alberti” and the Brussels supplement to the French Academy’s dictionary are within two years of each other. We have never happened to see the morris game styled jeu de moulins in any French writing outside of these dictionaries; still Von der Lasa’s assertion may be correct, or he may, possibly, have in mind the Italian name.

The game enters much more into the literature of France than into that of any other land; historical references to it, too, are more numerous. It has even been argued that Nicholas de (Saint) Nicholas was of French birth, partly on account of the way in which his name is given in the French versions of the “BONUS SOCIUS” compilation, but this, as we have stated, is more than doubtful. We record here all the citations concerning marelles in medieval France, and in the earlier modern period, which we have been able easily to gather. One of the oldest is from a poem by Enstache Deschamps, a rhymester who was born in the first half of the XIVth century; he played a rôle of some importance during the reign of Charles VI, and died during that of his successor. He exclaims in one of his compositions:

Gieux de dis et de marelle,
Vons soit tendue dehavable.

Much later is an anonymous “Moralité des enfants de Maintenon,” which we cite from Viollet Le Duc’s “Ancien théâtre français” (Paris 1854-57, III, p. 32):

Finalement:
Jouons au jeu de la marelle,
Je suis l’âne du carreau.

J’aurais:
C’est bien dit; je n’en meurs
Et bien commun: si est la chose.

A sure sign of the former popularity of the game in France, is the number of common phrases which have their origin in the practice of the diversion. There is a proverb, mostravein le marelle, the sense of which is “to play a losing game;” “to meet with a reverse;” we find it in the old rhymed “Chroniques des ducs de Normandie” by Boinet, which we have already cited (see p. 78), in which we read:

Sempres i mout merellon mostrast,
K a Got tent damage fait,
Qui ne seut pas d’ant est ali,
A restore sau ne legue.
The proverb is again employed in an old anonymous "Vie de St Gilles;" 174

Or en pusent Deus li laguerain;  
Si alaixe plus test ne s'en reit;  
Ja estent li merel mestrel,  

and again, about the same time, in the "Miserere" of Ileneus de Moliens; 175

Vens tu jeur an tresmerel  
A mort, ki ne mostrait merel.

In addition to this proverbial phrase, "mestraire le merel, which refers rather to the piece than to the game, we have others like "traire de bonne merelle" "to make a good stroke;" "to withdraw fortunately from an affair;" "traire fasce merelle," "to play badly;" "traire sone merelle," "to play without loss;" "ne plus traire point ne merelle," "to play no longer;" chaner la merelle," "to change luck," "(to alter the face of things);" esser la merelle, "to have the advantage.

It is notable too that only in France do we come across a special word for the marelles-board, namely, marelier or marelere — formed like échiquier, latter-cited in several early poems and prose writings, as, for instance, in a morality styled "Le pèlerinage de l'ame." 176

Giana de tables et d'échiquiers,  
De boulotte et de marelieres.

In his "Notice des émaux," La Borde thus defines the marelier: "Table carrée sur laquelle des lignes partent des angles ou du milieu de chaque côté en se réunissant au centre; elles indiquent la place que doivent occuper et la route que peuvent suivre les trois mérèles ou marelles; le gagnant doit aligner sur une seule ligne les trois jetons; on nomme encore ce jeu carde chinois." 177 This recalls Hyde's assertion that the three men marelis is a very common game in China. Marelles boards are frequently mentioned in old inventories and elsewhere, especially in the XVth century. We hear of one in 1448 which belonged "à M. D. S." [that is, mon das seigneur, le duc d'Orléans] "pour jouer aux merelles dedans le bateau." The inventory of the goods of the duc de Berry, drawn up in 1416, mentions at least two marelis, the first is "Une très belle table, pluyant en trois pièces, en laquelle est le merelie, deux jeux de table et l'échiquier fais de pourris de Romme, jaspe et autres pierres de plusieurs couleurs." The other seems to have been of simpler materials: "Une table de bois marquetée de jeu des cachas et de tabas et de mariles (marellis) et y sont les trestes toant à la dit table." 178

Du Congo (IV, 1845, p. 157) quotes, with the date of 1412, a statement from which we may infer that the game was once named ludus sancti Medericis. It occurs in a French document existing in the Paris archives, and tells us of one "Jean Aynnes, qui avait joué aux merelles a six tables, appelle le jeu saint Marry," but who St. Medericus (Mederich), or St. Mary was, and why his name was given to the game, we have been unable to learn; it may perhaps be attributed to the resemblance of the two names, Marry and marelle, since in the devout days every profession and its patron saint. In the statutes of several French cities occur mentions of marelle, mareller (ludere ad marellass), one of them bearing the date of 1404. In some of these documents we have the game and the board mentioned together, as in one dating from the year 1414: "Ieostui Estienne prist lors toutes marelles et les gettes jus du marelle." The little work of Builerg on games (cited later) has a very brief description of the simplest marelles. He is writing in France in the first quarter of the XVIIIth century. He says that the marelis was then a diversion of French boys: "Hodie pueri apud nos ludum Madrellarum usuantur, in quo quatuor lineas quadras foris, quatuor alias lineas inclusum, quae media lineae diametralis ascendent, et tres unus ex collusoribus basiliis totidem alius varius loco colloquent, et id studiato agunt, ut tres basiliis suos in eadem linea continuent." 179

Probably the fullest account of modern marelles in France is found in a pretentious composition, issued not very long ago at Paris under the title of "Grande encyclopédie des jeux par T. de Mouldes." "Les marelles ou marelis" occupies some pages and is, perhaps, the source from which the editor of the recent Milanese work of a similar character drew his materials. The arrangement in the two manuals is the same, but the French work is somewhat more complete in its descriptions, and, at the risk of much repetition, we shall give the text in full. We have first the marelier simple (see fig. 1): "Ce jeu enfantin, ancêtre probable des dames, est formé par les quatre côtés d'un carré et par les deux diagonales et les lignes parallèles aux côtés. Les points d'intersection de ces huit lignes forment neuf cases. Cette figure peut être tracée sur un papier ou simplement sur le sol. Les joueurs, au nombre de deux, possèdent chacun trois pions ou trois cailloux de couleurs différents ou d'une forme reconnaissable. Le premier joueur pose un pion sur une case, le second sur une autre et ainsi de suite alternativement. Quand un joueur a posé ses trois pions, il en déplace un, pour le porter sur une case immédiatement voisine en suivant l'une des lignes; son adversaire en fait autant de l'un de ses pions et la partie continue ainsi jusqu'à ce que l'un des joueurs arrive à mettre ses trois pions sur une même ligne droite, horizontale, verticale ou diagonale. Le premier, en se plaçant d'abord au centre de la marelle (that is, at the point of intersection of all the lines, see fig. 1) ne peut manquer de gagner, s'il joue convenablement; et l'on convient ordinairement qu'il n'aura pas le droit de poser, au début, sur le centre du jeu." There is nothing to object to here, except the phrase at the beginning, "ancêtre probable des dames"—a title which, as we have seen, belongs not to marelles, but to chess. But writers not overburdened with erudition cannot forget that the marelles board is to be often found depicted on the reverse of the chess-board, and that the chess-board is used for the game of draughts; so they fancy that there must be some subtle connection existing between the morris-game and draughts.

We next have the double marelles, with a reproduction of the figures which we have numbered 3 and 4: "La marelle double ou petite des anciens grecs est représentée par notre fig. 3. Elle se compose de deux carrés concentriques et à côtés parallèles, réunis par neuf [douze] lignes, de manière à former 24 cases [points for the pieces]. Chacun des deux joueurs possède cinq pions.
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d'une couleur reconnaissable, et les placé sur les cinq cases [or points at the junctions of the lines] de la ligne supérieure ou de la ligne inférieure. On pousse alternativement les pions en avant, de case en case, en suivant les lignes. Quand un joueur a enveloppé une ou plusieurs pièces de l'adversaire de façon à les empêcher de bouger, il les enlève du damier; et la partie continue jusqu'à ce que l'un des joueurs n'ait plus de pièces. Il est probable que la petite est le véritable jeu de Palémède, dans lequel les joueur-

iens ont cru voir les échecs ou les dauphins. The writer then refers to the triple mérules, represented in figure 4: "La marelle triple, autantfois si populaire, est tombée dans un état d'oubli qu'elle ne mérite pas. On la

dessine ordinairement sur un sol et quelquefois sur une table, sur une arboisse ou sur un carton. Elle se compose de trois carrés, ayant un centre commun et les côtes parallèles (fig. 4). Des lignes réunissant les quatre angles et les quatre côtes des carrés. Chacun des deux joueurs a 9 pions d'une couleur ou d'une forme reconnaissable et est pose alternativement sur l'un des points de rencontre des lignes, comme à la marelle simple; après quoi, il les déplace un à un, en les portant sur une case immédiatement voisine et en suivant l'une des lignes. Son but est d'amener trois de ses pions sur une même ligne droite; quand il y est parvenu, il prend dans le jeu de son adversaire, un pion à son choix parmi ceux qui le gênent le plus. Quand un joueur n'a plus que quatre pions, il n'est plus astreint à marcher de case en case; il peut faire franchir à ses pions une ou plusieurs cases occupées, afin de se mettre sur une case inoccupée quelconque. Le premier qui n'a plus que deux pions a perdu la partie. On convient que l'un de ces joueurs, qui se place sur la marelle, est de taille égale à un joueur de carte. Il est donc 3 à 3. The last figure, as will be noted, makes the board (fig. 4), for general purposes, a nine man morris board, instead of a twelve men morris, as the shape would indicate. We are thus led to the idea that the latter differs from the former (the true old form), in giving the increased chances to each player by using four additional (diagonal) lines for the formation of "mills," but that sometimes, in order to maintain, to a certain extent, the resemblance to the antique game, it is agreed that "mills" may be laid out on those diagonal (or corner) lines, but that such "mills," unlike the others, shall give the party making them no right to capture one of his enemy's men. Nevertheless, as we may understand it, these additional lines would still be of some advantage for purposes of play. There seem then to be—taking the United States into consider-

ation—two modes of using the twelve men morris board, one being to play with nine men (as in the old boards without diagonal lines), the other to increase the number of pieces to twelve.

It is to be observed that this French writer ignores the genuine old morris-board of the 14th century MSS (our fig. 5), without the diagonal connecting the angles, evidently knowing as little about it as does his Mi-

lanese imitator. He proceeds, therefore, at once to treat the varieties by which he denominates the quadruple game (the alquerogue), "La marelle quadruple (fig. 2) est formée par la juxtaposition de quatre marelles simples. Chacun des deux joueurs possède cinq pions, qu'il pose successivement sur l'un des points de rencontre des lignes. Pour gagner la partie, il faut arriver le premier à placer ses cinq pions en ligne droite." It should be observed that what appears to be a disproportionate number of men (five to a board four lines as large as that for three men morris) there are twelve lines upon which "mills," or rows of five men each, can be created; the three men morris players, in the simplest board, have eight lines at their disposal on which to arrange themselves. From the bareness and brevity of this de-

scription, it seems very evident that the compiler has no very clear idea of the alquerogue, of which we have been unable to find any account anywhere else in a French book. Then follows, as in the Italian manual, the notice of fox-

and-geese, or marelle quintuple. We cannot help thinking that the editor of this French manual has been largely influenced by the desire to bring together all the line-games of the morris kind which he could collect from similar books in all languages and to classify them, rather than to give us those must used in France. He has, however, omitted the simplest of all the forms, the "noughts and crosses" of English boys ("trips, trapp, trull," of the Swedes). Meanwhile the apparent fullness of his hand-book has led to its translation, as we have already seen, into Italian, and as we shall hereafter see into Swedish—possibly, too, into other tongues.

In England the game of morris must have existed at an early date, since we have the orthographic form meris from the middle English, but it is not easy to discover any reference to it before the days of Shakespeare. The name shows that it must have come directly from France, or at a very early date, from Italy, since we find no trace of an apellation having any such meaning as "mills." The derivation from the French seems the more likely, since, if it had come from the Italian, at a time when the Italians used the Latin denomination (merellus), the Icelanders would no doubt have borrowed both the game and its name, as in the case of chess, from Great Britain. But the Icelandic denomination belongs to what we may style the "nill-club" of names, showing that the game came from some other land than England. It is remarkable that England has produced the only account of the game which lays claim to any historical, philological, or philosophical value—that of Hyde. To that account we shall return, after an examination of the now adopted etymology of "morris."

Some of the English etymologists have connected the word with a va-

ble of the same form found in the English compound "morris-dance," thus deriving it from the Spanish moro, morisco ("moo," "moorish"), which would, if the derivation could be established, go far towards indicating an Arabo-Spanish origin for the game. Hyde gives a great number of ap-

pellations bestowed in England upon the sport and its varieties, such as bushels (or bush), morin, three men's morris, nine men's morris; nine penny miracle, nine penny miracle; three penny morris, nine penny morris; three penny merells, nine penny merells. Some of these names as-

sume their special forms from the fact that the game was frequently played with pennies, with pins, or with tokens, instead of the usual round counters or men. It is probable also that the names with the numerals "three" and "five" refer to the simple or other smaller merelles. "Morale" is, of course, a closer form of the French marelles, and helps to demonstrate the more modern theory of the etymology of "morris." "Bushels" and "marles" do not occur, so far as we know, in any recent literature, and are pretty
certainly not known in America. In England, at present, the most usual name is "nine men's morris," but in America, and particularly in New England, it is better known as "twelve men's (or men) morris." As to the latest etymological authorities, the "Century" dictionary, after giving the various merrles, cites the old French "mérelle, the game, nine men's morris, French mérelle, marelle, hop-scootch; middle Latin marelita, marelitta = counter, token, also a piece in draughts." Then the dictionary quotes from Strutt's "Sports and pastimes": "Marelles, or nine men's morris, as it was formerly called in England, is a game of some antiquity." The Century dictionary closes its meagre rubric by describing the game as "played with eighteen pieces or stones, nine on each side."

In a late edition (1891) of Webster's dictionary occurs a very concise description of the game: "The figure consists of three central squares with lines from the angles of the outer one to those of the inner, and from the middle of each side of the outer square to those of the inner. The game is played by two persons with nine or twelve pieces each (hence called "nine men's morris" or "twelve men's morris."). The pieces are placed alternately, and each player endeavours to prevent his opponent from making a straight row of three. Should either succeed in making such a row, he may take up one of his opponent's pieces, and he who takes off all his opponent's pieces wins the game." Here we have almost the only, and certainly the first mention of the game by its most common New England name, "twelve men's morris," and also the only hint we have found in print that the more complicated of the morris boards—with the diagonal lines (fig. 4)—is used with twelve men, instead of nine, on each side. Whether this has ever been the case, with the same board, in Europe, we have no means of verifying.

The game enjoyed all its old English popularity in New England, although we have never heard of its practice there as an out-of-door diversion. The strict religiosity maintained in the British colonies known as New England long prevented the introduction of card games, while chess seems to have been almost or quite forgotten by the emigrants and their descendants until late in the 18th century. For these reasons draughts, morris and fox-and geese became the popular amusements in the farm-houses and villages of the new English-speaking world.

Long before any other European scholar thought it worth his while to investigate the history of chess and other table-games, appeared the learned work of Thomas Hyde—a man of exceptional note in his day. He styles himself "Linguae Arabicae professor publicus in universitate Oxoni., prohibito ecclesiasticis relegatus." He was England's earliesn oriental scholar, and in the originality and high character of his researches has hardly had an equal in England, except, perhaps, Sir William Jones. His book is in two volumes, and, like so many of the publications of its time, abounds in title-pages. The general title, forming a sort of bastard title-page before the real title-page of volume I, is "De ludis orientibus libri duo.

The title-page of volume I begins "Mardragorias seu historia shahshiludii, viz. ejusdem origo, antiquitas, ususque per totum Orientem oleherirus;" this volume is accordingly devoted to the story of chess among the Eastern nations. The second volume is styled "Historia neriudiuci, hoc est diceræ, triculorum." The second part is therefore occupied with the games of "tablebb" (neriidiuus, the Perso-Arabic nard or nard), dice, draughts, and other table games, among them being our morris-game, which has a chapter devoted specially to it entitled "Historia trioldii." 87

We shall endeavour to give a sketch of the more important points in Hyde's essay, omitting much that refers only to the game in oriental regions. He sets out by telling us that the game was well known to the Romans, but that he has been unable to find out the name given by them. He says that Bulenger, a French scholar, in his book on games, treats of merrelles; and that he informs us that it is called madriller because materes signifies pieces of wood (baculi) according to Nonius, whence to-day the Greek word matares signifies an arrow as being a piece of wood. The old author Sinana, Bulenger declares, relates that in Gaul they fought with mertes, that is long darts. He tells us, too, that Cyril, in his Greek grammar, gives the same explanation of the word materes. Cesar also, in his "Commentaries," notices the materes, which were used in battle. Thus far Bulenger. 88 Hyde, however, descents from the derivation and says that the letter d, upon which the whole Bulenger etymology depends, does not belong to this root hence the word mater cannot be derived from materes. Moreover, at present an arrow is not called mertes, but mertes. This subject is pursued at some length by Hyde in a later note, which takes the form of a paragraph in the "elenchus" prefixed to the volume, in which he seems to think that the word matares or materes has been introduced as a military term among the Persians and the Turks. Hyde goes on to say that the pieces with which this game is played are called in France roddes-marriles, as Rabelais writes it, and marelle, or, as Bulenger inter- polating a d, puts it less correctly, madriller. Sometimes in France these pieces are made of wood, and sometimes indeed stones are used. Coquere (the author of the dictionary) translates them petits—stones; the game is sometimes played with pebbles. Caesar Oudin (d. 1615), a royal interpreter in France and compiler of various grammars, tells us, not very properly, that in Spanish the game is called juego de tablas o piedras; because it is sometimes played with stones (piedras). Oudin elsewhere reports that some

87 The publication of Hyde was issued at Oxford in 1594, and is really in four parts. The first part of 72 unnumbered pages, consists principally of an appendix called "De shahshiludo prolegomena curiosa," followed by a second section of 184 pages, "Historia shahshiludi," then comes 71 pages, "Shahshiludium Tradition in Tribus Scriptis Persicis, Arabicis, Indicis," with the productions of Abraham ibn Ezra and Besaunour ibn Ja'la, together with the anonymous treatise, "Ma`addone marrili" ("Dactyliorum regum"). In all of which both texts and versions are given. This completes the first volume. The second, besides 18 pages of preliminary matter, contains 378 numbered pages, and is devoted to the minor table games. The chapter on the morris game occupies pp. 302-314. The volumes are profusely illustrated with engravings and folding pieces, and have now become somewhat rare.

88 The treatise of J. C. Bulenger (1565-1628), "De ludis privatis ac societatis veterai," was published at Lyons 1597. We have already extracted from it his brief description of the game, "Matalius, seu tabulae, in qua materes sunt baculi, autore Nonio, nuda et adeo non hos idemque voc gallies matares sagittan significat, quasi basilium. Sinana vocat auctor Galliarum materes, ibid, tabulae, seu eadem (πάτρα) ludi, ut Bulenger taught, at different periods, at Athens, Tarsos, and Pisa. L. Cerenas Sinanan was a miscellaneous writer of his day, producing works on the story of his life and a commentary on Plautus, among other things. He died about A.D. 190. Nonius Marcellus was a Latin grammarian who lived in the 4th or 5th century after Christ, and the note on materes probably occurs in his tractate "De propositione sermone."
ing the diagonal lines). He says of the former that it consists of twenty-four lines, a number obtained by counting the divided exterior lines of the three squares occasioned by the intersections from the sides and angles. He states that the intersections of these lines form the playing points. Many of the orientals omit some of these lines, which run towards the centre, especially those leading from the angles—by which he means that he has not found the twelve men morris in Eastern works. He asserts that the Armenians, the Arabs of the Holy Land and of Mesopotamia, as he has been informed by Jeremiah the Greek priest, all use the board indicated in our ancient European MSS. He tells us that among the people he has just mentioned, the board is formed by boys on the soil, either by cutting the turf, or by drawing lines in the dust. Adults have a board on which the lines are drawn in chalk, or are marked out on a table, or with ink on paper. Then follows what we have named the three men morris board, over which he places its title in Chinese characters. This Chinese game, we are informed, being the simple morris (fig. 1), is practised in many parts of Europe, and European names are given to it. Among the Chinese it is called Chi-loo, that is, "six places." The Persians likewise know it, the game in that part of Asia being played with six pieces, from which it gets its local name. The Irish call it "cashten geraua," which would be in English "short-castle." In Cumberland and Westmoreland the name "copped-crown" is common, and elsewhere in England it is sometimes drawn with a round prison in the centre—a receptacle for captured pieces.

After all this, Hyde begins to tell us about the method of conducting the game, saying that it is played with coins, beads, pebbles, pegs, dice or pieces of wood, each player's men being different in colour. The country boys play the game on the ground. At first they decide by lot who shall begin, and he whom fate favours can place his pieces where he pleases, this being considered a great advantage. The wise ones begin by placing their men in the centre square, and try to take possession of that portion of the board; for he who controls that should always win, as those who often play the game know. Occupying this central place is called by the French mettre d'œuvre, as if they were placing something to be cooked in an oven. When it has been decided among the players who shall play first, then each one places his pieces singly and alternately in the angles; each player at the same time trying to prevent the other from forming a line with his men, for whoever obtains such a series can take up a piece from his adversary, wherever he please, and place it in the prison. This throws light upon the well-known passage in Ovid from which it appears that the Romans played the game each with three men:

Parva tabella capit tenuis excisque lapillos,
In qua victrix, est contionibus se nos. 10

Hence, too, among the moderns, this game is called "Lucus Ternarius," a name thus descriptive of the minor form of the game. If a table of the larger

10 Von der Lasa has a masterful essay "Uber die griechischen und römischen spiele, welche einige ähnlichkeit mit dem schach hatten," which was published in the "Deutsche Schachzeitung" (1883, pp. 149-79, 190-99, 295-34, 297-94), and which well merits repeating in German and translated into English; but a considerable part of it is copied by Schlechter in his "Schachliede" ("Geschichte"), I, pp. 60-67. It is the first time that the theme is treated by a scholar perfectly familiar with chess, and chess history. In the course of the paper he says
méreille is used, the competitors have nine men or pieces, and these are placed, as before, singly and alternately in the 24 angles or intersections of lines, leaving vacant six. The author, as it will be seen, is here referring to the board divided by diagonals as well as by right lines, being
that the pente faible of Ovid was nothing else than "three men morris;" "Unter der
tabelle Satz, auf der beiderseits, wie Ovid 'Ars amandae' (I. 365, caput ternae quadrarum
imputat) non satis circulariter wiederebult, mit drei stellen geplattet wird, biw weh obers anders
cberstren, sie die jedes schubert hint best bekannte kleine möble [und messen]
Das breit hat 9 felder [the angles and the central intersection], und wer sein streit darauf
erstezt, dann erwartet, gewinnt. In der schwedischen 'Bibliothek fur skalkenspel' (1659,
II. 40) ist dies spiel ale spott, trapp, trall, tral beschrieben." To which Van der Linden adds
that in Holland the smallest morris is called rij, lak, fol. As regards these latter assertions, it
is necessary to say that both the Swedish and Dutch term refer or rather the English way
ought and crosses - a different diversion, though really a close game of the morris order.
The literature relating to the table-games prevalent in the ancient Mediterranean nations is
a large one. Among the more important treatises - besides that of Beauchamp - are:
Maur valorer (Merel.) - 'De ludis Graecorum' (Leyden 1683); P. de Florentis - 'I talii
et altri strumenti lierci degl antiichi Romani' (Rome 1734); J. Averardi - 'De calcoletum seu luterinorum ludis,' published separately perhaps, but certainly to be found in the author's 'Monumenta
ludorum passantia' (Florence 1769); Paschalis de Petro 'Disquisitioni de alea et alexandrius (Rome 1759). Much information is to be gleaned from G. Schubardt's 'Athena: ihre die
bestrachung des gleichzeite im kriemen römischen recht' (Stuttgart 1780); The most important,
as well as, in its way, a most impressive gleam of light is cast upon one of the commonest table
games of Rome by B. Comparetti's essay 'Di un antico specchio con lecromancia latina,'
which was first published in 'Lo Handment della reale accademia' (Bologna, 1789) and
was translated into French under the title "Le miroir des jeux." The paper is on its reverse,
a graceful and attractive design of two personages playing the game of duodecim scripta, the
board plainly visible. Above is the Latin inscriptions from the Comes duodecim.' The
book is not unlike the medieval 'tablets,' of which the modern representative is backgammon - a fast
which adds a new difficulty to the question of the origin of the game. The mirror was
found at Palatina and is in private possession. Several treatises on the modern treatment of
this singular bit of antiquity is, as usual, a perfect piece of work. Something on the subject of the games of antiquity may be gleaned from Stewart Cullis's 'Chess and playing cards' (Washington 1890), a profusely illustrated descriptive cata
logue from the United States national museum. The compiler boldly asserts that 'The games of
duodecim scripta, 'twelve lines,' was substantially the same as our backgammon. It was played upon a board
with sixty-four double lines, with fifteen white and fifteen black men; two players, as
we count them; the 'blanc' might be captured; the pieces (whether started from blanc
or noir) had to be brought home, and the winner was he who first cleared off his men.
The principal variations from the modern game lies in three dice being the unit of the
throw. Several treatises relating to the sports of antiquity will be found in the great 'Thesaur
us Graecororum,' in the second which we have mentioned, 'The book of backgammon and
matelles, are likewise printed; worthy of note are those by Calzogno - 'De multiformi
et calcoletum ludis,' and Smellie; 'De alea veterum.' Students of chess history are suffi
ciently familiar with M. A. Severinov. - 'Della antica petlia' (Naples 1824); and D. Soubre. - 'Pala
medes, sieve de tabula infera' (Leyden 1832) - also one of the Grotesco tracts. J. Christia
nus's work on the game invented by Palamedes is treated in later note. Then there is an
excessive modern work by Sebast de Fourtères. 'Jeux des anciens' (Paris 1705); but care
must be taken in taking this many books nominally relating to games have nothing to do with table games. An article on 'Luternus,' in a dictionary of
antiquities now publishing, gives K. Blitlher. 'Die Spielen der Griechen und Römer' (Leip
gue 1859), of which a French version, 'Jeux des Grecs et des Romains' by R. de Pichard,
appeared at Paris in 1851, a work devoted almost exclusively to athletic sports. A recent
English book of some pretension, R. Falkener 'Games ancient and oriental' (London 1857),
is also in its way important. It may be remarked, however, which has resulted from the excavations of the last quarter of a century, has not yet been at all adequately treated.

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to move reciprocally on the lines between their positions, and in this way
each one tries to destroy his adversary. This among the Turks is called
"u gheh, "go and come." It is not permitted to either to move at first
from remote parts of the board, but both must proceed thither step by step;
each man occupying, if it be vacant, the angle next to him, although this limitation
is sometimes removed when one of the players has but four men left. Of
course he who has lost all his men but two, with which he cannot form a
ternary line in which act the whole ratio ludi consists, must consider him-
self conquered.

Hyde has a final short paragraph devoted to the origin of the game.
We gather from it that "the game is well known both in the east and in
the west, and originated, it seems, among the Arabs or the Persians, whence it
was carried to other nations. Its name is treated as a common and evidently
familiar vocable in Arabic vocabularies composed 700 years ago, in one of
which we find the statement that 'al tobna est ludus persica dictus sidere.'
but it was really an every-day amusement among the Romans 1700 years ago,
as we have learned from Ovid, who lived not long before Christ, and if so
familiar then, it must have certainly been much older." In this last utter-
ance Hyde's usual wisdom deserts him, and he ventures to indulge in that
mode of writing history by guess-work, in which he has been imitated by
not a few moderns in their treatment of chess.

The standard authority on popular English diversions is the work of
Joseph Strutt, "The sports and pastimes of England," which first appeared
in London in 1801, has passed through various editions, and well de-
serves another, with such revisions and additions as investigations can
afford. The edition we are using is that of 1880, edited by
William Hone, in his day a great student of the popular archology of
England. We reproduce the whole of the brief section entitled "Méreilles-
nine men's morris" (pp. 317-8): "Méreilles, or, as it was formerly called
in England, nine men's morris, and also five penny morris, is a game of some
antiquity." Colgrave describes it as a boyish game, and says it was played
here before Stonehenge, with stones, but in France with pawns, or men, made
on purpose, and they were termed méreilles; hence the pastime itself received
that denomination. It was certainly much used by shepherds formerly, and
continued to be used by them, and other rusticsthe to the present
But it is very far from being confined to the practice of boys and girls.
The form of the méreille table, and the lines upon it, as it appeared in the
XIVth century is here represented (see fig. 4). These lines have not
been varied. The black spots at every angle and intersection of the lines are
the places for the men to be laid upon. The men are different in form or colour
for distinction's sake; and from the moving these men backwards or forwards,
as though they were dancing a morris, I suppose the pastime received the
appellation of nine men's morris; but why it should have been called five
penny morris, I do not know. The manner of playing is briefly this:
C. persons, having each of nine pieces, or men, lay them down alternately,
one by one, upon the spots; and the business of either party is to prevent
his antagonist from placing three of his pieces so as to form a row of three,
without the intervention of an opponent's piece. If he fails in this, his
move is at liberty to take up one of his competitor's pieces from any part
he thinks most to his own advantage - except from a completed row, which
must not be touched if there be hostile piece on the board that is not a component part of that row. When all the pieces are laid down, they are played backwards and forwards, in any direction that the lines run, but can only go from one spot to another [adjoining] at one time; he that takes all his antagonist's pieces is the conqueror. The rustics, when they have not materials at hand to make a table, cut the lines in the same form upon the ground, and make a small hole for every dot. They then collect, as above mentioned, stones of different forms or colours for the pieces, and play the game by depositing them in the holes in the same manner that they are set over the dots upon the table." Strutt closes his description with the citation from Shakespeare—or rather a portion of it—the whole of which is reproduced on a later page. The fantastic explanation of the word morris, which the author gives, shows how easy it was to fabricate etymology in those convenient days which preceded the rise of the historic school of philology. As we have already hinted, his idea was, for a while, the prevalent theory of the origin of "morris"—whether as the name of the social table game, or as the appellation of a certain sort of dance. Hone—and indeed Strutt as well—with the word "merelles" before their eyes, in the title they gave to the section of their work which related to the morris game, seem to have had no notion of any connection between the French and English names. Nor have they any more definite idea of the history of the amusement than that it "is a game of some antiquity."

Just prior to the date of Hone's edition of Strutt, there was a periodically published work in several volumes entitled, "The Everyday Book." It was mainly the reproduction of the same William Hone, and may be described as a not unworthy predecessor of the modern "Notes and Queries," though its operations were devoted to a sphere much more limited. It is a vast treasury of notes on the traditional customs and manners, the ancient sites and edifices, the curiosities and superstitions of England. In one of its volumes there is a communication under the signature of "P." and till the date of July 1885, addressed to the editor on the subject of a rustic amusement styled "Ninepenny Marl," which reads thus: "There is an ancient game, played by the shepherds of Salisbury Plain, and village rustics in that part of the country, called 'Ninepenny Marl.' Not having read any account of it in print, I hasten to describe it on your historical and curious pages. Deciphering and drawing lines on the sand and ground and of great antiquity; and where education has failed to instruct, nature has supplied amusement. The scheme, which affords the game of 'Ninepenny Marl,' is cut in the clay (see fig. 5) or it might be drawn upon the crown of a hat with chalk. In cottages and public houses, it is marked on the side of a pair of bellows, or upon a table, and, in short, any plain surface. 'Marl' is played, like cards, by two persons; each person has nine bits of pipe, or wood, so as to distinguish his from those of the opponent. Each puts the pipe or stick upon one of the points or corners of the line, alternately, till they are all filled. There is much caution required in this, or your opponent will avail himself of your error, by placing his man on the very point which it is necessary you should occupy; the chief object being to make a perfect line of three, or five, and also to prevent the other player doing so. Every man that is taken is put into the square till no further move can be made. But if the vanquished be reduced to only three, he can hop and skip into any vacant place, that he may, if possible, even at the last, form a line, which is sometimes done by very wary manoeuvres. However simple 'Ninepenny Marl' may appear, much skill is required, particularly in the choice of the first places, so as to form the lines as perfectly and quickly as possible. This game, like cards, has its variations. But the above imperfectly described way is that to which I was accustomed when a boy. I have no doubt that many of your country readers are not wholly ignorant of the innocent occupation which 'Ninepenny Marl' has afforded in the retirement of leisure attractions."

The correspondent terminates his note with an expression of his own "strong recollections of the game." His letter calls out another dated from London, "Ludgate-hill, 10th November 1826," and signed "T. B." The writer says to the editor (who publishes the piece under the title of "Nine Men's Morris";) "I was much pleased on reading and being reminded of an ancient game in your book, called Ninepenny-Marl; a game I had scarcely heard of during the last twenty years, although perfectly familiar to me in my boyish days, and played exactly the same as described by your correspondent 'P.' I have since visited my native county, Norfolk, and find the game is still played by the rustics, and called, as it always has been there, the game of Morris,' or 'Nine Men's Morris.' The scheme is frequently chalked on the ground or barn floors, and the game played with different coloured stones or beans. I think the name is more appropriate than 'Ninepenny Marl;' and moreover, we of Norfolk have the authority of our immortal bard in his 'Midsummer Night's Dream,' where the queen of the fairies, speaking to Oberon, says: 'The Nine Men's Morris is filled up with many a star; there are some men who are not a little proud at being proud of this game. I heard an anecdote at North Walsingham of a man named Mayes, still living in that neighbourhood, who is so great a lover of the pastime, that a wager was laid by some wags, that they would prevent his going to church by tempting him to play; and, in order to accomplish their purpose, they got into a house, building by the road-side, where Mayes was sure to pass. Being a great psalm-singer, he had a large book under his arm; they called him in to settle some disputed point about the game, and he was very soon tempted to play, and continued to do so till church time was over, and got a good scolding from his wife for being too late for dinner."

I have been led to make these remarks from the pleasure I have derived from your publication; and you may excuse me, perhaps, if I add, with a smile, that I have found some amusement in the game of Morris, by playing it with my chess men; it requires more art to play it well than you would imagine at first sight." Hone comments on the latter letter, but his remarks are drawn wholly from Strutt's work. The reader will perceive that neither of the writers of these communications has even the remotest idea of the connection between the English provincial "marl" and the French "merelle"; one of them, if not both, seems to take it for granted that "marl" has to do with the fact that the morris-figure is cut in the clay.

In that fine protest which Shakespeare, in a 'Midsummer Night's Dream' (II, 2), makes Titania address to Oberon, beginning "These are the fortunes of jostlemy;"

there is a noteworthy mention of the morris game as played in rustic England. This is really the most striking appearance of the game in English
literature, and shows how common a feature of village life the amusement
must have been in the great dramatist's day. Titania portrays the wild
tricks played by the king of the fairies in order to spoil the sport of others,
and, out of mere whim and jealousy, to summon all disastrous forces of
nature, and turn them capriciously against mortals and immortals. She
speaks of the calamities thus wrought by the watery elements, by contagious
fogs, by rains falling on the land, by every pelting river—disasters which
have made the ox idle, and the ploughman lose his sweat, and the green
corn to rot. Then she goes on, exclaiming that

The fold stands empty in the drowsed fold,
And crows are fated with the morris flock;
The wise men's morris is still up with moon;
And the quaint mazes in the wanton green
For lack of tread are indistinguishable.

In the last two verses we see that the "quaint mazes"—the lines of the
morris-board were cut in the turf of lawns and fields. It is singular that
in all the dictionaries, manuals of sports, and similar works in which the
passage is cited, these—perhaps the most important in the description—
are invariably omitted. But it is, however, not improbable that the "quaint
mazes in the wanton green" refer to the obliterated tracks of the dancers on
the village green, and not to the complicated lines of the morris-board—in
which case the punctuation might well be changed. It is notable that Shakes-
peare treats the game as if it were an every-day matter—as customary in
a rustic region as oxen and ploughmen and green corn.

One commentator of this passage (Alchorne) tells us that "Nine
men's morris is a game still played by the shepherds, cow-keepers and so
forth, in the midland counties, as follows. The figure (of squares, one within
the other) is made on the ground by cutting out the turf; and two persons
take each nine stones, which they place by turns in the angles, and after-
wards move alternately as in chess and draughts. He who can play three in
a straight line may take off any one of his adversary's men where he
pleases, until one, having lost all his men, loses the game." This, as will
be plainly seen, is the larger morris, but there is nothing to indicate which
of the two boards (fig. 4 or fig. 5) is referred to. The same may be said
of another interesting note, on the same passage, to be found in the glossary
to Mr. John F. Wice's "Shakespeare, his birthplace and its neighbourhood"
(London, 1860, p. 155): "The nine men morris board, instead of being on the
earth, is now more frequently put on the corn-hills of the stables, at the
Warwickshire farmhouses, and the ploughmen use white and black beans
to distinguish their men; the great object being to get three of them in
a row, or as it is called to have a 'click-clack, an open row'; in order to do
this you are allowed to take up your adversary's pieces as at draughts, or
even to hem them in until they cannot move. There is also a game called
'three men's morris' which is much simpler."

To sum up finally—as to the lands of English speech—the morris game
came probably from France into England—a supposition greatly favoured
by the numerous corruptions of the word mëreïes such as morris, mëretz,
morals, moris, marti, all settling into the morris, which can be traced
back to a very early age. The elementary form of the game—styled "three
men morris"—has, so far as we can judge, always been played by means

of a board showing a single square, but with transverse lines joining both
the middle of the four sides and the four angles to each other. The still
simpler form, without the transverse lines uniting the angles, such as we
hear of in Germany, seems to be unknown among the Anglo-Saxon peoples
—it's place being perhaps filled by the school-boy's "noughts and crosses"
(the American "dit-fat-to") of which we shall hereafter hear in greater detail.
This very elementary morris has been generally used—for some generations
at any rate—only by children. Of the two forms of the larger morris—
the first, three concentric squares with lines connecting the central points
of the lateral lines (fig. 5), and the second, three concentric squares having,
in addition, diagonals uniting their angles (fig. 4)—both seem to have been
known in England before the 17th century, although there are several reasons
for believing that the former is the older design. The most common appella-
tion for it was "nine men morris" (or "nine men's morris") from the number
of counters employed by each of the two players. Both the earlier and the
later forms were carried by the colonists to the United States—as doubtless
to other British colonies—but, for some reason, the form having the larger
number of transverse lines became there the generally accepted one—perhaps
because it's slightly greater complexity gave more scope to the player and
higher interest to the play. The number of counters or men was increased
in the Western land to twelve for each combattant, and the ordinary appella-
tion given to the game was "twelve men morris." Whether this name was
ever used in England or not is unknown, but it seems certain that only
dictionaries of American origin cite it. In rustic England the game appears
to have been even more highly esteemed and widely practiced than in contin-
ental lands, as is indicated by the custom of cutting the design or "scheme"
of the board in the turf—so that observers could better watch the game as
it progressed, or possibly in order to give greater importance to the diver-
sion as one of the elements of a festival.

In German the name of the game of mëreïes is, in its signification, like
one of the more usual Italian appellations. It is called mïhlenspiele, the word
being one of the compounds of mïhle, the English "mill." The Grimm
dictionary copies a definition of the middle High German mïhlenspiel from
Stieler, a dramatist and student of words in the 17th century, which is:
"Idus tesserarum diversolorum per decussatos mandrari." Under the word
mïhle (section 5) Grimm gives a definition, the first portion of which is
drawn from the "Aramantino" (3d edition, 1733), a so called "frauen-lexi-
con" compiled by Gottlieb Sigmund Corvinus (d. 1749), who himself edited
the first (1715) and second (1729) issues. This note is as follows:
"Mïhle is ein spiel auf dem ungekehrt hausen, welches mit klein-
en weissen und schwarzen denamensteinen, wie sie das breispiel hat, von
zwey personen gespielt wird. Wer die letzten steine auf dem brei behalt, hat
gewonnen." From the phrase "auf dem ungekehrt hausen" it is evident that
Corvinus had never seen a morris board except on the reverse of a draught
board, and deemed it impossible to find one designed in any other
position. This is explained by the fact that in Germany, the boards for
table-play sold in Germany, as elsewhere, always had on one side a chess-
board and on the other side the morris-board. If they were made to fold,
like a box, then the interior was a backgammon board, while the upper and
under sides of the board, as folded, were devoted to chess and morris. In Italy


the combination of the chess and morris boards is still very common; nor have they gone out of use in Germany and other countries. Another compiler of words has the same idea as Steller about the proper position of the morris board. Valentine in his "Dizionario italiano-tedesco" (1834) puts the word *scacchialasino*—one of the Italian names of the morris game—into a German form as: "das *mühlespiel* (hinten auf dem damenbreit)."

The next Oritz citation is from the large dictionary of Adelung—the best of its day—which appeared between 1774 and 1788, it supplies us with an explanation of the technical term *mühle*, used in the *mühlespiel* to signify "a line of three pieces." We quote it: "Man hat eine mühle, wenn man dre steine in einer gerade linie hat." The expression *die mühle zu machen* is defined: "durch einziehen des dritten steines eine gerade linie bekommen;" and the expression *seine mühle aufmachen* is explained "durch wegnehmen des einen steines seine gerade linie zerselzen.""

A *mühle* was thus the same as a "click-clack, an open row," described by a Shakespearean annotator in a previous paragraph; or perhaps an "open row," in English, may be identical with an "aufgemachte mühle" in German—as indeed we might infer from the two adjectives; and can it be that "click-clack," said to be used by the peasants and villagers of Warwickshire, corresponds to the German "gemachte mühle"! Or is it the "parallel mill," of which we shall hear on a later page? The use of technical terms by untechnical writers, as we have before remarked, is of a very vague and uncertain character.

The game ought to have accompanied, or speedily followed, chess across the Alps into the northern parts of the Holy Roman Empire, but we find no dates given in any treatise of German games or elsewhere, the oldest being, as we shall see, in the early half of the 17th century, although a diligent investigator would, most likely, be able to trace the game to a much remoter period. The farther Teutonic regions received the morris game from Germany. It is known in Dutch as *molenspel*, a rendering of the German name, and is the Dutch *môlë* or *molësplei*. All these appellations would seem to indicate that the game came into this portion of the world from Italy, where, as we have seen, it was for a long time called moltino (mill). Although the elaborate Italian and French dictionary known as "Le nouvel Alberici" (1885), in its French portion under *mèrelle*, asserts that the game "s'appelle aussi le jeu du molin," we have not chanced to find such a statement in any other lexicographical work. But Von der Lasa’s assertion in regard to this point, reported elsewhere, must be taken into account.

Only one recent German investigator—so far as we are informed—even alludes to the morris game. This is the just mentioned writer, Tassilo von der Lasa, the reference occurring in connection with his exhaustive researches into the treatment of chess, morris, and tables, in so many manuscripts dating from the two centuries which followed the completion of the first treatise of this class under the auspices of King Alfonso X. Von der Lasa, commenting the codices known under the names of "Bono Scienes" and "Civis Bononiae," says: "Diese drei spiele scheinen eine allgemein bekannte und beliebte tria in 14. Jahrhundert ausgenaucht zu haben." It is to be noted that this high authority writes the German name of the game *mühlespiel* instead of *mülespiel*, and twice employs a Teutonized form of the French appellation, die *merelle*. In noticing the game, with its problems, or positions, as they appear in the two early manuscript treatises which we have mentioned, he speaks of it as *das grosse mühlespiel*, which can only be in contradistinction to that simpler variety to which we have so often alluded, and which employs in its board, or playing surface, only one square instead of three (that is, one external and two internal).

Perhaps as concise an account of the game as we can quote from any current German work, is that given in Meyer's "Konzervations-Lexicon" under the word *mühlespiel* (of which the variant *mülespiel* is cited), where it is described as a "bekanntes spiel, das von zwei personen auf einer aus drei konzentrisch in der mitte jeder der vier seiten durch eine linie durchschnittenen vierecken bestehenden figur, dergleichen sich meist auf der untern fläche des damenbreits befinden, gespielt wird. Jeder der spielenden hat neun damensteine und zieht, in dem er die steine, einen nach dem andern entweder in die ocker oder in die mitte aufsitzt, eine "mühle" zu bekommen, d. h. drei steine neb einander in einer linie zu erhalten. Dann zieht er seine mühle auf und schlägt, wenn er sie wieder zuzieht, einen stein des gegners, der nicht in einer mühle steht. Man sucht besonders eine zwöchige mühle zu bekommen d. h. eine solche mühle die auf den einander parallelen linien steht, und wenn sie aufgesetzt wird, zugleich die andere zuzieht, so dass man bei jedem zug einen feindlichen stein schlägt. Das spiel hat der verloren, welcher alle steine bis auf zwei eingebüsselt hat, so dass es ihm nicht mehr möglich ist eine mühle zu bekommen. Hat man bloß noch drei steine, so kann man springen, d. h. die steine nach willkür setzen, wohin man will. Im unter umbenden kann auch der eine spiller den andern zuziehen d. h. ihm jeden weiteren zug versperren." One of the rules which the writer cites is to be noted, namely that "If a player have only three pieces left he is allowed to 'jump,' that is, to move whither he will—according to his own pleasure."

A much more detailed account of the German morris is found in an interesting publication, "Archiv der spiele," of which three annual parts were published in Berlin in 1819-21. The article is contained in the second volume issued in 1820 (pp. 21-27), a notable characteristic of the description being that the "three men morris" board is represented as a square, with transversal lines running from the middle of each lateral centre to the opposite one, but without any diagonal lines (fig. 6), being, therefore, simpler even than the form known to exist elsewhere (fig. 1). This form is the equivalent of the Swedish tramp, truss, trull, and the English *noughts and crosses*. In England this is made by drawing two horizontal and two perpendicular lines on a school-slate or page of paper, the outer (quadrangular) lines of the figure remaining unexpressed, or represented only by the frame of the slate or the margin of the paper (fig. 8). The players use no counters, but write alternately in the spaces an o or a + or + (in Sweden a l), each endeavouring to form a row of three. Another thing to be noted is
that the larger morris board with diagonals is likewise unfamiliar to the compiler. Although the essay is somewhat long we shall quote the whole of it, premising that the first section is devoted to the simpler, the second to the more elaborate game. The general heading is: "Das möhlespiel (triidium, jeu des merelles)." The style will be found to be somewhat antiquated, owing, no doubt, to the fact that a part of the matter at least is borrowed from earlier works: "Das kleine oder einfache möhlespiel (fig. 6), wird von zwei spielen, jeder mit 3 damsteine versehen, auf einem brett nach der folgenden zeichnung gespielt. Auf den neun ecken, a bis i, können steine gesetzt werden, um 3 in einer reih, z. b. gh i, be h heizen eine möhle. Derjenige spieler, der es zuerst gelingt, mit seinen 3 steinen eine möhle zu setzen, hat das spiel gewonnen, und den etwa verabredeten einzugs. Der gegenspieler sucht ihn daran auf alle möglichen weise zu hinderen, indem er seine steine diesem zweck gemäss anwendet. Besonders darf er ihn nicht eine "stellung" nehmen lassen, wo er durch versetzung eines steines auf zwei punkten eine möhle zu setzen kann, wie z. b. be d oder be c, wo er an der vollendung der einen nicht mehr würde gehindert werden können. Unsere knaben bedürfen zu diesem spiele weder breit, noch damsteine, sondern eine zeichnung mit kreide oder schieferstift, ein aufzüll auf die erde ist ihnen hinreichend, so wie zum spielen kirsch- und pauenkerne, kleine kiesel, rechenpfermen etc. Das spiel kündigt sich zwar durch hohe einfachheit als ein anspiel an, wie es denn in der that von den griechischen und römischen knaben so gut als von den unzulänglichen gespielt wurde; aber das recht alter hat es kein interesse, weil es, mit gehöriger aufmerksamkeit gespielt, immer remi [remis] wird, und von morgen bis zum abend nicht zu ende kommt. Dieser umstand hat zur erfindung des weit interessanteren grossen möhlespiels, oder doppelmöhle geführt." This account of the "three men morris" seems intelligible enough. His statement as to the simple instruments of the game which German children are content to employ would apply to other lands. It will be seen that he asserts with confidence the practice of the game, in this form, by the boys of ancient Greece and Rome.

The writer entitles the second part of his article "Das doppel-möhlespiel." We reproduce his wood-cut of the older morris-board, although it has been given on a previous page (see fig. 5, here fig. 7). From almost his first phrase it will be understood that he is treating of the nine-men morris: "Es wird von zwei auf einem brette gespielt, wie die figur es darstellt. Ein jeder hat 9 gewöhnliche damsteine von verschiedener farbe, welche aber keine ursprüngliche plätze haben, sondern von den spielern abwechselnd und willkürlich aufgestellt werden nachdem der erste aufsatz durch das loos entschieden ist. Der zweck des spielers ist der gegeners steine zu schlagen, und wer zuerst so viel steine verliert, dass er weniger als 3 lebt behält, das spiel verloren, weil er alsdann keine möhle mehr machen, also den gegenerr nicht mehr schlagen kann. Denn nur derjenige kann schlagen, der eine neue möhle macht, oder eine schon vorhandene zuzieht, und geschieht das schlagen dadurch, dass er dem gegeners einen stein wegnimmt, und zwar welcher er will, sobald er nur nicht zu einer geschlossenen möhle gehört. Eine möhle heisst aber nichts als drei gleichfarbige steine neben einander auf dieselben aufstellrechte. Das Brett ist nämlich mit 3 quadraten eing in dem andern bezeichnet, welche in ihrer mittt durch linien durchschnitten sind. In den ecken, und da wo sich 2 linien kreuzen, sind die aufstellpunkte; also auf

den ganzt brette sind deren 24 vorhanden. Wenn nun steine auf a b c, auf d e f, auf g h i stehen, bilden sie möhle, und eben so auf be h. Also nach horizontaler und verticaler richtung sind möhlen möglich, nicht nach der diagonalen richtung, und z. b. e f i ist keine möhle. Schon beim aufstellen ist der hauptsatz: selbst möhlen zu machen, und den gegenerr daran zu hinderen, und dann wählt man die aufstellpunkte seiner steine. Gelingt es z. b. einem spieler, 3 steine auf a b h oder e f m zu bringen, bevor die punkte d b und d e vom feinde besetzt sind, so kann ihm dieser eine möhle nicht verhindern, weil er nur einen stein auf einmal setzen, also nur einen der beiden schliess- punkt der möhle besetzen kann.

Die aufstellung ist vollendet, wenn jeder seine 9 steine aufgesetzt hat, und dann beginnt ein abwechselndes ziehen, d. h. bewegen der aufgestellten steine von einem aufstellpunkte zum andern auf den markirten linien, z. b. von d nach e ist ein zug, und von e aus sind, wenn keine standpunkte besetzt sind, 4 züge möglich, nämlich nach b, nach h, nach m, nach d. Von den übrigen durchschneidt- aufstellpunkten aus, sind nur 3 züge möglich, z. b. von a nach e, oder nach f, oder nach g; und von den eckaufstellpunkten nur 2 züge, z. b. von f aus nach a oder nach e. Daher strebt man immer, sowohl beim aufstellen als beim ziehen, sich dieser mittleren punkte zu bemächtigen. Der zweck des ziehens ist ebenfalls möhlen zu machen, und den gegenerr am machen oder zusehen desselben zu hinderen. Geschlagen wird nämliche: einmal, wenn eine möhle zuerst gemacht wird; dann aber auch, so oft sie zugezogen wird. Daraus werden sich leicht einige spielsysteme ergeben, z. b. dass man nicht eine möhle aufziehen muss, deren wiedererziehen der feind hinder kann, z. b. ich wollte den stein von der möhle de f nach a ziehen, und der gegenerr hätte einen seiner steine in b, so würde er ihn gleich nach e herunter ziehen, und dadurch meine möhle unbrauchbar machen, oder gar durch schlagung eines dazu gehörigen steins zerstören, wenn er inzwischen selbst eine möhle zuzieht. Ferner: dass man immer denjenigen der schlagbaren, d. h. nicht in einer geschlossenen möhle stehenden steine gegeners schlagen muss, der ihm die nächste anwärtschaft zu einer möhle gibt, z. b. habe ich die wahl zwischen b e f, so muss ich e schlagen, weil ich z. b. f nahe, der gegenerr vielleicht die möhle in d schließen könnte, oder wenn ich f nahe, in h. Wer seine steine bis auf 3 verloren hat, der fängt an zu springen; d. h. er zieht nicht mehr schrittweise, sondern setzt, wie beim aufstellen, seine steine beliebig, wo er will. Sind beide spieler zum springen reduirirt, so ist das spiel, ohne grobe fahler von einer seite, remi [remis], d. h. es kann keines gewinnen, es müsste denn der fall seyn, dass der eine spieler beim ersten sprunge sich eine doppelte möhleranlage vorbereiten kann.
welche des gegenr nicht zu hindern vermag. Eine zwickmühle nennt man bei diesem spiele zwei so gelegene mühlen, dass man mit einem und demselben zuge die eine öffnen und die andere schließen und so abwechseln kann, z. b. h a f s w ären mit steinen besetzt, so kann ich dadurch, dass ich den stein f nach e stehe, die mühle h a schließen, indem ich n u öffnen, welche ich durch einen rückschritt auf den folgenden zuge wieder schließen kann. Ich kann also auf jedem zuge schlagen, so lange diese stellung dauert, welche der feinde doch auf zweiterlei weise zerstören kann. Einmal dadurch, dass er den punkt e mit einem seiner steine besetzt; dann auch dadurch, dass er einen stein von der gerade geöffneten mühle schlägt, wenn es ihm gelingt, trotz der zwickmühle des feindes, eine mühle rückschlagen. Wir haben in diesem spiele zu wenig selbsterfahrung, möchten es aber dem damalspiel an interesse gleichsetzen, wo nicht vorziehen; wenn wir gleich glauben, dass auch hier, bei gleicher stärke, der angziehende gewinnen muss. Man pflegt hier einen doppelm ach, einen grossen und einen kleineren zu unterscheiden, und damit doppelten und dreifachen verlust zu verbinden. Der kleine match heisst: wenn jemand bis zum springen geschwacht wird, ohne eine mühle gemacht zu haben; der grosse match: wenn er auch mit dem springen zu keiner mühle kommt, sondern das spiel verliert ohne eine mühle gemacht, ohne dem gegner einem einzigen stein geschlagen zu haben. Aber den erfinder, überall und seit der erfindung dieses mühlenspiels, so wenig als des vor- gehenden damalspiels, haben wir bis jetzt etwas sichereres ermitteln können.”

This is the most complete explanation known to us of the method of playing the larger morris game, and doubtless most of the features and rules cited are of much antiquity. It merits an English rendering and we space for it, and did we not consider a reproduction of the original of more value to those whose researches lie in this direction. It is proper to say that in the very last portion of his description the author uses the English word “match” in the sense of “variety” or “kind of victory,” like our technical terms “gammon,” and “backgammon.” A player wins a little “match,” when his opponent has been able to form no “mill” (or line of three men) before he has reached the “jumping” point (that is, reduced to only three pieces). He gains a great “match,” when the opposing player has at no time been able to complete a “mill,” nor capture a solitary man.

We have been unable to look through much of the German literature in search of quotations relating to the game of morris. One poetical pas- sage was, however, easily discovered. This occurs in a piece by Paul Fleming (1809–1866), the most poetical of all the German 17th century poets. He says in one of his lyrics:

Gleisbälle mangelt’s nicht an spielen,  
Vor uns steht das Inferno;  
Da die polke; hier sind mühlen.

Of the other games mentioned in the piece other than mühlen we know little; pettico (or belles) was, we believe, played with a ball or balls. The citation from this poet—who died while still so young, and who was introduced to the world of English readers by Longfellow— is also the oldest German mention of the morris known to us.

Friedrich Amelung, in his invaluable serial, “Baltische Schachblätter” (part 6, 1889), has an essay “Zur geschichte des schachspiels in Russia,” (p. 130-147), in which he tells us that the later historical writers of Russia, especially Sorokin and Sabelin, are agreed in believing that Russia obtained the game of chess from the Greeks, that is, through the Byzantine empire, and not directly from central or southern Asia, as has been main- tained by all recent western writers. Mr. Amelung relates that the sixth gen- eral council of the church—the same which Van der Linde styles the Synod of Slivia in Spain ("Quellenstudien," p. 80)—in one of its ordinances made games played with dice unlawful. The “Nomokanon,” the Slavic code of church law, contains this canon, and imposes a penalty of dismissal from his functions on every bishop, priest, or deacon who does not avoid dice- play and drunkenness. According to Sorokin, modifications of the “Nomokanon” were made in Byzantium during the 11th and 12th centuries, and were sent to Kiev, reaching that place about the year 1270, and formally received validity. Such a modification of the above-mentioned ordinance 42 of the council cited, was composed by the famous historian and canonist, John Zonaras (d. 1118 in the convent at Mount Athos), forbidding all the clergy to practice dice or chess—this being by no means a solitary instance of cler- ical ignorance in regard to the real character of the latter game. This forms the earliest known mention of chess in Russia, and the canonical prohibition of the game under what may be called the eastern decreats, lasted down to the beginning of the 18th century. In one of the Russian canonical injunctions against the Indian game pronounced during the 16th century, it is stated, as an excuse for its prohibition, that it is derived from the “godless Chaldeans.” Other games, including especially cards, were subsequently added to the condemnatory list. We learn, however, that among Russian court, chess, perhaps by clerical dispensation, or perhaps only by ecclesi- license, was nevertheless played in this same period, and played so frequently that an artisan was attached to the court for the turning of chess-men, and hence bore the title of “Shakhmatriki.” But during all this time there seems to have been no ecclesiastical opposition to the morris game. The earliest notice of mérèvels is that cited by Sabelin, who delves from the court accounts in the year 1573, a bill for six sets of ivory chess men, together with boards for morris and backgammon, ordered of the “Shakhmatrika.” Mr. Amelung further reports that, although prohibited, not only the nobility, but also the burghers of the cities, and even the peasants, knew, and sometimes played, the prohibited chess, as well as draughts, backgammon, morris, dice and other games. The name of the morris game in Russia is meirél or mérél, being the ordinary word for “mill.” In the language of most of the countries which lie between the Teutonic region and the greatest of the Slavic nations, the word given by the dictionaries as the name of this game indicates the source of its introduction. The signification in general is “mill,” and we may therefore reasonably assume that the diversion must have come from Italy, either through Germany, or by some other route. Thus, in Hungarian, the word malom signifies “mill,” and the word mérélés is translated malomjáték, the latter element signifying “game;” another compound of malom, namely malomnász, also has the signification of “morris game.” In Bulgarian, the names for “mill” and mérélés are likewise identical.

The Dutch term for the morris, as we have previously stated, is malen- speel, that is, literally, the “mill-game.” But indigenous appellations for the morris game likewise exist. We have cited from Hyde the term dröstken for the lesser morris, and nogestikem for the larger, the first element in each
signifying respectively three (dría) and nine (negn), referring evidently to the three men morris and the nine men morris. The latter element is written in the modern Dutch dictionaries variously, "stiek" and "stiek," "strik" and "strijk." The whole word is usually cited as a synonym of molenspel. The lexicons also give the verb "negensteeken," meaning "to play at nine men morris."

Notices of the game in Danish are to be found in most of the publications devoted to the diversions of children, such as "Spillboeg for børn" (Copenhagen 1833, pp. 36-37). Here the brief account bears the title of mølle, and includes a drawing of the board used in the major morris. The narrative which we quote in the original, gives the ordinary rules, and states that the game is played with 18 pieces, each player having 9—the sets being of different colours. It is evident that the game follows the German model. A line of three men is termed a "mill," and one of the rules—of which the final clauses are not as clearly phrased as they might be—states that if a player's pieces stand in such a manner that by opening one "mill" he can make another, then it is named a "running mill" (rønndemølle)—the whole paragraph reading as follows: "Mølle spilles med 18 brikker, hvorfra hver af spillerne har 9, hvorved de, ligesom i dam, maa være afto couleurer. Bredeet er som nedenstående tegning [fig. 5]. Den ene af de spillerne sætter først en brik paat af bjørnerne eller paa de steder, hvor tvæsregerne skjærer quadranterne; dernæst sætter den anden i en brik paa, og saaledes vxe den bestandig, til begge have sat alle 9 brikker paa. Den, der skal sætte den anden i et pass, trykker brikker i en rad, hvilket kalderes en mølle, da man, hvargangen man gjør en mølle, har lov at frate modstænderen hvilken omgivelser brik, man vil, dog ikke nogen, som stæser i mølle. Staae den enes brikker og nok, at man ved at aaben thuộc møllens stræk kan gjøre en anden, da kaldes det en rønndemølle. Man er der sikker paat, ved hvartrekt, at kunne frate modstænderen en brik, naar denne ikke ved selve at trække i mølle kan tage en brik bort fra den anbede mølle, hvad man imidlertid i de fleste tilfælde kan forhindre, naar man borttagter de brikker, hvormed han kan trække i mølle. The last sentences, relating to the "rønndemølle," run as follows: "One player endeavour to prevent the other from arranging three of his pieces in a row, which is styled a 'mill,' since every time a player completes a 'mill' he has the right of removing from his adversary's game whatever piece he chooses, unless it be one which stands in a completed 'mill.' If a player's pieces are so situated that by opening a 'mill' [that is, by moving one piece out of a completed 'mill'] he can immediately make another [that is, by moving, at his next turn, the same piece back, thus re-forming his row of three], it is called a "rønndemølle" [running mill]. The player is then sure of being able to capture one of his opponent's pieces at every move, unless the latter can himself complete a 'mill' and by that means take away a piece from the [temporarily opened] 'mill,' thus destroying the troublesome 'rønndemølle'; 'rønndemølle,' it would thus seem is the equivalent of the German "sücknäuhhle." The game is said to be still common in the Danish country districts.

In a Swedish work, similar to the one just cited, called "Ungdomens bok" ("Book for youth," ed. Stockholm 1883), edited by Albert Norman, we find an account of the morris game in Sweden. It occurs in the first volume, which is devoted to the games played by boys (p. 162). Unlike the board given in the Danish work, this one reproduces what we have styled the twelve men morris board (having the diagonal lines), but gives no reason for such a difference in adjoining countries. The game has the usual name qvarnspel—"qvarn" (Icelandic qvern, our old English qvern) being a purely Scandinavian term for "mill." Having given an account of the game of "soughts and crosses," (tripp, trapp, trull, fig. 6)—the writer furnishes no representation of its board—says: "For the proper morris game there is a special board marked with lines such as are shown by the accompanying design (fig. 8). One of the two players has nine counters (for example, draughtmen); the other men are always set upon the places where two lines cross each other, or encounter each other at an angle, and ho who succeeds in putting three of his counters in a row has thereby completed a 'mill' (qvarn) and gained the right to take away one of his opponent's men already on the board, which is not at the time standing in a 'mill.' The first player usually begins by occupying the angle a, and then sets his next man on e; if his adversary does not then place his first or second on b, the first man plays his other man on b, and has therefore made

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58 The Swedish text is certainly much superior to that of the Danish booklet. This is the paragraph in regard to the simple tramp, tramp, trull (sapphire and crossroad): "Detta är för genem en mycket vanlig förutsättning. De inleda grillställen med två tvä-och två längsträck i lufa raktaxer. De spelande är två. Den ene vikter å, den andra f till titt locken. Hvar och en sikker först får sina tre locken i en rad och om sinnjligt hindra de andra "fron" genom inlåsande av eit tecken, der motspelarens tvärs vilja bilda linje. Hvar och en får i 1 sek tor iföra blixt eit tecken. Hvar han har två tecken till gårng på taltan, utbrycker han eit och flytar det till den plats han önskar. Den, som lyckas förfylla raden, utropar: "Tripp, trapp, trull, nu qvarn är full." The classification of the infantile sport receivs a warrant from this er of the successful player. This is succeeded by an account of the proper "mill" game (qvarnspel): "Till det egentliga qvarnspelet har man ett närmaste bröder, bebevakad med turer sådana närmastande afbildning (fig. 8). Hvar och en av de två spelarna har två tecken, till exempel dæmpningslocken. Teckna utövats alltid på sådana två spelare körna hvandra eller sammanstående i vinklar. Den, som lyckas ställa två av sina tecken i en rad, har derigenom gjort en qvarn och förvandlats rättighet att borttage ett av motspelarens tecken, som redan är med i spel, men utan detta borttagning av qvarn. Han börjar gerna med att besatta en vinkel, till exempel v, och sått sedan det andra tecknet på e; sått då lecke motspelaren sitt första eller andra tecken på b, skater den inläsande dessa två tecken med hjälp av de återstående has hittills. Hvar och en i en vinkel kan blixta eit qvarn. Hvar han kan nämligen bildas den genom att besatta e eller b, då motspelaren bort kan hindra sig av detta två tecken, bli eit qvarn. Skater narrationer att detta spel intervallerat av something, så att detta kan som ett förutseet t vikten att dessa motspelare behöva fyra tecken, på den han ej genom hoppsade med ett tredje på mitt platsen. Stämman kan även motspelaren ställas, så att han ej mer kronor gör något drag."
always employed when the board has, in addition to the right lines, or lines joining the middles of the exterior lines, also diagonals connecting the angles, and this is certainly the most proper board—this being, as will be noticed, the real three men morris. "When a player has a 'mill' or complete," he goes on to say, "then he usually cries out to his opponent: 'trip, trap, trull, my mill is full' ('min qvarn är full!')—reminding us of the 'til, tat, to, three in a row!' of English and American children under like circumstances. Here there is again a return to naughts and crosses in the versatile mind of the Swedish writer: 'Boys for this game need neither board nor men; they make a rough sketch on card-board with a pencil, or on the ground with a stick, and play with pebbles or the like. They are even accustomed to draw the following four simple lines and make use of pencil signs instead of moveable pieces'—whereupon he presents a sketch of the two horizontal and two perpendicular lines, as drawn on a slate or piece of paper in the way we have mentioned in our note on the English naughts and crosses. He tells us that in the North one of the players uses the figure 1 (instead of 0), and the other the figure 2 (instead of 4). This interesting, since it shows the same popular custom prevailing in Sweden and England. The compiler afterwards says that the simple morris is a primeval sport, and was played by the boys of Greece and Rome just as it is played to-day. He then repeats himself and says that in some places a board is used which has not only the two central lines (of fig. 6), but two diagonal lines connecting the corners. He finally occupies himself with the older or larger morris board (fig. 7), which he styles "double morris" (dubbel-qvarns).

After this complete description of the nine men morris we are told that there are also boards provided with diagonal lines connecting the corners (twelve men morris), and he adds that upon such a board players are some-

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116 That the simpler form of the major morris (with no diagonal lines) is, however, used in Sweden as well as the twelve men morris, is attested by another book of games, the "Hånd-Bibliothek for Stillekvarnspel" (Stockholm 1889-9, II, p. 57), already cited by us at our notes. It gives a sketch of the nine men morris board and accompanies it by a brief description: 'Till qvarnspelens börser är bricken med 3 fyrstav, som på norra krona sammansättas, tilltagande 20 bricker af olika färger. Spararna ar trettio, som tillses i handen hvarex bricker. Sedan man överenskommem om bricken av hvilken man skall skita först bricken, undastes bricketens skitewnisse. Darvid bestämmes: Att ingen bricken får skita utan en brör eller viakel, och bricker, som får 3 bricker an rad, vara sig längst vågdrasserna eller längst derares radial, åter att skita skitornas af meteolipanous bricker, som han anser farligast, dock inte af meteolipanous tret, som kallas stenbi gors. Det är alltså angivet för alla spelarenne, att vid utskillingen på en gäng sekla förekomna meteolipanen, att få tretsl och med det samma beordra sig detta denne. Sedan alla bricker åt starnat, dragen en bricka i stärden från bröra eller viakel till brör eller viakel, att med beredskap af tretsl, och den, som först får ögar- man eller 2 bricker qvar, har förlorat partiet.' We intended to copy here, in the note above, the complete account of the morris given in the "Tom Wilson" 'speelbek', but we refrain because we cannot be sure how much of it refers to the actually existing Swedish one and how much is due to the French work, which is the source of the narrative. The compiler of this book of games is still living in Stockholm, but the libraries and booksellers do not publish as to his real name and home. On our preceding p. 132 (foot-note), is an extract from the "Dernere Schachzucht," the Swedish "Hånd-Bibliothek" is erroneously styled "Hun-Bibliothek.

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FIG. 2.
times accustomed to begin "jumping" when they have but four men left instead of three. Then follows a brief notice of the marelle triple found in the French original (fig. 8), with the important information that some people believe this to be the game described by Falamedes, "which historians have thought to be thus or draughts." Next we have a still more concise notice of the marelle quadruple (alquerque). The end of the article is the French compiler's marelle quintuple, that is to say fors-and-goes, the detailed exposition of which we shall hereafter translate. Of the history of the morris game the compilers of these Swedish works tell us nothing; and we have come across no allusion to it in Swedish general literature, although such references probably occur.

And now we come finally to the Icelandic morris. Fortunately we have in a late work—from which we shall quote largely farther on in this volume—a detailed account of the game as it has been played in the northern island for centuries—for more than two at any rate: "The work to which we refer is called "Íslenskar skematanir" (Copenhagen 1898-99), and is a sort of compilation of the treatise on riddles by the late distinguished folklorist and head of the Icelandic national library, Jón Árnason, which is styled "Íslan-

gár gáttur, pullur og skematánir," in the fourth part of which is contained the skematánir or "amusements." The author of this sequel or supplement is the well-known student, Ólafur Davíðsson, who confesses that he is himself not very familiar with the table games of which he treats, but we are bound to acknowledge that he has known not only how to get at those people who are, but also to study with some care, if not thoroughly, the immense manuscript treasures relating to similar subjects which are preserved in Icelandic libraries and archives. He frequently cites, for instance, the manuscript vocabulary of great size composed in the early half of the XVIII century by Jón Glaðísó of Grunnarvik (so styled from the place of his residence), in which much attention was given to games familiar to the Icelandic people, and the technical words connected with them. Of what Ólafur Davíðsson says of mylna in Iceland we shall make a rough summary, afterwards appending the original text. We ought properly to preface it by the statement that neither here nor elsewhere do we find any mention of the three men morris as known in the island, nor of any other variety of the morris game than the older (or medieval) nine men morris, (the three quadrangles connected only by right lines). The compiler of the "Skematánir" begins by saying that "Mylna is played upon a board of the character here exhibited (fig. 7). There are two players; each of them having nine men, counters to play with, which must be of different colors, one set, for instance, being light and the other dark. Lots are cast as to who shall first play or set his men, and he who

126 Ólafur Davíðsson describes the huge dictionary of this author in the Introduction (Ingússen, p. 6) to his essay on Icelandic chess—an essay which owes much to the 19th century lexicographer. The manuscript, as he says, is still preserved in that wonderful store-house of learning, the Arna-Magnússon collection at Copenhagen. The words of Ólafur Davíðsson are as follows: "Jón Glaðísó frá Grunnarvik [6. 1799] samt hlaut íslensku orð-

bók nú niður 18 íl dýg og skreytt hví æftiði allt frá íslensku leikjum frá fyrri hluta 16 áldari. Ánafera þývur þeim að þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt að þeim þátt a

thus has to begin puts a man on some point on the board, after which the other enters one of his, and so alternately until both have used up all their pieces. Most players endeavour to form a 'mill' (mylna), which is done when one of the contestants arranges his pieces in a straight line on three adjoining points. He who has made a 'mill' may then capture one of the pieces of his opponent and put it off the board, but he is not allowed to capture from a 'mill' already completed or closed (lokað). If either, for example, has a 'mill' on u, v, w, or f, g, h, then he may capture any one of the opponent's pieces he pleases, except those which stand in a completed 'mill,' but every piece of a player is considered to be en prise if his opponent can play one of his men upon the point properly belonging to it. In other respects it is not so easy to set the men rightly on a morris board, and good players consider it to be more important that the men stand favourably when they are all placed than to form a 'mill' while the process of placing them is going on. Nor is it easy to lay down rules for the entering of the men, but it may be considered that it is always good to have men at the central points e, n, k and f. When all the men are placed, than the player who entered the last but one begins to move, and after that each one moves alternately. The pieces can go to the nearest point in a right line, both combatants trying to play so that they can make 'mills' and use them, for it is of little advantage to have a 'mill' which is not ready to 'sempna upp' (be opened up) and capture with afterwards by reclosing it. If one player, for instance, possesses a 'mill' on e and the other has men on e, f, and m, then he is bound for the time being, but if the former can move the piece which stands on g to l (that is sempna the 'mill') and from l again to g (that is, loka hemni, 'close it'), then he has revived his 'mill' and may capture whichever of his adversary's pieces he wishes, except those which stand in a closed 'mill.' It is, of course, understood that each one tries to move a piece i klofað, that is to say, into the vacant spot or point of a 'mill' which his opponent is opening (sempnar), in order to hem in (or shut out) the piece which has just moved off its proper spot, and meanwhile is considered to be an exposed man. If one for instance has opened his 'mill' on b, e, and a (moving his piece from e to f), and the other has a piece at d, then he moves it to e and thus makes the 'mill' worthless. Besides the simpler kinds of 'mills,' there are others, such as svitkamylna, krossamylna, and remnísætir. Svitkamylna is that position in which a player can make a 'mill' at every play, or close a 'mill' and open another at the same move. If, for example, he possesses men at e, k, and d, and the point e is vacant, then he can move d to e and e to d, thus making a 'mill' each time he plays. If the other player has a piece at f, then the maker of the 'mill' must capture it if it be possible to do so, for otherwise his opponent can spoil it (binda) the svitkamylna. A krossamylna (a cruciform) is when one player has pieces on all points on two crossing lines except the middle one, for example b, d, f, and h. As to the remnísætir, we will not agree as to its character. Jón Glaðísó says that he who has a remnísætir can capture many pieces at once. Fossetein Eiríks-

son explains that remnísætir is a svitkamylna and krossamylna combined, for example the men on a, b, c, d, f, g, h. Others say that remnísætir is a position with pieces for example on a, c, d, f, g, and i, and on one of the
points h, e, or h. A rennhester is like a svømming in this respect, that with it it is easy to capture a piece at any move, but yet it is entirely different in some respects at least. We do not know," says the writer, "the rennhester feature in the north (of Iceland).

When one has a rennheksa or rennehrest, it is, so to speak, impossible to force the other one to win, but yet the game is not wholly finished before one of the players has lost so many men that he cannot make a 'mill' or, in other words, seven of his nine pieces. Some say that it is a complete 'winning' at myena if a player can hem in the pieces of the other so that they cannot be moved, but others maintain that such a game counts only as a half. It is thought to be something of an honour to place one's men so well as to be able to take all of a man's men, and Hallgrimur's game are hommed in before he has captured a man. Jón Ólafsson has a drawing of the myena board just as it is to-day, but gives no detailed explanation of it. He says that krossmyena has another name, svømmytuna. Myena is in its origin foreign, just like chess and backgammon, but the author thinks it well to give a description of it, for it is largely played in Iceland, and various expressions are used in connection with it which are very common and popular. The Rev. Hallgrímur Pétursson (see p. 37), in his poem on table-games, mentions neither the morris nor fot-and-geese, and we might infer from this that neither of these names were used at that period, but this would not prove that the games themselves were not then practised."

129 Ólafur Davidsen

110 It will be learned from a page immediately following this that the celebrated hynottog does mention the morris under one of its rarely used and probably older names."

We are inclined to believe, the Icelandic text of Ólafur Davidsen says, that renneheter is svømming in the sense of the above. We are told Ólafur Davidsen says that renneheter is a girls' game, that renneheter is not allowed to be played on the Sabbath."

111 As the term krossmyena, it evidently signifies "mill" in process of formation on two lines, one of which runs across the other, or, as it looks to the angles to it. This is shown by the synonymous term svømmytuna, in which one of the rows or "mills" stands like a "wing" (vænurn) to the other. Svømmytuna seems to correspond to the Swedish klappgärn or "parallel mill," while renneheter, in its verbal signification, recalls the remnemöde of the Danes. As to the allusion to the "fishing of the pieces of the game," of Hallgrímur's Tursson (1014-74), the famous author of the "Passion Hymns," it may be stated that table-games are not referred to in any early existing copies; but in his other similar piece of rhyme, the taftela, "lay of tables," of which so high an authority as Ossli Konráðsson, the late distinguished occupant of the Icelandic chair at Copenhagen, deems him to be surely the author, we find backgammon, in several varieties, mentioned, while the morris game is given a place under the obscure name of fariita. 124 In another collection of stanzas on games, called "Eilideiltur," which was discovered in 1890 in the Advocates' library at Edinburgh, allusion is made to table games in general, but only by the introduction of the verb tafta, meaning to "play at tables."

124 It was noted by the Ancient and Modern Research Society that the word tafta, meaning to "play at tables," is of foreign origin, and that it was used in the Middle Ages to signify "wooden tables," and that the word was later transferred to the game of table-games.
The four stanzas which follow enumerate the various athletic, musical and other sports. There are several allied pieces of verse in Icelandic literature, some of which are printed or cited by Ölavur Davíðsson (pp. 361-365). One is ascribed to the patriotic and warlike last Catholic bishop of Hólar, Jón Arason, in which tables, cards, chess and backgammon, with music, are mentioned:

Til hefi og fag með epilum,  
Talur sem lagi og velar,  
Skáð með skóðnum brennum,  
Skjót og lefri herustíð.  
Hópur holdar snarpa,  
Krossað með gírste nálsstum  
Fón með fígrum sóni,  
Fætting til lýkla og sviæting.

This is said to have been composed about 1580. Allusions to so popular a game must, as we have said, occur in Icelandic records—old diaries or letters for instance—of which so many are preserved unpublished both in Iceland and Denmark. And there is no doubt that in the remoter regions of the island traditions, phrases and proverbs, relating to mylna, are still awaiting the collector. Let us hope that some scholar of the scholarly land will yet bring all these things together, and throw new light upon the story of a social diversion which was once so widely spread and practised, and is still, in its various forms, a source of enjoyment in many lands.

Before taking final leave of the Iceland morris we ought, however, in this connection, to state that some manuscript works, which treat of social diversions, mention a game called Freystaf, which the writer Jón Ólafsson mistakenly cites from the Flóventasaga, his assumed, or wrongly located quotation being as follows: "Heiðingjar söttu eipt Flóvent, en så er nærutor var í eiptreðinum þýjur snæt lifi, og er svo ë hjav rví skætst þjórir, sem maður leiki Freystaf og elgi jafna röð, og leiki úr aannari í ábra, og þar þróu þýjur einu sinni; og sem hann snæst í moti, þá hver fallinn, er þýjur honum yvar." The same writer says that this Freystaf must be the same as the game known as ferjaringa (or as Hallgrímur Pétursson calls it, færjaleif). He says that it is played without dice, and that there are three lines in it; (in Latin, "tribus ordinaribus constans"). Ölavur Davíðsson observes that both these names may really represent the morris game, the "three lines," describing the parallel lines which form each side of the major morris. In the passage referring to the Freystaf, whenever it may be derived, the expression jöfrnóð, meaning "even lines" or "full lines," is a proper enough title for the double or parallel mills (vökamynna), of which we have heard so much, and the phrase "leiki úr aannari í ábra, og taki hverju sinni einn sinn" ("plays out of the one into the other and takes a man once every time"), represents the method of play and capture by means of the vökamynna. It should be remarked that Guðbrandur Vigfusson explains this "game of Frey" as "probably what is now called godstaft," citing also the Flóventasaga, having perhaps discovered a passage in another chapter than that (the Við) to which it is assigned by Jón Ólafsson. But no great heed need be given to this opinion, as we have already learned how unfamiliar with table games was the Oxford lexicographer.

The game of godstaft is said by some writers to be played with dice and we are told that no special board is needed for its practice; others state that it may be played on a table-board, or back-gammon board; some again declare that the proper number of men is twenty, but Konrad Maurer ("Germania" XIV, 1869, p. 108) says that it is played with 32 men. Jón Ólafsson explains that the men are white and black, and that the white ones are each as valuable as two black ones; with this rule, it is said, not so many men are necessary. The word færjaleif is not cited in the Oxford Icelandic dictionary. If it be true that besides mylna ("mulino," "muliebianpiel") there are these other names for the Icelandic morris—vernacular names as it would appear—the fact places another face, not only upon the date of its introduction into the country, but also upon the source whence it came. The Flóventasaga, one of the fabulous sagas, was written certainly as far back as the earlier half of the XVth century. In fact, a velum manuscript of it, in the handwriting of that period, exists in the Arma-Magnusen collection at Copenhagen. The manuscript was transcribed in Iceland, so that at that time the Freystaf may have been known (but see above).

There are doubtless various, if not many, allusions to mylna among the older letters and old note-books, and the collections of inscribed verse and prose, which the author of the present sketch has failed to delve out from those public and private libraries of Iceland to which we just alluded, but the search for them must be left to other hands. What we have gleaned indicates that mylna must have been familiar in Icelandic homes before the XVIth century had closed, leaving out the question of its identity with Freystaf. It also indicates that mylna could have had no connection with hnefstof, or any similar game, existing in the old saga times. The name of the morris game (if there be in truth no earlier appellation than mylna) in the Icelandic tongue is evidence enough that it must have reached the island by way of Germany, Denmark or Norway, and that its path must have diverged from that followed by the game of chess. In other words, its arrival in Iceland post-dates the appearance of hnefstof in the sagas. Besides the light which these facts, or inflected hnefstof, throw on the character of the old saga game, they are likewise of some weight in estimating the real age and source of mérettes. Those who argue that either Greece or Rome was the primary home of this line-game will have difficulty in showing why it should not have reached France, then England, and afterwards Iceland at a much earlier date. Those who attempt, on the other hand, to prove that it, or at least some form of it, came into Spain from the east, must confess that its arrival took place after the coming of

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138 Neither Freystaf nor faruringafart are found in Ólafsféga "Orðoga" (1885-86), which would indicate that the former need not be sought in Floventasaga nor do we remember to have seen it in the printed text of that ancient work edited by Cedersjöld.
CHESS IN ICELAND

chess, else it ought to have crossed the Pyrenees, the British Channel and the Icelandic seas in company with the greatest of table games. Our investigations have been too superficial and too restricted to enable us to discuss this larger question, which, in its character, is not unlike that which makes the story of tables so obscure.

We have, as a starting point, on the one side, the simple little game described by Ovid, though too vaguely to make it absolutely certain that it has anything to do with our theme, but there we lose all trace of what more than one archaeologist has asserted to be the three men morris of a later age. To the game of tables we find apparent allusions not long after the downfall of the Roman empire, but we do not catch a glimpse of anything resembling the morris game during the 1000 years which follow the age of the Roman post. On the other side the indefinite character of our knowledge in regard to the codex of Alfonso yields only a slight foot-hold for the belief that the morris game, like chess, came from Perso-Arabic regions into the Iberian peninsula. We are only sure that the Escorial Codex contains an account of a game played upon a design or "scheme" composed of four three-men-morris boards, and that this game bore, and perhaps still bears, an Arabic name. Whether the forms of the morris game of the higher class which appeared a little later on the other side of the Pyrenees are described in the codex or not we cannot at present say. When the Spanish scholars make up their minds to tell us what the non-chess portions of the codex really are, we shall very likely be able to advance a step in our researches. Of course it is possible that the Saracens, who imparted so much to the European world, may themselves have borrowed something from the declining Latin civilization. The early invaders of Spain and Sicily may have found the smaller morris in vogue among the peoples they had conquered, and afterwards developed from it the larger morris, or they may have discovered upon it a name of their own, just as the Europeans—supposedly at least—did in the case of nerd or nard, which we are told originally came from the Indo-Persian world. These, however, are only conjectures, and it is not impossible that none of them may ever assume the aspect of certainties. Still we do not despair of the future efforts of the modern spirit of research, and the shrewd judgment of modern scholarship.

We conclude this portion of our subject by a hasty summary. There exists a group of line-games—as called, as we have explained, because the men or pieces used in them are entered on the intersections of the lines along which they are moved,—this group comprising the following varieties: the three men morris, the nine men morris, and the twelve man morris, the basis of all of which are lines united to form one or more quadrangles—all of which have been largely played, at any rate since the XIIth or XIIIth century, among both the Latin and Teutonic nations. To these differing forms must be added certain games of a composite nature, such as the so-called alquerque, made up of three four men morris boards, and the well known fax-and-peesce, originated by uniting five of the smaller morris boards. To these again may be subjoined one or two varieties of doubtful origin and prevalence, such as the multinello doppio (or merello double) shown in our fig. 3. This last is perhaps an imitation, or growth of modern days, but none of these varied diversions help us in determining the character of the Icelandic hnefataft. In none of them is there a chief figure or piece which is attacked by one section of the men or counters, and defended by another section. 42

The only really scientific treatment of the morris game and its practice—wholly modern in its methods—is to be found in Alban von Hahn's "Buch der spiele" (3d ed., Leipzig, 1900, pp. 249-280), a volume which we shall shortly cite again. It includes both the three men morris and the nine men morris, and gives the former in two shapes, one a "board with 9 points" and one a "board with nine squares." In the illustrative figures of both the minor morris and the major morris a notation similar to that employed in chess is made use of. The vertical or perpendicular lines are indicated from left to right by letters of the alphabet, and the transverse or horizontal lines, from below, upward, by numbers. This enables the compiler to give examples of games. The "mill" or mushlo is indicated by an M: The games are naturally divided into two parts, that is, the part being the entering of the men, the second, their moves and final completion of the game. We give a diagram (fig. 10) of the nine men morris with the notation, and a specimen of a game with notes and variations. It must be remembered that on the formation of a "mill," the one who makes it has a right to take one of his opponent's men from the board. The part which we copy from Hahn is as follows:

42 A singular volume—to which we have already referred in our note upon the literature of the games of the ancients—relating largely to the invention and supposed development of the merello, or the game of merelli, as the author styles it, is John Christie's "Enquiry into the ancient Greek game supposed to have been invented by Palamedes." (London 1801). The work is full of misapprehension. The writer argues that the game of Palamedes was the Greek pente, from which is derived the morris game, the hnefataft, and ultimately chess. He criticizes with some severity the writings of Hyde and Sir William Jones, and indeed all the "erroneous conceptions entertained of this game by the different commentators upon it, for besides the remarks I have quoted from Somaske, we find there Menriss, Rount, Balengerus and even the great Cahnborin equally contradictory and inconsistent." He finally carries the penteia from Greece to the north of China, where it passes late into "an intermediate state between the perfect chess and the genus palisca," and where he finds the sacred square or 'line c prepauq of the palisca represented by the three men

<table>
<thead>
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<th>WHITE</th>
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<tr>
<td>1. on a3</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. g1</td>
<td>b2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. b1</td>
<td>d5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. f3</td>
<td>d5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. d4</td>
<td>a2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

42
in their nature, especially for one called in England solitaire and in France “English solitaire” and for another, known in Spain and Italy as assalto (assalto), in French as assaut, in Danish as belegningsspil. In this game, or in one of these games, the upper square of the fox-and-geese cross is transformed into a fortress, usually by drawing bastions or a wall around it, which a portion of the pieces employed are supposed to besiege; but all such diversions are much younger than the board on which they are played, that is to say much more modern than the original fox-and-geese. It is not easy however, to cite many early mentions of the game in any literature, since it has evidently always been, for the most part, limited to the rustic classes, with which, in English lands at any rate, it is still popular.

The author states, that, in his opinion, the morris game has a certain but not very close similarity to the great Japanese go-bang, which makes use of a square board of 19 vertical and 19 perpendicular lines, on the intersections of which the game is played, each party having 181 men. 62

Fox-and-Geese (redikak). — The second game of a minor character to which the hnesaff of the saga period has been referred, is that, which, in the lands where English speech prevails, is known as fox-and-geese. It has a not dissimilar title in most of the continental countries, as, for instance, in Germany, fuch- und Fuhnerglötz, “fox-and-hens” (or fuch im Fühnerhof). As we shall shortly have occasion to see, it stands in an intimate relation to mérilles—being of the same class of line games. One of the most notable authorities on Icelandic antiquities, the present head of the Reykjavik national museum, following an earlier writer, of whom we shall speak on a later page, maintains that the game of fox-and-geese is identical with hnesail, or, at least, with one form of that ancient diversion.

It is proper to say at the outset that the fox-and-geese board, in comparatively modern times, has begun to be used for games more or less different.

morris board, which he conceives to be the proper origin of the inner square of the nine men morris, really representing a sheep-fold among the Scythian herdsmen. Out of this intermediate form in China grew the game of chess, which subsequently spread to India and Europe. The book is well worthy of consultation for the sake of its ingenious errors and of its illustrations, especially its fanciful vignette portraying the origin—among shepherds—of the morris game.

62 Just as the full proofs of this section have been read there comes a valuable reference from Mr. John G. White, of Cleveland, Uited States—whose familiarity with every period of chess literature is now hardly excelled—which fortunately can be inserted here. He asks: “Have you not overlooked Von der Lasa’s suggestion that the different names and shapes given to the men in the medieval mérilles manuscripts were merely devices to assist in recording the moves? From examination of the games recorded, it seems that all these differently shaped and named men had the same moves, the same powers. Apparently the thought of numbering the intersections had not occurred to the author, and hence, the adoption of these devices as a means of notation merely.” This seems to explain the matter satisfactorily.

Pursuing, as nearly as may be, the same geographical order as in treating mérilles, we find no distinct data as to the age of fox-and-geese in Spain; indeed we are left in some doubt by Brunet y Bellet in regard to the mention of this game in the codex of Alfonso. The modern author gives a drawing of the board, and some matter relating to the game in the very pages in which he is treating that manuscript, but he bestows no Spanish name on the board other than the recent one of “assalto,” although, as will be remembered, he quotes the ordinary English title. None of the accessible Spanish lexicographers aid us.
In Italy, particularly in its Northern and central parts, the old style of board is still frequently seen. "Le nouvelle Alberii" (1865) also gives the first French title, naming it as the most of the lexicons—feu de roer—and then interprets it in Italian as gioco della volpe. As a matter of fact, if it be some times called volpe ("fox"), it is much more commonly named lupus e pecore ("wolf and sheep"). In some of the dictionaries of low Italy, Latin is cited a game called vulpes, but no date is suggested and no citations are given for the use of this title. Most of the Italian books on games describe the method of play. We abridge the rules given by one of these works, but the full text will be found in the note printed below:

"It is played with one piece (volpe) and with 18 pawns (polli, "chickens") which are arranged (fig. 11) on the 13 points (castelli) of the board numbered from 1 to 13; the opposing piece or fox is placed upon whatever vacant point its player may select. The pawns (that is, geese or chickens) may also be entered on corresponding points in the lower portion of the board. The fox may move forward or backward, to the right or left, or diagonally. The geese are permitted to go only forward and laterally, but cannot move backwards. The player ought not to leave his geese unprotected, or alone, as may be done with the men in the game of draughts [since in this game there is no exchanging of men ("pollo" for "pollo").] Skill at this sport consists in pursuing the fox, and in catching him in such a way that he cannot move. The fox captures all the undefended or solitary geese and, in his movements, seeks to impede them from passing into the court-yard (the uppermost square) amid his fellows, so that he can take them more easily. Practice counts for much in this game, as it is only by practice that the player can learn to imprison the fox. The geese move first. To-day, however, the game is generally played with 17 geese, the four which are added to the original 13 being placed at the points 14, 20, 21, 27. The fox is allowed to capture two or more of the geese if, as at draughts, unoccupied points exist behind each of them, and wins the game, either when he has taken captive all the geese, or when he has passed over the points indicated by the numbers 1, 2 and 3.

As we have already seen, there have been published during recent years, in France, various books on the games of social life, mostly compiled, unfortunately, by men of little learning, some of whom have allowed their imaginations to play with great freedom whenever they were unable to bring any actual knowledge to bear upon the subject they chose to be treating. The result is that they have thrown a good deal of darkness upon several of these household diversions. Their evil influence has not only been felt in France, but, through translators and compilers, in various other countries. The Grande Encyclopédie des jeux of Mouflard, to which we have more than once referred in preceding pages, cites a XVIIth century publication of a similar character wherein a fabulous story of the origin of the game for, and then proceeds to explain its mode of play. He styles it the merelle quintuple since its board is made up of five ordinary three-men-morris boards, combined, as we have seen, in the shape of a cross. It will be noticed that he employs the orthography marpelle. We insert here the whole original text (p. 101) relating to fox and geese: "On obtient cette marpelle par la juxtaposition de cinq marpelles simples, comme sur notre fig. 11. Cette transformation de la marpelle simple peut aussi être obtenue en se servant d'un solitaire anglais, solitaire français diminué de quatre cases. On a ainsi un jeu de 33 cases, qui sert à une partie singulière nommée 'le Renard et les poules', inventée par les Lydiens, s'il faut en croire la 'Maison des jeux académiques' (Paris 1690), à laquelle nous empruntons la citation suivante: 'Les Lydiens, peuple d'Asie, entre plusieurs jeux qu'ils inventèrent, donnèrent l'origine et l'usage à celui du renard, non tant pour le désir qu'ils eussent de le jouer, que pour se façonner aux ruses et se garder des surprises que Cyrus, leur ennemi capital, leur dressait tous les jours, lequel les appelait poules, à cause qu'ils similaient les délices et le repos; et ceux Lydiens lui nommèrent Renard, à cause qu'il était sans prix aux aguets, et qu'il cherchait incessamment des flûtes pour les surprendre. Ce jeu est ingénieux et récréatif, facile à pratiquer. On le joue avec des dames ou des jetons, à faute d'avoir des poules de bois et d'invoicer en nombre de treize, posées sur treize rosettes ou espaces dont la table est composée. Les poules sont en la partie d'en bas et le renard est en la partie d'en haut; qui consiste en vingt rosettes ou espaces, et vous placez en l'une d'entre elles le renard, à des discrétions, qui peut monter et descendre, aller et venir, sans qu'il pueda passer les rosettes d'en haut et en bas, à droite et en travers. Les poules ne pouvoient monter que de bas en haut et ne doivent ressusciter. Le joueur ne laisser poules dé-
writer tells us is the modern mode of play. Whether he has done this because the Italian method differs from the French or not, it is impossible to say. These features are the placing of the fox at the middle of the board, and the law that he is privileged to move, but cannot capture diagonally.

What is here and elsewhere denominated the “English solitaire” board, consists of points arranged like those of the fox-and-geese board, but not joined together by lines, so that the cross form of the group is not so evident. The French solitaire, a similar game, destroys all semblance to the fox-and-geese board by adding four more points, two to the second line of the upper section of the cross and two to the next line of the lower section. The French also have the Spanish azote, called by them l’assaut, played on the fox-and-geese board, on the old game of which, though differing considerably, it is apparently based. In the upper section of the cross, or fortresses, are placed at will, two men, corresponding to the fox; while the other sections of the board are occupied by 24 men of another colour. The 24 besiegers must always advance either vertically, or obliquely, capturing their adversaries, however, as does the fox in the original game. The game ends either when the besiegers have made themselves masters of the nine points of the fortresses, or have captured the besieged, or when the latter have taken all the besiegers.

As to England and America, we know of no other title given to this game, than the usual one. The oldest literary mention of it is in a play entitled “A fine Companion” (1633) by Shackley Marmion, a minor playwright of the court of Charles I, well known as an imitator of Ben Jonson. It was acted, we are told, before the royal table, and at the instance of King Charles and Queen Henrietta Maria. It contains the passage (II, vii) “Let him sit in the shop …. and play at fox-and-geese with the foremen.” In the middle of the following century we find a second writer of somewhat greater note—in his day at least—alluding to the game in his only romance. This is the Irishman, Henry Brooke, a friend of Pope, who, in his “Fool of Quality” (1706-08), makes one of his characters ask (I, p. 367): “Can you play at no kind of game, Master Harry?” to which the reply is, “A little at fox-and-geese, madam,” the inference being, of course, that he who knows no other game than one so simple and so rustic must indeed be a fool. The literary reader will remember that Charles Kingsley was so great an admirer of this eighteenth century novel that he edited a reprint of it. FOX-and-geese is, in fact, one of those games of which there are but few appearances in general literature; indeed, the game was even regarded as too familiar a sport to be treated in such compilations as the “Complet Gamester” of earlier days, or the “Hoyle” of later times, and as certainly too rustic to be introduced into the higher fields of literature. In the farm-houses of America is often to be found a fox-and-geese board of wood, made with holes into which pegs are inserted, the peg denoting the fox being always a little higher than the others. In England the fox-and-geese scheme is, sometimes at least, drawn on a round piece of board, with circular depressions at the intersections of the lines to receive the marbles with which the game is played, the fox being usually represented by a blue marble and the geese by gray ones.

Strutt, in his already cited “Sports and pastimes” (1833, pages 318-319), has the following account of the game:—“This is a game somewhat resembling that of mérelles in the manner in which the pieces are moved; but in other respects, as well as in the form of the table, it differs materially; the
intersections and angles are more numerous, and the points, of course, increased, which adds to the number of moves. To play this game there are needed seventeen pieces, called geese, which are placed as we see them upon the engraving (fig. 12), with the fox in the middle, distinguished, either by his ears or difference of colour, as here, for instance, he is black. The business of the game is to shut the fox up, so that he cannot move. All the pieces have the power to move from one spot to another, in the direction of the right lines, but cannot pass over two spots at one time. It is to be observed that this board is sometimes made with holes bored through it, where the dots are, and pegs equal to the number of geese put into them, and the fox is distinguished by being larger and taller than the rest. The geese are not permitted to take the fox, if he stands close to them, but the fox may take the geese, in like case, if the spot behind them be unoccupied, or not guarded by another goose; and if all be taken, or the number so reduced that the fox cannot be blocked, the game is won. The great deficiency of this game is, that the fox must inevitably be blocked if the game be played by a skilful hand; for which reason, I am told, of late some players have added another fox, but I have not seen." The writer, in his last sentence, is possibly referring to the French game of assaut which we have just mentioned.

The American mode of play, which differs little or not at all from that prevalent in England, is thus concisely described in the "Century" dictionary (sub vocc. "fox"): "Fox-and-geese, a game played on a cross-shaped board or on a chess-board with pawns or checkers [draught-men], one of which is the fox, the rest the geese. The geese move forward one square at a time, and win if they can surround the fox or drive him into a corner. The fox can move forward or backward, captures the geese as men are taken in checkers, and wins if he capture all the geese."

In Germany the customary name for fox-and-geese is, as we have noted, "fuchs und hähner (or fuchs-und-hähnerspiel); it is said to be styled in South Germany, or in portions of that region, der fuchs im hähnershof" ("the fox in the chicken yard"). But, according to a recent book on games (A. Von Hahn, "Buch der spiele," 3d. ed., Leipzig, 1840, pp. 228-23), it is likewise called, as in England, der fuchs und die gänse ("fox and geese")). In this late work the author describes, first, the modern asalto, for which his name is das festungs- und belagerungsspiel, he having no idea, evidently, that it is the development of another game, and begins his account with a description of the board. This he follows with a short paragraph on fox-and-geese, the text of which we quote in full: "Ähnlich ist das spiel: 'der fuchs und die gänse,' welchen auf einem gleichen breit, jedoch också nicht, gebildet, wird gespielt. Eine figur, der fuchs, steht auf dem mittelfeld und hat dieselben rechte wie die festungssoldaten. Er darf vorwärts und rückwärts marschiren, jedesmal von einem punkt zum nächsten, und darf eine gans nehmen, wenn das in gerader linie hinter ihr befindliche feld frei ist. Die siebenzehn gänse sind auf der einen halfte aufgestellt, dürfen nicht schlagen; sie haben gewonnen, wenn es ihnen gelingt, den fuchs so einzuschließen dass er nicht mehr ziehen kann. Links und rechts neben dem fuchs ist ein leerer platz. Der fuchs gewinnt, wenn er letzteren umgeht und jene wegschlägt." This attempted notice of the original game displays no very accurate knowledge of the matter, and is carelessly written. It is enough, however, to show that the mode of play corresponds with that practiced in other lands. It is still a common diversion in German rural districts. 159

The game is yet well known and practiced on the Scandinavian mainland, but exact information about it, in those countries, is difficult to procure. The printed notices of it are unsatisfactory and not infrequently erroneous. The Swedish "Hand-bibliothek för sälkspelen," heretofore cited, begins (II, p. 635) with the asalto, styled beträngingspel, or sometimes, as the writer states, festringspel ("fortress-game"). At the end of the description we are told that he who plays the defenders in one game, generally directs the besiegers in the next. This is followed by fox-and-geese, to which the name raffspel ("fox-game") is assigned (pp. 647-8). It is preceded by a diagram of the board unlike any other that we have seen. Instead of having 20 squares with 35 points on the angles, as in the usual cross-shaped board, it has 24 squares with 37 points. The four additional squares are inserted in the angles made by the outer lines of the two sections of the cross, namely those formed (see fig. 11) by the figures 4, 9, 8, 6, 11, 12; 22, 23, 25, and 26, 25, 26. How much this novel board is used in Sweden and how much the older one is it impossible to say. We are told that this scheme is composed of squares, the writer's own diagram, however, showing that there are only 24. He gives the number of the sheep (fgr) as 22, an addition of 5 to the game as we practice it in England and America. The "sheep" occupy the 22 points on the central and all other lines above it; the fox is placed on any point below, at the will of its player. The movement of play and capture is as generally described. We are informed that the object of the fox is to make his way to the rear of the flock of sheep, that of the sheep is to shut in the fox. As in the beträngingspel the opposing players take the sides of the fox and sheep alternately. It is not impossible that this form of the game may have superseded the older and usual one in

158 As a matter of interest, we translate the compiler's account of the asalto, or as he calls it "the game of fortress and siege" (p. 235): "This game is played on a board, having the form of a cross and thirty three points united by lines. Nine of these points represent the fortress, which is defended by two soldiers. These two men at the beginning of the game may be placed, at will, on any two points appertaining to the fortress. The 24 places outside of the fortress are occupied by the soldiers of the besieging party. The task of these latter is to capture all the nine points of the fortress, and for this purpose to drive out, or enslave from it, the garrison of two men. The besiegers must advance on the lines toward the fortress, bringing a man, at every move, nearer to the sought for goal. Every besieger can be captured by the defender which stands in front of him, whenever he is not protected by another man in the rear. From this it follows that the men must advance nagged together as far as possible. If one of the defenders neglects to capture, then he can be "blown," that is to say, captured. Under certain circumstances the adversaries are allowed to capture two men in order to draw them farther and farther out of the fortress. The defenders also move one step at a time, but can hop over as many of their opponents as are to be found with a vacant, or an undefended point in their rear. When there are no more such positions the besiegers are either pushed up inside their fortress, or have been expelled in such a way that they cannot return to it, the game has been gained by the besiegers."
some, if not all, of the provinces of Sweden, for we do not find, in any work on games, an account of the ordinary board, until we reach the "Illuminated spelbok" of "Tom Wilson" (see p. 136 and note 131), and so much of that work, as previously hinted, is translated from foreign productions, that we can hardly trust it as a Swedish authority.

Fox-and-geese has certainly long been practiced in Iceland, but just how long it is difficult to say. It is called in that island *refskáld* (fox-chess); from the signification of this same word we may infer that the game reached the country after the introduction of chess. The theory has been mooted that it has an older title (*knústraf* or *knústaf*), and that under this term it is mentioned in the sagas, but we shall refer to this supposition in detail hereafter. At the present time, special boards for *refskáld* are rarely or never made, though they are oftenest played on a diagram drawn with chalk on a board, or marked on paper, or on a slate. In the work "Fallsinkar gátur," so often cited, the game is described as *fóll* (pp. 299-300): "As in so many other sports *refskáld* is played by two persons; one of them has a 'fox' (féi), and the other 13 'lambes' (lió) [the latter being, of course, the English 'geese']. Ordinarily the 'lambes' are placed at the points indicated (fig. 11) as 1 to 13

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— the other or opposing man—the 'fox'—at the central point, 17. It is the aim or object of the former to shut the 'fox' in, that is, to arrange the 'lambes' in such a manner that the opponent can no longer move, while the latter seeks to defend himself and capture as many of the 'lambes' as possible. The player of the 'lambes' endeavours to guard his pieces, of course, as the more men he brings to the center the easier it is to enclose the 'fox.' A capture takes place thus: If the 'fox' stand close to any 'lamb,' that is, if the 'lamb' stand on the point next the 'fox,' and there is no piece on the point behind it in a direct line, the fox is permitted to jump over his opponent to the vacant spot. The 'fox' is then removed. If the 'fox' stand, for example, on 11 and the 'lamb' on 5 and there is no piece on 1, then the 'fox' jumps over the point 5 to 1 and thus captures the 'lamb.' In other respects the manner of the moves can be readily seen. The 'lambes' follow the lines and the 'fox' chases after them. Both may move to any part of the board on right lines; both, too, go forward and backward (although some assert that the 'lambes' are allowed to march only in a forward direction). The 'fox' is in the greatest danger if it move into either of the four extremities of the board, as it is more easily surrounded in those regions, but when hotly pursued, finds it necessary to retreat to some one of these perilous points. When the 'fox' can no longer move, it is considered to be shut in, or as it is termed 'burned in,' but to effect the 'lambes' must stand on the next two points in every direction in order to prevent the jumping and capture process. For instance, if the fox is on 5 then, in order that it be 'burned in,' 'lambes' must stand on 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, and 32. It is much more easy to play the 'lambes' than to play the 'fox,' for he who guides the movements of the former, if he has had considerable practice, is sure to win. There are no counters or men special to *refskáld*. Beads or coffee-beans are used for the 'lambes,' and something larger, for example, a button or thimble, for the 'fox.' The author closes by saying: "*Refskáld* is the most popular common-board game which I have met with. Jón Óláfsson remarks that every human being knows it. In his time (1750) it was played as it is to-day, or, at least, the board used was the same. Sigurdur Guðmundsson remarks that *refskáld* must be the same as *hnuttaf* or *hnutta>, which is supposed to have been practiced in ancient days, and Jón Óláfsson likewise hints at the same thing."
What was "Tables."? — It is first necessary to consider what the medieval game of tables really was.

English writers, especially the compilers of lexicons, are all agreed that it was the dice game now known as backgammon, in France, and in certain other lands, as trictrac (tick-track), sometimes written tictac (tickack), in Germany as paff, in Portugal as tablas, in Spain as tablaz reales, in Italy as tavola reale. In Arabic lands, as we have stated (p. 92), or at any rate in Egypt, backgammon is styled lb'et (or the "game of tables"); which title, if we could prove that it had a certain age, would tend to make sure the identification with the old "tables," but we fear that in the Near East, both the name and the game, as now played, are comparatively modern importations (within the last two or three centuries) from Italy—like so many other terms and customs in the Levantine lands. Perhaps the appellations tavola reale, (royal table) in Italy and tables reales (royal tables) in Spain— as indicating a court game—may deserve some weight as testimony to the identity of the old and the new games. Outside of England the identification by the lexicographers, of backgammon with tables, is not quite general; in fact, we recall very few out-and-out statements to that effect coming from authoritative continental writers, though their silence may be explained by the fact that they take for granted the continuity of "tables-backgammon"; nor, in regard to this matter, does investigation into the precise significations of the various names bestowed upon the game help us much. The English lexicologists treat us, as usual, to a liberal supply of absurd etymologies, the only possible one of those suggested being back-+gammon—back supposed to arise from the going back or ersch as the name of a game and the German schlech (see p. 58 in the present volume); that he describes "horse" to have been an old English name for the knight, and that the English application for the bishop's lower name for the "pawn," (p. 151); and that the knight was, in the earliest times, styled in the North redchek/kore—all of which statements lack only truth to make them interesting. The foot-note on fox- and-goose (p. 160) is as follows: "Backgammon signifies properly the game of foxes or a game played with pieces of a similar form; a fox, a bear, or the 'young of a bear,' was formerly the chief piece; later 'fox' as the only beast of prey in England, took its place, for the fox is now standard. The remaining pieces represent sheep, or lambs, who are pursued by the fox. This also occurs in that variety of game with which the Laplanders (Finns) amuse themselves, but there the fox pursues the game, as in the German's gänsespiel, the Englishman's gosling, the Dutchman's gansvoet, and the Frenchman's poulie.

The last phrase constitutes one of the higher flights of the lexicographical muse, for whatever the games therein mentioned may be they are pretty certainly not in any sense fox-and-goose. The author does his best to inform us that in Denmark it is generally heard (the dog, the hound) — pronunciation resembling the old hunt—which in the same game purports the hound, hence the Danish name. Whether the Danish land og haver corresponds to the Icelandic redchek or not there is some doubt; Moltke has in his "Danske ordbo" gives no such phrase, but has (sub Hare) arost, explained as "a kind of game with counters," and gives a second, "harnaeg." The compiler indulges in the usual historical (sour) errors, such as (p. 154) the opinion that the chess queen may "in old times" be called Freya by the Scandinavian goddess; that the bishop (p. 155) "in the pagan North, we think, had the name of Agrohur (horn-bearing)," and so on. The article enumerates several sides of men—often a most illuminating classification of the text, some from Madding and others from various other sources. But there is a close connection between this section and a previous section ("Thud", pp. 65-99) of this dictionary of the present volume—so close that the reader may discover some repetitions, and perhaps some contradictions as well. But an attempt has been made to separate, in some degree, the medieval literature and philology of "tables" from its general history and the accounts of its varying methods of play.
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return of the men from one table to another, and gammon being the Middle-English gamen, gemen, and early modern English gamen, the final syllable -en having been dropped, in existing English, under the erroneous belief that it was a suffix. This is all doubtless correct as to the latter element of the word, but the best authorities confuse that the first element is still an uncertain quantity. Tricketrack, tic tac, with their different orthographies, are considered to be variants of an onomatopoetic noun, having its origin in the rattling sound of the dice. This theory, however, though so generally accepted, seems more than doubtful. It may be that the word tricketrack (tric trac) is merely an alliterative reduplication (having reference to the route taken by the men), signifying a forward and back movement after the manner of "zig-zag"; or it may be the application of the sentence, which we shall treat latter—of an onomatopoetic word already existing (signifying any sharp, clattering sound). As to tick-track (tic tac), it can be regarded as a variant, possibly with a remote reference to the Italian toc, toc (to touch), which occurs in the name of the variety of tables (backgammon) known as taccozetti (= "touch it!") —a title, however, which has been apparently more prevalent abroad than in Italy. The German puff is generally supposed to be identical with our English "puff" in its etymology, but its rason d'etre as the title of a game, despite Grimm's explanation ("Wörterbuch," 2nd. ed) —if his remark can be considered an explanation—it is difficult to comprehend. But there may very well be quite a different etymology connected with the Spanish bufa (see p. 88), which the editors of Grimm would naturally not know. Tabulae reale and tablas reales, in the two chief romance idioms of the South, imply simply that this game is the best or noblest of the varieties of "tables." There is the usual confusion, not only of names, but of genera. In the English-speaking world (at least in the American part of it), for instance, is practiced a sort of backgammon called "Russian," in which not only is the playing, or movements of the pieces in accordance with the casts of the dice, but the men are "entered" upon the board by the same method of chance, before the play proper begins—the former style of setting the men beforehand in their order (playing) places being now esteemed old-fashioned. In the history of a sport like this, we constantly see changes occurring, new fashions in the mode of conducting the game, newer varieties of old forms introduced. The sense and purport of technical terms are frequently altered in different localities and in different ages. Sometimes we find, for example, trick-track, as in Hans Sachs, described as a variety differing from backgammon proper.

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We have had, too, in England a species of backgammon known as foyles, defined in the dictionaries as "an old game, a kind of backgammon," or as "a complicated kind of backgammon, played both with men and pegs," of which an account, written a century ago, has already been given (see p. 88, foot-note), in which we are told that the name of this variation of tables comes from the fact that by some particular throw of the dice, a player "was disable from bearing off any of his men and therefore foyled in winning the game"—which assertion, we fear, is only a surmise, an etymological surmise. We have already cited (p. 79) what seems to lead us, to quote the last instances of the use of the word tables in English literature, namely in 1716 and 1783, but these were apparently isolated cases; the term really ceased to be in common usage before 1600. The earliest appearance of "backgammon," which we can recall, was in the same century, in a book of great popularity in its day, and still one of the best collections of epistolary literature in English, the "Familiar Letters" of the traveller and student, James Howell (1596-1666), quaintly entitled by the author "Epistole Ho-Bianco," of which the first of many editions was issued in 1646. Howell writes it hippocram. So we may say—if further investigations do not contradict us—that as "tables" went out "backgammon" came in, which is at least a slight argument for their identity. The technical term back-game was in use at the time of the change, and doubtless before and after. The playwright, Colley Cibber, as the reader has been told (p. 79), speaks of a "back-game at tables." It is notable, too, that one section of a work published almost contemporaneously, the "Compleat Gamester" (1704), is divided into "Tables within the tables" and those "without the tables." It is soon seen that the former term means games played on the inside of the ordinary table-boards, for they are all varieties of "tables," or "backgammon." The names are: Irish, backgammon, tables, quater, doublets—a list of much historical interest both because it contains the two names, "backgammon" and "ta-bles" of the same date, but in other respects—particularly looked at from the Iceland point of view, as regards quarter. It will be seen from all this that there are very good reasons for believing that, both in Great Britain and on the continent of Europe, the modern backgammon, as a generic term for all games played on the tric-trac-board, is the proper representative of the medieval tables; but it must not be forgotten that this name of it, as the appellation of its principal game or variety, belongs only to the English lands. On the continent its most common appellation is tric-trac (France), while others are used in other lands. Portugal preserves the old tables (tabolas), while Spain (tablas reales) and Italy (tavola reale) use terms descended from the ancient name. The essential features in the old game were: 1. The double table (not meaning that there were actually two bords hinged or fastened together, such as we do indeed often see nowadays, thus made for the sake of convenience, but signifying that the board itself was divided into..."
two parts, both being the technical name of "tables," the men moving in the course of the game, out of the one into the other); 2. The number of the men—30 in all, 15 to each player; and 3. The use of dice in deciding how the men were to be placed or moved. These are likewise the chief features of backgammon (trictrac, puff, tavola reale). Only once, in any land, do we find an allusion to fewer men than 30, that being, as we shall see, in the work of a modern Icelandic writer, with whom it is probably the result of an erroneous assumption. The table-board, or backgammon-board, seems to have always had, in European usage, for the last six-hundred years, 12 "points" on each board—24 in all. Thus Tornmose—as we remember (p. 86)—in his great Italian dictionary tells us (sub voc. "tavola") about the tavola reale and its "ventiquattro scacci (=points)." In this connection it is well to bear in mind that the "points" in backgammon correspond to the "squares" in chess, and that they are expressed in some languages by the same word, as for instance, in the Arabic (bêt, "house"). Indeed, if we may give credit to a wood-cut occurring in Van der Linde's account of the Alphonsine manuscript ("Quellenstudien," p. 72), the points, in the first European board, were represented as "houses," that is, as quadrangular spaces. As to the little known about the treatment of the game of tables in this MS, the date of which is, as the reader will recall, as early as 1280, see the preceding section (pp. 87-89).

On the North side of the Apennines, very soon after this time, several representations of the table-board are to be found in manuscripts preserved in the public libraries. This fact, as well as the various dates which we have already given, prove that even before the days of Alfons a large part of Europe was familiar with the game (see the many citations in the section "Tab.," pp. 69 ff.). The design showing two players at backgammon (fig. 14) is taken from a richly illustrated MS now in the British Museum, which certainly goes back to the very beginning of the XIVth century, or, as some scholars think, to the century before that. On the board between them will be seen the counters and some of the points, as also the dice, of which last, as will be noticed, three were used, as was not unusual. The absence of dice-boxes may likewise be observed, the dice, as we have suggested (pp. 74-5, note), having, as is evident, been "thrown" by the hand. It is plain that the part is about to begin as none of the men have been placed. The next design (fig. 15) is of a later period, of the XIVth century, and belongs to a MS in the same library, being a notable and inedited treatise on the game of tables, to which we refer in detail elsewhere. It shows a board composed of two tables, or four half-tables. Dr. Wright says: "It was probably this construction which caused the name to be used in the plural; and, as the Anglo-Saxons always used the word in the singular, as is the case also with John of Salisbury in the XIIIth century, while the plural is always used

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108 This and the following cut we take from the article "On domestic games and amusements in the Middle Ages," contributed by the archeologist and literary historian, Thomas Wright, to the London "Art Journal" (Nos. 49 and 51, January and March 1859). It afterwards formed chapter X ("Amusements after dinner—Gambling—The games of chess — Du History — Dices — Tables — Draughts") of the author's "History of domestic manners and sentiments in Europe during the Middle Ages" (London 1862, pp. 184-255). The essay still merits separate reproducing, and with a capable editor, might now be easily much enlarged and made of greater interest.

109 As this important codex, though often described, has, as it would appear, never yet been published, we reproduce the text here in full. The transcript was made, necessarily in some haste, in the summer of 1900 by the learned scholar, Mr. Sigfrid Biihndal, now connected with the royal library at Copenhagen. It will be noticed that the MS is in such a condition as to present not a few omissions:

Latin anglicorum. Multi sunt hodie ad tabulas, quarum primum est longus ludes, et est ludus Anglorum, et est comus, et est tullus natura. Ille qui sedet ex parte, om. habebit xrv. homines in puncto, q., et ille qui sedet ex parte, q., habebit xrv. homines in puncto, q., et ille qui sedet ex parte, q., et ille qui sedet ex parte, q. Deo, deo, deo in puncto, q., et ille qui sedet ex parte, q. Deo, deo, deo in puncto, q., et ille qui sedet ex parte, q.
by the writers of a later date, we seem justified in concluding that the board used by the Anglo-Saxons and Anglo-Normans consisted of one table, like that represented in figure 15, and that this was afterwards superseded.

Fig. 16.
clearly that the medieval game of tables was identical with our modern backgammon, or rather we should perhaps say, that the game of backgammon, as now played, is one of the games played by us.
About this second British Museum codex (Reg. 13 A viii.), Dr. Wright has a few words to say, chiefly concerning the opening section. He remarks: "In the manuscript last quoted the figure of the board is given to illustrate a very curious treatise on the game of tables, written in Latin, in the XIVth, or perhaps even, in the XIIth, century. The writer begins by informing us, that 'there are many games at tables with dice, of which the first is the long game, which is the game of the English; it is common, and is played as follows' (multae sunt ludis ad tabulas cum tessellis, quorum primus est longus ludus, et est ludus Anglicorum, et est communs, et est talis naturae), meaning, I presume, that it was the game usually played in England. From the directions given for playing it, this game seems to have had a close resemblance to backgammon. The writer of the treatise says that it was played with three dice, or with two dice, in which latter case they counted six at each throw for the third die. In some of the other games described here, two-dice-only-were-used. We learn from this treatise the English terms for two modes of winning at the 'long game' of tables—the one being called 'lympolding,' the other 'lurching'; and a person losing by the former was said to be 'lympolded.' The writer of this tract gives directions for playing at several other games of tables, and names some of them—such as 'paume carre,' the Lombard's game (ludus Lombardorum), the 'imperial,' the 'provincial,' 'barali,' ['myllis'], and 'fayis.' Perhaps this 'long game' is the same as that variety, which was and sometimes still is styled in German 'der lange Puff.'

Paume carre is a title drawn from a variety of tennis. In the text of this codex throughout, it is to be observed that the small Roman numerals i to vi and (vi) represent generally the throws of the dice, but sometimes the numbers of the men; while the small Italicised letters a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, and i, r, s, t, u, v, w, y, z, and x refer to the points on the board as given in fig. 10. In the first game mentioned, known at that time as the 'English game' (ludus Anglicorum), the player sitting on the am side of the board places his fifteen men at y; his opponent, seated on the mp side, enters all his at a. The men at a are moved through the tables yi, sm and mg into fs, where they are thrown off. His opponent moves his pieces from y through the tall af, gm, ns, into t, whence they are thrown off. His men are first thrown off wins the game. Either two or three dice may be used, but, with only two, a third is supposed, its imagined throw being at each cast, 6. The men are doubled on the points, and shots are hit very much as in the modern game, but there are many minor details. In the description of this game "limpodling," or "lympolding," and "lurching" seem to be somewhat like the simpler jane in the modern French game, being applied to certain positions of the men. In the paume carre four players take part, either two against two, or three against one. Two dice are employed, and apparently only six men. In the "Lombard game" the mp player places his fifteen men on f, while the am player sets his on t. The "imperial" game the mp player has, at the outset, five men on p, five on s and the remainder on t; his opponent divides his men between k, g, and f. If the mp player brings all his men to the p-point before those of his adversary reach the a-point the former wins. In the "Provincial" variety the method of play is the same as in the "Imperial," except that the men of one side are all placed on the points g and f (and, supposedly, those of the other side on z and j). "Barali" is a game in which the am player sets his men on p and leads them through of to gm where they are thrown out. The subsequent details differ from those of any previously-named variety. In "fayis" (which we have heard of before under the name of foyle), the mp player places his men on t except two, which are on a; while his opponent has all his pieces on f, except two pieces, which are on y. As in most of the other varieties, captured men must return to their original table, and again begin their rounds. Three dice are used, but if only two are at hand, then, at each throw, the smaller number is regarded as doubled. Apparently the variety styled "myllis" most resembles the modern English backgammon, since the men are divided on each side among four or five points, one player having two on k, four on f, four on c and five on y; while the other has three men on g, three on d, three on e, three on b and three on a. Following these named varieties half a dozen other games are described by the author of the codex in closing, but without names. A comparison of this with similar oudos in continental libraries is greatly to be desired.

In Spain, if not elsewhere, we hear of table-boards made of precious materials and with great artistic skill, chiefly to be found, at a very early date, among the treasuries of royal and princely palaces (see pp. 89-90). We have not been able to discover any such previously adorned relics North of the Apennines, of a date earlier than the 15th century, but not a few, made in the two following centuries, are preserved in the great museums of Europe, notably at Nuremberg, Munich, Paris and London—one specimen, of some little interest, from South Germany, existing in the archeological museum of Munich. Thus, a, b, c, d, e, f, g, and h are not, however, as commonly as the costly early boards used for the game of chess, and when found are generally united with a chess-board. Their scarcity may be explained in various ways, the most plausible being the probable simplicity and cheapness of the boards used in early times. The game of tables, though often mentioned with chess, seems not to have been looked upon, either as so serious, so refined, or so courtly a diversion, and neither the material nor the workmanship of its implements would be so ornamental or so solid as in the higher class of chess-boards. Nor do the "points" of the backgammon-board yield themselves to the art of decoration as do the squares of the chess-board—so striking in their outlines and in their conjunction as to have been adopted as a decorative feature in all ages—even in lands like Egypt where chess was unknown—in all branches of art, and in every material. The earliest board for "tables" consisted doubtless of a simple design painted or drawn on a flat piece of wood, or perhaps canvas, with no costly adornments, no panneling, no inlaid work, no colours—just as we find so many schemes, employed for the various fine-games of the ancient world, scratched on the stone steps of public buildings, or on pavements of courts and terraces in Rome and elsewhere. Moreover it must be remembered that we have no artistic chess-boards until after the custom of distinguishing the squares by the different colours came in, and it is almost certain that the backgammon "points" were used a later period only outlined.

In regard to the mode of playing the game of tables we have no precise information earlier than the XIVth century, since we have no access to the text of the Escorial MS prepared by order of King Alfonso in the XIIIth. There were
at that time, as in later periods, many games differing, in more or less important ways, from each other. This was doubtless the case even in much earlier ages. Alfonso enumerates some fourteen or fifteen such varieties, while another MS, of English origin, gives eight; just as a recent French publication treats of eleven. Some of these games, like the various games of cards, doubtless had their periods of popularity and oblivion. Perhaps, as now with the different sorts of backgammon, some were more common in one land, while others were more played in other countries. This is one of the marked differences between tables (nard, backgammon) and chess. There is only one kind of chess, and all efforts made, in older and later times, to introduce varieties, have been failures. They have scarcely been proposed, perhaps propounded and explained in a whole printed volume, when they are forgotten. Another thing to be noted, in this regard, is the fact that the important element of tables is the board. Dice are used in other games than those practiced on the table-board, and may be even used for purposes of diversion, by themselves; while the counters, or men, belong to draughts, merelles, and other sports as much as they belong to backgammon. The board therefore is the only unique implement. Chess, on the other hand, possesses a board used in no other noteworthy game except in draughts, which is merely a derived and simplified form of chess, and the only enduring one which can claim such ancestry. The men employed on the chess-board are even more sui generis. There is nothing like them in any other sport possessing either age or importance. They have doubtless been imitated in cards, but cards go back only to a date comparatively modern. It is largely to this fact, namely, the exceptional character of the men, to which chess chiefly owes its individuality, and the slight modifications it has undergone through its long history. It is to the opposite characteristic that tables is indebted for its many varieties, so that, unlike chess, it even now bears different names in different countries.

Now we must go back to an older epoch and to lands outside of Europe. Although there is no doubt that chess originated in India, and grew to a high degree of perfection there long before it reached Arabia, yet the early Indian chess literature, which has come down to us, is insignificant indeed, when we compare it with the numerous treatises still existing in early Arabic. It was in fact in Arabia that the practical and analytic side of the game, no less than its history, really began to be seriously investigated. It is, therefore, perhaps not surprising that the oldest known allusion to chess in Sanskrit literature should be only a century earlier than the oldest known mention of it in Arabic letters. The name of the first Sanskrit writer is Ratnakara, an inhabitant of Cashmere, author of an important poem called Ha-ravinya in which the names of the chess-pieces are cited. His date is perfectly well known, as he was a subject and professed of a king of Cashmere, who reigned from A.D. 835 to 847. But it is noteworthy that the first known allusion to chess, as well as the first attempt to recount the origin of both chess and nard, belongs neither to Sanskrit nor Arabic literature, but to a peculiar period of what is customarily styled Middle-Persian literature, of which the written medium is known as Pahlavi. In 1778 the noted Semitist, 

166 See the admirable essay of the distinguished Sanskrit scholar Hermann Jacobi, "Über zwei ältere erwähnungen des schachspiels in der sanskrit-litteratur" in the "Schriften der deutschen auswärtigen ländlichen gesellschaft:" (1905, pp. 327-333).
of the East the Persian word nard has been adopted, with some changes of form, as the title of the game; he likewise mentions nard ardeshir (derived, he says, from the name of the inventor, Ardashir Babakan), which became nardsher, and remarks that a Hebrew lexicologist errs when he makes the last word signify "dade al-nard, i.e. tesserae nardis," the dice used at nard. He goes on to state that the Hebrews formed from the Greek the word "kubia" (from σφακός) as the name of the game; and that this word was also received into Arabic in almost the same form, a Turkish writer declaring that "el-quba" is the game which is called nard. Hyde makes the game identical with the "scripta duodecim" of the Latins, quoting many passages from classic authors. Of English names given to various games played on the table-board he enumerates "trio-trac" ("in Anglia vocamus tic-tac"), Irish, "back-gamon," "doublet" or "queens-game" (the last being in French, he says, "tables rabattables or dames rabattables, or dames auxillies"). He derives back-gamon, [sic] in the etymological manner of his age, from back-game-om, which he declares to be the same as "back again and then game on," referring to the forward and return movement of the men. The French title of a variety of tables, enquier, he tells us is in Flemish verkeer; in Danish forkeering and in German, verkehrung.

"The points of the tables" as he styles them in English, are called in French ragenons; in Italian, ossari; in Arabic, baṣūūṭ (sing. būt); in Persian bānaša (sing. bāna), signifying, in the last two languages named, "house." He records the appellations given to the die and dice in different tongues (writing erroneously in Danish, terming instead of terming), as Latin, tesserae (giving the derivation), and alæae; old Greek, ἄλας, but called in his dictionary of Hesychius γόλας; in modern Greek άλας, αλάς and αλα; in Turkish, ʔar, the writer taking care to assert that he does not know whether the Turkish comes from the modern Greek, or the modern Greek from the Turkish. He explains correctly the low Latin datus and its modern derivatives; then follows a chapter on the terms pügus, curricula and frutillas illustrated by many classical passages. It is in his chapter "De tesserae ac rubrius, et de lausibus," that Hyde cites the writer Cardanus, an Italian mathematical and miscellaneous author of the XVth century: "In our age the best known games of the table are with three dices, speratum, sperati and speratumus, whence the board itself is called speratumus. In the vulgar tongue of Italy they call them sbarrumus, &c." Calcidus seems to derive the name from sperando, but in Italian sbaurare signifies to "scatter" and sbarratum what is scattered. Other three moved games with two dices are: docadigitum, which is of two kinds, the small and great [the long]; also canis marinus, which demands much more ingenuity; and another game called minoreto, also of two sorts, major and minor." Hyde then informs us that Bernardo da Farigi says that sbarratum or sbarrato [see a later line], is the game which is called in Turkish tauli or tautili. Hyde then continues, saying that the Orientals have a peculiar kind of game at tables, which is generally known as tavola or tavola; another, more intricate, is called in Arabic muraqji, which has been explained as signifying speratum or res sperata, but whose in victory is often hoped for but not obtained; it is the same as the above named Flemish or Dutch werker; another is called turaki or taufalit, perhaps the same as the English tic-tac. Then he mentions a game of the Persians, stedid meaning "simple." The general name for

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²² For a more careful notice of one of the books here cited, see a letter, by the present writer, in the "Italian" of New York, LXII, 1899, pp. 138-134.
nardy in Sanskrit is dusav and a particular kind of it, oshaka-yudha (I). To learn that the board is used in India for a game called tohapa a wider; further on he gives extracts from the Greek (Agathas Chaumaticus) reciting the playing of tables by the emperor Zenon [d. 491]; and from the Persian, Firdausi, and the Arab, Ibn Kalkan—all in the original as well as Latin translations. Subsequently, he tells the various stories of the invention of nardy by Pala- medes, Arash, Bābak and others.

So much for Hyde, of whose haphazard erudition on this theme it is difficult to give any adequate idea; his chapters relating to the game, before he begins to treat of the pure dice games, are entitled: I. De nardiludis nominibus; II. De nardiludis tabellis; III. De tenoriis seu aleis; IV. De frustulis seu dieollilus lusoribus; V. De turriculis, tritilo, dco; VI. De pastac- rum jactibus et de lusibus et de aliquot vocabulis lusoribus; VII. De primario nardiludis scopo; VIII. De nardiludis antiquato et primo auctor, including a section styled "De nardiludio chinesis," it will be noticed, however, that the author is not very full or precise about the method of playing the various games or varieties which he names, but this is doubtless the result of the vagueness characterizing his Oriental and other sources.

The impressions then, which we get from these narratives relating to nard are, firstly, that its origin, if we may regard the mythical accounts as of any historical value, is to be assigned to Persia rather than to India, although chess and nard apparently make their earliest historical appearance in contiguous regions of those two lands; secondly, that among the Arabic peoples, at all events, nard preceded chess, or was at least as early as it. The Mohammedan legal traditions, as Dr. Van der Linde points out ("Quellen- studien," p. 7), allude to nard as existing in the Prophet's life-time, but make no mention of chess before his death. The first clear contemporary reference to Arabic chess is in a letter (760) written by the Caliph Mahdi, rebuking the people of Mecca for their loose habits, among them being the practice of playing both nard and chess; and in the so-called "Kitab el-ghanî," apparently a poetical miscellany—the compiler of which died in 907, we find mention of nard, chess and of a game which resembled morris as well. The first Arabic author of a practical work on chess is stated to be el-Adl, a noted player, the date of whose treatise is uncertain, but is seemingly to be placed before 802 who is reported to have likewise composed a book on nard ("Kitab el-nard"). The two games long continued to exist side by side, and to be contrasted with each other, in the Arabic world, for in the XVIIth century Mohammed Sunki, of Damascus (Hyde, II, p. 54, cited also by V. d. Linde, "Quellenstudien," p. 24) wrote a work to prove the superiority of chess to nard. In the Gama, or Babylonian Talmud, appears, in a Hebrew form from the Persian, the word nardm, and others, all agreeing in the opinion that it signifies a game either identical with, or similar to nard. The word is also cited by Prophit Duran (known by Ephedron), a Hebrew from Northern Spain, in 1405—its latest appearance in Europe according to Dr. M. Steinmiescher's exhaustive "Schach bei den Juden" (see V. d. Linde's "Geschichte," I, p. 157). No reference to chess occurs in the Talmud. It is historically significant that the Byzantine Greek did not receive the word nard from Arabic, Persian, or Hebrew sources. They only knew the game by its Latin title, which they adopted, and from which they made several derivatives (see p. 81), proving that the diversion came to the Greek world from the West, that is by way of Italy. On the other hand Byzantium, as the reader will remember, first obtained the game of chess and its name (καρπος) from the Arabs, at a time when its people had already come into contact with their subsequent conquerors. Nard, then, must have already had time to assume its European appellation (tables) before its receipt by the Beothrops—a important consideration, etc.

Nearly all English writers—e.g., from Hyde in 1624 to Wright 1599—just as they make "tables" the same as backgammon, also regard backgammon as the modern representative of "nard." All that we have written makes us therefore ready—after the style of so many chess historians—for a series of conjectures, which is as follows: The existence of the game we are investigating may be divided into three stages; 1. The period of nard, from its invention or earliest appearance in Southwestern Asia—according to one tradition in Persia—before A.D. 600, to its arrival in Europe (shall we say in Spain, or in Italy during the Arabic occupation of Sicily?) during which period, so far as we can learn, it was always played with thirty men, whose movements were made in accordance with the casting of dice on a board of twenty-one or twenty-two points; 2. The period of tables, from its arrival in Spain or Italy, coming from the Arabic world, to the XVIIth century. In Europe it would find a more or less corrupted Latin tongue still in use in Italy, and, possibly existing there and elsewhere, the traditions of an old Latin game called tabula or tabulae (mentioned under one of those names by Justinian in the fifth century, and by Isidore of Seville in the VIIth century. Perhaps the old name of the game itself was still lingering, being possibly the Roman duode- cim scripta. Because, in this newly-landed game, each player had really his own "table," with its twelve points, it took the name of tabulae (tubus tabularum) whence "tavole" and "tables," the dice used being called by a low Latin name, dadi. Unfortunately, during the early half of this period, beyond the fact that the game was played on a flat table (somehow divided into two parts), and that the throw of the dice directed the movements of the pieces, we cannot, at present, give any detailed account of its method of play; in the latter part of the period we know much more about it. 3. The period of backgammon, (trictrac) from the XVIIth century until the present time, played, like the ancient nard, with thirty men on twelve points, with the essential assistance of dice, and, like the medieval tables, on a board divided into two parts, each with its two subdivisions. The change of name was not unlikely owing to the predominating popularity of a single variety of the game styled backgammon (or, on the continent, trictrac) aided by the fact that "tables" began to be regarded as a generic term for all diversions whose movements were carried on upon a flat surface, or table.

61 Chess can hardly be regarded as a game of great popularity in the new Greece, although the country's literary literature possesses a manual of its practice, but among those who do play it the old Arabian-Byzantine term is still employed, altering with other, one of the numerous loan-words from the Italian (coaching) to daily use in all the Greek towns.
and was no longer suitable for a special "table-game." After the completion of the change from the Asiatic-European to the better developed and more attractive modern chess—a process virtually ended, say in 1475—tables were less and less practiced, and was nearly superseded, in higher circles, by its rival and perfected rival Indian game. But the former was in time again revived, perhaps with prettier and more decorative boards—generally united with chessboards—with more neatly made dice-boxes and other attractive changes in the apparatus or in the mode of play, after which its new names—backgammon, trictrac, puff—quite superseded its old one—only a shadowy form of which was left in the languages of the two Southern European peninsula. It need not be said that to make all these hypotheses absolute certainties, a good deal of extended and careful research is needed. But on the whole we think that, after all the statements made, there is no longer much doubt that we may fairly be allowed to consider hard-table backgammon as one continuous development, continuing the story of a single intellectual outgrowth during some 1300 or 1400 years of existence.

The variation of the problem which remains unsolved and possibly unsolvable, is the light in which we are to consider the old Roman game, duodecim scripta, the twelve-line diversion, which so many investigators have declared to be identical with the modern backgammon. Is there really any historical connection between the two? Did hard reach Rome at a very early day by some mysterious route—by means of traders, or wanderers, or by the slow process of tribal contact, and taking a new name become naturalized? Or did an original Latin or Etruscan or Pelasgic game make its way to the lands beyond the Tigris, and be there re-christened hard? Or did the duodecim scripta die with Imperial Rome, or slumber, half-forgotten, until its Oriental congener reached the Italian shores—so like in form to the Roman amusement that its arrival was virtually a revival? 111 We have spoken (p. 122, note) of a remarkable publication by one of the most remarkable scholars of our day, Domenico Comparati, being an essay upon an ancient Roman mirror, having on its reverse the graceful figures of two youths engaged at the game of duodecim scripta. We reproduce here (fig. 17) the table as there represented, but without the figures beside it. We have already noticed that no men are visible on the table. In the complete design the male figure at the left has his left arm raised with the hand extended, palm upwards, and nearly open, but as if it held some small object, or objects, not quite visible. The right hand points to the lines on the board and is resting just above them. Comparati seems to think that the elevated hand holds the dice preparatory to throwing them, while the hand's position indicates to the fair player opposite that the game is about to begin. It will be seen that the board has twelve lines, with an open space around them just inside the board's margin, that is to say that the scheme is not unlike that of tables-backgammon, except that here the twelve points formed

by the ends of the lines on each side begin at the centre of the board and run toward the margin, whereas in backgammon they start from the outer margin of the board, on either side, and run toward the center. Comparati likewise suggests that the men are absent because the game has not yet come into such perfect form that may be the interpretation of this noteworthy relic of antiquity, it is satisfactory that we have at length some trustworthy testimony as to the exact shape of the apparatus used in this old Roman game. Whether it helps to establish any real relation to the game we have been treating of at such length, is another matter—one to be decided hereafter.

An event which was not without its influence upon the old "tables," as upon the other games of its period, particularly those into which chance largely entered, was the introduction into use of playing-cards, a form of gaming in many respects both more convenient and more attractive than that afforded by dice. This new medium of diversion contributed, doubtless, on the one hand, to the decadence of "tables," and on the other, perhaps, led to the modification of the principal form of the ancient table-game, and especially to its change of name—until it finally assumed the title, in England, of "backgammon" and, in France, of "trictrac." Nor is it impossible that the same incident had something to do with the debasement of the morris game, and its banishment from court circles to become the amusement of rude rustic. Cards, manufactured from cotton, were pretty surely known in Spain as early as the last quarter of the Xlith century, and very soon thereafter in Italy; their use had already spread to France and Holland in the latter half of the XlVth; and in 1605 their introduction, as well as that of chessmen, into England was forbidden (act 4. Edward IV, iv, 1) for the benefit of the home-made articles; and a play of 1400 has the phrase, "Using cards, dice and copses small." Chess, as a game of pure skill, suffered less from the popularity of cards, in spite of the fact that the new mode of diversion owed many of its features to the Indian game, having to do, like that, with kings, and queens and knights (knaves), and having both its figures of high degree (the court cards, or, more properly, the "coat cards") and its pawn-like forces of low degree (the spot-cards). Allusions to the medieval game of tables are perhaps more frequent in the old French than in any other language literature. In looking at the practical side of modern backgammon, its assumed successor, we shall therefore begin with France. We give, in a foot-note, a brief account of an interesting and elaborate French XVIIIth century manual of the game by Soumillon, in which we find how little is the difference between the trictrac of then and now. 112 The most pretentious modern treatment of the game, in

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111 One of the notable books in the scanty literature of backgammon is that of the abbé Soumillon, "Le grand Trictrac," the second edition of which was published at Avignon 1756 (P., pp. 428). Rich in style and neat typography make it an attractive volume. It contains many scores of positions on diagrams, which occur between two players, classically denominated "Claris and Damon." The latter has the lower part of the board (or that nearer the reader), equivalent to the posts given to "white" in chess trea-tises, while Claris is supposed at either point, or at the upper side of the board (like "black"). The tactical matters are very fully explained, though no allusion to the history of the game is anywhere made. Each of the four divisions, having six pales, into which the board is divided, is called a jam; each player thus has two jams; the one in which the men are piled up at the commencement of the game is called the petit-jam, the other the grand-jam. Various positions brought about by different throws of the dice are likened styled jams—the jam de rencontre, for instance, being two exactly similar (or equal) first throws by the two
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and the counters, had its origin in the two Greek words πιός πιόυς, which signify thrice difficult to play and to understand. The abbé Barthélemy in his "Voyage d'Achasarins," claims that it was practiced at Athens. It is proved that the Romans knew it. They called it duodema scripta, or ludus XII scriptorum, as is demonstrated by Salmasius, 1638, in his special treatise, in which he compares the ancient with the modern trictrac. But in its progressive game this has undergone an infinitude of changes before the point where we now find it. At first, probably its devotees played the kind which we call damas rabattues, which is of great
daurier fase 12 troup de suite sans interruption. La grande-brédoule ne sa pas qu'autant qu'en est connu au commencement du jeu : alors celui qui fait 12 troup de suite gagne double enjeu, c'est-à-dire, aussi qu'il gagnait deux parties. Le premier qui commence à marquer, n'a pas droit de distinguer son foible ; mais l'homme est interrompu par le second, celui-ci met une marque à son foible, qu'on appelle orant, c'est un jeton pareil, et un morceau de papier, qui sert à constater la suite noninterrompue de ses troup. Cela n'est pas né dans la grande-brédoule, il quand le premier peut à son tour interrompre le second, il lui est donné l'orant, et alors il n'aurait rien à poursuivre sur la grande-brédoule. C'est en usage dans certains pays de faire payer un ouvrage à celui qui ne passe pas la suite, c'est-à-dire, que ne fait pas au moins 7 troup avant que l'autre n'ai achat le leur. Mais la grande-brédoule, comme le passage du jeu, dépendent absolument de la convention mutuelle des joueurs au commencement du jeu."

"Et les "damas" de l'abbé Abraham, du nom de l'ambassadeur de Venise, et des dates de l'abbé Abraham, sont des jeux de table, ou on peut jouer n'importe où.---Le second, il est parfois le seul mode d'éducation des classes supérieures de la noblesse.---Le damas est parti de ces jeux et, par suite, il est plus ancien que le jeu de dame.---Les damas se jouent souvent en présence de deux ou trois joueurs, et il est impossible de dire qui a gagné sans compter les pièces.---Le jeu de dame est un jeu de table, qui est joué en partie et ensuite, et il a été inventé en Angleterre.---Le damas se joue en partie et ensuite, et il peut être joué par deux ou plusieurs personnes, et il est plus ancien que le jeu de dame.---Le damas est un jeu de table, qui est joué en partie et ensuite, et il a été inventé en Angleterre.---Le damas se joue en partie et ensuite, et il peut être joué par deux ou plusieurs personnes, et il est plus ancien que le jeu de dame.---Le damas est un jeu de table, qui est joué en partie et ensuite, et il a été inventé en Angleterre.---Le damas se joue en partie et ensuite, et il peut être joué par deux ou plusieurs personnes, et il est plus ancien que le jeu de dame.---Le damas est un jeu de table, qui est joué en partie et ensuite, et il a été inventé en Angleterre.---Le damas se joue en partie et ensuite, et il peut être joué par deux ou plusieurs personnes, et il est plus ancien que le jeu de dame.---Le damas est un jeu de table, qui est joué en partie et ensuite, et il a été inventé en Angleterre.---Le damas se joue en partie et ensuite, et il peut être joué par deux ou plusieurs personnes, et il est plus ancien que le jeu de dame.---Le damas est un jeu de table, qui est joué en partie et ensuite, et il a été inventé en Angleterre.---Le damas se joue en partie et ensuite, et il peut être joué par deux ou plusieurs personnes, et il est plus ancien que le jeu de dame.---Le damas est un jeu de table, qui est joué en partie et ensuite, et il a été inventé en Angleterre.---Le damas se joue en partie et ensuite, et il peut être joué par deux ou plusieurs personnes, et il est plus ancien que le jeu de dame.---Le damas est un jeu de table, qui est joué en partie et ensuite, et il a été inventé en Angleterre.---Le damas se joue en partie et ensuite, et il peut être joué par deux ou plusieurs personnes, et il est plus ancien que le jeu de dame.---Le damas est un jeu de table, qui est joue..."
simplicity, offering little scope for combinations; next came jacquet, scarcely more complex. We may regard as somewhat later garvanget, and the game of toute-table or gammon; and as coming last of all tritractac, made up from all the different table games, the invention of which appears to date from the XVth century. This last game has itself undergone modifications; and its rules were not definitely established until about the commencement of the reign of Louis XIV, at which time it was enthusiastically cultivated by persons of quality. Regnard presents us a player possessed of the demon of tritractac and makes him say: (a. i., sc. IV):

Une douce mandite
Ma coite en un membre doux treve seul de suite;
Que je neu un grand chien! Parbleus, je te saurai,
Mandite jeu de tri tractac; ou bien je ne peuirai.

A little further on (a. i., sc. X) the poet puts these lines into the mouth of a certain chemaliuer d'industrie:

Je suis pour vous servir, gentilhomme avvergne,
Doutant dans tous les jeux et maîtres de tritractac;
Mon nom est Tont-a-Rûs, vicomte de la Chase,
Et votre serviteur, pour tendremon ma phrase,

Je suis dans tritractac, quand il faut un bonnet,
Glaiser des dés hezvex ou chagrin ou piège,
Et quand non pleon est fait, gardant mes avantages,
J'en subis tout comme d'autres prodiges et nages,
Qui s'offrent à mon gout que des & de tous coups,
Mo sert en un instant ouiller douce truac.'

"Je vous, par mon savoir extrême,
Que vous assesties un de doux temps-même.

The italicised words in these citations are terms used at backgammon. The poet, Jean François Regnard, lived between the years 1655 and 1709. The editor of the "Encyclopédie" thus continues: "The changes which su- pervened in court manners at the end of the reign of Louis XIV led gradually to less practice of tritractac, which nevertheless still remains a favourite household game, and, in its modern form, known as tri tractac or écrire, is yet held in honour in many drawing-rooms. The Greek etymology of the word tritractac, if it were authentic, would not signify that the game is extremely complicated in its method of play; it would mean only that, to be played well, it demands much presence of mind and quiet calculation." Mr. Moulard is evidently no very profound Grecian. The huge Larousse cyclopédic dictionary also has a historical reference to the game. After mentioning its invention by the Persians it goes on to say "Mais il est certain que les anciens connaissaient des jeux analogues au tritractac lui-même; tels étaient, entre autres, le diagrammos des Greces et le duodena scripta des Romains. On le trouve désigné, dans les auteurs du moyen âge, sous le nom du jeu de tabeles, qu'il porte encore aujourd'hui en allemand (brettspiel), et en Portugais (jogo de tabejas)." The last statement is not wholly accurate as far as the modern German is concerned, brettspiel being generally employed as a generic term for all games played on a board. No infrequent are the appearances of backgammon in the literature of the French lands. As we shall see, when treating of the technical vocabu

lary of tritractac, the game was known to Rabelais in the XVth century. A passage ascribed to the poet Villon in the same century, to which we shall also refer later on, contains the word tritractac, but not as the denomination of a game. François de Bonnivard (b. 1496)—the original hero of Byron's "Prisoner of Chillon"—in his "Chronique de Genève" (IV, 4), says that before the battle of Pavia (1525) the Spanish and the French "se pour- menoient sur le piedmont et y jouoient au tri tractac." Nearly of the same time is the occurrence of the word in Etienne Pasquier's "Recherches" (1560) in a passage soon to be cited. The word is found in several early Latin treatises on games. Salmasius tells us that "pretser tris tractac quem vocamus, altum etiam ludum cum tesseris et calculis in tabula lusistare consuevit," he speaks also of what both French and English authors long called the "grand tris tractac," saying "hodie in eo tri tractac generis quene magnum vulgo vocant," while Bulenger (1606) informs us that "apud nos hodie 12 lineas, 24 [1] calculi, vocamus majorem tris tractacum." In the same way, many years before, Hyde shows himself familiar with the word, without giving it a Latin form, as when he comments on the extremely complicated character of French tris tractac: "Inter lusus ad tabulam, omnium difficultissimus est Gallorum tris tractac, quem modo sibi peculiari exercent." The essayist, La Bruyère (1646-1696), in his "Caractères" (1688), has an amusing description of a distracted backgammon player: "Il joue au tris tractac; il demande à boire, on lui en apporte: c'est à lui jouer, il tient le cornet d'une main et un verre de l'autre, et, comme il a une grande soif, il avale les dés et presque le cornet, jette le verre d'eau dans le tris tractac et envoie contre qui il joue." In a private letter Madame de Maintenon, the consort of Louis XIV, says "Mme. de Dangeau demandera, en bâillant, un tris tractac... voila comme on vit à la cour." This is in a communication to the duc de Noailles, dated January 7, 1700. Some years before, Madame Desjardins, better known as Madame de Villedeux (1631-1683), allows us to catch a glimpse of the game in two countries as it were. She says, late in the XVIIth century, writing about Holland: "Nous jouions ensemble au reverbrier, qui est le tris tractac de ce pays-là." In a previous generation we find a minor writer (Etienne Tabouret, known as the seigneur des Accords, whose book was published in 1648) employing the word tris tractacair in the sense of a player of tris tractac, reminding us of the Dutch nikskuk. Voltaire says, in a letter dated December 8, 1767: "L'avance que ce peuple [les Indiens] dont nous tenons les échos, le tris tractac... est malheureusement d'une superstition qui effraie la nature." If we mistake not it was the Swiss littérateur Bonstetten, who said about the beginning of the XIXth century:

Mais lors que soulaxant ses yeux visiblement ressensible,
Il faut le tris tractac et les cartes mises.

Another and a greater writer, who died nearly two generations since, Balzac, the admiral of Thackery, spoke of backgammon in less pleasant terms: "Le bruit du tris tractac est insupportable à ceux qui ne savent pas ce jeu, un des plus difficiles qui existent." The game has produced in France one or two singular phrases, such as that which characterizes an able player at backgammon as one who is able to obturer bien du bois—the bois referring to the wooden men. We must leave other passages containing direct or
remote references to the game, or to the terms and phrases used by its players, until we have given some account of the game itself as practiced by the French.

The Mouillards manual describes, first of all, trictrac, to which, as the principal form of backgammon in France, it devotes no fewer than thirty-five pages. This section is occupied first with the apparatus employed, then with the general method of play; afterwards follow sections on the dice and their possible combinations, on l'école, on the jans, on the bredouilles, on privileges allowed under certain circumstances to the players, on the methods of counting and marking, on the value of the different coups; to these succeed a vocabulary of terms, the laws of the game, advice to the players, and thereafter a complete game, recorded in detail and illustrated with notes and diagrams of positions. The apparatus of the game, as we are told, consists of the board, the fifteen black and fifteen white men, the three bredouilles for marking the minor points, the two fichets, or pieces of ivory of wood, for marking the game points, and the two dice.

Each player begins by placing his fifteen pieces in three piles, of five men each, on the talon, which is the first or starting point. The writer observes that almost all the rules published at the present time state that the talon is the point on the board at the extreme left of each player. This is a grave error. It is the extreme left point for one player, and the extreme right point for his adversary, since it is necessary that the two talons should be opposite each other. If the play take place during the day, the board is to be opened near a window and the men are to be piled on the side which is more remote from the light. That is to say, if the window be at the left of one player and at the right of another, the first places his pieces on the first point to the right and the second on his first point to the left, in such a manner that the men of both parties are opposite the light. The pieces of one color are then moved in a direction opposite to that taken by the pieces of the other color; while, if the two players place their talons, both either at their right hand or their left, as other contemporary manuals explain, the pieces of both would move in the same direction, which would not produce the result desired, since each player is to make with his men the corner of the table, starting from his talon, and finishing at the point opposite to it. That is at the talon of his opponent. If a game be played at night, then the talons are at the end of the board farthest from the lamp, or other principal light in the apartment. By agreement, however, the talons can be fixed, and the game begun at the other extremity of the board. Each player plays, in any case, through his own side of the board and then around into the opposite corner of the table; that is, if the player's point be the valve 1 to 6, that is the quarter of the board from 1 to 6, is called the petit jan, and that from 7 to 12 the grand jan. In moving, according to the numbers thrown with the dice, the talon is not counted, so that if a six-throw is to be played it would go to the point marked 7. In deciding upon first moves, each player throws one die, and the player having the larger number of pips opens the game. The names given to the doubles by Mouillards are: double aoe, double amba, dou- lette as; and then in their order, double deau; terme ou tourne; quatre ou carme; quine; and somnex. If a player fail to mark his points before again touching his men, his adversary adds the points to his own score, which action is called, as in Souvilles's time, eneoyer son adversaire à l'école.

Stray Notes

We are furthermore told, as an etymological guess, that the word jan comes from Janus, *a* Roman divinity having many faces, thereby symbolically designating the divers aspects in which trictrac may be viewed—the jan being a coup which may result to the advantage or the disadvantage of either side (another writer—it may be stated in passing—suggests its derivation from the proper name Jeam, perhaps in its sense of "Jack"). These coups are eleven in number: the jan de sies tables ou de trois coups; the jan de deux tables; the contre-jan de deux tables; the jan de medias ou Medias (written both with and without a capital initial); the contre-jan de medias; the petit jan; the grand jan; the jan de retour; the jan de reste; the jan qui ne peut; the jan de remembre. Most of these jan count in favor of the player, who, by the throw of the dice either may or must effectuate them (that is, bring about the positions indicated by their names); in some other cases they count in favor of his adversary.

In order to understand what a jan of this sort is, we translate the descriptions of two: "The 'jan of six tables,' or 'of three moves,' is when, at the beginning of a game, a player is able to move six of his pieces by three casts of the dice, five to points 2-6 and one to point 7, called the somnex point. It counts for four (minor) points for the player making it. The 'jan de retour' is when one has occupied, by more than a single piece, each point in the adversary's first quarter of the board, called the petit jan." Again, we learn that a player is said to be en bredouille when he makes twelve points before his adversary's move, or after his adversary has played a single point. La grande bredouille is when the player has made two game-points (trous), his opponent having scored none (the bredouilles, as the reader will recall, also signify the three round counters mentioned above, used to score the minor points as they are made); when twelve such minor or playing points have been made, the player scores them as one game-point, with his clichet in the holes on the rim of his side of the board.

We group together, without attempting to class them in their proper order, some other notable rules and particularities of trictrac. The player winning the first twelve points, or, which amounts to the same thing, scoring his first game-point (trou), is entitled to say whether he will "go off" (s'en aller), or whether he will "hold on" (tenir), that is, continue to play the game as it stands. In the former case, the points made by his opponent are wiped out (as are his own surplus points above the twelve demanded for his game-point), and the pieces of both parties are re-entered, as before, on the talon of each player in three piles. A renewal (reprise), that is, a second section of the partie, is then begun. If the winner of the first section does not declare his intention to "go off," then the play, after he has marked his trou, goes on; as previously, the defeated player keeping the points he has already gained, and the winner marking those remaining, if any, after he has used twelve to make his own trou. It is often difficult to determine whether the winner of the trou shall insist upon commencing anew, or whether he shall risk a continuation of the game from its existing position. If he consider the state of the game so favorable for himself that it outweighs the minor points already secured by the loser, and with which he will begin his scoring in the reprise, then he will decide to go on. Otherwise, he goes off. As the game progresses, each combatant—a matter to which we allude elsewhere—must carefully watch the play of the other, since each
reckons not only the points he himself makes, but also those which his opponent through carelessness fails to score. If a player declare himself in a position to make a "hit" (a situation in which he might, by the rules of English backgammon, capture a man), his opponent must see that it would not be a false "hit" (a case of battue à faux). Such a false "hit" is what he will refuse to play when he throws say, 6 and 3, might "hit the blot," if the numbers of the dice were played in combination (as 9), but which could not do so when played singly (as 6 and then 3), because both the third and the sixth point from the man to be moved are covered—that is to say, are each occupied by more than one hostile man, thus barring the removal of an adversary's man to either. Another peculiarity of scoring is that when a block of six covered points exists, and one player, being unable to pass it, cannot play any of his men, his opponent scores two minor points for each successive cast of the dice which cannot be utilized.

We add the briefest possible definitions of the games, other than trictrac, which are played in France on the backgammon-board. The trictrac à derive is a game composed of a large number of points, so that the points cannot be marked by the pegs and trous, and must therefore be written. Its rules differ very slightly from those of the ordinary trictrac. A modification of it is the trictrac à la chemiset, played by two persons against one, the one who is alone moving continuously to the end of the game, the other two alternately after having scored twice; another modification is the trictrac à tourner, the players being likewise three, each playing for himself. In the beginning two combine against one, but the first one of the two who loses a point, that is, makes an error, goes out, but apparently resumes his place, when one of the actual players loses two points. The one of the three first obtaining the score agrees upon, wins the game. A second prominent variety, garamujet, is played with three dice. The men are entered at the beginning as in trictrac. When two of the dice thrown are alike, (that is, form a doublet) they are played doubly (that is, as if they had been four dice, each with the same number of points); if all three dice at one throw are alike, that is, if they form a triplet, they are played three times. The jeu du toc is the tokatokui or tokokodie of the Germans. The pieces are placed as at trictrac; they move in the same manner. The marking is, in general, the same, but the game is only a short one—he who scores first twelve minor points winning it. The movements of the men appear to be limited to the petit jam, that is to securing the six points of that quarter of the board. The jeu du plein is a variety of trictrac in which a player scores the game, having made a plein ("full"), that is, having secured, by at least two places in each, every point in that division of the board known as the grand jam. In the jeu du toc doublets do not count double, which they do in the jeu du plein. We are told that the title of the variety denominated reretier is derived from the Latin reretere meaning to turn, because the player causes his men to make the tour of the table, returning them into the division from which they started. Here the two players set the three piles of their men each on the extreme corner point at the left of his adversary. Their march is at first from the opponent's left to his right; having reached the extreme right corner of the opponent they pass on to and through the extreme left point of the player, and continue from his left to his right. One or two new terms are used in this game, but the rules, except as they concern the original placing of the men and the course of their march, are very much the same as in trictrac. The next variety is known as jacquet. We must first observe that, contrary to the statement of Moullards, Littre makes this to be the same as the ordinary English backgammon. "C'est le même," he says, "que les Anglais nomment backgammon, et qu'en France on appelait autrefois toutes-tables, parce que les joueurs placent, en commençant, leurs dés sur toutes les tables du trictrac." It may be that jacquet was once styled toutes-tables (toute-table), but there is no doubt that the variety now so called is nearly or quite identical with our usual game. But to return to Moullards. The men in jacquet are set as at reretier. A peculiar feature is that the men cannot be doubled upon any point until one of them has been made to pass through all four divisions of the board—this advanced piece receiving the name of the courier. To take him to his destination the player usually avails himself of his first doublet. Having thus pushed forward his courier the player may then proceed by advancing the others, by establishing cases (that is, by securing points through placing at least two men upon them), or by barring the passage of his adversary. The men who are not able to reach the fourth division receive the name of cocconnet; and a player left with a single cocconnet on his hands loses the game. The doublets are quadruplets (that is, double fives, for instance, count as twenty). A variety of jacquet is styled the jacquet de Versailles, and was invented to accelerate the game. Here, instead of multiplying the doublets by four, each number of the doublets thrown is multiplied by itself, thus double one (one by one) is reckoned as only one; double two (two by two) gives the player the right to play four points; while double six (six by six) permits him to play thirty-six. There are one or two minor changes in the rules, otherwise the game resembles the usual jacquet. The word jacquet may, or may not be connected with the Spanish name of backgammon, choques—in regard to which question see the pages which follow. The next game, jeu de toute-table, differs essentially from trictrac, being the ordinary, old-fashioned English game of backgammon, as it has been played by the Anglo-Saxon race for the last three or four centuries—the men, of course, placed in the beginning as in the figure given later on, in the section relating to the game in England. Moullards says: "Le jeu de toute-table est à peu près oublié en France, mais il est encore très répandu en Angleterre, sous le nom de backgammon." The jeu de tourne-case, says the compiler, "is an original variety of trictrac, in which each of the two players has only three men which are to be moved until they are united on the last corner point, hence the name of the game—tourne [turne] having signified three as an old technical term in games." The men are placed outside of the board—the three (as his left, as they are to be moved [after duly entering each at the first point of the player's tablet] one after the other to the corner of the second table which is at his right; the other player puts his pieces at his right and has to play them to the corner at his left. In this way the men of the two players start from the same side and move in the same direction on opposite tables. If either player throws a doublet, it is counted only as one, that is a double six is treated as six. A singular law is that each player must advance his men in order, as they are not permitted to pass each other. If, for instance, a player's first move is three points, and at the second he has the right to play four points, he must move the same counter, since the second
cannot go beyond the first, nor the third beyond the second. Nor can they be placed on the same point, except at the twelfth or final point (the coin de repos). The course of the men is thus one of peril, since they are frequently captured by the enemy. A piece is captured when a piece of the adversary can be placed upon the point in the opposite board occupying the same position and bearing the same number. To give an example, suppose that a player has a man on his seventh point, and that the adversary puts one of his men on his seventh point, exactly opposite that of the first player; the piece of the first player is captured, and the player must remove it from the board, putting it in its original position, from which it must recommence its march. He who first unites his three men on the twelfth point gains the partie. If he do this before his opponent has brought a single man to the coin de repos he wins a partie double.

The final variety described in this French treatise is styled les dames rabattues; that is to say, the game of the "rubbish men." It is one of the simplest of table-games, being one of pure chance. Its name comes from the fact that its players are obliged to "bring down" (rabattre), from the piles in which they lie, one of their men after the other. Each player puts his fifteen men in the side of his board nearest the light, in six piles thus: two on each of the three points less lighted and three on each of the three points nearest to the separating bar (or the hinges) of the board. There are then three piles of two each, and three piles of three each. The object is to bring down the whole game, one by one, and to make the player who has completed the march of all his men retire again and in accordance with the casts of the dice, as they were before. He who succeeds in first doing this is the winner in this very artless game.

The summarized account which we have given of the methods employed in trictrac, the principal form of backgammon in France, shows that the game has undergone little change in that country during the last two centuries. It is, in every important respect, identical with the description which we find in the abbé Soumille's treatise "Le grand trictrac," the first edition of which appeared in 1738. The older work, however, not only presents us a picture of the game in far greater detail, but is much more systematic in its arrangement and clearer in its language. The volume, except in its utter lack of historical information, is, in fact, one of the most comprehensive and interesting productions ever devoted to any game or sport. Its pages are almost wholly occupied with the single game called trictrac, although it describes briefly the trictrac à dercire, and a very simple diversion on the backgammon-board styled courir la pousle, in which four or five players may take part (pp. 321-2). How far back this trictrac game goes, and how far it represents the most common variety of the medieval "tables" it is, of course, not easy to decide.

Three things will strike the English observer, as he becomes familiar with the French trictrac, namely, that, in several characteristics, it differs widely from any kind of backgammon known to the Anglo-Saxon world. In the first place, its method of counting consists in points gained by bringing about, with the help of the dice, certain particular positions; by penalties imposed on the adversary for errors and omissions, and by ability to attack ("hit") the weak points of the opponent. In the second place—and this has to do with the final peculiarity just mentioned—the French game admits of no captures. A player is not allowed to put himself in the position of "hitting a blot." In other words, he receives a certain number of points when he is able to capture an enemy's man standing alone on one of the points of the board, but he cannot proceed to actually capture the piece. In the third place, the points to be scored, to which we have hitherto alluded, and which we have ventured to call minor points, are marked by three tally-men, of which one is in use by one player and two by the other at different periods of the game. Moves, positions, threats to capture and the like sometimes count more, when they are, or might be effected as a result of having thrown doubles. When these minor playing-points amount to twelve or more, they form a major, or game-point, which is scored by means of a peg in one of the holes on the rim of the board, as we have previously explained. In the fourth place, a final noticeable dissimilarity between this French variety and the older English one consists in the fact that in the former the men are never "thrown out" of the board, or in any way removed from it. When the peg, scoring the major points, has been advanced through a certain number of holes agreed upon, or through all the twelve holes in the one or the other side of the board, the game is ended, leaving all the men in the board. It will be seen from what we have said, that trictrac is an amusement demanding much closer attention than either of the usual English games. This partly arises from the necessity of keeping the score as the game proceeds, partly from the number of possible positions, through the attainment of which the score may be increased, and partly from the necessity of attending not only to the points made by one's own play, but to the points which one's opponent omits to make.

To understand completely the philological character and relations of the word trictrac much further investigation is necessary. The word has more meanings than one, and it is difficult to say which is the original sense. In old French it signified, we are told by one authority, both the noise of dice—for that reason becoming the name of a game played with dice—and the noise made by hunters to frighten up ducks and other birds. It was also employed in the sense of the French tréteau, that is "court," "attendants," "équipage," "movement," and so on.—Littré citing the following as an illustration of this last signification: "Mettre la patience sur les peuples, et considérer le trictrac du monde d'aujourd'hui, qui est autant fou que jamais." This is from the letters (tome II, p. 421) of Guî Patin (1602-1672), and the word has here apparently the sense of "goings-on" or "march" (possibly resulting from its use to imply noise or confusion). Trictrac also means what in French is called quinconce, a word which comes from the Latin quintum co(c)unque s(m)atur, and which in the Roman tongue means a copper coin marked by (five) points, or small balls, to represent its value, being five-twelfths of the as. The French word quinconce however denotes—more definitely speaking—an arrangement of objects in relation to each other like the points, or circular "eyes," on the
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dice used in playing backgammon. It occurs in the technical phrase en tric-trac applied to a plantation of trees, or other plants arranged in straight lines, but why such a phrase is used in arboreturic no French dictionary-maker has apparently been able to comprehend or ascertain. It comes, without doubt, from the resemblance of rows of plants, so arranged, to the lines of points on a backgammon-board. A similar phrase, en échiquier, is likewise employed by writers on the culture of trees—implying a distribution of plants in transverse lines like the squares of a chess-board. Another technical meaning of tric trac, used among hunters, is defined by Larousse, in his "Grand dictionnaire universel" (sub voce), as a "bruit fait par des chasseurs pour affoîcher les oiseaux aquatiques lorsqu'ils veulent les faire tomber dans leurs pièges." Still another is a name applied to an "Ancien moulin à tabac manœuvré à bras," or, as it is defined, at greater length, by Littre, as the "Noms de certains moulinets pour le tabac, à vis de serrage et bride supérieure, qui étaient manœuvrés par les hommes agissant directement à l'extrémité de leviers fixés au sommet de l'arbre vertical de la machine." Finally it serves as the vulgar name of two birds, better known in French as the "draïne" and the "trouset." But all these last definitions have nothing to do with the game of backgammon; they only serve to show that the word tric trac, as the representative of a peculiar sound, is of wide extent and great age. As we have elsewhere remarked, the very early occurrence of tric trac (in the writings of Villon, or, one of his contemporaries in the XVi century) seems to be in the sense of "noisily." From this, and other instances near that date, it would appear as if the word were already in use before its application to the game of backgammon, that is to say while the word "table" was still the general term to denote the game, or an old form of the game. Originally, then, as we feel authorized to suppose, tric trac was one of a class of vocables formed by duplication, either through rhyme, with a differing initial, like "hurry-burry," or through a change of vowel in the two elements, as "knick-knack" and "zig-zag." This class of words is a very large one, and has not yet been adequately nor very scientifically studied. Not all of them are onomatopoeic. Moreover, such words are often formed in conversation, and do not always find their way into the dictionaries, just as one might say, in a rapid description, "mish-mash," thereby meaning a confused mixture, or "crish-crash," as describing a confused breaking. In this view it might be more proper to say that, in one or more of the Romance languages, a word already in existence, in other words, was applied to the game of "tables" when its old name fell into disuse. Meanwhile all the linguistic authorities, copying the French etymologists, insist upon the fact that the word tric trac originated as an imitation of the noise made in shaking the dice and casting them; one dictionary, that of Hatsfeld and Darmesteter (1900), goes even farther, and includes in this assertion also the noise of the pieces as they are moved from one point to another, or piled upon each other on the same point (des dames gu'on case). It is to be noted, on the other hand, that in the medieval game the dice were not shaken, but thrown from the hand, a fact already hinted at, and also that the noise made by placing the counters on a point or upon each other is certainly very slight. Earlier in these pages, too, we have suggested that the coming into use of new-fashioned dice-boxes, making the noise of the dice more observable, may have had something to do with the modern French name of the game. It is not unlikely that the first statement, asserting the onomatopoeic origin of the word tric trac, is that found in the following passage from the "Rercherches de la France" (1560, VIII, p. 671) of Pasquier: "Il ne faut pas obmêtre notre jeu de tric et trac; car, s'il nous plait considering le son que rapportent les des estans jetés dans le tablier, il n'est autre que le tric et trac;" but this implies the previous use of the word in its literal sense. Nor is the meaning of "noise" or "confusion," pure and simple, as an interpretation of the word tric trac uncommon. Molère says in his comedy of "L'Estrou" (1668, iv, 5):

"Plus, sous tout cela, vous fâchez sans le table
Un bruit, un trictrac de pieds inapplicable."

The phrase, "Il allait seu bien pas tric trac," credited, as we have said, either rightly or wrongly, to Villon, the XVth century poet, is another instance. We also find the same significatation in Italian at an early date. The dictionary of Tommasco so explains it, and presents us with the differing forms tric traco, truch truch, and triscia tracca, but states that the latter forms are provincially applied to an irresolute person (chi non considera mai nullo); while Alessandro Picolomini (1508-1578), in his manual of advice as to the proper conduct of young ladies in love, styled "La Raffaela, ovvero della creanza delle donne" (Venezia 1574), says of certain persons that they "vanno per la strada con una certa furia, con un trich trach di pianellitte, che per ch'io sappia, abbia il diavolo fra le gambe." There is an old Italian conversational adage, now or never used, which was applied to persons of undecided character: "Siamo sempre sul tric traco, e non si sa che partito prendere." On the other hand, the valuable "Supplemento a vocabolario Italiani" (1857) of Gherardini treats us to a passage in which several games are enumerated: "Abbando la critica, li stribbi... il fuso, ed il tentuno, le donne, il tric tracche o il dormietti" drawn from the humorous production, "Cappitolo del gioco della primiera, e contro commento di messer Pietropano da San Chirico" (Roma 1565), the real authorship of which is uncertain. In citing this, Gherardini condemns the Italian orthography tric-trac, styling it "pessima lessigrafia." The recent "Dizionario etymologico da lingua Portoghese," by Adolpho Coelho, has tric-trague in a new sense; explaining it first as a backgammon (o jogo do gambo), he afterwards says that an old signification of the word was "what the Americans call "squiib" or "fire-cracker." This meaning occurs likewise in Spanish. The lexicon of Delfin Donadui y Puignam—a work entering under each vocable the Catalan form—first gives the literal meaning of tric-trague (or trich-trach, as written in Catalan) as a noise like that of repeated irregular blows, as well as the blow itself ("truido como golpes repetidos y desordenados, ó los mismos golpes"), and then follows it with the secondary sense of "fire-cracker," describing that article fully: "Papel con pólvora, liado y estado en varios dobleces, de cada uno de los cuales resulta un trillo, pegádole fuego por la mecha que viene en uno de sus extremos." (in Catalan this has another name). Therefrom the phrase derived from the expression of suddenness of sound—a cada tric-trague ("at every moment"). The lexicographical work mentioned does not cite the word as having the signification of "backgammon."
As to tic tac, Littre explains this to be an onomatopoeic expression for a snapping noise resulting from a regulated movement, cite the phrase, "Le tic tac du moulin" and the following quotation from the "Baron d'Albikir" of Cornelle (iii. 5): "Sans cesse auprès de vous le coeur me fait tic tac." Scheler, treating tritrac as a "mot de fantaisie," regards tic tac as a more ancient word. He follows this assertion with the usual explanation, "onomatopée tierce du bruit que font les des lancets sur le damier." But Littre has nothing to say in regard to tic tac as a game. Whether it be a corrupt abbreviation of tritrac, or whether it be older than that word, it is certain that it was used to express backgammon, or a form of it, in many languages—in some even more frequently than its longer congener. This was the case especially in Dutch. The orthography differs, as does that of its variant, so that we have tiekack, tikunk, and, in Portuguese, tiqueaque. The Century dictionary looks upon tick-tack as the legitimate English form, and adds "hence by variation trick-track." In general, tic tac and tritrac are to be regarded as having, so far as backgammon is concerned, the same significance.

Of varieties of the game other than tritrac at present played in France, one of the most notable is that called the (jeu de) toute-table, equivalent to our most common and oldest existing English form of backgammon proper, which in German, in later treaties, is known as gammun. This, as the reader will remember, is believed to be the table-game appearing in King Alfons's list of card games. For some reason it has been for many centuries the favorite variety in all English lands. A similar form, in the same order, is also a wide-spread variety. In the XVIIth century "Compleat Gamester," it is styled avecque, and is there said to be "originally of Dutch extraction, and one of the most noted diversions among the Hollanders." The former German term, was erckhen, but in modern treaties the French name is employed. There is in the French a second name, now generally discarded, reverquier, probably an echo-word from the German erckhen. In Holland the name is ercker. As to the Scandinavian languages, the German term, or a corruption of it, is used in all the older manuals, but forhoring occurs in Danish. The name of one French variety, garagnuet, is found, separately entered, in no French dictionary, etymological or otherwise. The word has been transferred to German by later writers on games. The simple game of les dames rabbattees has long been known in England, occurring not only in the "Compleat Gamester," but even in Hyde (ii. pp. 36-37). It, or some form nearly identical, seems to have been likewise known in France in old times as renette, the early dictionary of Cotgrave (1611) translating it "a game like doublet or queen's game." Hyde considers that the word is properly renete, since Salmasius makes note of a game which he calls "resnetia vulgo reginetea."

The lexicographers who treat the word jaquet (rarely written jaquet) in deriving it as a diminutive from the proper noun Jacques, in its meaning of "jockey" (French jaquet), from which comes likewise the English "jockey" in its jocular sense. They do not however assert, although they imply that, in the meaning of a "jeu analogue de tritrac," as Hatfield and Darmesteter define it, its etymological origin is the same. The word has been introduced into Italian as giacchetto. It would seem that it must have a connection with the Spanish chaquete (backgammon) alluded to hereafter, the orthography of which is sometimes given in the dictionaries as jaquet, which according to Donadieu y Puignau is the Catalan form; both are used by Brunet y Bellet (see in "El ajadrez," pp. 143, 254), but that may arise from the fact that the learned author is a Catalan. It is possible that the word, and the game which it represents, may go much farther back in Spanish. In the list of games treated by King Alfons, under the general heading of 'tables,' there is one variety styled jaquet. The list is accessible only in the pages of Van der Linde, in which there is at least one slight error. Why may not jaquet be an erroneous transcription of an old form representing chaquete or jaquet? No Spanish etymologist suggests any etymology for chaquete. Another of the different kinds of tritrac mentioned by Monier is the "jeu de toc." This may or may not be the same as tocoglull. Scheler gives the word toc as a verbal substantive from toquer, an older form of toquer. Littre cites toc as an "onomatopée d'un bruit, d'un choc sourd," and shows that it is used, as a reduplication, toc toc, by Perrault, Madame de Genlis and others, in an effort to express repetition of sound.

The game, as the reader will have already perceived, much confusion in the names given to the many varieties of backgammon. Nor is a variety in one language always represented by the proper and equivalent name in another. With his usual acumen Hyde (ii. p. 35) notices this fact when he remarks: "sed iste non est unus idemque lusus apud omnes gentes;" and even finds divergencies in different parts of the same country, saying that "apud nos novem eundem auditum secundum diversas Anglie provincias aliquot denominations aliquot variant." A whole chapter might be written on the French technical terms used in playing tritrac. Of jan we have already said something. It has been transferred to other languages, although sometimes with a somewhat different signification. It is remarkable that the "Compleat Gamester," early in the XVIIth century, in its account of "Verquer," which represents the French variety of backgammon, renetter, has the technical word "John," which is even used as a verb, "to John" one's opponent, while in its notice of the "grand trick-track" game it talks of "Gens de retour, or Back-Game." Whether these citations throw any light on the origin or general use of jan is questionable; they may merely result, the first from a desire to anglisize the word, or both that and the second from ignorance of French orthography. The late French dictionary of Hatfield and Darmesteter says that the etymology of jan is uncertain, but that it is "non-faire du nom propre Jean"—abandoning the Janus hypothesis as evidently of no value. Jan occurs as early as the time of Rablais (d. 1553), for he says: "Joue dit que le jan en va tout deux." The definition of the lexicographers just cited is a "coup par lequel un joueur perd des points, ou en fait perdre à l'autre," which is concise enough. The etymologist Scheler omits the word. Littre enumerates all the jans and contrejans, (1-10), as we have seen, and then notes the broader technical meaning of the word: "Par extension, on a donné le nom de jans aux parties de tritrac où ces jans ont lieu; on dit le petit jan, le grand jan, le jan de retour," for the premiere partie [of the tables], la seconde, et enfin la premiere de l'adverse." The best French-English lexicon, that of Fleming and Tibbins, translates jan by itself, thus showing that the term must have been in use in Eng-
land, and renders petit jan by "left hand table," grand jan by "right hand table," and jan de retour by "outer table." No dictionary endeavors to explain the derivation of Méesas (medésas) in the name of the jan le méesas. The fact that it is frequently written with a capital M would seem to indicate that it is a proper name; but the termination -as (meaning "ace") leads us to believe that it is a compound, and the definition of the term apparently supports this idea: Le jan de méesas "a lieu quand, au début d'une partie, on a pris son coin de repos, sans avoir aucune autre dame abattue dans son jeu, et quand on a amené ensuite un ou deux as." Perhaps it is a corruption of "le jan d'ambeas," signifying the "jan of twenty ace." Talon is the ordinary French word for "heel" or "heel-piece," hence it signifies the extreme point of the board. The term brouduille, is generally confined to trictrac. It has been formed from the verb brouduiller, to "pronounce rapidly," or to "spout." It is defined by Litttré thus: "Marque indiquant qu'on a pris de suite tous les points qui forment un trou ou tous les trous qui font la partie, sans que l'adversaire ait marqué ou des points ou des trous. La broudouille des points se marque avec un double jeton, quand l'adversaire a pris quelques trous au commencement de la partie. 2° l'avan-tage qui en resul-te, qui est que les trous ou la partie sont gagnés doubles." The following phrases are cited: Petite grande broudouille; avoir la broudouille; être en broudouille; perdre la partie broudouille. Cotgrate renders broudouille into English as "lurch." As to the term plein at trictrac, Litttré defines the phrase "faire son plein" as signifying couver de deux dames les six fiches d'une des tables, and cites "Le joueur" (I. 10) of Regnard: "Et quand mon plein est fait, garant mes avantages." Other phrases are: "conservant son plein," "tamir son plein," "compre son plein." We have enumerated elsewhere (see p. 180) the modern French forms of the names given to the dice doublets. From the old French forms the English names are derived, as well as those in some other tongues. This seems to indicate a peculiar and long prevalent taste for dice-games in the Gallo race. Ambe as is the XIIIth century French, remotely from the Greek ἀμήβω and directly from the Latin ambo (old French ambe, even in its earliest age a term of play)—ambo meaning "two," "both," "double," "dual." In English the term likewise occurs in the XIIIth century. We have it in the old production, "The Harrowing of Hell" (1300) in the lines:

SILL be thou, Sethane! The ye fallen ambe aas.

The lexicographer and grammarian, Robert Sherwood, has in 1650 "to cast ambe ace," and the philosopher Hobbes, a contemporary of Sherwood, has (1656) "casting ambe-ace." Another word for "double ace" is bezet (sometimes bezet, and not unusually becet), which Litttré defines as "deux as amenés d'un coup de dés." Its etymology is bis (two) and as, bis being a Latin corrupt form of deus (twice). Terno, generally in the plural, is from the Latin ternus (triple). It occurs in a poem as early as Villon:

Abasé m'a et fait entendre D'ambeas que on va tant ternes.

The word is used terma both in Spanish and Provencal. Double fours in French is carmes, formerly written in the plural carmes, and still so cited in the dictionary of the French academy. It is a corruption of carmes, used in the time of Ménage (1673-1692), and is from the Latin quaternus ("by fours," from the Latin quattuor). Quine, according to Litttré, is a trictrac term signifying a "coup de dés qui amène deux cinq." It is as old as the XIIIth century, occurring in the "Brut" (see the present volume, p. 76), a French poem of that period:

En deux cé deux gisant en carré
Et ambe as et le tiers ternes,
A la fote gisant guetter
En sennet; en font grant signes...

A passage of interest from the number of dice-terms employed. Very peculiar is the term for double sixes, sennet (pronounced in one syllable son, but written also somes and somnetes). It is from the Latin sensi, an adjective meaning "six by six," "which are six." It is employed in an ingenious passage of "La fille captive" (I. 9), a poem by Antoine Joos called Montfleury (1640-1685):

Do cors gisent sennet,
Dou le sort est écrit sur les os d'un cornet
Dans les commandemen les cornes et les sennet
Et qui font ces Fridor toutes leurs carnetes.

It is needless to say that "les os d'un cornet" are the dice; Fridor was the proprietor of a "maison de jeu" at Paris about 1671. It is interesting to compare with these the Italian names of the doublets. They are amboas (more modern, ambbons); duinis (du 더욱); terni; quaterni; quinti (singular sometimes chima); and sensi (also dediti).

In the Iberian peninsula the story of tables-backgammon begins with the extraordinary codex, still preserved in the Escurial near Madrid, which was compiled at the instance of the Spanish king Alfonso X., during the latter half of the XIIIth century. This still partly inedited manuscript treats of chess, of pure dice-games, of "tables" in its many varieties, of some abnormal table-games, and, if we may believe Van der Linde ("Quellentu-
dien," pp. 277-8), also of several different forms of the morris game. The dozen or more varied sorts of "tables" form the third book, or division, of this comprehensive treatise. Many of these diverse kinds of backgammon have come down to our own times, and not a few of them have even preserved the names given to them in that early age. Indeed, if we wish to assure ourselves of the vitality of human amusements, we have but to compare the later manu-

als of games "played within the tables," with this treatise of Al fonso, and with such codices as that of "De ludis tabularum" now in the British Museum, which was composed less than a hundred years after the work of the Spanish monarch, and which we have printed at length in preceding pages. We must repeat that our knowledge of every portion of the old manuscript so long and so carefully guarded in the Escorial library, except of its early sections relating to chess, is very slight indeed. A transcript of the unknown portions is, of course, essential to a knowledge of our game in old Spain. Nor have we been able to obtain information much more full in regard to the later practice of the game in the peninsula. There may possibly be modern Spanish manuals of games, such as exist in great numbers in other lands, in which they are known under the titles of "Académies des jeux" and the like; but we have been unable to discover any publication of this class
in the Castilian tongue. Dictionaries and encyclopedias have been our only sources; and these are, naturally, of the most unsatisfactory character. 22

We find in Spanish two words representing the French trictrac and the English backgammon. These are tablas reales and jaquette. In some of the lexicons, if we search for the former term, we are told that it is "a game similar to chaquette;" if we look for the latter, we are informed that it is "a game resembling tablas reales." The former denomination is, of course, the tabular of the early middle ages, still keeping its plural form, and with the addition of the adjective reales, which may signify either that it was considered to be a court game per excellence, or that it was the principal, most important and best of the varieties of backgammon, just as the French speak, with a similar significance, of "le grand trictrac." The exact origin and meaning of the other name (chaquette) is, as has been hinted, at present very much of a puzzle. In the province of Catalonia, especially noted for its early literature having reference to games, chaquette becomes jaquet, reminding us of the French jaquette; while among the varieties of tables enumerated by Alfonso we have jaquet, in which the initial letter may or may not be, in Van der Linde's list, a misprint for j or ch. But this suggestion can scarcely be regarded as assuming even the doubtful dignity of a surmise, and can be verified only by an examination of the manuscript. In addition to the repetitions, in which we have already indulged, we must again state that in Spanish no congener of trictrac is employed as the title of a game. The word tricartrique signifies in Spain either a certain kind of noise, or a "fire-cracker" (French, pétard). In both meanings this word occurs in modern Spanish literature. Thus José Francisco de la Isla, a noted Jesuit miscellaneous prose writer (1700-1781), speaks of "esos retrucaoillos, esos palitos de voces, y esos tricartriques de palabras con que usted propone casi todos los asuntos des sus sermones es cosa que me embelesa." In the other sense, we find it in the works of the fertile and popular comic and dramatic poet, Manuel Breton de los Herreros (1796-1879), as is shown by these lines:

Si ya no ha reventado
Lo mismo que un tricartrique,
No se usa la culpa; no,
Porque la bota un couaje.
A la vida .

From the huge "Diccionario enciclopedico Hispano-americano," issued in late years at Barcelona, we take this definition of chaquette: "Especie de juego de tablas reales en el cual se van pasando alrededor todas las piezas por las casas desocupadas, y el que mas presto las reduce al extremo del lado contrario y las saca, gana el juego." This is followed by a single citation taken from the poet and essayist, Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos (1744-1812): 22

This is the kind of writing with which we are familiar in the Recital. These transcriptions embrace also the sections treating of other table-games than chess, whenever such occur. Mr. White displays a liberality not always exhibited by book-owners in placing his copies, which must often have been obtained under great difficulties, at the service of investigators on both sides of the Atlantic. Avaluing ourselves of this generosity we may be able, in the errata-supplement attached to this volume, to dispense some of the clients which have hitherto obscured these chapters of the Castilian king's codex having to do with the games of morris and tablas.

22 At this point of our writing we learn that the vast collection of chess works belonging to Mr. White of Cleveland (Ohio), to which allusion has so often been made, includes careful copies of all the known medieval MSS relating to the Indian game—among them the famous one in the Recital. These transcriptions embrace also the sections treating of other table-games than chess, whenever such occur. Mr. White displays a liberality not always exhibited by book-owners in placing his copies, which must often have been obtained under great difficulties, at the service of investigators on both sides of the Atlantic. Alining ourselves of this generosity we may be able, in the errata-supplement attached to this volume, to dispense some of the clients which have hitherto obscured these chapters of the Castilian king's codex having to do with the games of morris and tablas.

"... con encuadernacion de libros, siesta, chaquete... y una partida de bachea o mailla, tiene usted el compendio de la vida interior y exterior que hago, etc." The same encyclopedic work gives this description of the game of chaquete, which, it will be seen, is too brief to be of much interest; but such as it is, we copy it: "A este juego se juega con dos dados, y según los puntos que se marquen al tirar los se colocan quince tantos ó damas en varias casillas ó puntos marcados en el tablero especial de este juego. Para jugar al chaquete es preciso que cada jugador tenga quince damas ó peones, como se les quiera llamar, tres tantos y dos fichas que son las señales que se ponen en cada punto, según los que se ganen. El juego consiste en que dos personas: al empezar el juego se hacen dos ó tres montones con las damas que se colocan en la primera casilla ó ficha del chaquete; á esto se le da el nombre de monte ó fondo. No hay regla que fije la cabezera, y es inde
erente que el monte ó fondo de damas se coloque en uno ó otro lado. Para jugar con orden es preciso, sí al principio se empareja, jugar dos damas del monte y colocarlas en el as, que es la ficha sobre la que están amontonadas las damas. Se puede jugar todo de una vez colocando una sola dama en la segunda ficha. Lo mismo sucede en las demás combinaciones, que pueden verifícarse o jugarse á la vez, si se quiere exceptuando, no obstante, los nú
eros cinco y seis, que deben jugarse precisamente cuando salen en la pri
era jugada, porque las reglas del juego no permiten que quede una sola dama en la casilla llamada de reposo. De la habilidad, ó mejor, de la prudencia del jugador, depende poner dos damas juntas en la ficha en que está el monte de las damas, que por lo regular es la primera. Se pasa luego á la casilla del reposo, la cual se efectúa colocando en él juntas dos damas, algunas veces en las de su lado cuando lo exigen las lances del juego. En cuanto se tiran los dados, y según las puntas que se hayan sacado, deberán tocar el uno las otras la casilla. También es regla del juego que dama tocada dama jugada, á menos que la dama ó peón toca
cado no pueda jugarse, caso que ocurre cuando un jugador puede colocarse en una casilla de esquina no ocupada, de donde otra dama no podría entrar ni salir sola ó bien que tropiece con el juego del contrario, antes de que se le haya abierto brecha. Según las reglas del chaquete, cuando se ganan dos puntos deben marcarse en el extremo delantero de la ficha segunda; los cuatro puntos delante de la ficha cuarta; los seis puntos en la línea de separación; los ocho puntos al otro lado de la línea de separación delante de la ficha seis; los diez puntos se marcan en la última línea; los doce que constituyen la partida doble se marcan con una ficha. El que gane los dados tiene siempre el derecho de marcar el punto que gana antes que su contrario señale el que pierde. Hay que advertir también que, cuando uno de los jugadores se ha apoderado de una de las casillas de esquina y el contrario no lo ha efectuado aún en la suya, cada vez que se tiran los dados vale cuatro ó seis puntos, si con dos damas se combate el rincón vacío del adversario, es decir, seis por doble y cuatro por sencillo. Según el "Diccionario de la lengua Castellana" por la Real academia española, "el antiguo juego llamado de tablas reales era muy parecido al moderno chaquete." The description here given is too obscure, and is characterised by too many omissions of essential features, to make a translation of it either feasible or useful. Its rule that two men must be placed simultaneously on the
"corner of repose" (the extreme point in each player's table) seems to ally it with the French triétrac, but, on the other hand, many important characteristics of that principal French variety are not mentioned by the evidently Spanish compiler. It would be satisfactory to find that there was a real relationship— as well as a resemblance of name— between chaquete and the French jaquette, but the reader, on examining the few lines which we have devoted to the latter (p. 128), will notice that no mention is made in the Spanish account of the avant-courier, or single piece sent forward in the French game to the final board. Nor are we told, either by the writer cited, or in any other accessible publication, what the real difference is between tabulas, tablares and chaquete, the dictionaries even, as we have stated, only vaguely informing us that they resemble each other. It is not at all impossible that at present in Spain they are two names for one and the same thing. As to the Spanish dictionaries, they are all worse than useless so far as our purpose is concerned. The most noted one, that of the Spanish academy, has for the most part been superseded by newer works. But the best of its successors, the "Dicionario de la lengua castellana" of Donadio y Puignaud, does little more than to copy the very brief description of his predecessor (under chaquete): "Especie de juego de tablas reales, en el cual se van pasando alrededor todas las piezas por las casas desocupadas, y el que más prisa las reduce al extremo del lado contrario y las saca, gana el juego"—just as it has likewise been reproduced, as a definition, by the compiler of the "Dicionario enciclopedico." Donadio y Puignaud adds nothing to this except to give the corresponding Catalan form as jaquette. Of chaquete he suggests an etymology, which certainly has a dubious look; he says that it is derived from the old-French eschac, signifying "booty" (báton), "capture" or "prey" (preso), and so "game" (juego)—a derivation which has been copied and tacitly endorsed by other Spanish compilers. The early French word he cites has to do with our Germanic friend, which we treated some pages back, from which, in its Old High German form schécher ("robbber"), and which has been used in attempting to attribute to chess a European origin. Under triquetraque the German lexicographer has the two usual meanings, telling us that in the sense of a repeated noise the Catalan orthography is trietrack, while for "cracker" or "squib" it employs quite another term (carrettilla, piule). The French-Spanish dictionary of Salva (1876, 6th ed.), the compiler of which was a scholar of high reputation, translates "tricrac" by chaquete, and "raveur" as juego de chaquete, while the French "jaquette" is defined as juego de tablas reales, which nothing could be more indefinite. Other definitions relating to backgammon are: "jan," las dos tablas del juego del chaquete o de tablas reales; "faire sa jan de retour," volver a su juego de chaquete, después de haber pasado todas sus damas al juego del contrario; "chaquet," contraamante, llamada falsa en algunos juegos. These explanations are all inexact, to say the least. The following are more correct, and relate to the names of the doubles: "ambémas," "ases," vos que usen los jugadores de chaquete cuando salen en el en dos dados, o en los tres; "tensien," turnas o trecas, pajarías de tres puntos en el juego de dados; "carras," cuadernas o cuatros, las pajarías de cuatro en el juego de tablas o del chaquete; "quines," quinas en el juego de cinco en el juego del chaquete. We find no rendering of the French "sucanil" (double sixes). It is worth noting that the Spanish and Italian words for "die" (dado) are identical, and that pareja, in the former tongue, signifies "doubled."

As to Portugal the lack of information is still greater than in the case of its peninsular companion, and we are obliged to depend almost wholly upon the makers of dictionaries. We discover from them that there are four expressions used as names of games played on the backgammon board: 1. [Jogo do] tabulás; 2. tiquetogue; 3. [Jogo do] gamão; and 4. tocaddio. In regard to the first we learn that the orthography of this derivative of the Latin tabula vacillates (in the singular) between tabela, tabloa and tabos. Tabola is also given with the signification of "pawn" or "man." Adolpho Coelho's "Dicionario etnologico da lingua portugueza" states that it not only has this meaning (peça redonda para o jogo de gamão) but also signifies the board (es outros de taboliro). Tiquetogue is said by the "Century dictionary" to be the Portuguese for backgammon or tricktrack, and is indeed found in most of the Portuguese vocabularies in that sense. Coelho does not cite this form, but in his definition of tocaddio he refers to triquetraque (jogo de tabulas simbântico ao triquetraque), but when you look up his rubric of triquetraque, you can discover no mention of it as the name of a game, but only as a "jogo de artílico que da estaes"—evidently the "fire-cracker." Coelho declares that it is an ancient term. The most interesting of the denominations in our list is, however, gamão, the more interesting that its origin seems to be still a mystery. It is also, we believe, the most common of the Portuguese terms. Coelho speaks of "o jogo do gamão," and eto o taboleiro de jogo do gamão; and tells us that it is the same as the Spanish gamán (which, as we have already learned, does not seem to be known to Spanish lexicography as the name of a game) and the French triâtrac or tricrêacr. Elsewhere he defines gamão as a "jogo de dardos de bichos" (dardos de calco), adding that it is likewise means "o taboleiro [board] sobre que se joga." Other Portuguese dictionaries describe gamão as sharagino (an Italian name for a variety of backgammon); one renders the word tricrêacr as jogo de tabolas, gamão, and the Italian sharagio (of which we shall hear soon) is translated by gamão de tres dados. Whether gamão is the English 'gammon,' which it resembles in pronunciation—received into the language possibly through the French—it is altogether impossible to decide except after more thorough investigation. Our fourth term, tocaddio (which, as we have observed, does not seem to be Spanish), is found in the vocabulary of Coelho, as well as in those of other lexicographers, but without any suggested etymology. In one dictionary it is rendered by the Italian uscita reala. In an English and Portuguese dictionary by Lacerda (1866), our "tricrack" is rendered de tabulas, and our "backgammon" by gamão; but in the Portuguese-English part (1711) of the same work we have Jogo das tabulas interpreted as "the game of tables or draughts"—an ordinary instance of lexicological fallibility. All this is very suggestive. There ought (as we have said in regard to Spain) to be some treatment on games, published either in the mother country or in Brazil, which would enhance our scanty information, but we have not found any which presents any features of much value. The fourth edition of the anonymous "Manual dos Jogos" was indeed issued at Lisbon in one of the last years of the century just closed. It is printed in large type, treats 40 games of cards; 14 "jogos diferentes," among them the usual table games (except morris); 4 "jogos de sporti;" and a multitude of social or draw-
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ing-room amusements. To each game are assigned certain very brief numbered paragraphs. Thus, billiards is taught in 25 such paragraphs, the longest extending to fewer than six lines; draughts is presented in 17 paragraphs; and chess in 34, that is in fewer than 88 of the large-type lines. Campan (triccra) has also its place (pp. 150-153), embracing 26 numbered paragraphs, the longest of 8 lines. A few unimportant illustrations adorn the volume, one being a vignette on the cover title-page, repeated on p. 139, representing the cais do board, that is the English fox- and-goose board having the upper arm of the cross transformed into a fortress, while others exhibit the leading arm of a croquet field (p. 172) and a tennis court (p. 189).

In treating all the table-games there is a general lack of precision, which can only arise from lack of knowledge. In draughts (damas), for instance, we are told that "ordinarily the men (peões) are placed on the white squares" but that "this, however, is of no importance since they may be placed indiscriminately on those, or on the black ones"—without any allusion to the fact that the squares must be those in the diagonal lines. Nor is either the number of squares or the number of men necessary to the game stated, the compiler having, perhaps, heard vaguely of "Polish draughts" and not wishing to betray, unnecessarily, his ignorance. At the end of some of the sections, forming the final rule or paragraph, is a general apology declaring that the game under notice is of such a complicated character that it is impossible to treat it in detail. In reference to chess (caçar) we are told (pp. 182-185) that the men are called peão (plural, peões); and the pieces, after the roque (plural, roques), cavallo (plural, cavalos) and delfin (plural, delfins). By the 22d rule we are advised that "when a king is separated from the hostile king by only a single square it is said to be in opposition" (quando um rei está unicamente separado do rei inimigo por uma casa, diz-se em opposição). A similar dubious definition is given in the 25th paragraph: "To sacrifice a piece (peça) to the enemy in order to secure a more open (ma ao desfazer) position is to play a gambit (jogar um gambito)."

Castling, according to the meaning given to it in rule 27, is a matter of great simplicity: "To play two pieces at once is called castling (chama-se rocar)." We enumerate these naive definitions merely to give an idea of the character of the work. We find cited only a few technical chess terms. Among them: cheques ao rei; cheques a descoberto; cheques desfebrado; cheques perpetuos; mate abafado.

And now we come to gambao, which is subdivided into 26 brief paragraphs. We note, as we run over the three pages, that the men are called damas; and the points to be counted pontos. The 15 damas of one player are white, those of his opponent either black or green. The game requires like movimentos (o doado), three markers (emisarios) and two pegas, (pregos, in French fiches) of bone or ivory. The dama are placed in a copo de couro (literally "cup of leather"). The men, at the beginning of the game, are piled in three heaps on the first point (here fiocha, from the French) marked on the backgammon-board (gamão). The white men are considered to be the "pieces of honor" (damas de honor). Casa means to establish a casa, that is to make a point safe by "doubling" a man on it; as (plural, ases) is ace; lampo is a "move; componho corresponds to the French j'adopte at chess. The author's final paragraph reads thus: "there are many and good treatises on the game of backgammon. The books are all, moreover, books containing abundant matter (livros de copiosa materia), some of them exceeding, in the number of their pages, the present manual. Amateurs will consult those works." In the preceding paragraph (25th) he had given his customary apologetic utterance about the deficiencies of his book: "Num pequeno resumo de jogos como o nosso, compreendendo-se a impossibilidad que ha em desenvolver aquelles que, como o gamão, obedecem a compliandissimas regras."

It would be difficult for the tyro, even with the closest study, to learn to play the game by the sole aid of the meagre instructions thus given. Nor can one easily decide what variety of the game is here described, but it seems to correspond more nearly to the ordinary French tricoque than to any other. We are first informed that each player has "15 men which he disposes artistically on the points indicated in the board" (quarne damas, as dispõe artisticamente sobre os pontos marcados no tabuleiro), and that the game is begun by entering the 15 men, in 2 or 3 piles, on the first point designated on the board (gambao). Rule 12 tells us that "no isolated or single man can be placed on the point of repose (casa de descanso), which is immediately afterwards called casa de repouso", and the inhibition is repeated, in another form, by the statement that a casa can be made on that point by placing on it, conjointly, two men (colocando n'elle, conjuntamente, duas damas). The rule for reckoning the minor points, as well as the game-points, are virtually those which we find laid down in the treatise of Movilhar for tricoque. If we may draw any conclusion from this work it is that the modern Portuguese game is that most taught and practised in France. The only name given in the "Manual" to backgammon in gambão.

If we regard the identity of the Roman duodecim scripta with nard-tables-backgammon, or with some form of it, as not yet determined, then we must assume that the oldest historical monuments connected with the history of our game in the Italian peninsula are those remarkable manuscripts, of which the earliest extant texts are to be found in Florence and Rome, and which treat of what has been characterised as the triad of medieval diversions—the games of chess, morris and tables. These ancient codices, in their existing shape, all date from a period between the X11th and the X12th centuries. They were originally written in Latin, and, therefore, it is not impossible that there may have been lost, now lost, going back to a somewhat earlier date. The portions relating to the morris game and to tables have not been, so far as is known to us, subjected to an accurate comparison with the Alfonso MS, and hence we can form no trustworthy judgment of the relations they may, or may not bear to the Spanish text.

We have noticed that certain methods of playing tables are indicated by the same, or very similar names, in both. That Latin is the language of the early North-Italian documents and Spanish of that of Alfonso might indicate the greater age of the former, but this difference may well be owing to other
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circumstances than age. The development of vernacular literatures in both lands was nearly contemporaneous. While the wise Alfonso, to whom the Escorial MS owes its being, was writing his famous code and his chronicle at Seville, the emperor of the Holy Roman empire, Frederick II, was instilling Italian verses at Palermo, and Guido Guinicelli was composing the earliest sonnets, canzoni and ballate at Bologna—works which made him, in Dante's opinion,

But Alfonso "first made the Castilian a national language," as the chief historian of Spanish letters tells us—and, singularly enough, by the same means employed by Luther, long afterwards, to give vitality to the German, namely by translating the Bible into it—and would naturally see that his book of games, like nearly everything else with which he had to do, was in the vulgar speech. Political relations did not exist between North Italy and Spain until almost three centuries later, when, under Charles V, they became intimate enough; for the struggles between the other Spanish Alfonso, Alfonso V and VI of Arragon, and the republic of Genoa were mainly confined to the sea, although the latter monarch, after the disastrous naval battle off Ponzia in 1425, was, for a brief period, a prisoner-hostage in the hands of the last Visconti duke of Milan, to whose courtesy he had been consigned by the victorious Genoese. No doubt there was, in those days, a fairly close ecclesiastical connection between the two prominent Latin nationalities, so that, through the convents, or through various channels, each other at Rome, an author of any production in one country, would be pretty apt to hear of and to get sight of any preceding work on his theme written in the other. It is not unlikely, however, that the strongest link uniting the two peninsulas, just at the time in which we are interested, would be the great university of Bologna, which was at its highest point of fame and frequency between Inernius in the Xlith century and Mondino in the Xx'th; one of its earliest foundations—still to be seen—is the "Collegio di Spagna," anciently thronged with students from beyond the Pyrenees. Very notable certainly is the similarity of the Spanish and Italian MSS, both principally devoted as they are to three amusements, chess, morris, tables. Did the authors of both independently select these three subjects, because in both lands they were the most notable table-games? Did those of Italy imitate the Spanish production, or did the Castilian monarch get the idea of his compilation from one through Rome? Or did both follow in the path of earlier compilers? In one respect they are agreed, and to differ:—the Italians pay no heed to games of pure chance, in which dice only are used without board or men, while a certain number of such games appear to be described in the Escorial codex. Was this because the North-Italian compilations were for use in school and cloister, and the other was prepared for the diversion of a court? The testimony of age, proving what it may, so far as we are now in a position to gather and appreciate, it is assuredly in favor of Spain. We know that the compilation which bears the name of Alfonso was completed before 1285; we cannot, taking the most favourable view, ascribe so high a date, by at least a half century, to any of the venerable works which we are about to describe. But, as has been said by others, there may have been older texts, which have disappeared.

The original and oldest forms of these works are to be found chiefly in three collections, namely, the great Victor Emmanuel government library at Rome, in the library belonging to Prince Barberini in the same city, and in the National library—the largest in Italy—at Florence. It is possible, though not probable, that one or two of these codices go back to the XIV'th century, but the others, as we have just said, are to be referred to the XV'th and XVI'th. Though not all contain positions in chess, morris and backgammon, most of them include problems in all three, generally with an explanatory note attached to each, showing how it is to be played and resolved. The chess problems always come first, are much the most numerous, and are followed in varying order by those at morris or tables. It is in our own times that attention was first called to the texts in Italy—a little subsequent to the middle of the XIX'th century—after they had, for a long while, vanished from the knowledge of the general public—hidden away, in the unsatisfactorily catalogued MSS rooms of the vast Italian book-collections we have mentioned, as securely as if they had been sunk to the bottom of the river Lute. For subject-lists of collections of codices and of archives are almost non-existent on the continent of Europe, and in ordinary alphabetical author-catalogues, anonymous and pseudonymous productions, if entered at all, are generally so entered as to be almost indecipherable, unless the searcher be not only an expert, but an inspired expert. The story of their refunding, which was given to the public by the London Illustrated News in 1854, remarks on the rediscovery by Pierre de Nolhac of the precious Petrarch autograph MSS, belonging, in the XV'th century, to the Pulzio Orsini collection, but which, for several generations, had been concealed from human ken, their very existence forgotten, in the rarely-opened treasuries of the Vatican treasure-house. That event was almost like the reappearance of the Italian poet himself, pen in hand, among the ranks of the living. In the other case, the little world of chess was astounded to learn what stores of the chess wisdom of our ancestors had been almost unwittingly preserved for our utilization. So far as their chess contents are concerned the newly-

59 The announcement of the discovery of these MSS was made in the London Illustrated News (the chess-column of which was then edited by Howard Staunton) of July 1, 1854 (page-number 593) in an article entitled "Remarkable discovery of valuable MSS on chess." The discovery was said to have been made in the two most important libraries of Florence (probably the Magliabechian and the Palatine, since that time united as the National library) by a signor Fantacci, whose communication was written from the Tuscan ministry of the interior (Ministero dell'Interno). The article states that Mr. Fantacci had procured copies of all the chief works which he had found, and had sent these transcripts to Mr. Staunton. Then follows a brief list of seven MSS, of which the first four, two on vellum and two on paper, are among those which we have treated in the present section. The first of these is the oldest, "Bonus Secundus"—this anonym is here seen for the first time in print—which is said by Mr. Fantacci to be of the latter part of the XIII'th or the beginning of the Xx'th century; the other vellum is assigned to the XV'th century; the third codex is a Latin paper MS, and the fourth an Italian paper MS, both likewise of the Xx'th century. The last three MSS consist of an anonymous paper codex of the XVI'th century entitled: "L'elegantia, settitilla e verrilli [sic] della virtuosissima professione degli scacchi;" an Italian vellum contains "Tabulae Jocorum," by Luigi Guidicardi, being a "comparazione degli gioco degli scacchi militei," without date; and a parchment MS of Greco's "Nobilissimo gioco di scacchi," with the date of 1631. The account of these MSS is copied word for word into the Chess Player's Chronicle (new series II, pp. 230-231), likewise then edited by Mr. Staunton. Short
found MSS have been studied with much care and judgment by Van der Linde and Von der Lasa, but the portions of them which are devoted to the other medieval games still await an editor. He should not much longer be lacking, for it is easy to understand that no history of tables-backgammon, in its European period, can be written without a previous minute study of all these manuscript sources. In such days as ours, when so many scholars are crowding each other in their efforts to delve among the literary and other treasures of the past, it is rare to find so much unwrought material, on any subject, so easily accessible to the student.

These documents of Italian origin fall into two families or groups, one (believed to be the earlier) having for its compiler a writer who styles himself "BONUS SOCIO," This signifies literally a "good companion" or "good fellow," but has also been interpreted to mean "teacher," "tutor," "instructor," "docent"—from an alleged medieval use of the term in universities; but why should it not be regarded as signifying a man fond of company and pleasures—and pastimes, in fact a "boon companion," for "bonus" is "boon." In some of the texts or versions the compiler's or editor's name is given as Nicholas de St. NichoI, and he is said to be of Lombardy. If "St. NichoI" or "S. NichoI" represents his natal place the matter is not thereby much helped, for there are numerous communities so called in Italy—especially in the Southern provinces, where the cult of the patron saint of Bari once greatly prevailed—to say nothing of others in other lands. There seems to be no such locality well or widely known in Lombardy, but there is one just over the border in Venetia. Von der Lasa suggests that the real "BONUS SOCIO" may have been born in Northern Italy, and have lived in Northern Italy as a member of a monastery, which makes the effort to identify his birthplace well nigh a hopeless task. The MS of his work which furnishes the earliest known text is found in the National library at Florence—a handsomevellum codex (B. A. 6—p. 2-101.) while others, complete or incomplete, in the original, or in French or other renderings, are preserved in the libraries of France (at Paris and Montpellier); of England (at London and in the possession of the Fountaine family, Narford Hall, Swaffham, Norfolk—but see a later page of this section, where it will be noted that this rare and beautiful volume has ceased to be the property of the Fountaine); in cities east of the Rhine (Francois, Munich, Wolfsburg); and even in the United States (at Cleveland, Ohio). The last men-

tioned is in the collection of Mr. John G. White, being a codex formerly in the possession of Mr. Robert Franz of Berlin, containing chess positions extracted from "BONUS SOCIO" by an editor, Paulus Guarinus (Guarino), of Forli, a town just below the Southern boundary of Lombardy.

The other (presumably somewhat later) family of these early manuscripts has for its compiler a scholar styled by himself a citizen of Bologna, "Civis Bosnoniae," This identity has not even been surmised among the learned institutions of Europe to these Italian treatises. Copies of this "Civis Bos-

noniae" compilation are not so common as those of its predecessor; nor are there any known translations of it into modern languages except in the case of a few of the backgammon positions. Among the two oldest existing texts, as Von der Lasa tells us, are those of the Victor Emanuel library at Rome (MSS Viti. Em. 276), and the one belonging to Prince Barberini, also in the Italian capital. He states that they are ascribed to the XIIIth or XIVth

180 It is singular, though by no means flattering to the Italian and Anglo-Saxon nationalities, that this Italian field has been till this year only by German scholars. The same may be likewise said of the most memorable and most venerable of all writings devoted to medieval games, the Alsatian codes; for, although Brunet y Bullet has indeed given a valuable description and reproduction of the introductory portions of the exquisite part of that MS, he does not pretend to treat the positions of even that section, and has little or nothing to say about the games themselves with examples of other games. The division (ascribed to Von der Lasa's admirable treatises, "Zur gesellschaft der schachspielkunst," 1877, devoted chiefly to the one other MSS of a practical character (that is, relating to the movements of pieces) is the thirtieth (pp. 182-336) and contains two chapters. The headings to these last in the table of contents are:

- VI, i. Allos problemawo: Systeme codex des Allosun. 
- VI, ii. Allos problemawo: Romanas Socii, nebst Foutsine, und Paris (also sig. 72920). 
- VI, iii. Allos problemawo: Romanas Socii, nebst Falkwits und Reisman. 
- Civis Bosnoniae MS. 
- Civis Bosnoniae MS. 

181 He says, "I mean Critical, as so far as chess goes, more nearly complete, endeavoring to reproduce the problems and endgames from the most important compilations of the middle ages. In his "Queenscologies" (1880) "Das schachwerk Allosun's" X form the third chapter of the first division (pp. 129-139), the few lines which he devotes to the "libro de las tablas" of the royal MS occurring on pp. 72-3. The following (fourth) chapter treats of the "Bonus Socio" MS under the title "Das lateinisch-französischer schachwerk des Niculien von Niculien (om 1500-1510)," extending through pp. 175-185, there being some slight allusion, as in op. 134. The subject is completed in the subsequent (fiftieth) chapter, "Uebereinstellungen und freilich bevorzugungen" (om 1300-1500), pp. 186-200. Van der Linde, in his work here cited, does not mention the pseudonym "Civis Bosnoniae," apparently including all the problem com-
plications of Northern Italian origin under the name of the other and probably somewhat earlier collector, "Bono Socio," whom both he and Von der Lasa endeavor to identify as Nicholas de St. NichoI, and to whom Italy, France and Germany lay claim. Nor does "Civis Bosnoniae" occur in the index to Van der Linde's larger work, the "Gesellschaft und Schachspiel." 182

182 Of the veilum "Civis Bosnoniae" codex in the Barbierian palace (prez-marx, X, 75), we are able to give a few general particulars. It is somewhat smaller than the codex Vit. Em. 276, measuring 21 centimeters by 15 as against the latter's 23 by 17, but the former's gap in size is largely due to the binder's knife. The Barbierian manuscript begins, like the other, with the prologue in six rhymed verses, but the opening initial (O) lacks the group of figures, and the model was dedicated to its work without a single clue. While the latter is actually a book of the work of two different hands (chess by one and the two other games by a second), the Barbierian, on the other hand, exhibits the same choreography from beginning to end. The number of backgammon positions in both is the same, but are told by a scholar whose examination has evidently been not very complete that no words similar to abow or ab-
CHESS IN ICELAND

century, but seems to doubt the former ascription; indeed he himself, later on, in his last great work (p. 150), speaks of them as "MSS aus dem 15 Jahrhunderte." They are in fact, as it would seem, of about the middle of the XVIIth, and are admirable specimens of the book-art of the period, both as to the velum, the illumination and the illuminations. A third copy, also on velum, which bears marks of a somewhat greater age than these, was acquired by von der Lasa himself at Rome, and still—it is to be supposed—forms a part of the noble library he left behind him. A fourth velum codex is reported to have existed, until a recent period, in Florence, but has now disappeared, carried off, according to a theory of von der Lasa, by the last grand-duke of Tuscany, whose personal property it is supposed to have been. It is said to have borne the date of 1454. The fourth text is a paper codex in the Florentine National library (XIX. 7. 37), judged, from internal evidence, to be considerably later than the foregoing, but to have had an editor of more than usual ability, a fact which gives it importance. The chess pieces show a knowledge of various preceding texts; certainly, so far as that game is concerned, it is, in many respects, the most valuable, from a textual point of view, of all the "Civis Bononius" MSS, though inferior to all in its external execution. Besides these manuscripts von der Lasa cites another belonging to the British Museum, of the year 1466, which is less complete than the Italian examples. This exhausts the list of these codices. We shall now enquire to give some brief notes on most of those still to be found in Italy, and therefore pretty certain of Italian origin.

Undoubtedly the oldest of the "Bonus Socius" family is the velum of the National Library at Florence (B. A. 6-p. 2-no. 1). It begins, as von der Lasa has already told us, with a much impaired illuminated frontispiece of a crowned king (at the left), apparently engaged at chess with a Moor or other personage (at the right)—hardly a cardinal as suggested by von der Lasa—in a red, hood-like cap and robe; two female figures are standing in the background, not, however, gazing at the board. The prefatory matter is on the obverse of the next folio, facing the frontispiece. This is the sole text of the "Bonus Socius" group, of any approach to completeness, now in Italian libraries known to us.

The next as well as one of the earliest of the "Civis Bononius" codices in the Italian book-collections is that of the Victor Emmanuel library (278) at Rome. It is a fair sized quarto of 213 velum folios, of which the first 2 are blank, as is the obverse of 4. The reverse of 4 contains six rhymed stanzas by the compiler, each beginning with an illuminated initial, the first at the top of the page being a large U, encasing a perfectly preserved design of a young personage in green garments (left), engaged at chess with a bearded man in lilac robe and hood (right); close by, in the central background, sits a figure in scarlet dress and hood, gazing at the board, with his finger on his lips, indicating, perhaps, the silence necessary to be maintained by a spectator at chess; the feet of this person are visible under the table. This

...
Roman codex (Barberini) we have not examined. There is a fairly good transcript of it in the National Library of Iceland.

After these preatory remarks we shall now turn to the oldest of the "Bonu Socius" MSS (Florence B, A, C, p. 2-10). Its contents may be thus enumerated: folio 1, obverse blank; reverse, injured illuminated frontispiece; f. 1, obverse, preface; ff. 1 reverse, 9a, chris, 9b-11a, merelles; 11a-11b, tables; 11b-13a, blank; 14b, note in finer writing by a later hand. There are 24 merelles positions and 11 at tables—all on diagrams. In "Bonu Socius" the tables diagrams are drawn perpendicularly as to the length (or longer extent); in "Civis Bononis" they are perpendicular as to the height (or shorter extent). In this manuscript the descriptions or solutions of the positions are on the opposite page (the left-hand end of the "open", as the Icelanders style it). Therefore the positions are at the right, as the book is held open. Two problems are given on a page, one above the other, except in the case of the ninth, which, owing to the length of the opposite

and is indeed somewhere styled chancellor of that city ("cancellarius ambasculus"). Several of his curious romances are preserved in a manuscript form at the French National Library. The earliest printed edition of the "Vetula" is that of Cologne, having neither date, place, printer's name nor signatures, of about the year 1470, which bears the title of "Pabili Oriidi Masonis Liber de Vetulais." A later edition was issued in the same city in 1478. We also its edition of Wolfenbüttel 1623, a volume in which it appears with the "Spectrum steriorum" of another writer, under the common title of "Opusculum duo auctorum incertorum." The "Vetula" does the volume, and is separately paginated (forming 36 pages). It is divided into numbered sections, relating to tables beginning (p. 21) with section XXVIII of book first as follows:

Exercitare tamen spectem Lodi Secerum
Notatur, cum quod deductur alia perata:
Ipsum, discites, pauno discursum caret
Incarnum du duas tantas esse dilato ludi,
Tantum laesit duxnae mora est: succesio cujus
Tot partis avenus, quod jubet sustinat in ps.
Fine iunx, luctus, nec soli solus, sed atri,
Procedant athes, & inest industria mira.
Preseminum cum multitudine notare
Quodlibet in secta divae pastet, aequum,
Stit pentaculum jactum, diversificatori
Inspectura proprie: quipha schema radicati
Nil operator in loco, sed pentaculata dicas quid
Lector facili viso scireta jacta.

By a careful examination of the whole of the matter relating to backgammon it would not be difficult to obtain a definite idea of the method which prevailed in France some six hundred years ago. This remarkable poem was rendered into French by Jean Lettreux, born at Rouen near Meire (near Compiègne), according to some critics between 1322 and 1329, according to others in the last years of the XVth century. His version, or perhaps it should rather be styled a paraphrase, was only printed in 1861 the text being drawn from two early manuscripts in the Paris National Library, edited by Hippolyte Oebhuis. The interesting opening lines are copied by Van der Linden (op. cit., p. 154). The chapters have headings, consisting tables being: "Du jeu des tables et comment Ovide dit quels soient point maux demmages il y a des," the opening lines (p. 68) being

Aussyn se vouloit exercuer
Du jeu des des, pour assurer
Au jeu qui est de tresie tables [men];
Ne seant garres maux demmagnes,
C'est en jeu le guerre partit,
Qu'une en a de charme partie.
Et l'eust quant a leur opposé,
Qu'on paist le jeu be bouz de chose.

solution, is alone in the centre of its page. On the inside of the manuscript's first cover is a note by a former owner recording the fact in regard to the codex, that it "è molto tempo che si trova in casa nostra de Baldouniattì." The work has, of course, no proper title, but, in his preface, the author, after some philosophising, and not a few moral reflections, says: ("Idereco ego bonus socius, sociorum meorum precibus aquiesco, partita que uide-
ram..., ") Therefore I, a good companion, yielding to the prayers of my companions, have added the little book those positions which I had seen, as well as those which I have made by my own study, in the games of chess and tables as well as in that of merelles ("de ludis scaccorum aleoarum etiam marcellorum in loc libello"), thus reversing the order in which, in the text, merelles and backgammon actually occur. There are, later on, in the opening of the description or solution of the first tables (backgammon) problem, a few special preliminary words, in which the reader is told that these problems (esta partita) are of tables, that some are played out with

Car gazing si vient pas en l'oeur,
Et la demmaig assure demeur
Par la longue dilution
De jeu par variation;
Car autant y a d'avoitures
Comme en y geste de potestes;
Le jeu ne se fait point par sorti,
Mais par art savant formant 36 pages.
De deux couleurs qui les chassissent,
De deux chauves-eau en un champ yestant.
Dont merelles est l'Industrie,
Et souleau en est la matiere,
Pour ce qu'on peut multiplier
Seu gien, par ses tables lier,
Selon les peines de la chance,
Que enfeinte nouvelle ordonnance
Le joueur peut de ses gens faire,
Et comment doit ses tables prendre,
Par divers moy, et combiner
Et si a pernet un cheminier.

These form, reckoning a repeated couplet which we have omitted, lines 1869-1899, but the whole section is continued to lines 1416 (p. 68-79). Free as is the version, or perhaps because of its freedom, the French poem greatly facilitates the understanding of the Latin original. We add likewise the opening lines of the brief merelles section (p. 86), which have the descriptive heading: "Cf parle du jeu des merelles auxquel soulentant anciennement jouer les pailles." They begin:

D'autres jeux sont que les pailles
Sont vent, mais petits nouvelles
Sont de dire et de raconter
Chois qui peut assez monter.
Ces jeux sont nommes aux merelles,
Dont jeunesse et jeunesse
Se joignent desus une table.
 Desse ou seau faut le gien estable,
Mais a de sensual sans failir
Oelles qui peut cultes saloir
Desse l'aurant par advante.

The whole section forms lines 1753-1754. The words "desse ou seau" look like a relationship to the "twelve men morris" and "pills men morris" of England and America, although a much later manuscript (1620) of the poem speaks of the game as one "qui se fait par seau ou par dix merelles," where "dix" may possibly be an error for "desse."
two dice (cum duobus taxilis) and some with three, and that some are optative games (ludi optativi) — ending with the phrase which we copy literally: “ut hos sine taxillis optet quod uelit.” Thereafter follows the descriptive solution beginning: “Et est iste primum ludus buffa in duobus taxillis.” Here we have again the buffa of king Alfonso, the remotest form of the present German name of backgammon (puff). These solutions generally record, at their very beginning, the number of dice employed at each throw, or otherwise comment on the nature of the problem, as, for instance, (117a). “Istud partitum optimum sed difficilium ad plenum (ad plenum being, perhaps, the modern French “plein”); (115b) “Istud ludus est unale deceptorius;” (115b2) “Ludus iste est optativus in tribus taxillis.” The positions mostly demand three dice, which, for various reasons, seems to us the older method, at any rate in European tables. Among the technical words occurring we notice domus (home-board), albe (plural, white), negri (black), as, des; roe; gaster, zic; at, manes; lobbis (isambis 23), torris; limes. The eleven positions at tables to be found in this volume all appear again in the incomplete Italian codex (XIX. 7. 51) in the same Florentine library.

We come now to the Roman velillum codex (Vitt. Em. 273) of the “Gvis Bononie” redaction, certainly, in its execution and in its present well-preserved condition, the most splendid of them all. It starts with blank folios numbered (numbering moderns) 1, 2, 3, followed by 4, of which the obverse is blank, while the reverse begins with a very ornate initial U enclosing the illuminated group of figures already described (a youngish personage in group garments seated at chess against a bearded man in lilac robe and hood, with a third person in scarlet vestments sitting in the central background, looking on); then come the prefatory verses which we have cited, written as prose, each stanza forming a paragraph commencing with a fine initial in two colours; to the first of these the stanzas appertains the much larger initial U at the head of the page. After these follow the chess text, the first position on f. 8b, the last on f. 148b. All the diagrams filled. The 76 partita at tables occupy ff. 160a-166b, and are followed by 4 unused or vacant diagrams on ff. 187a-188b. The volume ends with the 48 merelles problems, ff. 186a-212b, concluding with an unused morris diagram of the last folio (213a). Throughout this beautiful velillum every page opens with an illuminated initial letter in two colours. The design of the diagram for tables represents (for the first time) the one (half) table joined to the other by hinges, so that the two can be shut together like a modern backgammon (and chess) board; the table has, however, as usual at this early period, hones instead of points. Each one of the positions, chess, tables or morris, is placed in the centre of the page, having the descriptive text around it on the three exterior margins, the brilliant initials (blue and red, or red and violet) being uniformly in the upper left-hand corner. The diagrams are in blue, having the space between the external lines in faint olive green; the men are in red (=light or white) and blue (=black). In these backgammon diagrams every man is figured by a coloured disc (never by numbers, showing how many stand on a certain point).

It is impossible, within our limits, to copy much of the text of this monumental codex. We give, therefore, only the opening lines of some of the descriptions of the partita, premising that we have not often ventured to change the orthography, and that we have underscored the names of the various modes of play: (15ib) “Istud partitum est de testa optativum de tribus taxillis;” (15b) “Istud partitum est de tribus taxillis;” (155b) “Istud partitum est de abaral cum duobus taxillis;” (18a) “Istud partitum est de abaral optativum;” (163b) “Istud partitum est partitum optativum... et est de minoret;” (187b) “Istud partitum est de minoret in uno taxillo et uocatur le merlin;” (18a) “Albe [usually written instead of albe] primo trahunt et

faciunt minoret et negre maioret;” (186b) “In isto partito de minoret trahunt primo nigro;” (175b) “Istud partitum est de la buffa in duobus taxillis et stant omnes in domo;” (178a) “Istud partitum est de abaral;” (178b) “Omnes utrinque partis sunt affidate, et est partitum del abaral in tribus taxillis;” (181a) “In isto partito tanz negre quam albe stant in domo et abaral, et est de abaral in tribus taxillis;” (182b) “Istud partitum est de betheleas in tribus taxillis;” (183a) “Istud partitum est de ludo qui dicitur baldacis, qui est ludus subtiliss et non multum usitatus;” (183b) “Istud partitum est de temporial in duobus taxillis et sex semper in terno;” (184a) “Istud partitum est de temporal in duobus taxillos et sex sex in ternis, et habent nigro volunt;” (185b) “In isto partito omnes sunt affidate.” The text introducing the first tables position (149a) begins with the general statement: “Ista sunt partita tabularum,” where we find the name given as tabulae (in

![Image](https://via.placeholder.com/150)
moved are often indicated, on the diagrams and in the descriptions, by letters as a, b, c, (black and red), generally of a Gothic (black-letter) form.

We shall now again quote the opening lines of several of these solutions, to show their similarity to those previously cited, and shall then call attention to some of the technical words and phrases employed. The first problem (157a) begins with a brief introduction to the backgammon collection: "Istia sunt partita tabulorum," and so on. In some, if not all of the descriptions, the player of the white (a cum albi) is addressed. The text to the Eighth position (160b) commences: "Iste ludus est opitutus in tribus taxilis et quiquid facient aliec facient et nigre, et alie stat quique in domo sua, nigre in sua tres et vincunt albe. Primo de albis faci bus de quartem de tabula extrinseca..." then (168b) "Iustum partitum est in sharaii cum duobus taxilis et sex semper pro tertio, et primo trahunt albe et abe contiones adfante et nigre non sunt adfante;" (164a) "Hic ludus est de menoret in duobus taxilis;" (170a) "Iustum partitum est de sharaii;" (the word testa having been erased and sharaii inserted in its place by a later hand); (174a) "Iustum partitum est de menoret in uno taxillo tantum et sencatur le merlin;" (176a) "Iustum partitum est de testa in tribus taxilis;" (178b) "Iustum partitum est de testa et luditur in tribus taxilis et est domus aliarum bivi sunt 12 albe et domus nigre ubi stat sola alba et habet albe tractum et perdit nigra (I) ad fallum." (Now begins the play proper) "Tu cum albis lude et derda tut quot potes..." (180a) "In isto ludo trantage nigre primo et est de testa cum tribus taxilis et veniet illa extrinseca ut eleusunt;" (180b) "Iustum partitum est de testa et luditur cum tribus taxilis et habet nigre ninesis et elusionem et alba habel circums tabulorum et extrinseca morsors est. Vnde si non percutiet aliquam de nigris perdix sed nigre sunt priores quia ut plurimum accedit dux aut as..." (181b) "Iustum partitum est de la buf in duobus taxilis et est domus in punctis et introitus vbi sunt albe;" (182b) "Iustum partitum est de la buf in duobus taxilis. Fonetos tres pro uno et poneunum pro tribus;" (183b) "Iustum partitum est de sharaii in duobus taxilis;" (184b) "Iustum partitum est de sharaii in duobus taxilis et sex semper pro 3o et habent nigre tractum;" (184b) "Omnis utrisque sunt affante et est partitum de sharaii in tribus taxilis;" (185b) "Iustum partitum est de sharaii in tribus taxilis;" (188a) "Iustum partitum est delimperial in duobus taxilis et sex pro tertio;" (198b) "Iustum partitum est de bethelas in tribus taxilis;" (198a) "Iustum partitum est ludi qui dicitur baldoqu, qui est ludus substili et non multum velutum" (the third letter in baldoqu having been inserted by way of correction); (199a) "Iustum partitum est de limperial;" (198b) "Iustum partitum est optatum et in tribus taxilis et luditur ad modum minoretu et nigre habent tractum."
by a modern Romance article, *la buf, limperio, le merito*, perhaps showing them to have originated in the vulgar speech. As to technical words we give, wherever possible and necessary, with interlinear glosses. We draw from *amb ob, ambus, amass* (double ace); *as (ace); avantageum* (advantage); *better* (a variety of backgammon); *bethelias* (a variety of backgammon); *buf, la buf* (a variety of backgammon); used also as a technical term in such phrases as *buf de ba, as(buf)*, *buf de cin, buf de terne, buf de quaterna, buf de sin (sine), as facere buf de as, leucore buf de cin, cinque, cinque, cinque (five or five); *des, du, duos (douce, douce); domus* (home-board); *eiusdem* (in *empire* (a variety of backgammon); *inrodis*; *merlin, le merlin* (a variety of backgammon); *majore*; used technically as a contrast to *minor*; *facere minor*, *facere major*, *minore*, *menone* (a variety of backgammon), but used technically in *facere minor*; *nigrum* (the black); *epatetum*; *quater*; *quarue, quaterna, quaternum*, (four, fours); *quintus, quinquus* (see cinc); *sbarail, shorall*; *sbarallit* (a variety of backgammon); *sbarallit* (a variety of backgammon) played with two dice; *sines, natus, si, sex, six, see also tertium*; in the phrases *sex pro terio*, *sex semper pro terio*, meaning that six or sixes are actually used, as in *cum* *duobus tactitis et sex pro terio; tactis, text*; *tertium, tertius*; *tabula* (man, piece); *tabuliertum* (board); *tactitus* (dice); *tertium* in the last year in which he was born and reared, though descended from Bologna ancestors. Besides being a cultivator of general literature, he was an architect by profession, and, as such, in a period of interest in the creation of a notable church (St. Michele del Buon Rossellino) in his native city. Guarino also understood and practised the art of masonry—not an ordinary accomplishment in that remote trans-appointment region in the closing years of the thirteenth century. He is known to owe the issue of the first book printed at Forli, a work of singular typographical interest, the singular story of which has lately been told by the most recent authorities. It is said that Niccola Forasti (Niccolò Forastelli), a pupil of those three great humanists, Nicholas of the Lantenari family, the head of a widely-renowned school of grammarians at Venice—resided at Forli, and there composed a treatise, "De interpreta linguis italicis," subsequently published both at Venice (without date) and at Venice (between 1498 and 1500)."
We return to our consideration of the "Civis Bononii" collection; and this is, therefore, the place to mention another fragment of an Italian version of this second great compendium (or, as Van der Lindo will have it, of the "second edition" of the "Bonus Socius" work). In the British Museum there is a quarto manuscript volume containing three very different treatises, the second one being a transcript of the Latin "Civis Bononii" (Additional MSS 9951, lettered on the back: "Practus variar de ludis etc."). There is little that is attractive about the transcript. Its calligraphy is poor and its paper a very ordinary sort. The diagrammed positions of the three games are in black and faded red, occupying the lower half of the pages, having the explanatory solutions above them. Each page contains two problems side by side, and, of course, two paragraphs of descriptive text. Folios 8-10, 17-35 (according to the numbering, which is very recent, ff.11-16 are lacking, but there is nothing to show that the numeration itself is not erroneous) are occupied by the table positions; ff.36-48 by those at merelles, and ff.49-60 by those at chattes. At the beginning of the volume, in a comparatively modern hand, is written a date which Von der Laas gives as 1466, but which, whatever it may be, seems to be of little value. The binding expressed Girolamo Bizaro, lord of Forli and Imola—nominally a nephew but really a son of therightarrow and wealthy pope, Sixtus IV—and was mentioned in the approval of the "Practus variar de ludis". By Girolamo she had six children, the eldest of whom, Octavian, had, in name at least, succeeded to his father's principality. The second, Cesare, through the pervasive efforts of his mother, was designated in January 1499 by that wicked flock of all the popes, Alexander VI, to the elevated office of archbishop of Pisa, and Paolo Guarino was selected to accompany the new prelate to see the high capacity of consensal. Cesare was only nineteen years of age and could therefore hardly be regarded as a very high dignity, but Caterina, in her letter to the head of the church, had commended him as "pieno di ogni virtù e modestia." He ultimately received the title of bishop of Mages (1516) and closed a pious life some years later at Paphos. Guarino soon returned to his home. In 1509 he was sent by the magnificient of Forli on a mission to the cardinal legate, or papal governor of Romagna—the holder of an office which, some months later, was conferred on cardinal de' Medici, afterwards the brilliant pope Leo X—"i due tornati con pontifici favorevole." In 1519—"the very year in which Guarino was at work on his "Liber de partitis sceptrorum"—the horrors of real war were raging in his native region, in which his countrymen, Spanish, papal and other Italian troops were taking part. That same year, 1519, the pope, who had followed to Italy that renowned general, Gaston de Foix, duke of Nemours, had, by their threatened movements, led to the flight of a large portion of the wealthier inhabitants of Forlì, who warned of the perils of the city, the people remained. The pope himself visited the city and demanded an immediate supply of stores, for the use of the not very distant French camp, from the already impoverished citizens. The few notables of the city, standing in the walls, among them "Ser Paolo de' Marzianiti, in the edition of Bologna 1595-6 (in three, or, title, two volumes). Not a few members of his family occur in the "Civis Bononii". And in the Bologna 1595, which, as we shall see, was a great collector of what ever bore upon the history of Forli. Guarino must have been likewise known to Leandro Alberti, author of the "Descrittione di tutta Italia," the first edition of which appeared in Bologna 1556, but which remained, for a considerable time, the chief authority on Italian topography. In that earliest impression Alberti gives us the date of Guarino’s demise, with a pleasant characteristic of his character and pursuits (p. 190, 191): "Parsimoniæ nullam 1. concludit ad melior útulit Pauelo Guarini. E cadit in stultitiam. Lábilissimo ingenio & molta urbicida. Et bene non bensine gran confusione de lettere latine, numerosissimi rapit annis modo da icti volantes, de il quall molte se deilaletta ed in Saddimenti clemente. Molto s'aflattuto in recensione in libro de Forli e sì dalli libri da lui scritti, sonocesca si poch." Of his Italian poetry (if any) and of the historical works of Guarino, here recorded, we have no nearer knowledge. Some of them may still exist, hidden away in one or more of the old libraries or archives of Romagna. Another historical work, the "Spettamente istoria dell'antica città di Forli" of Sigismondo Marchetti (Forli 1418), also contains allusions to Guarino, of which we have already availed ourselves. The volume gives a representation of the Guarino arms (p. 392), which are described as "campo d'oro, aquila nera, [3] feste nere."
of the treatise on games has pretty certainly left its three divisions wrongly placed. This is shown not only by the position of the above-mentioned date, but also by the circumstance that the six Latin " Civis Bononis " verses, containing the enigmatical lines to the author's name, are on f. 49a, the first chess page. Evidently the order should be: chess, backgammon, morelles. The tables or backgammon subdivision starts with " [Plura sunt partita tabularum,] " and includes 44 positions. Turning over the leaves we observe the names of the varieties of the game with no marked divergences from those to be found in the Florence and Roman exemplars. The descriptions begin as usual; "iste ludus est de texta " (in one place " de la texta "); " istud partitum est de sbarale " (elsewhere written sbarale and sbarati); " istud partitum est de minoret " (elsewhere " de la buff "); and thereafter occur likewise bethlens and timperlus. On f. 51b the opening of the text is: "Istuds ludus est partitum qui dicitur beelefre; " and on f. 52a: " Iste ludus est noble decepturus., " The familiar phrases recur: " tacent albe buff; " , " buff das " (de as); " buff de du; " , " buff de terne; " , " buff de quartene; " , " buff de sinne; " , " optativus; " , " sex semper pro territo; " , " perdere ad fallum; " and so on. But the main feature of this manuscript to us is that the final ten descriptive solutions (ff. 35a-35b) are in Italian; they are most likely added to this manuscript by later hands, and so far as we can prove it is a copy (of an early " Civis Bononis " manuscript) made in Italy. The first of these ten texts commences: " Li rossi sono de nigri sono tre aminoreto [a minoretto] contro cum [sin] tre dodici; " another one opens thus: " Questo è un partita da tavola che se fa aminoret da tre dodici; " and we likewise have: " Questo è gioco de sbaraino. " The expression minoretto [minoreto] has, very likely, the signification of the German " das kurze puppe, " of which there are several kinds. Among the technical terms are " buff d'assi; " , " amaschi; " duino, etc. The last two Italian descriptions are in a hand differing from any found elsewhere in the manuscript. Von der Lasa merely alludes to this paper codex (p. 152), and Van der Linde (" Quellenstudien, ") pp. 190-181) has a somewhat longer report of it, reproducing (pp. 181-182) seven of its chess positions.

Just as the writing of this portion of the present work is in progress, another venerable literary monument devoted to the indoor games has been passing through a London auction chamber—certainly one of the most beautiful of these old codices on heraldry. Aside from the worth of its contents it possesses a high value as a specimen of the art of the XIVth century, a fact shown by the great price given for it. It was sold, concurrently with the rest of the library formerly belonging to the late Dr. Sir Andrew Fountain of Narford Hall, in the English county of Norfolk, by whom it was brought together during the reigns of queen Anne and king George II. Even the chess portion of this magnificent production has never been adequately described. Von der Lasa's description (" Quellenstudien, ") p. 186) hardly covers fifteen lines, and is accompanied by references to two of the positions included in its pages; Von der Lasa's account (" Zur geschichte der Schachzüge, " pp. 141-142) is no longer, although he cites one problem, the common possession of this and two other early authorities (p. 149). Von der Lasa had especial opportunity for its study by means of Mr. John G. White's transcript. He considers its language to be a dialect similar to those prevalent in Normandy and Picardy in the Old-French period. The paleographists speak of it, with some vagueness, as Anglo-Norman work. Von der Lasa states that it belongs to the "Bonus Societatis," but it is in error when he says that it is "in Feunteins MS fol. der Anfang." He derived this impression from the fact that the beautiful large illuminated initial, with which its text begins, occupies an unusual position above the text, the letter proper being indeed at the upper right hand corner; it is a G, noticeable enough when regarded with care, but concealed by its unusual position and by the fashion of the marginal arabesques connected with and springing out of it, similar to those which adorn very many of the subsequent (chess) paginal margins. Van der Linde apparently understood this matter rightly, for he gives the opening lines of the manuscript, initial and all: "Chill dor traent primiers & veillent matter (mate) les rouges a deus traits ne plus ne moins, preng les ruffz a fendeill car il ne le peunt fait." The chess descriptive text begins (after the first page) on the right margin of the page close beside the problem, and runs down below it on the lower portion of the page. The backgammon position is always at the top of the page and the whole of the descriptive solution below it—no part of the text being marginal. The exterior lines or frames of all the diagrams are in gold, the men in red and gold. Each description commences with a handsome two-coloured (blue and red, or gold and pale blue or lilac) illuminated initials—some of them quite large—while the ground tone both of the backgammon and morris boards is a deep blue. The chess portion extends from f. 1a to 144b, while f. 145a has an incomplete blank diagram and f. 146a a complete vacant one. These leaves are followed by the 22 folios of the backgammon division, comprising 44 positions, the volume ending with 14 folios devoted to the morris game, the text of this latter beginning on the reverse of the first morris folio, the problems filling ff. 157a and 158a of the final page being wholly blank; thus the morris positions number 25 in all. The text of the initial backgammon position is (except where errors occur in the present copy) as follows: "Cis gius es de letiess [testa o testa] et sohalidus in iis dices [diace] et dient celles dor, [= d'or, of gold] q elles leueront toutes de sante que las rouges sont hors cest en altainte chelles dor piners et les rouges seront che meisme q celles dor et se les rouges les perdent anct point quelles ne puisse toutis faire tout le giu al dor le volent preudre la auces celles dor le fai .du . et as .et asem de un quernre il fera un quernre deus et as et tu deus et ambes .as .en ferant les sienes atout le et coc geomese . hoste lune en ferant lune des sienes et fai deus et ambes .as .et il ce meisme tu feras le sienec par deus et laot e foras en fasans ambes as et en dedelesas une et en ulant ensi tu poras seurcment tu les elleueras toutes devant que nulles des rouges pintissait et leuenteras. " As the reader will see, the copy of the text here made is more or less defective; nor have we attempted to supply punctuation. "Celles d'or " and "les rouges " indicate the men of the two different colours—" gius " and " red " being equivalent to the " blanc " and " noir " of our less resplendent days. The text of the second position commences: " Citre [elsewhere written ceste] partitare est de la tiate asuahedier et celles dor et les rouges sont a leur maisons ceur leur seleuences et ont primiers celles dor .11 .trais en sohalidus; " this same paragraph of the text concludes: " Era buffe de as ensi qu'il vinat et tu ence buffe de as et il ausi . et ellesueras buffe de sinnes et le unkeras. " The description of the course of play in the fourth position opens with: "Cis gius est analaue " [this
word occurs elsewhere, is it the name of a variety]? That of the fifth problem thus: "Colles dor sunt in leur maison et laiss leurs fermiers et ne feront onces fors n'ay la dixi. des et il roguer ne fera onces fors buffe de quaresmes;" of the eleventh: "Cieuse parture est de bariol en il des et vi pour le tier;" of the twelfth: "Cie plus est de minorot en il des de sablemans," and later on is found the translation of the Latin perdere ad elegans, "et il taule dor ne le pier le alle fulle tu prenders les rouges," and still further in the same description we read: "tu endecouneras -iij. per ammonites et le tierce et fer. ...;" of the thirty-fourth: "Chie commencent les partures agiter les des et geton trois des en ceste parture et colletelles dor passer et alle toutiour le taulet et reuenir en a.;" of the forty-third: "Ceste parture est saulit (I) a deus deuant le dairene et est deies tiet;" As to the signification of the verb souhaiter (or souhaiter) occurring here, Litter strictly defines it very clearly in its backgammon sense. He cites the following early illustration: "On en-post-jeu-[du jeu des tables] en deux manieres, c'est a savoir par souhaiter de la langue, et par gierer les des." It is to be noted that the Fountaine Manuscript gives us few names of backgammon varieties, the principal, if not only ones being bariol (that is "saranil," "baratol" or "sabargilo"), and minorot. Among the technical terms are the usual buffe des as, buffe de deus, buffe de tiernes, buffe de quaternes, buffe de zines (blames); monats (months); as taule; taulier; perdus ofalls; cinc; quaines; eleuer; buffer (verb) and others.

Here we finish our lamentably insufficient notes on the backgammon portions of some of these remarkable manuscripts, with which, the other analogous ones, not noticed in these pages, form the most splendid literary productions which are in touch with the history and practice of social games. It is to be hoped that they may speedily pass through the hands of some investigator having the intelligence and the leisure to thoroughly examine what we have treated so hastily, so scantily and so superficially, and who will be in a position to compare with care each one with every other. We have glanced merely at a few of them, not even including all which are preserved in the libraries of Italy and England, and leaving those contained in the book-collections of France, Spain and Germany virtually unnoticed. It must likewise be remembered that we have given little attention to the parts of these codices devoted to the morris game; that wide field is still unexplored. Even the philological results of systematic researches among these singular memorials of an earlier age would amply repay the student for his labor; a not unimportant chapter might thereby be added also to the story of medieval art.

Between the latest of these vellum codices, preserved in the great central libraries of the peninsula, and the earliest printed Italian work relating exclusively or principally to backgammon, we have a period of at least three centuries. The early issue of the peninsular press referred to is a little book, which, although it went through four editions — perhaps more — has now become so rare, in the country which produced it, that scarcely one of the book-collections of Italy possesses a copy. The little work comes from the land's northern provinces, and was written, if we are to judge by the date attached to its preface, in or before the year 1604. It is entitled: "Il nobil e dilettelivo giuoco del saraglini. Dato in luce da M. Maurizio Bartinelli Cittadino da Novara. Con alcune nuove regole." In
di casari innanzi, che l’aunseracio canle le sue. Non è anco questo giuoco punto laborioso, perché s’esercita sedendo, e non a giuoco, con che si possi facilmente ingannare il compagno, perché è aperissimo, è abbarato, e poirci si chiamano Sbaraglina da quattro campi abbrati, ch’è in esso sono. Si che da tutti questi capi da noi commemorati si può raccorre la dignità, l’honestà, e nobiltà di questo giuoco, da quale si sono stato sopeorti a fare gli seguenti trattati, e dalla benevolenza de galant’homigli sarà cortesemente ricevuto il tutto.” It will be seen that the condemned games are ball, chess, cards and dice — by the last being meant the casting of dice (“mauns”), an affair of pure chance, unmarred with any element of skill. Notable is the statement that “chess pleases many, but without any reason, since it keeps the mind too much occupied, and demands the greatest study and attention, so that it is really not to be reckoned among games but among elevated exercises and bennards of the brain.”

It is worth while, here, to observe in what ways the writer’s favorite games excel all others. After telling us that cards are played by only the lower conditions of men (“by households inhabiting stable and by cobblers”), while the game of dice is not fitting either for the noble or the clerical classes, the author asserts that “Other games” than those he has mentioned “are mostly either puerile or effeminate; therefore I conclude that only the game called Sbaraglina is a perfect diversion, adapted to every lofty intellect, firstly because it is not a sport which strains the mental powers, but is cheerful, varied, and its turns of fortune are regarded solely as incentives to play.” Then he introduces a bit of rationalization from Aristotle, aided by which he endeavors to argue that as “this game does not depend so much on chance as cleverness, it may, therefore, be permitted to clerics, because the dice, which are a part of it, are not purely and really dice, such as are prohibited by the sacred canons, but only dice, as the logicians say, materialiter, and one does not judge, as Aristotle authoritatively declares, by the mere material form, but by the actual nature. Thus we ought not to say that this is a dice game, but a diversion consisting in the art of conducting into an open field a quantity of men (tansuli), and finally of pushing them forward (casari innanzi) as the adversary pushes his. Nor is this game at all laborious, since it is played sitting; and it is not one at which a player easily deceives his opponent, since everything is open and above board (apertissimo) and in no wise barred, sealed or concealed (sbarato); hence it is styled sbaraglina from the four unbarred or free fields, into which the board is divided. From the arguments which we have thus put forward may be deduced the dignity, nobility and honesty of this diversion, by which qualities I have been impelled to compose these essays, and on account of which this book will be kindly and courteously received by all worthy and gentle men.” Then follows the date of composition, as we have said, namely, “L’anno 1604, il du ilim diottobre.”

The recorded editions — there may have been more — have the dates of Bologna 1607, Milan 1619, Venice 1620, all preceding the one lying before us. The public library of Novara possesses that of 1619, but of the other copies of those of 1607 and 1631 are to be found. Bartinieli was a surgeon of reputation, and left behind him a manuscript work containing acute observations on matters connected with his profession, and on certain natural curiosities. A very brief notice of him is inserted in Lazzaro Agostino Corta’s “Museo novarese” (Milano 1701, p. 232, no. 462).

After the “proemio” succeeds the “trattato primo,” commencing with “regola prima” and concluding with regola IX (pp. 7-12). This division embraces little relating to actual play, but much good advice, in a general way, set off by many references to old and modern writers such as Probus, the “poeta Ferrarese,” the “poeta Venetino,” and others. The player is counselled, of first, all, to see that the instruments with which he plays are solid and proper. In “regola III” the writer shows us that he is not altogether in favor of the modern custom of using dice-boxes, for which there would seem, as yet, to have been no very distinctive technical term, but adheres to the old method of casting the dice from the hand as more fair—a point to which we have already briefly alluded elsewhere. He treats the subject thus: “È opinione de’moderni giuocatori, che sij cosa si accora in questo giuoco lo adoprire non le semplici mani, ma certi vasetti di legno che chiamano canelli. Questa opinione ha bisogno di correttione, dico adunque, che i canelli hanno da essere larghi nel fondo, accioche i dadi si posino inni bene risuolgersi, altramente con questo aspetto, che si vinttranno dentro in quello usciranno, e sorprenderai il punto, e così l’aspetto, e scaltro a una serilia di sua malattia contro di te; Bisogna anco fare, che l’aunseracio scotta, e dimeni i detti canelli, perché alcuni ne vogliono ‘chi’avere giuocatori con destrezza metter i dadi ne’i canelli con fargli pianamente scorrere, e sprocellare giù per il legno, e mostrando di sceglierli non gli scottan e così tirare il punto disegnato con risolveri i canelli debremente.” In subsequent “rules” we learn that no one should engage in the game “except with a mind calm, serene and cheerful;” that he should never move hastily; that he must have abundance of patience; that he should practice a moderate boldness; that a man of melancholic or mercurial temperament should never play in the presence of many spectators. He ends with the malicious advice that players giving odds should endeavour to complicate the game, so that they may win of their inexpert opponents (“Chi giocassene con uno inesperato, iamol go avanzaggio, se vorrà più siculo, che sia possibile, vincere, cercari di intorbidare, intracare, & imbrogliare il giuoco, perché a ridurre in termini il giuoco trasuaglio si ricerca gran maestria ed efficacia, che non ha l’inesperato”).

The “trattato secondo” (pp. 13-29) offers us 26 “regole.” These are intended to be practical counsels, but are often somewhat vague, since they are not illustrated by diagrams. In the first rule, which we translate entirely, we have a description of the board, some elementary instruction, and a few lines bearing upon the history of the game: “It being our task to lay down the necessary rules of this game, called Sbaraglina, we will first explain its nature. It is practiced, then, usually, upon two attached squares of wood, which may be opened and closed, and these are subdivided into four fields (campi), each field having six white points (segno) drawn in the shape of half rapers. There are employed in the game thirty men, fifteen black, fifteen white, all preceding the one lying before us. The second field (verso) the third, and he who has the hand (la mano), that is, he who is to play first, has his men on the anterior point; he will also keep one of them on his fourth, with which he can afterwards cover one of the others, placed singly, and
establish a point (fei caso) in the third field; caso means nothing else than two men, at least, covered or doubled or united on one of the points (segno) described. When the men are exposed, that is, when they stand alone—not doubled (compagni) and united—they can be hit by the adversary (possono toccare delle picchiate dall’avanzarsi); then, by the laws of the game, the pieces which have been hit are replaced in the first field, and must thus return afterwards towards the fourth. The game which the Spanish play on the board (in questo tavoliglio) is, in form, distinct from this, although the same pieces are used and the same dice; it is called toccasaglio. Different also is that in use in the Romagna, which is there styled minoretto. But that which is known as sbaraglio [sic] is in no other wise different from sbaraglino except that in the larger dice are cast, and a supposed third die is always added to the throw, counting six; but in the former three dice are employed, and no six is computed unless it is included in the throw. The victory in this game consists in having first thrown off (denuto) the men from the fourth field after all shall have been brought therein in accordance with the points shown in throwing the dice. To introduce them into the fourth field, passing them through the third, the first rule demanded by the game, and which is always to be observed, even until the game has progressed to its end, is (unless it be contravened by some of the rules hereinafter noted down) that everything shall be covered as far as possible, and that the men shall be guarded from “hits,” because, when hit, they are obliged to go back and undertake again a long journey, thus retarding their entrance into the fourth field. Their statement that sbaraglio is Spanish, when it pretty surely is not, and their explanations of the words minoretto, sbaraglio and sbaraglino. The distinction in the meaning of the two last vocables appears to go back to the XIVth century manuscripts. We have not been able to find that the word mano is used at the present time in the district of Brescia in the sense of “move.” But there is no doubt that many a ray of light could be thrown on the history of table-games by a careful study of the Italian dialects. It would be interesting for instance, to be able to confirm the Romagna origin of minoretto, so often used by the “Civis Bonoisii,” himself a citizen of that province.

We will render literally a portion of “regola II,” to give a further idea of the style: “At the beginning of the game (in modo di iniziar la gara) the person who seeks to establish some points (far delle case), and there should be at least three such protected points, so that the wide extension of your men may be conveniently carried out. If, therefore, you have the move and throw at the first cast (di primo lancio) a three and an ace, you will advance into the third field two men—one to the sixth point, the other to be placed on the corresponding three point. This the ignorant do not do, but hasten to push a single man into the fourth field; this rule is to be observed when you cannot, by your throw, double any of your men. And if, by so extending your men no farther than to the third field, you hit by your adversary,

this matters little at the outset of the game, because the men hit, as they come back, will serve you in doubling or establishing points, and enable you, in return, to hit the blanks of your opponent, or to make the top-point (testo), called by the Tuscans capocchia (the “head” or “top”), being the sixth of the first field, which is a position of much importance in the game, as we state below. We discover another Tuscan term in “regola VII,” which says: “If you have the move, and throw, at the first cast, three and two, you should establish the first point in the third field, which is your second, having then the advantage of a man in the rear, rather than seek to establish a point on your fifth, for you would in that case send forward one man less; this first point, as established, is entitled by the Tuscans proccioce (“currier,” “runner,” “carrier”), because it serves as a procuro, or aid, to the introduction of men into the fourth field, and likewise helps in the establishment (doubling-up of points).” Again we are told in “regola XX” that “Two men doubled up on the sixth point of the first field are called by some testa, by others capocchia, as we have remarked above, and form a useful position in the beginning of the game.” In the application of these “rules” it must be remembered that, at each throw of the two dice in sbaraglino, you are to suppose a third dice which always turns up a six; this imagined sixth die is referred to more than once, as 1) quando chie se si compuuta in ogni tiro (“seeing that six is to be added to every cast”).

We encounter here and there, various striking words and phrases, technical and otherwise: parigola (“doublet”); di poste, di bella poste; far un balero (“throw off another”) means un’altra scoperta su ‘l sei to the third campo, and l’altra dentro contigua, quasi nel quarto campo, e primo segno. Questo si chiamà far balero, perché si mette dirimpetto vero taolu a l’altra”; far monte di taule (placing several men on one point); così anco guardati non mettere moltitudine di taule in falso (“because they can hit with the giugno marcelo, for the difficulty ch’haerà l’autorizzazione nel sciarrare quel monte”); giocare per l’adietro, giocare marcelo; vincere marcelo (the latter perhaps something like the English “to backgammon”); non solo è necessario il saper entrare, ma il saper levar; taule scoperta; and many others of frequent occurrence. After these twenty-six rules for the advance (per l’inmarce), as the author styles them, meaning the style of play when the person addressed is in advance, pushing his men on towards the final “field” or “table,” we have “regola IX” per l’adietro (pp. 29-33), that is, adapted to the play when whose men are mostly behind or in the rear, and who must watch very closely the movement of his adversary in the hope of snatching victory from the jaws of defeat. The second of these rules opens thus: “Chi giuoca per l’adietro questo giugno, e non serra il terzo campo sompitamente, perderà il giugno da principio, e ci deve tener cura d’aiuare non solo il campo, ma che si posi serrare il detto campo, e starrà strettamente taule dell’autorizzazione che sono farosi. Sarà anco bene far prima (se sarà possibile) la serrata nel secondo campo, perché, d’itarrandososi il giuoco, onero non haudente tanto campo da moserai con le taule fuori, l’autorizzazione sarà maggiormente constretta a rompere le case dentro nel quarto campo.” Far suerci eight others, being the “trattato quarto,” comprising “regole Otto del levar,” that is to say for throwing off one’s men (pp. 35-39). Interesting is the continuation of these rules because it alludes to a Latin saying customary among players: “Nel progresso del levar è molto necessario, che le taule
in the period covered by the manuscripts, was rapidly going out of fashion. Alessandro Citolini, called "di Seravalle," in his little known work, "La tipocornia" (Venetia 1561, p. 494), towards the end of the fifth of his seven days (1566), remarks: "After having various sports, there is a following paragraph on dice games. The reader must bear in mind that the author endeavours to cite in his volume the titles of all trades, professions, arts, sciences, philosophies, with the terms appertaining to each of them. He says: "Segante poi i Givoci di dadi: dove saranno le pise, i dadi, da farina, da taumu, e in essi il 5, il 4, il 3, il 2, l'asso [the dice numbers], e poi il taumo, e i segni evoi, e le taumu e così givoc a taumo, tirar i dadi, far ambasai, divini, tempi, querdensi, givioli, dodici [the dice doublets], menar le taume, far case, lasciar taumo scoperte, dar a la taumo, tornar indietro, givoc di dietro, unire, dar il givoco marzo [marzo], perdere, gitar uia la taumo, romper il taumo; e se uolete le maniere di givoci, vedrete scarv'asino, tocadili, e corto, e lvengo, scarvagio, scarvino, cmarzo, mineto, a tre dadi, a sanzo." In the list here given we have both scarvagio and scarvino. As most of the other games mentioned in the sentence are forms of backgammon it would be interesting to know what the writer means by cmarzo; scarv'asino, as we have already noted, is an application of one of the simpler forms of merelles; and as for sanzo, it may or may not be an older form of sanzo, referring to varieties played "without" the three dice. Scarvino we find both in the XVIIth and XIXth centuries. One of the earliest citations is in a poem by Bronzino (probably identical with the painter, Angelo Allori, born in Florence 1601). It is in the thirteenth chapter of his "Capitoli faceti" (Venetia 1622):

Come sarro far rucci e schipogli
O giamaro do so easso a scarvagio
Per non aver a dar noja a violi.

A more famous comico liyst, Francesco Bertini (1536)—who gave his name to a sort of playful, ludicrous, satirical, flexible, but somewhat licentious verse at one time much read— alludes to the game in the first book ("In lode della primiera"—the last word being apparently the same as "primero," the name of an old English card game), of his "Opere burlesche" (Florence 1552-53):

S'io perdetto a primieria il nauglio e gli oochi
Non soo per coro, dove a scarvagio
Maneggio i cet, s'io perdo tre babocchi.

The word is also used by the Catholic historian of the council of Trent, Cardinal Pietro Sforza Pallavicino (1667), in his treatise "Del Bere" (Rome 1644, p. 261): "Non prouiamo noi, che chi giuoca a scarvagio, quando il giuoco è a segno, che non possa egli perdere, se non insopprimendo due assi ne' dadi, cioè, da vna, d'innumerabili; ma di trentasei congiunzioni possibili, canta già nel cuor suo il triunfo del giuoco!" It is employed, too, by another native of the Italian capital, the littérateur Lorenzo Magalotti (1607), in his "Lettere familiarì" (Venezia 1719, p. 598)—compared by Hallam to those of Rodi—where he gives us a technical term in use at his time: "O non er'egli meglio tirar a vincere il giuoco per l'innanzi (per servirsi d'un termine dello scarvagio) che rimanere apposto in dietro per vincere per la cavata, e star a tecca, e non tocca di perdere marciu!" The
word *sharagino* lasted until the end of the XVIIIth century; the poet Bartolomeo Corelli, writing about 1790, gives this counsel in his heroic-comic poem, "Il Torrachione desolato" (Leda=Firenze 1822, 1, p. 104, cant. IV, 64):

Quand' ecoi il Cuolo (che 'a temprare il 'anaro
Passioni d'amore e un tavolino
Se ne stava in palagio allor coll'aro
Coll'ago Hetto Cilli a sharagino)
Furse un' ecoo....

Another poet, once eminent but now hardly read, of a somewhat earlier date, either the father, Jacopo Cioognini, or the son, Andrea Giano Cioognini—our authority leaves us in doubt which, but both were writers of verse—wrote:

Lo imperatore on l' ha poggiato nodo
E son a fatto a dama a sharagino.

We have commented elsewhere (see p. 187) on the Italian employment of the word *trictrac*, which, compared with other appellations of the game, may be considered rare. As to the many and variously different significations of the word *trictrac*, we are here not concerned; the poets continued to be familiar with many of them and to use them, as, for instance, Giovanni Battista Fagioli (b. 1660), in his "Rime piacevoli" (Florence and Lucca 1729-45, 7 vols):

Il tric tracchi allora si sentiva;
Ma son io gia quel tempo.

No less a personage than Niccolò Michiavelli, the famous secretary of the Florentine commonwealth, confessed to his overweening fondness for backgammon in one of his "Lettere familiari" ("Opere complete," Florence 1833, p. 287, col. 2), addressed to the ambassador, Francesco Vettori, dated 1513; he says: "Con questi io m'ingaggiòlo per tutto di giocando a cinque, a trictrac," the former word, which we have seen before (p. 187), being the title of a game at cards. We have already mentioned an Italian instance of the use of *trictrac* to indicate a variety of backgammon, as early as 1526 (see the phrase just alluded to on p. 187). *Toccadigito*, as a backgammon appellation, is a word, both as to its origin and exact signification, of the most evasive character. It is said by the Italian lexicographers to be Italian, and by the Italian to be Spanish. In Italy it is very seldom found in literature, and not very often in the dictionaries. It is, however, at least as old as the early years of the XVth century. Giovanni Mauro, whose few poetical "Capioli" are usually published with those of Berni, and who died in 1336, a few days after his friend and companion (for both were Tuscans), in his "Capioli a Ottaviano Solis" (see Berni, edition of Florence, 1532, f. 154 b), inquires of the acquaintance whom he addresses what common friends are doing:

Che fa messer Giovanni, che fa l'abate,
Ch'io fa Vergilio consul or orato?
Riggiore come dispensa la giornata?
Come fa il maggiordomo a toccadigito?
Il cuoco se ne ancho le trascio noto?

while in the same century Francesco Bracciolini (b. 1596), in his "Scerno degli Dei," styled by the author in its first issue, 1518, a "poema eroico-gioco", has both *toccadigito* and *sharagino* in his lines (edition of Milan, 1634, p. 76, cant. 5, xxvii):

... vegano e vanno
Iavisti tutti o e vis Zero
Gioco a toccadigito o sharagino.

Baretti, the Anglo-Italian lexicographer of the XVIIIth century, renders both *sharagino* and *sharagino* by calling each "a kind of play at backgammon," explaining the former as a game "che si fa con tre dadi," and the latter as one "che si fa con due dadi." In the various editions of his dictionary neither *toccadigito* nor *trictrac* is treated as an Italian word. The former we have not seen in any Italian lexicological work except Giovanni Gherardini's "Supplemento a vocabolari italiani," which was not issued until the middle of the century just closed (Milan 1582-57, 6 vols); it explains *toccadigito* as "gioco spagnuolesco da tavoliere; forse lo stesso che sharagino [sic]," and goes on to remark that it is the French "toute-table o toutes-tables;" but this same dictionary nowhere cites either *sharagino* or *sharagino*, and the Spanish dictionaries do not give us *toccadigito* in any orthography. The term *toccadigito* (or *toccadoggio*) is not, at present, we believe, in use anywhere on Italian ground. One verbal definition given by Tommasso and Bellini may be noted. The French probably acquired from the Italian case their technical word *case*, the former being yet in use in the more Southern land, both for a "point" on the board and for a "point" having on it "doubled" men; as may be seen in the dictionary of the writers just cited, *case* is said to signify "ciascuno scompartimento del giuoco chiamato sharagino o trictrac," while "fare una *case*" is given as meaning to "raddoppiare le girelle o tavole," the compilers adding that "adesse il giuoco della sharagino si chiama tavola reale." Many derivations of *sharagino*, all equally improbable, are to be found in the older dictionaries. Gherardini, by his orthography of the word *sharagino*, apparently wishes to imply that it comes from *sharrare* (itself from *barrare*, to "bar," meaning to "disbar," "surmount barriers," to "pass bars," referring possibly to the movements of the pieces from one "bar" or point to another, by which we shall be reminded of the English technical term, "bar-point.") Even more completely out of use than any of the names of varieties of backgammon we have mentioned is *minmoreto*, so common in the period of the early manuscripts, and even at a much later time so well known to Bar- tissii. But backgammon was, at a subsequent day, to find its way to a much more important place in Italian letters. It was to be the subject of a prominent episode in the best known work of the greatest Italian poet of the eighteenth century, for his only possible rival to such a claim, Metastasio, is to be considered rather a dramatist than a lyrist. Giuseppe Parini died almost with the century (1779). He was the first Italian poetical writer who came under that English influence which had so effectually reached Germany through Lessing: In 1763 Italy, then lying in a drowsy slumber, was startled from its languor by the appearance of the first part of Giuseppe Parini's poem "Il giorno," the scheme of which, we are told by an English critic, was drawn from Thomson, while its spirit was the spirit of Pope, the result being a production such as Cowper might have composed had he been born an Italian. It is a masterpiece of delicate and pointed irony. It describes
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the dawdling, dillettante life of higher Italian society in that dull age, when there was neither political, commercial, military nor literary activity, when no national feeling existed and when even the church slept. It portrays the events of a day in the fruitless life of a young man of the gentry, and is divided into four parts: "Il mattino" (morning), "Il meriggio" (noon), "Il vespro" (evening), and "La notte" (night). The second part ("Il mezzogiorno") was published in 1765. At its end was a description of a contest at backgammon, which at once became the classical utterance concerning the game. The guests at a country-house, the noon-meal finished, retired to the drawing-room for coffee, after which some of the party went out driving, and, as Carducci in his summary of the poem expresses it: "Gli altri giucano a diversi giochi, essi a sharapino," which we quote in full. The reader will notice the introduction, still common in Parini's day, of the old mythological machinery, and will see from the last lines that the author shared the belief in the derivation of the word trictrac from the noise made by the shaken dice. The text given in the careful revision of one of the historian and critic Cesare Cantù, in his admirable work, "L'abate Parini e la Lombardia nel secolo passato" (Milan 1854, pp. 405-406). The passage embraces lines 1103-1190 of the poem:

Cosi a questa, o Sfinge illustre, lagrando
Ora leste al faccia. E s'altre ancora
Volete Amor che dier febbre, altro po' maggi
ta turba convulsa: e tu da un lato
Sol con la Danza tua quel gioco eleggii
Che d'un asilo ne fa il tavolare amante.
Gia per ninfa gentile tuola ardea
D'insidiosi e fieri misero amante,
Cui nell'altra degrazia successo con lei,
Fiorito il rosso marito, ad Argo eguale,
Vigliava mai sempre, e quasi bianca
Ora piangendo, o allungando il colla,
Ad ogni verso con gli occhi acuti
Era pressando. Oh! come con cenni,
O con note fiori e la sua bella
Chinador poca: Ogni d'amante
Seragemma finissimo vincente
La giostra del rustico marito.
Che più lato spargi! A sol trionfo si vinse
Del nome accorto che la serpe intreccia
All' erba verga, e il capo e la catena
D'ali di carne. A lui si prostrai muolo
E in questi datti, lagrando, il prega:
" O popolino a gl'ai amanti, o ben signore!
" Da la candida Maja, o tu che d'Argo
" Diamasti i maestri, e a lui raperti
" La guardiana, fioro e i preghie acconsigl.
" D'un amante infido, e a lui consegnai
" Non gli occhi, lagrano gli occhi almenos
" D'impostura marito." Ero, si scote
Il diril simulese, a lui si chiusi,
Con la verga pacifica la fronte
Gli percorse tre volte; e il fronte amante
Sece dettarai us la mente su gioco

Cantù's principal note (pp. 106-107) is of interest, because it is the earliest and fullest attempt at a historical sketch of backgammon, written in Italian, down to the middle of the XIXth century — and it has not been greatly improved on since — although it naturally leaves much to be desired. The chess anecdote of Saccheri at its end is, of course, out of place, but in Parini's time people still fancied that all table games must be more or less related to each other: "E lo sharranino [sic], uno dei diversi giuochi delle
tavole. Il tavoliero è doppio, comparto in piramidi bianche e nere, e vi gioca con quindici pedine nere, e quindici bianche, due dadi, due bossoli. Ciascun giocatore impila le sue pedine al vertice della prima piramide; in uno dei bossoli scocce i due dadi, e il lancio contro la sponda dell’avversario non riscontro che i dadi fanno parigio o nò, si regola la messa della pedina. I numeri eguali fanno andare da freccia bianca in bianca; o da nera in nera: i cali da freccia nera in bianca o viceversa. L’intento è di occupare l’estremità, ove si fa domine [I] la propria pedina, per poter poi assalire l’avversario nelle sue case. Dal fracasso che dovevano fare pedine, bossoli, dadi si questo gioco chiamato il trickscat; dal quale poco differisce il Tac. Ne voglio nè devo insegnarvi a giocare; e molti non avranno veduto a giocarlo; giacché, sebbene raro, è disusato, singolarmente in Francia, ove un proverbio dice che il trickscat non impara le donne che da loro amanti, né gli uomini che dalle amiche. Chi ne volesse conoscere le teorie, guardi l’Encyclopédie methodique, jeuex, trickscat. Prosper Merimee, uno dei romantici più rimanenti di Francia, pubblicò un racconto La partita di trickscat. Delittle, nell’Hommé des champs, ha una lunga descrizione di una partita a trickscat. Platone diceva che il mondo è simile allo schacchino: si comincia dal gettar casuale del dado; poi il giudice divide le mosse. Tutto brano sembra al De Courci una puerilità, una pedanteria, un affettato erudizione di scolastiche cognizioni, e trova singolarmente ridicolo che un moderno Serboni ricorra a Mercurio per ajuto. Ma chi gli ha detto che questo trovo fosse moderno? Platone attribuisce l’invenzione de’ giuochi di zara appunto a Mercurio Trismegisto. I Greci avevano il diagrammismo e i Romani le duodena scripta, che somigliavano bene al nostro trisgraiol. Gli An- nalii persiani lo fanno antico quanto gli schacchi. Perchò raccogliamo che Durata lunga guerra fra Beligi, re d’India, e Nusorvan re di Persia, quell o per finirla alla quinta mandò al Persiano un giuoco di schacchi, promettendo pagare un tributo se i Persiani, nesuno insegnandoli, scoprissero l’arte di questo. Raccolgolosi i sapienti del re: Bozoroqemahr [Buxoroqmihr] arriva a discoprire i misteri degli schacchi; e per mostrare che i Persiani non solo ne sapevano del pari ma più che gli Indiani, inventò il trisgraiol, invio dal suo re, porta all’indiano si la spiegazione degli schacchi, si la sfida a conoscere il nuovo gioco. La sapienza di tutti i dotti dell’India riuscì vano, e Buxoroqmihr pagò il tributo (Annalès de la litérature et de arts, tom. IX, pag. 84). Il padre Girolamo Sacchetti, gesuita, professore di matematica a Pavia, fra altri ammirati esercizi di memoria, faceva una sua intrattenimento giuoco a tre schacchi contemporaneamente e senza vedere; e più di quelle vinceva, più spesso, riteneva a memoria tutte le mosse. "What Cantù calle a ‘Il Tao’ is, a ‘Tissis, toozadul; te; however, is not discoverable, so far as we know, in any Italian dictionary, at any rate not as a name of a game. In more than one place, in his note, Cantù makes evident his ignorance of the rule of the game; the word dare (‘to give’), for instance, is not appro- ni- connection with backgammon, but is used only in relation to chess and draughts.

There is a now more recent edition of “Il giorno e le od” of Parini (Tu- rin, 1889) by Giuseppe Valmaraggi, a Turinense university professor. We copy his longer note (pp. 136-139) on the same passage of Parini’s poem, in spite that the fact its manner is largely drawn partly from Cantù and partly from the cyclopedias. Some portions of it, nevertheless, will be new to many readers; this is especially true of the concluding lines, It is a pity that the compiler of the note could not have given us a trustworthy account of the present state of backgammon and its varieties in the different provinces of Italy, and some notion of the terminology of the game now or lately in vogue in the extensive field which stretches between Southwestern Sicily and Friuli: “Deserzio del tris-trac; e il nome, che ‘ancor l’antico strepio dinotta,’ a punto venne dal rumore che faoano, nel giuoco, bossoli, dadi e pedine. Ma, buon documento della ciarlataneria etnologica è un’erudizione che oramai dobb’essere vecchia, non nascö di ritrovarla che ‘avvascese del giuoco al greco τρίπλος, che vorrebbe dire ‘tre o più difficile a jouer e a comprendere’ (1), com’è riferito da Giovanni Quirina nella sua Novelle Accademie des jeux (Parigi, 1883, p. 284). Il tris-trac si gioca (in Francia è in uso anche oggi) sopra un tavoliero, diviso longitudinalmente in due campi, e compartito da ventiquattro file a due colori, dodici per parte, parallele alla divisione longitudinale dello scacchier (patrono alterando in dodici magioni ambe le sponde, v. 1149 sg.). De’ due giuocatori ciascuno dispone di quindici girielle, pedine, o rotelle, com’è corretto nelle varianti di mano del P., rispettiva- mente bianche e nere, ammassate da principio in tre pile su la prima freccia di destra. Dal getto dei dadi, che devono essere lanciati contro la sponda (sousse in la nomenclatura francese tuttavia in corso avversaria, dipendono tanto la qualità della mano, di una o due pedine o su una o l’altra freccia, secondo la combinazione dei punti formati dai dadi, secondo la direzione di essa, secondo il numero totale è pari (singoles), di freccia bianca in bianca, o dispari (doppie), di bianca in nera e viceversa. Ordine e fondamento al giuoco i ‘piani’ (jamas) oto in tutto, conforme a diverso modo come le pedine si movono e sono abbastanza; e segnano i punti vinti, che si notano dopo, con due gettoni variamente disposti intorno alle frecce (due punti avanti la prima freccia di destra; quattro tra la terza e la quarta, ecc.). Dodici punti una trova, che si rappresenta inluso progressivamente una stecca nei buchi onde s’orinano le sponde del tavoliero; dodici troves danno la partita. — Il giuoco è antichissimo, e lo troviamo già in Persia descritto nel Liber del re di Ferrusi (vol. VII, pp. 228-237 della traduz. italiana di L. Pizzi, Torino, 1898), il quale ne attribuisce l’invenzione al savio Buxoroqmihr. Lo vediamo poi diffusissimo nell’antichità classica: probabilmente è la cerimòia dei Greci (cfr. Eschilo, II, p. 945), senza dubbio il ludus duodecim scriptorum dei Romani, che si giocava sopra un tavoliere (alveus o tabula) sul quale erano tracciate dodici linee (scripta, di cui il nome) tali- glate da una perpendicolare in modo di formarne 24 compartimenti. Su queste linee si muovevano le pedine (calcuti) a due colori, secondo il punto formato dai dadi, lanciati sul tavoliero mediante un bossolo (pyrgus o fritillus), con tutte le regole del triss-trac. Oltre due epigrammi dell’Antologia latina (192-193, Rieso) e qualche altro cenno di scriptri latini (v. Ter. Adelph. 738 ss.; Cic. in Non. s. v. scripta, p. 170, 29; Ov. P. 71, 22; 74, 6, 2; 47, 6, 22; 204, 2, 2; Plin., N. H., XXXVIII, 6, 2); è importantissimo documento del giuoco come celebre epigramma di Agathias (Ant. Gr., III, 62, Jacobo), dove si descrive una particella dell’imperatore Zenone (Marquardt, Privati. d. Röm., 2° ed., 834 ssgg.); i materiali però non sono pochi su poco già quelli stessi raccolti, e discussi già dal Salmis (in Script. hist. Aug., e dal De Paw, De alia veter. ad epigr. Agath., Praj, ad Rhein., 1720). Dal Salmis (p. 467), dal
CHESS IN ICELAND

Jacobs (p. 101) and ancora dal Bécq de Fouquères (Les jeux des ancens, 2e ed. (Parigi, 1873), p. 373) fur riprodotto di su la sillogismo di Gruter (Inscript. ant., II., 1049) una tavola rappresentante il gioco; ma è a pochissimi, come provato chiaramente già il Ficoroni (I lati ed altri strumenti d'uso degli antichi romani descritti (Roma, 1734) p. 102 sg). Ancora ritroviamo nel tric-trac nel medio evo, ove' era designato col nome di aile, diventato sinonimo di tabula, la qual parola signifie più lo scacchiere, bene la pista, e lo scacchiere si chiama invece tabularium (L. Zdekauer, Il gioco in Italia nei secoli XIX e XX, in Arch, stor. Ital., n. 4, XVIII. (1886), p. 20 sgg). Non è rarissimi i statuti le disposizioni che si debba giucare con trenta tavole, e ciò affinte d'impedire che si debba podine in apparente all'orlo del tavoliere, per gettare i dadi, in mezzo di loro a zara (Zdekauer, loc. cit., p. 27, n. 1).

Anche alla confusione d'termi, nona perdurò sino alla fine del medio evo (ancora è nel Pietrarca: v. il XXVI ragionamento De tuto aleato et calculorum de Remedies utriusque fortunae, et p' in qua, sine ad Ritensamento; il merito d'averla volta di mezzo spetta per prima a Cello Calcagnini, nella dissertazione De talorum, tesserorum et calculorum italii (in Opp. Basilea, 1544), pp. 285-301). Ma non mai il gioco ebbe così grande diffusione e voga come nella seconda metà del secolo scorso. Nella Novelle Academia dei giuochi, ristampata ad Amsterdam nel 1773, è detto in proposito che l'excellence, la beatitudine e la sincerità qui si racconta in questo, fonte che il bel mondo qui a de la pitoccheria s'apprive avec beaucoup de soin, en fait son jeu favori, et le préfere aux autres jeux. En effet, il semble que tant de noblesse et de distinction, que nous voyons qu'il est plus à la mode que jamais; les dames principalement y ont une très grande attache (II., 31 sg). Non è a m'èravasi scegliere se nella teoria del gioco troviamo che hanno luogo delle regole galanti di questi fatti: «L'ont pratico, à présent que celui qui joue contre les dames, leur donne les tables ou dama noires, parce que le noir de l'ebene relève et fait paroiere davantage la blancheur de leurs mains, ce que leur fait plaisir» (ib. p. 38). Dall'anonimo autore della stessa opera è anche reeditata certa Chanison du trictrac, nella quale la sorridute è la grande e il doppiamente senso al grossolano, che non si potrà riprodurre altro che i primi versi:

Galante, je vous vous apprendre,
Sans doute, si vous mal aimances,
Un jeu facile a comprendre,
Un necessaire de Trictrac;
Il sont, en suivant la chance,
Mettez dans les deux.

Il Canto (in prosa) recita un proverbio francese, secondo il quale il tric-trac non imparano le donne non dagli amanti, né gli uomini non da loro amiche. Nell'Homme de Ville [Champs] del Delille (1738-1813) è una lunga descrizione d'una partita a tric-trac: 16 e un romanzo sullo stesso argomento scritto

*This metrical description of a partie du Backgammon is like that of Pariz, and possibly suggested by it, and is the most notable which occurs in French literature. It is to be found in l'Homme de ville. (See his works, Paris 1584, VIII., pp. 295-301) and is very brief. Valmaggio, as the reader will notice, makes the slumbering blunder of styling this once widely-read poem l'Homme de ville — an inapplicable place of the pen. We cite the passage, sans blâme, in sa salut,

Près du chêne brûlant, j'usurai l'aisance,
Dans cette chance, ouclave, avec gout éclatée.

Le ciel devait-il s'obscurcir? Il était dans sa saison,
Près du chêne brûlant j'usurai l'aisance,
Dans cette chance, ouclave, avec gout éclatée.

Il Canto (in prosa) recita un proverbio francese, secondo il quale il tric-trac non imparano le donne non dagli amanti, né gli uomini non da loro amiche. Nell'Homme de Ville [Champs] del Delille (1738-1813) è una lunga descrizione d'una partita a tric-trac: 16 e un romanzo sullo stesso argomento scritto

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Près du chêne brûlant, j'usurai l'aisance,
Dans cette chance, ouclave, avec gout éclatée.

Mille heureux, et longtemps averti la soirée,
J'usurai le jeu hongrois où, le correc't en main,
L'aventure jouer calme et hardiesse taciturne.
Chassez sur le damier, en un ordre admirable,
Les cases, les couleurs, et le plaisir et sa robe,
Leurs couleurs blanches et roses danse au fil du noir;
Leur pâle, éclat, d'ordre. Se la craindre et l'Espoir,
Bâtie, chassée, dépris de sa peine séveur
Les, son, sa robe, s'assey, et le nombe proussé.
Je court, relève, s'abate; le nombre a proussé.

In the poems from which we are quoting, these lines are immediately succeeded by a description, then equal length, of a game of chess. The abbe Delille published l'Homme des champs in 1680. He, like Pariz, was greatly influenced by his familiarity with English letters.

Residing for the better part of two years in England, he translated into French Milton's Paradise Lost, Pope's Essay on Man, and several shorter pieces. He somewhat resembled the Italian lyric in épris, and in the ease and harmony of his verse, but he has begun to enjoy the popularity and vogue which were once his. It is proper to mention that Pariz's poem has been rendered in its complete form into French under the title of "Le joueur, procédant à quatre parties, traduit en vers françai par L. A. Bremond" (Paris, 1836). — The stellicious piece of verse, of which the first lines are reproduced by Valmaggio, has been set to music, and is inserted in many collections of French songs. — The other French production which has to do with chess is the more widely translated collection of tales entitled "Colombine". The edition which we used is that of Paris, 1809, in which the narrative fib, pp. 343-360. It is the tale of a young French lieutenant of the navy, who, after losing a good deal of money in gambling, yields, in his desperation, to the temptation of cheating at tric-trac, his opponent, a lieutenant in the Dutch service. Of the two it is said: "Bref, pendant plusieurs jours il se dédouait raisonnable, soit au café, soit a bord, essayant toutes sortes de jeux, surtout le trictrac, et augmentant toujours leurs pertes, et bien qu'il en vinrent a jouer vingt-deux napolines, il perdit.

The preceding description of the culminating point of the contest is as follows: — "Bienfais, Roger fut rudement a jouer les derniers vingt-deux napolines. Il s'appliqua herculéen; aussi la partie fut-elle longue et disputée. Il visa un moment sur Roger, tenant le coust, et au bout, il avait beaucoup de panique. Roger s'ouvrit, bien délivré, et en parle au plus violent desepoir. Ce fut en finissant qu'il jeta les dés. Il les jeta si rudement sur le damier, que de sa seconde une bague tomba sur la pisteuse. Le Hollandais loura la tete d'abord vers la bague, qui venait de couvrir de dire son pantalon usé, puis il regarda les dés. — Il marquait six et quatre. Roger, plus couru, le cueillit sous les vingt-deux napolines. Le comte reçoit à jouer. Le cheval était favorable a un malheureux roi, qui pour tant faire ses de sables, et qui eût comme s'il avait voulu perdre. Le lieutenant hollandais s'était, doubla, doubla les joueurs. Il perdit toujours. Il revêtit le voir encore, c'était un grand bloud, flagellation, dant la figure semblait être de cirer. Il se levà enfin, ayant perdu quarte mille francs, qu'il paya sans que sa phlegmatisme décrût la moindre émotion. Roger lui dit: "Ce que nous avons fait ce soir a un signifie, vous devinez de quoi. — J'en veux pas de votre argent!" — "Vouz plaisante," repose le Sganizade Hollandais; "J'ai trés-bien joué, mais les dés ont déifié contre moi. Ils sont de pouvoir toujours vous gagner en vous rendant quatre tours. Bromez!" et il le quitta. Les deux lettres appojne, décevant de leur belle cerevelle dans sa chambre après avoir bu un bol de poiré. Briquelet b-horror at the outside of his opponent. Roger is mastered by remorse, tells his two most intimate friends that he had won by cheating, and prepares to put an end to his own life likewise. They persuade him to live, but soon afterward, in a naval combat, his proposed foolhardiness results in his death.
which we have given an account (see pp. 122 and 174–5). Unsatisfactory as it
is, Professor Vatnagally’s note is still useful for its references to authorities,
and makes an addition or two to our bibliographical note on Greek and
Latin games (pp. 121–2).

There is an English prose rendering, or rather paraphrase of “I’ll giorno,”
published anonymously, but really the work of Lady Elizabeth Berkeley,
who became by her first marriage Lady Craven, and by her second
Margravine of Anspach (1750–1838), a figure of European note in her day. She
was a woman of considerable learning, and printed privately some poems of
Potrach besides other compositions of her own, and was the patron
and friend of Ugo Foscolo, whose English “Essays on Potrach” she issued in
a handsome, but very limited edition (sixteen copies) before it was given to
the general public. Her version of Petrarch’s poem is entitled “A fashionable
day” (London 1789), and was dedicated to the translator’s brother. It gives
but a faint idea of the beauty of its original. We cite the portion describing
the game (pp. 105–113): “It only now remains to perform the sacred rites
of the god of gaming, who is always ready to cheat his votaries of their
money and their time. The god himself provides the combatants with arms,
and arranges them in different parties of foot and of horse. Propitiatory
ever to thy prayers, for thee he orders to be set apart a table, whose narrow
lists will admit but two warriors. Love smiles with triumph as he explains
to thee the most ingenious stratagem which was ever practised by any of
his subjects in all his wars; with Hymen. Long had an unsuccessful soldier
of Love been the prey of a consuming fire lighted in his bosom by the hand
of a child of Beauty and of Hymen. The languishing looks of Tenderness
were the sole interpreters of his passion. With difficulty could they deceive
the vigilance of a husband, who never closed his eyes, and who, at the
smallest noise, erected the long ears of attention. Alas! not a slave could
the unhappy lover gain over to his interest, not the smallest billet could
his despair convey to her. Wherever he goes, this monster blasts his sight.
At last he flies to the altar of that benevolent god, whose hand is armed
with a caduceus, whose head and feet are ornamented with wings. To his
holy statue he doves the lowest homage. With streaming eyes and uplifted
hands, ‘Oh thou son of Maia,’ he exclaims, ‘thou deignest to listen to the
prayers of Love—thou who deifiedst Argus with his hundred eyes—teach
me to deceive; if not the eyes of this too watchful husband, at least his
cats!’ The statue smiles on his request. He perceives the magic caduceus
two times touch his forehead. In an instant his inspired fancy distantly
represents to him the mystery of this new game so calculated to stun and
weary out the most attentive husbands. The happy lover darts away, as
if Mercury had lent him his wings. Already he is at the side of his
mistress. Mindful of the commands of the Deity, he procures a board of
scented wood, whereof he raises the sides, and which he divides by a wall
into two equal plains. The colour of these plains is black. Like the bat-
talions of the red rose and the white rose, fifteen dames assembled on either
side, these of a splendid whiteness, those black as ebony, wait, in order to
begin their march, until two dice shall issue from a box of thunder. Happy
she, who has not, by advancing alone, exposed herself to the danger of
being cut off and taken prisoner! A companion is here of service, in order
to assist in supporting the enemy’s shock. The busy dice soon increase the
number of the combatants. Already I behold the milk-white amazons form-
ing, two by two, the close-wedged phalanx, and boldly charging the adverse
army. The adverse army advances with a more confused march; while they
who expose themselves to imprudent dangers, experience different checks
which Victory is careful to record. Sometimes an ill-named stroke recoups upon
her who too inconsiderately pursued her adversary. — Fortune favours the white
warriors, of whom the enemy of Hymen is generalissimo. It should seem that
their adversaries, commanded by the queen of Hymen, desired to be defeated.
The astonished husband attentively observes this new-invented just [joust].
It strikes him that it is not without its danger, between two warriors who
approach to too close quarters. Sometimes, his alarm seated on the fly of
the battle, he listens with the ear of attention—sometimes, he rolls the eyes of
jealousy over the plains of combat—each time the martial throats of the
battles thunder with double fury. Fear obliges him to retreat, suspicion
again brings him back to his stand of observation. The combat rages, the
din of the battle brays. Victory hangs upon the next stroke. The conquering
tube redoubles its thunder and thinks it can never make sufficient noise.
Its adversary, mad at the scorns of fortune, vomits out the dice with a
noise which disturbs the pleasures of Jupiter, and makes old Pluto tremble.
The jealous husband, at length subdued, is driven from the plain, stopping
his ears, and cursing such a noisy game.— Mercury, the day is thine. The
dice, which whispers half a word to his mistress, who comprehends his
meaning. Such was this game in the days of barbarity, when false ideas of
honour continually disturb’d suspicious husbands. But, since the Golden
Age is again return’d upon earth, since husbands are become officious and
convenient friends, the lover and his mistress have only applied to this game
for an agreeable amusement. In order to prevent that noise, which is now
no longer useful, the peascoble tubes are form’d of silent leather, and the
dice dispose themselves without tumult upon the down-soft green. The
game has preserv’d nothing noisy but its name, which still continues
Tric-trac.”

Of the printed works which have succeeded to that of Bartinelli, the
first one familiar to us,—though there are doubtless some intervening ones—
is the anonymous: “Trattato teorico–pratico dei giochi” (Macerata 1823),
a small volume of 164 pages, with a single copperplate, representing the
background-board and men. The game is here called giaccheto, which is
doubtless the French jeuquet italianized. But the meaning of the French play, as
described, corresponds to the French Jeu de Tric trac rather than to Jeu de
Jacquet. The section devoted to this form of tric trac occupies pp. 139–164, closing the
work. It opens with a brief Introduction (pp. 139–143) giving the compiler’s
summary of the game’s history, which, despite the repetitions involved, we
here transcribe, inserting the few foot-notes in the text in their proper
places: “Il giaccheto è una sorta di giuoco di comparsa più prossima a
quelli di azzardo, che si effettua sopra un tavolitore, per esser la delle specie
del giuochi di tavola, e ha luogo fra due persone le quali si situano rap-
porto al detto tavolatore l’uncontro all’altra in A ed in B [referring to
the copperplate at the end of the book]. Questo giuoco considerato come
tric trac (scorigino, col quale nom si esprime il suo antico e più bel modo
parlare del trictrac e credono che gli antichi lo abbiano ignorato: ma questa opinionc viene contraddetta dal testimoniom dei romanzi i quali certamente lo conoscevano: e saperanno che essi tenevano quasi tutti i loro usi dai greci, è pressoché indubitato che questo gioco era cognitissimo in Grecia, dove fu recato probabilmente da Feniciti. Questi ultimi pertanto, come pensa l'autore del "Dizionario dei greci", art. trictrac, ne furono forse gli inventori, a meno che non avessero ricevuto ancora da più lunghi, sia dall'Egitto o dal'India. Non dobbiamo peraltro omettere l'opinione dell'Arabo, al-Safadi, il quale ne fa inventore un re di Persia ("Encyclopedie amusée", art. aristot, e "Dizionario della ricercazione", tom. II., p. 94), e noteremo ancora in conformità di questa opinione che i Persi mandarono il gioco del trictrac agli Indiani avendone ricevuto in contracambio quello degli scacchi il che può vedersi in Hyde ("Mandragoras", p. 42), in Menocchio ("Le sinoe", tom. III., cap. 84), e in Verci, "Lettere sui scacchi", p. 26. [I Francesi e gli Allemani si disputarono un tempo la gloria dell'invenzione di questo gioco, "Academie des jeus", ed. II., art. trictrac, ma allo piú si intende di qualche sua ultima modificazione fra le tante che ha subito. Infatti i Francesi hanno il trictrac, revortier, toutes-tables, turnoeoata, damas rabatuns, plein, toc, gambon, jaquet, paranguet ("Dizionario dei greci"), gl'Italiani lo stargiogno, il giachettto a due ed a tre dadi, ed in particolare i Romagnoli il minoreto; gli Spagnuoli il tocacliegio, ecc. ecc., Bartinellì nel suo stargiogno). Ma l'antico gioco del trictrac venne in seguito variato in più maniere, e qualunque sua modificazione che oggi è piú in uso ed ha preso il nome di giocateche, deve annoverarsi fra i giocchioni di commercio, come di già abbiano avvertito. (Il sig. Barbyere, loc. cit., p. 121, dice che il trictrac è gioco di commercio; sebbene noi lo vediamo sempre espressamente proibito fra i giochi di azzardo, come può vedersi nell'ordinanza del 1319 di Carlo IV., detto il Bello, ed in altre successive). Non trascureremo qui di ricordare la poesia originale descritta con vera e propria la bellezza d'altri, il quale attribuisce la sua invenzione ad un accorto amante, che cercò con lo stampì di questo gioco di deludere la gelosia di un marito.

The subsequent text of the section on giacchette is in three chapters (pp. 144-161) ending with a very short glossary or "Dizionario che spiega i termini usati nel giacchettto", (pp. 162-165). The table, as we told, is divided into four parts, "che diremo tentro contenenti ciascuno caso o fresso.

The sixth paragraph informs us that "i numeri dissimi, come due o asso, quatro o tre, ecc., sono chiamati semplici. Quelli che sono eguali come due 3, due 4, ecc., sono chiamati doppietti. Nel leggere i numeri semplici bisogna sempre nominare il più gran numero per il primo; così sei e quattro, e non quattro e sei, dovrà pubblicarsi il tiro nel quale un dado presenta 4, e l'altro 6." The list of terms given to the double differs slightly from that we have already presented to the reader: "Ogni doppietto ha la sua denominazione particolare: i due assi si chiamano ambi gli assi o assissimi; i due 2 due, i due 2 trese, i due 4 quaterna; i due 5 cinque; e i due 6 sono sei nati.

[The writer cites from Bartinelli the Brescian phrase, "che significhi essere il primo a giocare. He states that double five is the best cast for the first one; "ed il pipiggione, escluso in primis sunt signum perditionis, an adagio which we have not found elsewhere. Two others are given afterwards: "pudina toccata deve esser
giocata" and "pedina lasciata è pedina giocata." A series of doubled points and therefore impassable is called legatura, the verb legare being used in the same sense. As to the rules, we glean the following principal points. Your adversary's men are placed at the beginning of the game on the first point at your left, that is to say, on the first point of the first table, while your own are placed on the first point at your adversary's left. In moving the men, the starting point is not counted, but the finishing point is. In playing, the points or piles of the two dice are to be considered separately, never unitedly. Men can only be placed on points wholly unoccupied by adverse men. No men can be moved from the point on which all (monte) are placed at the beginning until the first man moved has reached the fourth table. No more than two points can be occupied in the same table in which one's monte stands; this, however, may be any two, or may be varied from time to time. Doubles are played double, that is four times the number represented by each die. When the men have all arrived at the fourth table they may be either moved or thrown off indifferently. The second chapter is devoted to explanations of the method of play under various circumstances, a note at the end expounding the doctrine of probability as applied to casts of the dice. The laws of the game, 25 in number, are the subject of the third chapter, in the course of which we find that a die is not counted when it leans against the side of the table or against a man, in which case it is said to be in aria; and that the player uses for the French "j'y suis" either the word accostato oraccomodato. Finally, from the glossary we learn that bossolo ("dice-box") was formerly called, as the compiler thinks with greater precision, cannetto; that a marcia is a game like a "gammon" in English, in which a player throws off all his men before his opponent has thrown off a single one, and that the score of two games; that marcia is styled a marcia per punti, when it is not gained by means of a legatore (that is by barreting the path of the adversary through a series of impassable points); that the mucchio is the point occupied at the outset by the men of either player (or perhaps the French point de repose); and that each of the four parts, into which the board is divided, now called tavola, was in remote times known as a campo, while in those cases when tavola was applied to the men, now known as pedine ("pawn"). The game of doubleGammon, now most commonly known as tavola reale, is still greatly played in Italy, as is shown by the fact that the folding board, usually of wood, inlaid, rather than leather, is to be procured even in the smallest towns. They are generally not oblong as in England and America, but nearly always square when folded, having on the outside a smaller chess-board and merelles board. To give a fair idea of the usual method of play we copy the section devoted to the diversion in a recent anonymous handbook of games, which shows comparatively few signs of having been compiled under foreign influence. It is styled "il libro dei giuochi" (Florence 1694), and the description of tavola reale is to be found on pp. 360 ff.:
"Coco un altro fra i giuochi nobili adottassimo in quasi tutte le famiglie di una certa condizione, e per il quale molti signori spingono il gusto fino alla passione. Il suo materiale costituito in quella cassetta quadra sul piano esterno della quale si vede quasi sempre la scacchiera per gli scacchi o la dama. Si collocano interi fra i due giuochieri, i quali avanzano così due scottoli unite, segnate in ciascun fondo di sei freccie da un lato e sei dall'altro, per

verà le sue pedine da destra a sinistra nel lato opposto, da sinistra a destra nel lato proprio, cioè percorrerà in giro dalle sue pedine bianche opposte verso le due nere che ha sulla sua destra nella propria parte. Il giuoca
tore delle nere, al contrario, percorrerà il giro dalle due nere che ha in
casa a sinistra verso le due bianche che ha nella propria parte a sinistra.
La parte A verso cui concorrono tutte le pedine, tanto bianche che nere,
dicesi can. Scopo del giuocatore è di ridurre in essa tutte le proprie pedine,
e quindi di toglierle, come vedremo. Chi primo le toglie vince la partita. Si
decide con i dadi chi deve giocare per il primo, avendo questi un piccolo
vantaggio sull'altro. I dadi devono essere gettati all'una o all'altra parte
della scatola. Balzando fuori uno di essi, si dovrà giocarla di nuovo. Il primo
dunque getta i suoi dadi, e fa avanzare verso la direzione già indicata due
delle sue pedine, ciascuna per tante frecce quanto ne indica ciascun dado;
ovvero fa avanzare una sola pedina per tanti punti quanto è la somma dei
punti fatti dai due dadi. Indi l'altro giocatore prende i dadi e gioca alla
sua volta: così tiro per tiro le pedine di ciascuno avanzano verso la casa.
Quando vi siene tutte raccolte, non prima, allora si cominciano a toglie-
tre di tavola corrispondentemente ai punti che si furiano. La pedina che nel suo
corso va a posarsi dove ne è una sola dell'avversario, la toglie di gioco
prendendo il suo posto. Ciò si chiama dare all'altro. Ma non sempre con-
vieni di dare, ed è anzi talora buon gioco di astenersene. L'altra dovrà,
tirando i dadi, rientrare in gioco, cioè ricominciare il giro dalla casa. E se
i punti tratti corrispondessero a freccie occupate da più di una pedina
avversaria, non dovrà rientrare, e ritterà nuovamente all'altro suo turno, senza
poter movere le altre sue pedine finché ne abbia fuori di gioco. Gittati i
dadi e toccata una pedina la si dovrà movere se è possibile. Però, allorché
giuttendo i dadi sortono ciascuno di essi con punti eguali, ciò si fa un dop-
pietto, si considera il tiro come doppio, e allora si muovono quattro pedine, o due per il doppio dei punti fatti, o una per il quadruplo. I doppietti hanno nomi speciali, cioè: bimbi, duetti, terzi, quattresti, china, sema. Dopo il fin qui detto, si capisce bene che non è unico scopo del giocatore di correre impazzatamente alla meta, ma vi saranno molti calcoli da fare, e molta cautela da adoperare. Così, ognuno cercherà di restare il meno possibile con una pedina sola sul corso dell’avversario (restare a tavola) e procederà ad accompilare la messa dei due pezzi in modo che vadano a riunirsi o addos-sarsi ad altri. Procurerà altresì di coprire più che possa, sempre con più di un pezzo s’intende, quanto più può freccia della casa dalla propria parte, 1° per trovarsi in vantaggio e bene sierato colle pedine per il momento in cui comincerà a levarle; 2° perché, dandosi il caso che all’avversario si avesse tolta una pedina, gli sarà tanto più difficile di rientrare nella casa nostra quanti più freccie vi troverà impedito, fino non dir tirare affatto quando lo siano tutte. In questo caso chi ha i dadi tira di seguito e muove fino a che non resti libera una freccia nella sua casa. Così, per esempio, supponiamo che il giocatore delle bianche tiri per il primo sei, assa. Egli con una pedina della freccia M (fig. 20) farà il sei, con quella della freccia R farà

**Giocatore delle pedine nere.**

![Diagram of chess pieces](image)

**Giocatore delle pedine bianche.**

Fig. 20.

l’asso; e metterà così due pedine sulla freccia S. Supponiamo che il giocatore dei neri tiri quattro, due. Egli farà il quattro con una pedina della freccia H, e il due con una della freccia F, ponendole entrambe sulla freccia D, e così, come taluni dicono, avrà fatto una casa. Facendo il giocatore dei bianchi, per esempio sema egli può muovere il gruppo della freccia A, e portarlo sulla freccia G, e poi, perché con cetesto gruppo non potrebbe fare un altro sei, essendo la freccia N occupata dai neri, egli può staccare un altro gruppo di due della freccia M alla S. Ecco chiaro il vantaggio dei doppietti: muoverne, due per volta. Ridotto tutte le pedine in casa, si stol-gono a seconda dei punti. Così relativamente al bianco, facendo china, ed avendo tutte le pedine in casa, ei ne potrebbe togliere quattro dalla freccia U. Facendo quattro e due, ne toglierà una dalla V e una dalla Y. Se la Y fosse vuota, avanza di due punti una pedina del T, o del U. Se non vi sono pedine sulle frecce superiori, cioè punti da fare, si tolgono addirittura di gruzzo le pedine dalle frecce inferiori al punto fatto. Alcuni muovono più tardi che sia possibile le prime due pedine della parte, opposta della casa, per aver con esse la probabilità d’incontrare qualche pedina a tavola e toglieir la di giocata. Talora si è veduto luno dei giocatori aver la pedina fuori e l’altro mezze le pedine tolte, già presso a vincere; ma costretto questi a restare, ne togliere le sue pedine, a tavola, e l’altro fatto il punto di quella freccia, levargli alla sua volta quella pedina, e vincere la partita per aver la sua casa ben barricata.” The variety here described is the ordinary English backgammon (the French “toutes-tables”). We must always remember that it may be modern importation into Italy.

A still later compilation by J. Gelli, “Come posso divertirmi” (Milan 1901), before cited (p. 102), devotes a few pages (207-17) to the game, which it calls sometimes tavola roile and sometimes tric-trac. These pages are evidently a compilation from the French. Two variations are described—tric-trac and the giuoco del giacchetto. Three or four others are simply mentioned—always by their French names (garantquet, dames rabattues, toute-table or gammon). The technical terms are sometimes Italian and sometimes more or less distorted French forms. The Italian designations of the doubles are stated to be: aces, ambas, ambu gli assi, azzo doppi; deuces, ambo treys, terni; fours, quaterena; fives, china; sixes, sema—showing some slight differences when compared with the list previously cited. Tric-trac is spoken of in one place as tavola roile alla francese. The terms jam, contro-jam, and angolo di quito o di riposo are employed; a “blot” is a pedina scoperta; a point, that is one of the twelve on each side of the table, is a freccia. The French “abattre de boit” is rendered as far legno, and is explained as “a cast of the die which enables the player to advance two men instead of one.” When the player is not able to play the points displayed by the dice the position is said to be chiuso. In giacchetto the man thrown forward at the commencement of the game to the fourth table is styled corriere. The compiler states that the number of men in tric-trac is thirty; rarely thirty-two, while in giacchetto, it is always thirty. How much the two French varieties which are here treated are actually played in Italy it is not easy to say.

As to Germany, we have already learned (pp. 90-91) that the nard game, in the stage when it was known as wargabel, was established in that country as early as the XIIIth century. It would not be easy to describe absolutely, by documentary or linguistic evidence, that any vernacular terms relating to dice, or simple dice-play, were in use before the table-game proper could have become known north of the Alps. In fact, so far as any extant German literary records go, we might surmise that dice and tables, that is some form of backgammon (Roman or other) must have crossed the mountains at about the same time. But, on the other hand, it is not difficult to infer that the German people first knew the dice only as an implement accompanying to the table-game, considering that dice, as a means of diversion, must have been known as far back as the days when soldiers of Rome garrisoned so many portions of Germany—long...
before the downfall of their great empire. It is most probable, indeed, that the Germanic peoples learned the use of dice from the Roman soldiers, in spite of the fact that Tacitus conveys the idea that the habit of dice-play was a peculiarly German evil. Nevertheless (we are always in a period of doubt), it is not impossible that dice may have reached the more or less nomadic tribes of northern and eastern Europe from Asia—to which quarter of the world a cloudy legend assigns their origin. The so-called "Grande Encyclopédie de France" has thus summed up the commonly conceived notion of the ancient German and general medieval devotion to games at dice:

"Le jeu de dâs, selon Tacite, était une véritable passion chez les Germains; lorsqu'ils avaient tout perdu ils jouaient sur un dernier coup leur liberté. Plus tard au moyen âge, ce fut un des jeux favoris des chevaliers. On trouvait des académies de jeu de dâs (schola diceorum). Il y avait même une corporation spéciale, l'industrie qui fabriquaient les dâs à jouer, les dâces. Malgré les interdictions et les ordonnances (en particulier, celles de 1254 et de 1256 par lesquelles saint Louis défendait le jeu et la fabrication des dâs) le jeu resta cher pendant tout le moyen âge aux hommes et aux femmes; plus tard les lanquaenets se signalaient spécialement par leur passion pour les dâs. As to the testimony of Roman writers in regard to the prevalence of dice-play among the German tribes we shall come to that farther on.

We shall now first endeavour to learn what we can about the appellations connected with dice, in the early centuries of the modern period, since most of those appellations may be considered as a part of the terminology of backgammon. The generic German word for "die," is *würfel* (plural *würfel*); according to the lexicographers it is a derivative of *wurf*, a noun signifying a "throw" or "cast." This latter is formed from the plural *wurf* (singular, *wurft*, plural, *würfen*), and is really genuine old High German (influenced, as stated below, by the Low German form). Unlike the languages we have been treating so far, and unlike the English, the German, therefore, possesses an indigenous term for *die*; an important implement of the backgammon game. The conger of *wurf* in English is the verb "warp," which had the same signification (to "throw" or "cast") in its Anglo-Saxon and Middle English forms, a meaning now lost. The second or terminal element of *würfel* is the derivative syllable -el(-e), which, even in very old times, served two purposes, first and foremost to form substantives and adjectives from verbal and other stems; secondly and subsidiarily to form diminutives. In this way *würfel* would literally mean a "throwing," "throw," "little thing thrown." In old High German—during the Xth and XIth centuries—it took the shape, under Low German influence, of *wurfel*, *wurzel*. From *wurfel* comes, by means of the verbal suffix -en(-n), the verb *wurfen*, to "cast" or "throw dice," to "play dice," to "dice." A dice-player is styled a *wurfer*, and the act of playing (or "gambling") at "the game of dice," is known as *wurfelgespiel*—a ministeer of the XIth century, as we shall see hereafter: *der diceul schouf das wurfel spei*, "the devil created the game of dice." Remembering all this, we shall understand the old German name given to nard-backgammon, *wurfsabel* (that is "throw-tables"), to which we may have occasion to refer again. We dwell somewhat fully on these etymologies, because it is by means of these philological evidences that we may be able, if at all, to decide on the simultaneous or non-simultaneous introduc-
to that side of a dice-cube which is marked with a single point. The Latin

dictionaries usually suggest, as the source of the Latin die, a Tarentian dialect

form, 

die, of the Greek κίεν ("one"), buot doubt is thrown on this by the

"Century Dictionary" (sub "ace"). Deus follows our "deuce" in having a
double etymology. As a dice term it is to be referred to deus (accusative

of the Latin dice); when it is an adjectiye (as in the English "Deuce take

you") or the German Was der deus? it is doubtless, a corruption of the

Latin deus ("deity"). This debased signification (= "devil") belongs to a

common class of phenomena occurring in the process of etymological de-
velopment. The vernacular dree is, in modern usage, much more usual

than three or dree. The varying forms of quater come, of course, through

the French numeral form, from the Latin quadri or quatero. Cinque and

zinc represent the French "cinq." Whether six or seis is of direct modern

Romance derivation (like our "six") is not yet, we believe, fully decided.

Of the doublet names carmes (contrasted from quaternio), quines and nomines

are from the series enumerated by Isidore, very likely through the French.

These appellations of the dice-points—augem = "eyes" as they are styled

in the vernacular—were used figuratively very early in German literature,

both by the poets and in proverbs. Instances of the latter are very numero-

rous, but are generally, if not always, suggested by the dice, or drawn from

pure dice playing, having no apparent reference to any table-game. One of

the most wide-spread is the rhyming adage which has been popularly ascribed

to Luther (and which is said to be really found in a still existing MS auto-

graphic collection of proverbial sayings compiled by the noted reformer):

Dass es nichts hat;
See sink nichts das ("given"),
Aber quater dree
Die sind stets dabby ("always on hand"),
or as Luther makes the final line: quater dree halten was (uns) frey, other
versions having as the closing words, bitte frei. It is sometimes found in a
slightly varied form: Dass es hat nichts, sen sich gott nichts, Quater
drei muss herhalten. Here, of course, the smallest numbers are employed to
represent the lowest and poorest classes, the intermediate numbers indicate
the sober, more trustworthy, commercial middle ranks, and the two highest
stand for the nobility and less energetic wealthv orders. The theme is fre-
quently varied and has gone into many languages, whether from the German
or Latin we hesitate to say, the oldest Latin verse being: Unio passerior
Cordus est, ut minus agens: senio nil confort: quisvo nil tribuit. As in sea-
ternio and quaternio are omitted, so that the point of the saying is missed.
Cordus was the name of two insignificant Latin poetasters, one of whom
was made famous by the accounts of his extreme poverty. In an old volume,
which contains some translations from Ovid, there is an English metrical
rendering of the proverb just cited:

Dance ace cannot
Pay sink and los;
Sink sink will not pay;
Be it known to all—
What payments fall
Must light an oder tray.

"cotter" being quater. Similar is the couplet from the story of "Reynard
the Fox" as given to us by F. S. Ellis and T. F. Crane (London 1897)

That which is likened to dance ace
 Hath in essence the lowest phase.

An old popular German bard, yclept Rosenblüt (Rosenblüt), who made the
flowers of poetry bloom at Nuremberg between 1431 and 1460, says in his
"Nürnberger rätsel":

Taus es war das ist nicht verlas
Und widemacht nicht von kotter dree;
Die werden noch das spiel gewinnen.
Sein sink die wosen noch nicht pei.

Here taus es refers to the common people, kotter dree to the middle classes,

and sein sink to the nobility. But the boldest allegory based upon the dice-

points is one cited from a middle High German piece by the Rhenish poet
Reinan von Zweter (died after 1292), which ascribes the origin of their num-

bers to his Satanic majesty:

Der tinvel schuot das würfelgut
Dar umbe das er selten vil da niu gewinnen will.
Das essen er hat gemacht dar uf das sin got gewölt ist.
Der binen in einen hauen stät.
Und sin ord, dar uf das das gemachet hat:
Das dreyen uf die drei nenem die er hat, der sinem vore Krist:
Das sichert wrighte er mit grosen listen
Uf die drenen der vier evangeliisten:
Das sinen uf des menschen sinne
Wie er die fünfe moche kran:
Das sie, wie er nochen wechen lade
Die wertflin uns mit koppel se ne gewöhne.

Sometimes the allegorical meaning attached to the points takes another
shape, as in the lines from "Eraklius," also a poem of the XIII century,
ascribed to one Meister Otto, whose birthplace, residence and family name
are all unknown, and who, as it seems, elaborated it from an early French
poetical piece, called "L'empereur Eracles" by Gautier d'Arras, a writer
who lived and wrote nearly a hundred years before Meister Otto. This is
his allusion to some of the dice-numbers:

"umbe die freuen stät und stät
Rechte als umbe ein teppich,
Ob mense so rechte mertton wil.
Er ist wärd und wiht gebogen.
Er volo ein richten herungen
Als lihle ein ome oler sinn
Als dem bestent (meunent) von dem has,
which seems intended to indicate that the same destiny awaits both high
and low.

Still earlier in the same century lived the rhymer known only as the
"Stricker"—by profession as has hence been supposed, a rope-maker—
whose home seems to have been in South-eastern Germany and in Austria.
He died about the year 1250. After having produced an epic on Charlemagne,

a A modern German version of this piece is given on a subsequent page.
he composed a variety of poetical works, in one of the best known of which, the "Pfaffe Amis," he cites proverbially the two lowest dice-points:

Das imbe still wir prisen
Den pfafen Amis,
Twee vorz ur foor in das tost
Das man doch salven zilen wust
Vili grenen rat in sire hoo
Da viel das seaz ocho das tos
Nicht an der handelange.

A yet more renowned rhymer of the same period, meister Freidank, whose individuality, after long research, is still a subject of debate, classes together, as alike treacherous sports, dice, racing and falconry (federerspiel):

Deen plandar oft im spiel verliet,
Der seines hart auf-würfelf-staltit.
Würfel, van und federerspiel
Haben treo die tangt nicht viel.

Among others of a later date, Hans Sachs introduces the terminology of the game into one of his quasi-religious dramatic pieces, when he makes the soldiers of Pontius Pilate cast dice for the garment of Christ:

Romanus. — Das icoz wernen wir über dem
Gestrickten rock, welcher in namh.

Er würfelt mit zehn würfelns ein wurf und spricht:
Ich hab drei ozo, ich bin darvon,
Er würfelt mit zehnung ton.

Der vier Knecht. — Ich hab drei dais, gewiss auch ma viel
Mit dir ich darbzw gleichen wil.

Der dritt Knecht. — No wechs aua, ich hab quater drei:
Ich hoff ich sei anch noch darbei.

Der vier Knecht. — Glück waltis, der würfelf träigt seoz dann:
Der rock bei meyn, das Spiel sei an.

Another writer of theatrical pieces, cited by Vigil Raber in one of his collections of twenty-six "Sternzinger Spiele" (1510-1535)—the twenty-fifth play—makes one of his characters say to another: Du richtst dein sach nur nach ses, zingo, quoter; while in an old ballad to be found in Ulhmin's "Volksgedichte" there is a similar passage:

Drei würfel zucket ich heber
Und wurf nach, quarter, drei.

O. Schade, in his "Satiren und pasquille aus der reformationzeit" (Hanover, 1853), cites various old poetical allusions to dice, as Der paux sprach 'quater, zinke', (20-17); and in the well known "tragedia, der irdisch Pilger genannt" (Nürnberg 1589) of Johann Heros, one of the sayings is:

Gefallen ist mir quarter ses,
Darauf mir quarter das auch folgt.

Much earlier is the "Denker," a didactic poem by Hugo von Trimberg, who lived at Bamberg through the first decade of the XIVth century, in which we find what seems to be a rhymed proverb,

Von sinke quarter unde ste
Hält meunen ein unbersten hoo.

Many more such verselets and quaint sayings might be quoted. Thus there is an explanation made by a player who has been losing, on throwing a small and useless combination of the dice: Dasseis, hastu mein pferd nicht gewinnen — referring to the wagered and lost horse. A somewhat quaint definition of this rather obscure phrase is given by a German writer: he informs us that it is vom spiel entleiten und ausserhalb des Gesagten, der einen schlechten wurf that, der, wenn ein pferd auf dem spiele steht, sagen will, "damit werde ich mein pferd nicht gewinnen." Der spieler reizt gleichsam das duns-ess an, indem er sagt: "Hüte dich mein pferd gessen, winterst du, wie gut es ist, du wirst nicht gekommen, denn du bist schuld, dass ich's vertiere.

Quatter auf einem würfel is a definition cited from a glossary of 1482. In a collection of songs (1582) we have: Sie wurf ein zincken unde ein tire (i. e., in all stoom). A thing is said to be so ungewiss als wenn einer mit dass es ein spil gewinnew soll. In an old piece, entitled "Bruder Rausch," the following couplet occurs:

Er sprach: "Ich [der bieder] far in don wurdle,
Von dem quarter macht ich ein teuer.

An early German adage in ses oder es, equivalent to "au Caesar aut nihil." All these shreds of literature apply more especially to dice-play, but we have reproduced them, as we have hinted, because the names of the dice, points form likewise an essential part of the vocabulary of nard—backgammon.

An interesting technical term used wherever dice are employed, and of a peculiar importance in German backgammon, is pasch, which, though singular, is really equivalent to the English "doublets" (pasch wurfes = to "throw doublets"). More than one explanation of the word's origin has been attempted, but the etymology of Grimm is probably accepted. Of at least, is the generally accepted one. It makes it signify both "doublets" and "triplets," and derives it from the French passe-dix (signifying: "goes over ten," "passes ten," "exceeds ten"), and seems strictly to have the meaning of "at least eleven," the definition in Grimm being ein spiel mit drei würfeln wobei der wurf von mehr als 10 (also mindestens 11) augen bei allen augenzahl auf zwei würfeln genannt, wobei auch der ältere Aachener mundart das verbum "paschendis" (würfeln, paschen) entnimmt. Another lexicographer, Daniel Sanders (1863), asserts that the word pasch is a name sometimes given to münzspiel (merelles), which, is, of course, one of the customary lexicographical blunders, and then he goes on to give a secondary (dice) signification thus: Beim spiel mit drei würfeln ein wurf, bei dem zwey würfeln gleich viel augen zeigen (doppelerwurf) — making, if strictly interpreted, three dice essential, but he goes on to say that jungfern-pasch is a term applied, wenn auch der dritte [würfel] dieselbe zahl augen hat, but (sub voce alle), he describes als pasch als ein wurf, im breitspiel, wobei auf allen würfeln dieselbe Zahl oben liegt. A minor lexicographer, deluded perhaps by the phrase "numeri pari," as applied to the upturned points of two dice, suggests the word ware as the origin of pasch. In connection with pasch a word eisen is alluded to in some of the lexicons, but is sought in vain in most of their vocabularies. Pasch is still used, in the various backgammon games practised in Germany, in the sense of "doublets," while, in the variety known as der lange puffer, the higher first throw, to decide the beginning player, is known, as general-pasch. The term is likewise employed in
pure dice-games, when on two dice the number of the pips is the same, which are then counted together; if the pips on three dice, thrown together, are alike, they are counted fourfold. Only occasionally does the word make its appearance in general German literature. Hoffmannswaldau, a poet of the XVII century, exclaims somewhere in one of his pieces: Hier ist der würfel pasch! ("Gedichte," Leipzig 1645, 4, 5). Pasch seems to be used sometimes in the sense of "throw dice," or "playing dice." Thus the learned mir vor kurzem genannt and so wandte ich ein dass ich kein spiel als hochachtens pasch verständig. Often, by general writers, the word is employed in a mistaken sense, as when a seventeenth century writer describes one of his characters: er auch sogleich einen paschwerfel nach einem spielkarte brachte, as if the signification were "a die," or a "set of dice." Ahebo von Lilienberg (about 1786), one of the famous "Fruchtbirgende Gesellschaft," appears to propose, satirically doubtless, to decide lawuits by throws of the dice, Alle rechts-oder gerichts-verfahren mit drei paschwerfel endigen oder erörtern. As is so often the case with technical terms, the word got to be applied to other objects than those which it originally characterised, so that in the Bavarian dialect the children's game klicker (or schusserspiel), was also named paschen—perhaps from the close or doubled positions of the marbles. Sometimes the form pasch—perhaps older—was used. Thus the Gotha poet, Friedrich Wilhelm Gotter (1746-97), writes in a poem called "Herr von Malaga und der tod" (1787): Mein hold, oh ihm vor angst gleich, jedes neve bobe. Die nähre klippen und die ziege an guomen klabe. Zwang (wie brem naaste monat, wann ehr' und seligkeit Auf eines würfel sich schweizze. Nein musikalig zu falscher heiligkeit, Indes er Spaniel in lassen zugen schnürle."

From the noun a verb paschen was formed, meaning originally to "throw doublets," but afterwards to "cast dice," "play at dice" as well. The author of the popular "Simplicissimus" (Hans von Grimmelshausen) cries, Wolten wir jetzender paschen (1669), and a somewhat later writer says: wenn der alter herr lust hat zu paschen oder..., pilet zu spielen." From paschen, again, comes the compound auspaschen, cited by Sanders (1871) with this illustration: zur vergütung seiner auslagen durfte er eine ente herauspaschen [that is, "raffe away." Another such verb, abpaschen, defined as to "throw away at dice," is also found, with a citation from a minor writer: euch abpaschen, armer schäcker, ist mir nur spass. Among other instances of greater or less ignorance among lexicographers may be mentioned a definition by Radlein (1711): ein pasch würfel = un jeu de dez; "one by Schmid (1821): "jactus decuscosius" (entscheidender wurf); one by another less known compiler is less erroneous, paschwerfel = würfel zum paschen.

That the German should have, and should have introduced into other languages spoken in the region round about his fatherland, such a peculiar word as pasch to express doublets at dice, may strike the reader as strange. It may be partly owing to the fact that the counterpart of our word "double" (or "doublet"), coming to us from the Latin through the French, got another and established meaning in connection with dice at an early day. Doppeln literally to "double," signified to "play at dice," to "dieu." Grimm has some interesting remarks on the word. He says that the meaning to "play at dice," which was its earliest signification, became especially common in North Germany. Later it was applied to other dangerous or injurious games of chance, to which were attached the reputation of treacherous, swindling or contemptible methods of play, which bad signification was also applied to the noun doppelb (gambler). In the Bohstein dialect, doblins even means, in general, to "play at cards." The word comes from the Latin duplur, and implies the doubling of the stake at games. Some other lexicographers cited by Grimm agree with him in this explication, regarding it as "a staking double," an increasing or outbidding the stakes of adversary at dice or cards, either by agreeing to pay double, if a loser, or by adding an additional sum to that already at stake. Other writers refer its origin to that which is now called pasch, the cast of equal dice-points (that is, double points), the French and English "double." In old High German the term is not found, but it existed already in old Prussian dobba, dobba. In Middle High German it was tippet; in Low German (niederdeutsch), dobben, doben; in Dutch dobben; in early Icelandic it was dubba, dufta, to gamble (in the Norwegian code known as the "Gulflingslaug" of the XII century), and the noun duft (gambling) occurs in the same code, while in a mathematical essay of the XIV century, "Algorismus," it is used in the sense of "double;" the Swedish has dubba or dubb, and the Danish doble. In the earliest citations of Grimm something of the sense of duplcare, is still retained. The earliest is from Wolfram von Eschenbach's "Parzival" of the XII century: Umbe den wurf der sorgen Wart geoppelet. A similar sentiment is from the same period: Manc unatene schando Wart geoppelet da der heidenschock. The following, too, is nearly of the same date: Wir habste umbe den wurf Geoppelet der grieten sorgen. A preacher, a century later, says: ir gillt auch dar umbe mit tanzen am dem ruvsetage oder spilen oder tippens. In a glossary of 1489 tippet is explained as "ludere cum taxillia," by which it will be seen that it then had only its technical signification, to "play dice." Another preacher explains: spilet und doppelst mit ihnen wie ein erzloeterbrohe! In the XVII century the prolific Johannes Fischart, who, among his other labours, produced a free rendering of the "Gargantuus" of Rabelais, uses the word in his version: Lars uns ein tippet, der mistet ist knackt; and again Ist niemand hez der doppeln will? A later and less famous moralist, Henneberger, dwells on the evil of dicing: Dem es von allerley losern gewinde ein zu xauf gewandmetes volk war, welche nichts anders thaten denn in den tabern doppelten, spilet and sitten—spielen und doppeln being here, as often, joined in the same phrase, and must perhaps, sometimes be translated "playing and gambling." A glossary, much more recent than the one we have cited, that of Henisch,
thus the devil, at a later day, came to be regarded as the originator of dice.

He was supposed to have created them for the purpose of gaining souls for his infernal kingdom. Yet against his will the product of his ingenuity was made to serve Christianity, as is shown by a short poem of Reinmar von Zweter, in which the six dice-numbers were symbolically applied to the Christian faith:

Der teufel schaff das würfelspiel,
Weil er damit viel seelen sich gewinnen will,
Das um hat er duchlab gemacht,
Weil es gewal'ge gött da ist.
Der himmel nannt die acht steht
In seiner hand, auf welche zwei das dass wohl geb,
Das drei auf seinen namen,
Das da hat der stille wahre christ.
Das vier, dass schaff er mit gromen lesen
Auf die vier evangelisten,
Das fünfz auf den menschen steh,
Dass er die fünf thon mahre knack,
Das sechs, dass er sechs wolchen laug
Das fünten uns durch würfel abgewiesen. 60

Dice-playing was known as soppeln (topsels) and the dice-player as topeler. The dice-box, also the backgammon-board (wurfzabel), in old French styled "berling," was generally of marble, the dice themselves, on the other hand, of bones of the ox, and boar, as they still bear, the numbers esse, tue, (tues), drie, keuter, zinke and ses. Even the ancient Germans, as the Roman historian Tacitus ("Germania," cap. XXIV) informs us, were passionately devoted to dice-play. He writes: "They practise dice-play—at which one will naturally wonder, and quite as if it were a serious business, with an equal-foothood in winning and losing, that, when they have nothing more left, they stake their freedom and their person on a last cast of the die. The loser resigns himself voluntarily to servitude; even if he be younger and stronger than his adversary, he allows himself to be bound and sold. Thus great is their staleness in an affair so bad; they themselves call it keeping their word." 64

The Roman, coldly calculating, and acting always with meditation, could not comprehend how the German, with his serious earnestness, could give himself up to dice-playing, and could even make it accord with his sense of morality. This same popularity was enjoyed by games at dice during the Middle Ages, among men and women, monks and nuns, and frequently high sums were staked. It even happened, and not so rarely, that a player lost all his possessions in the space of a few hours. Often dice-play led to brawling and strife, but in spite of that it was eagerly carried on. Knights devoted themselves to it, especially in their after-dinner repos.

Thus it occurred, according to the rhymed Holstein Chronicle, that the Danish King Eric III, "Ploggenning," as he was styled, engaged in an afternoon game at werfelspiel (backgammon), was surprised by his foes and murdered. On festival occasions, such as coronations, espousals and drink-

60 For the original middle High German text of these lines see p. 243.
64 The words of Tacitus, in the place cited, are: "Aleam, quod meis, ubi later tenuia exercent, tenebatur pertinaciter, ut, cum exerente datamextremo nec novitiae jacto jactu se corpori contendat. Vultus voluntarium servantur ad, quamvis juveni, quamvis robustior adilagine se ac venturo putant. Ha est in re prae pervicacia; ipse idem vocavit."
Chess in Iceland

ing-bouts, games at dice were particularly common. At the coronation of King Arthur, as the poet of the 'Roman de Brut' tells us, his knights called for dice, tables and chess; one won and another lost; they pawns their effects for money, until at last they began to cheat each other, and finally separated foaming with rage. The passion for dice-play penetrated even into the convents, and the monks, in their absorption, not only forgot the prescribed prayers and other acts of devotion, but also neglected their studies.

On the Lautenberg (now Petersberg) near Halte, in the year 1233, there existed in a convent such a rage for play, and such a corruption of manners and morals ensued, that dice-play went forth curiously even in the apartments of the superior (proprietor), and chess and draughts [this latter could hardly have been known in Germany at that date] were played while meat and wine were sold at the same time. Playing at dice was even carried into the next world. In the well-known tale (tableau)-of 'St. Peter and the player' ('St. Pierre et le Jongleur') St. Peter one day, during the absence of Satan, appears in the lower regions with dice and a dice-board, and begins to play with the temporary guardian—a devil devoted to dice—for lost souls. At first they played for only a single condemned soul, but the game grew constantly hotter and the stakes larger, and before long the saint had won all the souls to be found in hell, and carried them off in triumph to heaven. When the devil at last returned and found the luckless player alone in his uncomfortable region, he fell into a great fury, but he couldn't change what had happened, and nothing was left for him to do except to ponder how he could repeople his infernal world with new souls. It is not wonderful that princes and magistrates, in order tobridge this madness for the dice, table,issued sharp ordinances and other legal regulations. As early as 1232, the emperor Otto the Great, at the diet of Augsburg, notified the bishops, priests and deacons that they would be obliged to give up their offices unless they restrained their fondness for gaming. Later, in 1239, Frederick II published a severe statute against dice-players (de aicioitaibus), and the priests St. Louis of France, who had many German subjects, forbade dice-play under heavy penalties to all the officials of his kingdom, and also prohibited the fabrication of dice. According to an ordinance of the municipal council of Strasbourg, dated 1241, everyone who was found after the third stroke of the weddingclock, or night-guard's bell (post somnum tertium campansam), at play in a house or tavern, was to be arrested and punished. To these inhibitions and punishments, designed to core the mania for play, were joined the anathemas of many of the medieval lyrists and moralists. They regarded gaming, in its uncontrolled excesses, as an evil ruinous to both body and soul, and uttered many expressive words of warning against it. The same minnesinger, Reinmar von Zweter, whom we have already cited, calls the pleasure taken by his countrymen in playing dice a greed much stronger than the passions of love, of acquisition of property, or of drink:

Ein cohines wib bewaingt den man,
Und ist dalso auch seside, so ist doch kein wunder d'vor.
Es swingt ein sebei auch seines knecht, dass er in seinem Dienst muss sehe'n.
So swinget ein herr auch wohl sein gut.
Dass es ihm dienen muss und holen, was es mit ihm thut.
Es swingt des wohes kraft den man also, dass die sinne ihm vergelten.
Doch weis ich noch ein wunderbares swingen,

---

STRAY NOTES

Das wunderbar vor allens anderen dingen:
Dass einem selten wipchen-knochen
Ein man, der lebt, mit heat und stum.
In solcher gier sich glaubt doch,
Dass ihm vorstand man muss worden abgeprochen.

Wherever the word spiel is used by the medieval and some of the later poets the reference is generally to dice-playing, as in that great codex of verse at Paris, known, from its supposed compiler, as the Maness MS, in which an anonymous versifier says:

Bode, lotteline und spiel,
Brings leb und soll zu falli;
Wor man siehnen folgen will,
Dem machen die hoffen schmal.

And that didactic poet, Thomasin von Zirclaere (about 1216), says almost the same thing in his distich:

Das spiel gibt hom und sorg gas viel;
Gier und bosheit ist beim spiel.

We have already read Freidank's utterances on the game (p. 244); an even more famous rymer, Sebastian Brant, who was in many respects a follower of Freidank, but who lived more than two centuries after him, employs this severe expression about gaming:

Spel mag selten einch sein脸颊,
Ein spiller ist nicht Gottes kind,
Die spiller alle fehle und,

But neither the decrees nor monaces of punishment issued by princes, nor the condemnations uttered by poets, could check the popular passion for dice-play, but both taverners and players submitted to heavy penalties rather than abandon their favorite vice. It is deserving of notice that in order to lesson the evil of the ordinary dice-game, Wichfeld, bishop of Cambray, then a city of the empire, invented as far back as 982, a dice-game, which, in an ingenious way, made the method of play indicate various ecclesiastical relations and institutions.

The following is the old form of this modernized version of an interesting place:

Das seheinlich wip betungen man,
Und ist dalso dunge, so ist doch viel wunder d'vor.
So swinget ein echte auch seines knecht, dass er in seinem Dienst muss sich'n.
So swinget ein herr auch wohl sein gut.
Dass es ihm dienen muss und holen, was er mit ihm thut.
Dass es sich des wohes kraft den man also, dass die sinne ihm vergehen.
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Doch weis ich noch ein wunderbares swingen.

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The author of this essay has comparatively little to say about backgammon, in which the employment of dice is a much more innocent affair. He goes on, however, to tell us that "By the side of the pure dice-game existed other and different sorte of table-games ('jeune de table'), called in middle high German, 'zabelspiel'. Amongst these was the 'wurfzabelspiel'.
Sometimes the stake was money, and in that case it was easy to lose considerable sums, whence the warnings against backgammon.

We now come to backgammon, its story in Germany, so far as we can make it out, and the methods of playing it in later and modern times.  It has several names and not a few varieties.  It will be remembered that the word 

_"würfel"_ ("die") is old High German, and is first heard of in the 13th century.  The oldest name for backgammon is _buf_—in its present form, _der_ (or _dan)_ puff or _das_ paffpiel, which appears, for the first time, between 1372 and 1388, a century and a half or more after _würfel—that is to say, just about the date at which King Alfons in Spain was beating us to the point where two varieties of the game of tables were called _la bufa cortesia_ and _la bufa de baldar_.  In the course of time we read of many other appellations.

_In_ the _Russel MS_, the great kindness of its owner, Mr. J. G. White, of Clevelefield, Ohio, United States, a copy of that invaluable work has been carefully examined.  This copy, as in _state I_, is not made directly from the original in the library of the Russel (dated 1609), but from a quarto manuscript transcript of the year 1684, preserved in the library of the Madrid Historical Society (Real Academia de la Historia).  The White MS was transcribed in 1687 by a Jesuit in Madrid, so well known to foreign students of Spanish literature, Don Pascual de Gayangos.  In its closely following the chess section, comes that entitled the _"Libro de los Dados,"_ in which are described various pue dices games under the titles of _el juego de la mano, el juego de la fruta_ (with three members of play), _el juego que llamamos arroz_ [bazaar], _el juego de muelas_, _el juego de la reyna, por om os, porque medio-arroz, dar-pajado, pajarines_—these were spoken of at the end as the _"XII juegos de los dados;"_ of these names it is perhaps proper to say that the Arabic word _"a-sar"_ is the original of our English _"bazaar."_

Thereupon comes the next book, under the title of the _"Libro de las Tablas,"_ (Aquí comienza el segundo libro de los juegos de las tablas).  Afterwards follow diagrams of the different varieties of tables (or backgammon), with some short descriptions and the name of the particular game attached to each diagram.  It is with these names that we shall particularly concern ourselves.  After an introduction, we have a diagram, preceded by the words: _"Este es el primer juego que llaman las cuinas Tablas,"_ followed by the diagram, under which we are told of this, or the next variety: _"Este juego llaman los dases come, o dases hermanos._

Thenceafter the other similar games accompanied by diagrams are: _"Este juego llaman tablas dobles;"_ _"este es el juego que llaman estas dos alas;"_ _"este juego llaman en Españas empedrados._"  Then occurs a head-piece, _"Qué es la baraja donde se emplean._"  Describing a technical form found in later MSS: _"La baraja para el judío tiene uniciro del otro, y tiene dos tablas estandar,—por que si [sic] otro juego entre no pueda salir, de las otras tablas, que tiene a se de bajar, o se dar alguna a que dé._

The usual four (or _"quatro")_ tables, _o mas_, the el juego baradado, por que puede mover su mano en salve, o darle mas, se quitar, o ganar el juego por este lugar._"  The inscriptions under the subsequent pages are: _"Este juego llaman el medio empedrado;"_ _"este juego llaman lo po-"_ 

_roja de entradas;"_ _"este juego hay de tablas, o llaman cab, episcopal;"_ _"este juego llaman todas tablas;"_ _"este juego raman empedrado;"_ (described, _laquet c dugaras con dos dades, o estaze blane desta gieta;" _este juego llaman, en las otras tierras, la baja cortesia;" _este juego llaman in bufa de baldar;"_ _"este juego llaman los Romances encontrados._"  The next closes with a variant on the word, with one of the usual head-pieces above it: _"El este es el de par-"_ 

_damento deste juego.—Es esta es la figura del entabllamiento,"_ but nothing under it, showing an evident intention of continuing the treatment on tables, a feature of incompleteness common to Italian and other medieval MSS on game-tables; after the close of the section on tables we have other kinds of games.  The first one is called _"granule anfronis_; a _XVIII_ board, apparently played with the aid of triangular-faceted _pips_ (one side of one shown among the pipes), in connection with which we are told that _"Nos. roy Don Alfonsio mandame facer dados"_ of many forms, of which specimena are given.  One of the diagrams of this section represents a large backgammon board, with each manet by each player so placed that with _eighteen men_ used by each player, and in account of the many fine and costly specimens in the Historical Museum of Munich, and in the Museum of the Kings, housed in the Rosenburg palace at Copenhagen.  But many other public and private collections contain them; they were a favorite object for the exercise of the craftsman's art.

The next following section relates to the mattelles varieties (a despair); opening: _"El consagraremos preferentemente en al Olquerque._"" In this paragraph is inserted the figure of a round backgammon, mentioned above, but it seems doubtful whether it belongs just here, but
applied to this table-game, or to its varying methods of play, some of them being, without doubt, nearly identical in their features. In any case, this "lachtur" (lachtur or das lachtursspiel (occuring in English, as we shall see, as "lurch"), contrabuff, repalbouf (bouf royal), der lange paff, der kondertur paff, tococlit or tococldylo (which we have heard of in Italian as "tococletti"), trich-track,or tic-dack or tia-tac (probably reaching Germany from France), under it follows this: "Esto es el alquereque de dols que tenga con todos sus trebeles,..." ["segundo somete tres tablas dieren la maestra el Rey o deudos los departieren los comése subolores de lagos..."
querace algo aque decir de otros lagos..."
sean paisos"
la alodore, e las tablas, e a los dados. E tales y que tanzen al andres e al las tablas, e al los dados."
la first diagram is that of the "alquereque de dols" (apparently, as its name signifies, merelles played with twelve men). The board is divided into cceles (a second, small, into which dices are introduced ("Este es el alquereque de mesos que se tenga con dados." It must be remembered that the arrangement of the matter in the MS is such that it is very difficult to decide, in many cases, whether the inscriptions refer to the preceding or the following diagram though in general the letter seems to be the rule. At any rate the diagram following this last inscription, referring to the "alquereque de mesos" (that is, "merelles de nueve," being our "nine men morris," most likely) is that of the most common—perhaps older—murris board (see in this volume fig. 6, page 109), on which are portrayed nine upright (whites) pawns, and eight reversed (blacks) pawns—that is, men resembling chess pawns in shape, partly "heads up," partly "heads down," all the angles, except seven, having men on them. After this comes the inscription, *De come se tiene aill el alquereque de merros y dos dados,* followed by the diagram, with eight upright and eight reversed men. The morris-board, which we have spoken of as the ordinary one in America, becomes indirectly traced in this, the Arabic, and other nations. It would appear that the Iberian peninsula was indebted to its Moorish conquerors for the introduction of the Indian game. In the morris-game, its Spanish title, alquerque (having essentially to the morris-book, although to some extent as different from the Arabic source; the only other alternative is that the alquerque may possibly represent the Indian definite article, but it would be difficult to find any other instance of its use in Spanish as a distinct element of the word, whereas, certainly, the only word which may strike the same root is not only as Moorish as the game, although this statement is, of course, of little philological weight. In the final group of games, those embraced under the name of tablas or *tablas* the game is certainly the most ancient in its way of being or through some other romance nationality. In this connection it is to be noted that we have the expression, in describing the "bufos" variety: *este esco lemos en las otras nervas* [in other countries] in *la bufos cortesía*; considering the word "cortesía" this can only refer to none of the romanesc modernes. —Since the preceding was written, a note from Mr. Guy Le Strange, the distinguished Arabic scholar, mentions the fact that in the Arabic dictionary of Kasimirnál al-quraysh (or al-fara) is defined as an "espèce de jeu d'escac, qui consiste à placer de petites caisses dans chacune des cases d'une figure formée par le tracé de trois carrés concentriques divisés par deux lignes diagonales et deux rectangulaires." This describes exactly our figure 4 (p. 108), the morris-board still used at least in America (but which, as stated above, is not indicated in the Alphonse MS). Mr. Le Strange adds that the lexicographer Deny states that the modern Arabic name is darse. A still more important point is that al-quraysh is mentioned in the *Mappam Monarchium,* the author of which died in 970, more particularly in the date of King Alphonso’s treaties; this ancient Arabo work describes a certain person as furnishing a room with shatranj, nardá, and grébi, that is, with boards for chess, backgammon, and game of alquerque (morries). This is the more interesting as in the first half of the thirteenth century there are early groups together the "tried of games," which make up the contents of so many medieval MSS —at a far later period. This must be regarded as decisive of the fact that the morris game, like chess, reached Europe from the Arabs through Spain.
CHRISTIAN HOFFMANNSDALAND (1618-79), who opened a new period in German poetry, cites some of the backgammon games:

Dich dat und conza puff...
Dies seines musses kurtse und lange weise sein,

the last line containing an evident allusion to what Hans Sachs calls das kurz, das lang. The satirist Moscherosch (1601-60) edited Georg Gumpelshainer’s “Gymnasiae de exercitii academicae” (1609), in which the author says: lurtisch spielen in alia primus modus est, das lurtesch, buff, centrabuff, regalbuff, dickedacht. A little known author, Wensigk, who wrote a book entitled “Diese spielslein” (1702), also enumerates some of these games: Da ist das breitsepiel das spiels aus und ein, das puffen, tuckach, turtischpiel, verkehrtes, das interims, u. s. w., in which we have the new title das interims, of which no German lexicographer attempted a definition. The same writer alludes again to turtischpiel: “Jener vater hatte seinen söhnern von dam lurtischpiel befolhen: ihr söhnigen, söhnigen, was ihr thut, behaltet die v. und 6. gat; welcher aber unter den spielerin dieses nicht beobachtet, die haben sich arm gespielt. Hans Sachs also mentions somewhere the German lurtich:

Vonert sach mir an das kursepiel!

In Meyer’s “Kunst der schachzierung” (1896), the writer on puff passes by all other kinds and notices only two: Von verschiedenem durch geschehen regeln bedingten variationen abgesehen, hat man zwei hauptarten des puff zu unterscheiden: den langen puff, bei welchem beide spieler in denselben Feld ab, das zweite Brett übersehen und schliesslich aus dem anderen Feldes des ersten Brettes seinen Ausgang nehmen; und den kontraren puff, bei welchem die Player in den beiden gegenuberlegenden Feldern desselben Brettes einsetzen, sich im andern Brett bogen und ihre steine aus dem entgegengesetzten Feldern des ersten Brettes herausnehmen. The Brockhaus “Kunst der schachzierung” (1888) mentions only one kind of puff, and gives only a most general description of
Now all this looks as if buffa, or buff, in Spanish and Italian, and puff, as the name given to German backgammon, may be another instance of the confusion of two words quite different in their origin, like the Icelandic heist ("flat," the Scotch "nief"), and heist in heistefhaft, the name of a game which we have already discussed (p. 58). But we will quote the remainder of the passage, promising that he omits the backgammon signification of the modern German puff—being possessed of the lexicographer's usual lack of knowledge of technical terms. His first sentence is a quotation from a previous authority: "Die berührung der bedeutungen 'blassen' und 'schlagen' ist nicht ungewöhnlich, frz. 'souffler' und 'soufflet' liefern ein nahelegendes Beispiel; die romanischen sprachen bestimmen dieselben wortstimm' und he adds: 'ohne dass erwähnung auf einerseite annehmen wäre: der stamm buff kann als onomatopeische schärfung auf beiden gebieten unabhängig entstanden sein. Vgl. ital. 'buffo' ('windstoss')—'buffetare' ('schauen'), span. 'bostada' ('buckenaufritt').' We have mentioned Brachet's opinion that the stem is of onomatopoeic origin. But the whole question is etymologically difficult, and cannot well be resolved until we have Italian and Spanish etymological dictionaries of a high character. As we have hinted, the history of buffa and puff has much to do with the story of the origin and development of the European "nard."

Of the other names, we have dwelt perhaps at sufficient length on "trictrac" (pp. 185-8) of which "tricktrakt" and "trique-traque" are only variations of orthography, and "tick-tack," "tique-taque" possibly only variations of form. Gammon can only come from the English gammon, and verkörpert are presumably translations of the French reverser—which has been used, however, in German, in its French shape—although the word revierger, occasionally found in French for reverser looks as if the borrowing might have been made by the French. Dartsch is, again, most likely a loan-word from the English (which has it both as a noun and as a verb), or both the German dartsch and the English "lurch" may be corruptions of some older and untraceable vocabel, having nothing to do with the English noun and verb in their usual signification. The reader will recall that "lurching" is cited as an English word in the British Museum mediaeval Latin MS on tables (see p. 163). Garanguet, or, as one writer has it, grangue, we have already seen as a French term. All that can be said of tokkately (tukkately, tokadille) has been said in a previous place (p. 224) except that one eighteenth century writer on the game, after explaining the commonly accepted origin of trictrac or toloze, asserts that tokkately expresses a similar meaning, coming from dem schlagen or treffen der steine, adding: "dem dieseszialisierungswort wird nichts anders sagen, als 'berühren der,' 'schlaget ihn.'" As to dartsch, we may get more light on its origin when we come to treat the story of English backgammon.

As to the other technical words we shall here pass them over hastily, noticing, in general, only those which are peculiarly German. Of course, in the XVth and XVIIth centuries, in games, as in many other cases, French terms were greatly employed; nor have they been entirely lacking in more recent days. Thus we find jun and its compounds, plein, bredouille, débre, douillet, point, partie, douillet, not to speak of the names of the dice-pips and dice-doubles. As to the German terms, pasch has had a sufficient treatment. The "coin de repos," or farthest point in the outer table, is called die huk or die huke (modern die huckle = "hay-stack," in its ordinary signification); and sometimes die ruhe-echte (that is "le coin de repos"); stein is the customary word for "man," sunge is used as a general name for each of the twenty-four "points" of the board; der band or der buch is applied rather to the men than to the point, means a double-point, that is the two or more men on any one point, and a man so standing, accompanied by another, is known as ein gebundener stein; on the other hand an exposed man is called ein bloßer, like the English "blot," a term applied again to the man rather than to the point; die binde is sometimes the rendering of the French "jan," while the "petit jan" is translated occasionally by schuster, or das zusam- tern, and the "jan de retour" is der rückjan; "envoyé à l'école" is literally rendered as in the schule geschickt; becker, or würfelbecker, is the ordinary term for the dice-box; the fifth and sixth points of the entering or home-board are called die bärtige ecken; the French "case du diable" is called, in one German treatise, der teufelhand; in casting the dice, if one fall on top of the other, or fall askew (not upright), they are said zu bremen ("to burn"); as in French, the men are sometimes designated as holz ("bois"). The absence of any descriptive treatise on backgammon before the XVIIth century makes this rough list of terms very unsatisfactory; such a treatise would doubtless give us many more indigenous technical expressions.

The German literature relating particularly to the method of playing backgammon is not very extensive, nor have we anything of a very early date; and this is true of the medieval "tables" as well. The earliest special treatises on backgammon seem to be those found in the "Académie des jeux" class of books. It was at Paris in 1654 that the first of the "Académie des jeux" saw the light under the title of "La maison académique," ascribed by a Sieur D. L. Marinière. This was a score of years before Charles Cotton produced in England (London 1674) the first edition of a similar manual of social games, which he called "The compleat Gamester," and nearly a century before Edmund Hoyle gave to the world the original issue of his "Games" (London, probably in 1749), which still appears from time to time in England and America under the name of "Hoyle's games," but, of course, much changed in its character and contents. After several issues (the last at Lyons 1707), the compilation of Marinière (or was his name La Marinière, the as represented by L in his initial) was finally superseded by the "Royal jeu de l'homme" (Paris 1685), of which the editions were printed at Paris, the Hague, Brussels, and Amsterdam, the latest bearing the date of 1736. It was also issued in German, "Das neue königlich l'ombre," first of all at Hamburg in 1708, and thereafter, through the whole of that century down to the middle of the next, latterly at Lüneburg (the very latest edition having the date of 1845). The earliest German issue at this moment before us is that of Hamburg 1770 (pp. 290), apparently, though not numbered, the tenth edition—still styled "Das neue königlich l'ombre." The games at cards, billiards, chess and ball (being tennis and racket) occupy by far the larger part of the volume, followed by two backgammon games (pp. 292-350). The first of these has the title: Das verkehrten im breittpiel (in numbered sections I-IX), the latter being Das trictrac oder toccateglipted (divided into chapters I-IX), the latter occupying the larger space. In beginning the former, the writer tells us that the game is named verkehrten (the verb meaning to
"turn the wrong way," "invert," "reverse") because the player, thinking himself to have the best of positions, by some slight act of neglect or by an unlucky cast of the dice, finds it (like French Guemar, der marsch, marquisat points. We find partie debrotonille, jan auf drey warte, con-traj, lan von sechs blattern, doppeltdolettten, der jan der nicht kann, schulen machen, treufelsband, bürgerwinkel oder bürgerhucke (these last being the two points 5 and 6 nearest the bar, which might, perhaps, be roughly rendered "bar-points")."

The second treatise on verkehrten (pp. 308-314) follows a Dutch poem containing advice to the player (signed at the end by the initials "I. O. K."); it is accompanied by an anonymous German metrical version on opposite pages. This latter is here reproduced in a foot note. 16 The Dutch original will be given in treating backgammon in Holland.

"The title of the German translation is "Anweisung zum verkehrten; it comprises 58 lines (two more than are in the Dutch original)"

*Ihr freundes horet zu, liebhaber vom verkehrten,
Hört meinen unterricht, und was ich euch will lehren,
Sagt fälschlich stellte, wenn ihr das spiel anfangt,
Dass ihr in dem brett die acht gleich erlangt.

Sollt es ohne vorurteil nicht, wenn ihr gleich könnt rechnen,
Man muss oft wieder mit grossem schaden welchehen.
Reist, wenn ihr schlagen könnt, nur gleich die bände nicht,
Man baut alles schlecht, wo hols und grund getrostet.

Wort nicht, bis entsprechet die stelle hat gesetzt,
Wer spät wird wider auss, was ihr zuvor ergolz.
Eins ander nimmt es gleich so selbws vorbittel ein,
Und lebet es zu spät mit schaden klag zu sey.

Halt eure bände fest, verlauff euch nicht zu weit,
Seinetz nicht fiel seine blum, wo nicht die noch gebietet:

Spritze rechtlich, wolseh fehrlich, das unricht soll hier passen,
So wie ihr euch auf nicht wollen widerspuren laden.

Seinetz scheet und wieh gut, wie man doppelten macht,
Die einzengest niht schleichet, nur nehmt euch in acht.
Altwie ein mussen stehen, ungleichse chen und drey,
Was man nicht weberen kann, nicht niht zu meinem frey;

Habt euch nicht in irgend hinterlassen,
Ist euch nicht die letzte noch den nieder.

Ich hab es erst gelernt, da mir ein traurer man.

Eins fancken bastard durch solchen abgewisse.

Seinetz nicht verwegen aus, wenn ihr es anders kienet,

Seinetz verfrachtet, dass ihr solben leicht las gefangen zuwan.

Doch könnt ihr staher sey, und lasset euch das glaub.

So sprütet, aber nicht bey noch auch wolh venk.

Spritze eurer auch zu klag; wohlke klagt wird eich wagen.

Mit einem starken kref, sich ohne noch anzuschlagen?

Und spielt ihr auf credit, so schreibt nach geschwindte.

Dass, wenn ihr euch vertreten, man euch nicht schonen sey.

Reyn cresselpfeilen kams nicht unter schenden seys,

16 The title of the German translation is "Anweisung zum verkehrten; it comprises 58 lines (two more than are in the Dutch original)".
In a still earlier issue of *Das neue königliche l'homme-spiel* (as it is styled on the title-page), that of Hamburg 1737 (supposed to be the fourth edition), the backgammon section, as afterwards, closes the volume (pp. 291-318). The first page of this part is in the shape of a bastard title; *Das verkehren im breit-spiel richtig und wohl zu spielen, samt demen grundregeln.* This is followed (292-6) by the Dutch poem, and (297-301) its translation, and then by a description of *verkehren, textually the same as in the later issues. There is as yet no account of the trictrac-tocotecoti game, from which we may possibly conclude that the oldest German variety of the modern backgammon is *verkehren.* To this 1737 issue prefixed a pretty copperplate frontispiece, in the style of the day, portraying groups of players at chess, cards, backgammon, billiards, tennis, the backgammon-board being precisely like the ordinary folding-ones of our own time.

Another edition of *Das neue königliche l'homme,* also under our eye, is that of Hamburg 1785, which, though stated, like the other one, on its title-page to be a *Neue verbesserte und vermehrte auflage,* exhibits few improvements and few additions. The edition is not numbered, but, according to the list published by Van der Linde, must be the third of the German series. So far especially as the backgammon pages are concerned, the modifications in the descriptions of the two games are very slight, but the Dutch poem, *Ordonante op' verkeeren,* as well as the German rendering of it, is omitted. The volume has a larger page (there are 275 in all), but the printing and paper are much inferior. The opening of the trictrac treatise varies somewhat in this issue, the etymological first paragraph being omitted; for it are substituted five lines stating the slight differences between *trictrac* and *tocotecoti,* abbreviated from the foot note to be mentioned in the next paragraph but one.

It may be well to mention that the oldest issue of the *Neue königliche l'homme spiel,* published, as we have stated, at Hamburg in 1708, has a frontispiece portraying, above, a tennis court with players, and, below, a round table at which five persons are engaged at cards; on the floor lie an open backgammon-board and other implements of games. The full title (in red and black) is (we retain the typographical features): *"Das Neue Könige l'Homme Spiel, Auch wie Espadille Forcé, L'Homme selb Ander, selb Dritte und selb Fünften nach jetziger Manier zu spielen; wobei noch ander Careen-Spielen beygefügt: Das Pilcken-Tafel, Das Schach, Das Ballen-Spiel, Und Das Verkehren im Brett. Mit Erkärung der Wörter, welcher man sich bey den Spielen gebrauchet."* Hamburg, Bey Benjamin Schillers, 1708.* The unnumbered folio after the title-folio (that is the third) has the *"Vorrede"* and the *"Inhalt."* Then come *"L'Homme"* and other games, the pagination being irregular, as is sometimes the case with old books. It goes on right to page 216, and then changes to 127 (in the middle of the section on *"Ballen-Spiel,"*) and the new numeration continues to the final page 167 (which, properly, should be 267). In the course of the erroneous pagination occurs the division of backgammon. *"Ballen-Spiel"* ends on p. 126, with a blank reverse. The next page, [167] = 237, is a new title-page: *"Das Verkehren im Brett-Spiel Recht und wohl zu spielen, Sament denen Grund-Regeln. [Vignette]—Hamburg, Anno 1708."* On the reverse of this the text opens (p. 138), with the poem, *Ordonante op' Verkeeren, beginning:*

*Anm boor Frieduen, anm boor Reminders van't verkeeren,*

ending at the bottom of page 143 [=243] with the initials *"I. O. K."* On page 144 follows its German version with a heading which we reproduce exactly: *"Denen Liebhaber zum Vergnügen, hat man die Regeln folgender Gestalt ins Hochdeutsche übersetzt."* Hereupon succeeds the translation (with no hint of the translator's name) commencing:

*Ihr Freunde höret zu, Liebhaber von Verkehren,*

and ending on page 150 (=250) with a phrase in large type in order to fill a too-vacant space: *Mehr hievon findet der gemüde lasar in folgenden zu seinem Unterricht.* After that follows (pages 151 = 251—167 = 267) the prose description of the game, precisely as in the edition of 1737, which we have already summarized. In this *"Verkehren"* portion there is likewise some irregular pagination numerical. After page 151 [=251] the numbers run 152, 143, 145, 151, 156, and then regularly to the end (143 = 153, 145 = 154, 151 = 155). The words, *verkehren im breit,* in the two title-pages, perhaps throw as much light on the origin of the name as can be gleaned by research. The verb *verkehren* means to *"come and go,"* *"pass and repass,"* *"reverse,"* *"invert,"* *"passing and repassing in the board,"* or *"reversing in the board"* may possibly be the original specification as nearly as we can define it. The second edition (Hamburg, Bey Benjamin’s Schillers Wittwe 1715) has the same frontispiece. At the end of the title proper (after *gebrachet*) is inserted this additional matter: *"Mit möglichster Accuratezza nach der neuesten Frantziösischen Edition durchgeschen und an vielen Orten verbessert!"* The erroneous paging in the first part is repeated (which is singular, as the volume is wholly reprinted). The section devoted to backgammon is likewise newly printed but with its erroneous pagination corrected, and yet its special title-page still bears the date: *"Anno 1708."*
The page ends with a supplement of 71 pages, with title-page and text in both French and German, containing the novel alluded to on the main title-page, being "Decisions nouvelles" relating to "L'hombre." The title-page to this bears the date of 1715. In this second edition the backgammon part is virtually unchanged; for the longer heading at the beginning of the German rendering of the Dutch poesie, is substituted simply the words: "Deutsche Uebersetzung." With some regularity there was published at Berlin, from 1797 to 1820, an annual under the general title of Spielmannach. This was under the editorship, first of one Julius Caesar, secondly (beginning with 1810) of G. W. von Abensteiner (both of which names Van der Linden declares to be pseudonyms). We add a description of one issue, which chances to be at our service. Its title is: "Spielmannach für karten- schach-brett-billard-kegel-und ballspieler zum selbstausierende von Julius Caesar.—Nach den gründlichsten regeln und gesetzten durchaus verbessert und mit neuen spielern vermehrt von G. W. von Abensteiner.—wahre www www www www "Spiel ist die würde der arbeit. Plutarch.—Berlin, bei Gottfr. Hayn. 1810." This is the first volume of the continuation by "Abensteiner" of the "Julius Caesar" series of the "Spielmannach." How far its contents are those of the preceding issues we cannot say. It comprises 296 pages, of which pages 322-345 are devoted to das tokategispel. The first third of the article forms the tokategi portions of the "Hans Helling" Buck der spiele, on which we have commented—neglecting, however, to say that the English word match is used, as we have found it to be in another foreign language, to signify the highest kind of a winning, namely a "quadrupel." "Helling has been copied, as far as near the bottom of page 331. Therewith we are presented with twenty-four numbered pieces of advice as to the proper playing of the game, of which we translate the earlier ones as specimens: 1. If, in the beginning, you throw dice with fewer than seven points [in all] try for the little schaefer [that is, the little jan, or six combined double points in the home-board]. 2. But if your dice result in more than seven points, try for the possession of the huwe [that is the final or eleventh point from your massened men]. 3. Endeavour to form a barrier of six covered points in the second quarter of the board. 4. Prevent your adversary from making a barrier (zumachen), which can only be done by getting a double (covered) point in his board. These observations are all clearly written, and contain one or two noticeable lapses of thought. Thus we learn, in the twenty-first paragraph, that when the dice run against a player, and he cannot unite a barrier of six adjoining covered points, the position is called an emballe. Tables of the chances of throwing combinations of the different dice-numbers (pages 336-7), and observations on them (pages 338-40) then follow: thirteen numbered rules of play (diese tokategispelte) terminate (pages 340-343) the section. The almanach is well-printed, and has on its cover-title a vignette showing a section of a billiard-table, with cues, cards, chess-men etc. lying upon it.

The following anonymous publication must be here briefly noticed: "Neueste anleitungen wie die trictrac und tokategile-spiele recht und wohl zu spielen."—Mit allergnädigsten privilegii. Nürnberg, bey Johann Eberhard Zeh, 1775." It is a small octavo of 48 pages. To the end of page 46, it seems (with two slight exceptions) word for word the same as the treatise on the same game, or games, in the "L'hombre" book of 1770. The first difference is a footnote to the first page of the text as follows: Das trictrac, oder wie man es auch sonst nennt grandel trictrac, ist von dem tocatgepiel in vielen unterschieden, und muss auch mit selbigen nicht vermengt werden. Dann, so unterscheidet sich dieses von jenem 1. in schragen, 2. zählen oder mischen, und 3. im freitragen oder band machen, wie unten bey gelegenheit hin und wieder, wo es von dem trictrac abgeht, angemerkt werden soll. Dann ausser diesen dreigen-stücken wird es gespielt wie das trictrac. The other distinguishable feature of the "Neue anleitungen" is that here the small dissimilarities between the two varieties, mentioned on the title-page, are described in more or less brief paragraphs inserted here and there, in smaller type, in the text. The text is mainly occupied with trictrac, but whenever a feature occurs, which is not exactly the same in tocategi, the difference in character, or in the method of play, is explained in these inserted notes. As we have given the reader to understand, these little tocategi notes, in both the 1770 and 1783 editions of "L'hombre" are remanded to the bottoms of the pages. The last two pages (47-8) of the work are occupied (probably in order to fill the unused space), with an account of the Italian "nora," here named das fingspierl, which is called both "ein besonderes spiel" and dieses licheriche spiel. What are the real relations between the essay which forms the substance of this volume, and the almost identical essay in Das neue königliche l'hombre, cannot, in the present state of our knowledge, be decided. Perhaps there may have been an earlier edition of the little book, which was subsequently made a part of "L'hombre;" or perhaps the publisher or editor of the book wanted to produce a volume solely devoted to what he conceived to be the principal game of backgammon, and found the easiest way to do that was to reprint the trictrac-tocategi section of the German "académie."
CHESS IN ICELAND

at least is not so unknown to us Germans, since it was the favorite diversion of the good Primrose, the rural clergyman of Wakefield." He closes by saying that *gammon* is an easier game than *tocateli*, and does not admit the number of changes which are constantly taking place in the latter variety; and he has therefore been able to fully explain it in much less space than he has felt obliged to give to its more elaborate rival. The style of the book is clear, grave and pleasing; the arrangement of the matter is excellent; and the typography is very neat. In the essay on *tocateli* hardly any French terms are used, the "jans," "bredouiller" and so on having disappeared.

The author's intelligence is manifest in many ways, in none more noticeably than in his knowledge that our English backgammon (toutes tables) is much played in Portugal and Spain; we have, in another place, called attention to the fact that one of the most frequent Portuguese names of backgammon, gamão, is derived from the English "gammon." Another indication of his superior capacity (much in advance of his generation) is the record (pp. 141-147), with critical notes, of three games of *gammon*, or English backgammon, by means of a simple and easy method of notation akin to that employed in Germany for writing down games of chess. Even yet a century later — no manual treating backgammon, published anywhere in the English-speaking world, has published records of games at backgammon, or suggested the possibility of such a thing.

There are issued, we believe, in the German lands, from time to time, small and indifferently compiled manuals devoted to table, social and other games. Some pass through many editions, being often stereotyped. In that case, to conceal the fact that they are not fresh publications they are very generally undated. One such chance to be available for a hasty description.

It is called: *Buch der spielle gesellschaftspiele im zimmer und im freien für gemeinsame und kinder. Von Hans Holling. Berlin, without date.* It is a fair sized octavo of 328 pages, selling for a single mark. Two backgammon varieties are here described (pp. 7-18), and there is a very crude wood-cut of a board. The first game is named *puff*. This resembles the game known as "Russian backgammon" in England and America. It is likewise played in Germany, as we shall shortly see. This *puff* is doubtless meant for it, but differs in one or two of the minor rules, as is apt to be the case in different lands in nearly all table games, except chess, in which the same laws and methods now prevail at least in all European countries and in their colonies. It is singular, however, that the oldest German appellation for backgammon (*puff*, or *puffspiel*) should here be bestowed upon a variety, which is generally regarded as modern, and appears to be comparatively little known to the Latin world. The other variety treated in this little handbook is *lokategeli*. The account is rather meagre, but we have of many of the terms with which we have already become familiar, partly half foreign: the old names of the doubles, as *beset* or *ambessa*, *double dezus, terner* and so on; *die hucke oder ruhecke*; *spielmarke* (instead of the French "marker"); a metal token for marking the game; *blase* ("blots"); single men standing on points; *doubles" (instead of *pasch*, used in describing the previous variety); *schachter* or *dervier*; *der grosse jan*; *rückjan*; and *band* ("covered point," which is the same thing, is denominated *ein band* in the account of *puff*). We translate a few of the rules and definitions to show its resemblance to the *Grand trictrac*, treated in the French backgammon section of this volume: "The counting [with the spielmarke] takes place when I have hit a blot; I then make one on the board by placing my 'marker' in front of the head of the first point in my second compartment, advancing it one with every blot hit; if I have passed the 'marker' through my twelve points, and my opponent has hit no blot, then I have won a 'quadruple'; has he meanwhile hit a blot once or twice, then I win a 'triple', if three or four times then I gain only a 'double,' if seven times then I can only count a 'simple.' If a player has thus marked twelve then it rests with him whether the game shall be continued or decided otherwise. If a player hits a blot with doubles, the 'marker' is advanced two more points. One cannot occupy the adversary's 'coin de reposée' (huchse) with a single man; it can only be occupied by two men, either by means of a doublet, or by two men, which, in accordance with the dice thrown, can be moved either at once. If I have established in my second board six successive double points (geschlossene bünde), called a schuster, or 'the little jan,' or 'the little closure' (zumachen), then I mark two, and this with every point of my opponent until I am obliged to break up my six double points. The second board, or compartment of the opponent is called 'the great jan,' and his first board 'the counter jan' (rückjan). Into the second field of my adversary I cannot place a single man ('blot'), so long as he maintains what is styled his force, that is, so long as he can make six successive double points with his men." These sentences, made at random, prove that the game is that known in France as "tric-trac," having all the complicated features of that variety.

The best of the more recent German handbooks of games bears the long title: *Buch der spiel. Ein systematischer bekenntner spielle und unterhaltungs-woisen für alle kreise. Gesellschafts- und scherzspiele aller art, orakelspiele, ball-und reifenspiele, sportspiele, hegelspiele, tanzspiele, dominio und lotto, Brett-und positionsspiele, schachspiel, billardspiel, wettfl. und karrenspiele, spilien und kartenspiele, u. s. w. Herausgegeben unter mitwirkung von erfahrner fachmänner von Albon von Blain. Dritte auflage. Mit 277 Abbildungen. Leipzig. Verlag von Otto Spamer, 1900.* This third edition (the first appeared in 1894) is a good-sized octavo of XIX + 507 pages, well printed, well arranged, well indexed, and in some parts well illustrated. Notwithstanding its assertion to the contrary on the title-page, it can hardly be possible that experienced players, of the first class, have contributed greatly to improve its backgammon section, which, it may also be stated, has not a single illustration, not even a cut of the backgammon board. The section is, in many respects, behind that devoted to merelles (das mühlspiel), of which we have given some account (pp. 146-8). It contains descriptions (pp. 256-260), of varieties bearing the names of *das lange puff, triktrac, geranuer, tokatelli, tokhaudelle, paschom, remerier* — a list which may be regarded as summing up all the methods of playing this ancient table-game now practiced among the German nationalities. The first game is *das lange puff* and is virtually the same as puff in the *Buch der spiele* of Holling, just noticed, that is the "Russian backgammon." The description is here fuller and more exact. The backgammon board is spoken of as the *pufforust* usually found in the inner side of the well-known draught-board, the Allison being to the folding chess-board, on the inside of which is a backgammon board. To decide on the beginner both parties
cast the two dice, and the higher number confers the privilege of the first play. This throw is called general-pasch and must be marked down, since its recurrence later gives the thrower a special indulgence, as will hereafter be explained. The men are entered in accordance with the numbers of dices-pips turned up. The play commences in the field at the remote left of one player and at the remote right of the other. The men of neither player can be moved until they are all entered. Thereafter the player may move two men according to the pips of each die, or one man according to the sum of the pips. When doublets are thrown, they may be played twice, then the doublets on the other side are played twice, whereupon the player is also entitled to another cast. Should general-pasch be thrown by either player he may then also play the exposed pips twice, and afterwards the pips on the opposite sides of the dice likewise twice. Blots may be hit, though in such a way that the capturing-man—which takes the place of the captured and consequently thrown-out piece, must remain on the point from which the captured man has been removed, and cannot be advanced further until the next cast of the dice. The captured man must be re-entered on the entering board, and until this be done the player to whom it pertains cannot move any of his men. A double point (with two men) is called a band. If a player have five blinde adjoining each other, his opponent can only pass the row with double sixes, (sechs-pasch), since the lower number on the dice must be first played; therefore five-six, for instance, will not permit him to pass his man over the united blinde. Arriving at the fourth field, the men are thrown off, in accordance with the pips turned up, and the player whose men are first on the board wins. The writer states that another method of playing this variant consists in both players entering on the board in advance, laying opposite of course, to that in which they started. This mode, in consequence of the obstacles offered by the double points (blinde) of each player to the movements of the other, and by reason of the more frequent captures of men, is more lively and interesting than the other, and demands greater forethought and more careful planning. Whereas this game be the same as that styled "the long," or der lange puff, by writers of the XVIII and XIX centuries whom we have cited, is not to be easily determined. If it be, then what we have mentioned as the quite modern "Russian game" (not so named, so far as we are informed, outside of America) must be of greater antiquity than we have supposed. The second game is the "grand trictrac," the description is a good specimen of condensation, the terms largely French, sometimes translated. The writer speaks of one of the "jans" as der rekompensgen oder der jen der belohnung, and also of berührtes holz, in brezuldei sein, and the grosse brezullide. At the end is a servicable surfaible des trictrac, showing the points to be marked by the possible turns of the game. The entire column could be disposed of by saying that in trictrac "quick observation and exact calculation and combination of all possibilities" are essential. The third variety is garonquet, which we have already briefly described (p. 183). The fourth is tokkatogi (tokkadiile), the compiler confining himself to the few differences which distinguish it from trictrac, upon which we have previously dwelt (p. 205). The fifth is common, the rules given varying slightly but not materially from those laid down for the customary English game, which variations have been previously noted. The sixth and last game is reverter (that is, verzeker), the description of which coincides with that in the three issues of Das Königliche L'Homme, which we have examined. The regulation requiring beforehand the choice of one of two methods of play is here omitted, and the terms jen and junker are not employed. There is no mention of the fact that this variety of backgammon is, or has been called in German verkeuren. In fact there is no historical or literary information in regard to any of the table-games included in the volume, except in a few, of the four or five pages of introductory matter to the section devoted to chess. But the same may be said in regard to the articles on other table games in all the cyclopedias, in whatever language or country they may have been published. In fact, as has been hinted, no histories of backgammon or the morris-game could have been heretofore written, because nobody has taken the pains to study or to read those portions of the many Latin, Italian, Spanish, and French manuscripts in the great libraries, which treat of those games in common with chess. They have been made use of only by writers on the story of chess. As for the minor old games, like draughts and fox-and-geese, very little has been written on the origin and development of the former, and nothing in reference to the latter. Even the folklorist, to whose province the study of these more popular games, of such wide extent, properly belongs, has not devoted much time or thought to them. There is, we must not forget to say, another manual of games in German, like the one which we have just reviewed, which claims to be especially historical. The copy we are consulting, as will be noted, is of the fifth and latest edition. We reproduce its long title: 'Enzyklopädie der spiele erdhaltung die venezianische, brett-, kegel-, billard-, rassen-, würfel- spiele und schach. Gründliche anweisung zur erlernung dieser spiele, nebst angabe ihres geschichtlichen ursprungs. Mit einer geschichtlichen einleitung, Von Friedrich Anton.—Fünfte Auflage.—Leipzig von Otto Wigand. 1889.' It is arranged not by classes of games, cards, table-games and so on, but alphabetically in a real cyclopedic style. It looks very complete, for it not only includes draughts and morris (mühle), but such games as the Japanese 'go' and the Italian 'mora.' It deserves some credit, too, as the first book of its class, which even affects to treat its subjects historically. It opens with a general introduction of ten pages on gaming, in which the laws against it from very early times are hastily glanced at. After this there is a chapter, with many historical references, on 'cards as the most important means of playing or gaming,' (Die karten als wichtiges spielmittel); this includes a brief sketch of the introduction of cards into Europe, the different character of those first used in different lands, and explanations of the origin and signification of the names given to the four suits (hearts, clubs etc.); this is followed by a note on the technical terms common to most card-games. This is pretty much the sum of all the historical matter contained in the book. Now and then the opening line, or lines, of a section contain an attempt at the historical, such as the first phrase of the section occupied with tokkadiile: 'Die aus Italien stammende tokkadiile wird auf dem pflorest gespielt,' and that's the whole history of tokkadiile. The longest introduction in the body of the book is that prefixed to trictrac—being a page devoted zur geschichte des trictrac, all about the Phoenicians, the abbé Barthélemy, the Greeks and Romans, the contention
of Germany and France for the honour of the game's invention, the origin of its name—but nothing showing any research beyond the pages of the nearest cyclopaedia. The backgammon varieties treated we glance at in their order: gammon (pp. 210-222) comes from England (stemmata, "game" in English), was, however, played for a time in France under the obsolete name of the "Trancianband", because the web of the game was talked of as "Trancianband", a very strong Abric player, was the first, under certain circumstances of the game, to establish this point, in opposition to the rules and practice prevailing in his day, and thereby won considerable sums. The earlier players were wont to leave this point uncovered to the last, or at a later stage of the game, and styled it the "scorcher's point" (schlechterm). It is probable that this division of the book is a translation, more than usually well-made, from some French manual, with rather too many of the French terms left ungermanized. The whole "Encyclopädie," with its 650 pages, was well-planned, but the editor lacked both the ability and proper assistance to carry out properly his design. The illustrations are very scanty and of meagre quality. The "Buch der Spiele" of von Hahn is not only newer but superior.

Before bringing to an end the rough sketch here given of the forms assumed by nard-tables—backgammon in Germany we ought to say a word on the lack of productions, in general German literature, in which this divination is made to play a part. We have in Italian the backgammon episode in Parini's "Giorno," and in French the novelette of Mornière, but there is nothing in German, so far as we know, which compares with them; and yet the game has been quite as common among the Germans as among their neighbours. There is indeed an early German version of Parini's poem, which must be of considerable rarity, since in the three or four German backgammon collections in which we have sought it, the volume was not to be had.

Of the history and practice of backgammon in Holland, a country very nearly akin to Germany, little can be said without more extended researches than the writer has been able to make. The story of the game must have run here, very much as in Germany. The medieval tables was probably played, and references to it doubtless occur in the popular epics, the knightly verse, the chapbooks, the dramas, the satires, and the moralizing pieces, which were as numerous during the early centuries in the lower regions of the Rhine as in the upper. The game has been very likely influenced both by France and Germany. From the former it got the name of one if its two most common varieties, and from Germany that of the other. These seem to be tiktak (teek-truk is not to be found in most of the dictionaires) and verker (verkerpel). One noticeable thing is that both these words occur as verbs as well as nouns. Tiktakken means to play at tiktak, and verkererspel to play the verkerespel; this linguistic peculiarity extends to other games, suchen (from schauk, schaukelpel) is to play chess, and dammen (from dam, dampepel) is to play at draughts. How much these verbal forms are now used may be a matter of doubt, but they were common enough two or three generations ago. The name of the backgammon ac-cessories are: tiktakbord, verkerbord, or simply spelbord; streep (etymologically "strip" or "stripe") is the only word we have found to indicate the twenty-four "points" of the backgammon table; taerling (taerlingk)

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29 In title is: Die vier vier vortelung in der stadt, eine freie oersteucigung aus den Italienschen, Frankfurt am Main 1713. The translation is apparently anonymous.
A little earlier in time the following passage is found in the first volume (p. 136) of a work of travels (1698-1711) in the Levant, Russia and as far as India, probably referring to the Mediterranean east. The author is Cornelis de Bruyn, deceased about 1719: "De manier van speelen [op het verkeerboord] is diverse als by ons, maar met dit onderachi dat men zyn party niet gheest uit het bord kan als aan, maar altijd plaats moet laten om te kunnen aanvaagen." The difference here implied between Dutch and eastern backgammon is not easy to comprehend. The next quotation relates to the dice-game, and is from the romance "Akbar" by P. A. S. Limburg Brouwer (1889-79), the son of a more famous father: "Hier en daar zaten... de spoliers met hunne dobbelsteenen om het bord waarop ze hun inzet hadden gewagt." Willem Bilderdijk (1756-31) is generally reckoned to be Holland's greatest poet. In one of his pieces of verse backgammon (rather than dice-play) seems to be referred to:

Daar hoor ik't ramulend spel, waarbij 't heugelijk gespeel De ouzere kansen raasen, die van het lot boezemen. Het oog staat wederzijds in 't opgelegd bord, Met greijs luyvenrocht, naar 't geen de beker stort.

A minor writer, whose name is apparently Schimmel, is cited by one of the lexicographers, the passage given being from a story: "Hanss maakte de opmerking dat de ogen van de dobbelstenen op sommigen meer invloed uitoefenden dan de schaamtende blikken eener schoone." We have reproduced on a preceding page the German rendering of a longish poem devoted wholly to one of the games (verkeeren) played on the backgammon-board in Holland. Here follows the Dutch original, styled, as the reader will remember, Orman's "Directie voor 't verkeeren", "Directions for backgammon," which we copy as it is given in Das neue königliche L'homme de 1770 (pp. 308, 310, 312, 314). The full name of its author ("L. G. K.") we have not been able to discover. It is proper to say that in these extracts, as well as in the Dutch words and phrases cited, we have followed the orthography used in our authorities. These results in many discrepancies, since some are older and some younger than the orthographical changes effected by Bilderdijk—not one of the least of the services which he rendered to his country. The writer of our poem, it will be noticed, introduces many of the technical terms of the game:

Aan hoor vrienden, aan hoor bemiddels van't verkeeren
Myn ordonnancy, soo is op't gheen 't ual teeren:
Als ghy u speel begin, set schyven af en maakt
U nietier van den hoek, al let dat ghy ook roeckt,
En wils niet haestig schelzen, ten ey met avantage:
En bandt ook nie tot ra, 't is quade timanche.
Als men gheen hout en hooch: werpt niet eer u party
Syn schyven heeft gesel, want selden is men bly.
Als men tot eit cet, 't heeft my dichtwis ook wel ghespen,
Daeron speelt met ghengshckt, gheeft niemandt eerevan te eit.
Hout u party niet gheen, gheat ook gheen quade ganghen.
Set syns quare jest, soal en're dobbelen.
Chiemen syn selden quack, doch witter wel op laten
Hoef d't u stauen, uimelt ook op eystruys goede acht.
Dech al dat qusselik staat kan werden wet gewolkt.
Zor dat qgy werpt, zo niet wet goed of quet kan vroemen,
Soo nulq ghy spelen rain, oufzoekt met minder vroomen,
Dit heb ik eerst geleerd van een syn seeliek man.
Die daarmde van my een kleinige boters wan.
Soo niet in teghon het, als ghy’s ander koot maakt,
Tes gy qy vertrekt vrooq in hoektieunse to rommen,
Als ghy’s kent dan so et wry schriven op het voer,
Is w paryce strich so komt niet liinreick tewer.
’T zyn qusselik nogen geen, ’t is hemelieyk na rochten,
Dat teghem een streeck goyk niet goet en is te vrochten,
Als ghy spoelt op syn reyda, en wylt niet haestieq schriven.
Red’aals men met u schryft, en wylt niet haestieq schriven.
’T is schade voor de handte te schrivyven op de steen,
Da doet het niet, want’t is altyd twee teggelen een.
En seeliek hier tegen dat gy seer zyt geboten.
’T is beter wat gynovek dan in ‘t gebel ghegleden.
Swigtien in een anders apat, val sonech maakt geen vreugt.
Kent ghy niet swgychen, seeliek sweiste al ghy werenk.
Als u party heeft aan good schriven wilt niet schruten,
En soneer groot verloog wilt resten menckte te gen.
’T is beter dat ghy swigtien en u gheestig heet haant.
Dat almet en niet boeck, hoe ’t geen men alme geen.
Op dat men al arys in lidys mach recht te maenken,
Wet in u speel medoed, enth’ hond goed maenkeren.
Al let dat gy verlijten, wyl horen naeck te neen.
Nooch loecken, sweren men, maar hond u aantelt sr.
Iedereen ghy kun, soo niet, het syster bloem u ver.
En regelt van niemand groot, spoedel van alle neven,
Geloert’t in u winst men heept daarom geen resten.
Indien ghy breyen wint, voorgeh kenst anders syn.
Daer wint in groote vreugt, daer t is verreisem gyne.
Vreugtig geen gheeks gheekschat, verboden nocke licht.
’T gheest ghy hethalen moet last syn van goedte gewicht.
’T vervaeren is te selle, ten lyt genomen grote menck.
Die met groot spasen wint, is goed gelt wel gegeven.
Wel en vrienden, seden benderman, van’t verheerten.
Neempt dit legget in doeken, al let wel op syn leven.

The most important of the Dutch: “Académies des jeux” or manuals of games (including instruction in backgammon) of an earlier period, which we have chanced to encounter, is without date (but probably printed not far from the beginning of the nineteenth century). It is entitled: “Ordonnantien en gebruiken van verscheidene soorten van kaartspellen. Als het k’ombre fäid, quadrielle, piketten, modernen, klaverzaenen, goerten en volksspelmen. Benefitszen verscheiden nieuwe kaartspellen als moode het koningliyk schaakspel, billiard, verkeer en kaatsgamen. Op niew na de heodendagsche manier en order geschet door H. D. K. En syn te bekomen te Dort… Haarlem… Leiden… Delft… en verder in alle steeden door de boekverkopers. The sum and substance of the description of backgammon in this volume is an anonymous poem, similar to that of “I. G. K.”, which we have just reproduced. Its title is “Reglement en grondregels van het vortrevelik veerkeerpel. Some few technical terms are to be found in it such as zessen (“sixes”), vieren (“fours”), bloet schrygen (“blots”) hond (“double point”) and its plural, banden, jan (printed as if it were a forgetful word) and azeje (diminutive from), “little ace.” The volume is nowhere mentioned by Van der Linde, but he cites another of the same class, hav-
Let vlytig op de kop en loopt 'er niet op binnen, Schoon is het sneeuwmaal noedsig heb een wijnkist, Ook van een oecentje, met nog eens wyf daar by, Die hy lof echteren gewonnen heeft van my; Noodeza is niet veel goede van zulk een speel te hopen, Dat men wyvmissel of gedwongen in moet lapen. Draag zorg ook dat gy n geen hoeren zeg en zoet, Want gy het nevren kost ieders gy 'er slechts op let. Vty benden moog gy u wel gemeenlyk op vertroeven, Maar als gy daar dan wilt wyf lapen by gaan boren. Is 't moest wel een te veel, en heb gy 't spel wat moest; Zyls niet haarmena, want 't verkeerd vaak door een gooi; Denk aan den naam van 't spel. Zyls aysed eens van sinnen, Of gy het spel verlies, dan of gy 't komt in winnen. Te leden op het spel en 't speels van party, Dat is de nie van 't werk, a dus zo schymt het my Vergypt gy een een schyf, wil daarom niet kraaklen, Gy moet, al waar 't tot schik, den zelfe schyf dog speelen Gooi niet voor u party sien siet heeft gedaen, Want goedt gy kwaad, gewi party hand zeg daar nou, Ro zal u door zoo's sintzomtelyt het spel outleggen. Wilt in het speelen niet als 't nodige maar zeggen Speedt met geen schyf te veel, zeg met geen schyf te min; Want zo 't dit gevis, dat gy 'er kwam op in, Dus zien u schymen uit, party die zee u krygen, Ze schryven 't spel u aas, en gy zylz zouden swygen. Hebt gy een schyf te veel, party die neemt ze uit, Ze eigen zynlychtyf, gy zyt er me rechtbeet. Hebt gy 'er een te min, party zal op u passen. En u, als gy 't niet giet, met doene schyf verbrassen; Het sieten op de broedt, als hy zyn vooest niet, En helpen zo u spel achter tweekoste niet. Draagt zorg ook dat gy komt niet ene schyf te roeren, Ten gy wy voorstelt dat gy uit komt roeren, De waarom van de ant, met goedte en vaste roode; Of anders spoelde gy zo maar in het wilde hoet; Daar moeten reden sijn, 't verkeeren steen op gronden; Geen saige hoe gering of 't is 'er oaa gebeunden. Wannert als u dan dunkt dat gy het spel verstaat, Ten mitsste dat het zo een redelijk bomen gaat, Zo gaat dan over aan het spel met gedagne, (Of zo dat werd genoemd) schoon veelen het vergeten, En zeggen dat het niet als maar een loogte is, Zij insten in die saak, dukt my, geweldig min, Het in de grond van 't spel, behuasen om door te leeren. Den oorsprong en het slt, en 't merk van 't spel, verkooren. Wens zittes wat men groot daar 's wondig speelen a. Hy wynt sig zelft, of dit, dit is 't beloop daar van Zyn veelhelle randekt, van het syn gedagwezene; Maar op het andere valt moeder op te leeren. Ben dune na om phoel word lichrylyk gedaen, Maar danaan en zingen 'smaar daar is meer moeten aankomen. Die uit een vroomte taal een book gaat overbrugt, Schoon dat het heertelyk is, moet echter dag gebrengen, Dat men niet zielz als het is wel getranslateerd. Zo 't met de goeis die na de goed verkooer, Daar men sig sleepe dog geestig na moet richten; Een moester moet hier door vaak voor een leeling swichten Uit oorsaak van de goeis en steenen die 't hem doen Verstem men geweld, dat noeman kan verbroe, Maar randeer stoms en zet men muls niet blinken; Die 't spel 's hoest verstaat die gyt 'er noode styrken.
the barrier formed by six contiguous double points; scope, to "strike," or a "strike," a term of counting, setting a "marquer," as in the French game, (literally, "bring off"), to "bear," "castle," a borrowed card-term, equivalent to a double loss, a "backgammon." After this brief Glossary, we have thirteen "rules of the game," and the text ends with a few explanatory notes; deciding the first play; moving the men in accordance with the number of dice-points; how doubles are played; the "bearing" of men and described; it seems to be either a simplified French trictrac, or verhaken with a few trictrac features.

In England we shall find much more material for the treatment and illustration of the hard-backgammon game than is available in any other land. Yet much more than we have been in a position to get together will, without doubt, some day see the light. The medieval game or games of tables, however they were played, seem in England to have become common and popular outside the court and convent sooner, and to a greater extent, than elsewhere. The Latin MS—the work of an English pen—which we have reproduced (pp. 101-160), would appear to mark partly the transition period between tables and the modern games, partly the definite beginning of backgammon. One technical term cited in it certainly continued in use down to a recent period. But we have before discussed this matter of the chronological line which separates the age of tables from that of backgammon (pp. 78-79).

First of all let us consider the dice. The word dice comes into English, like a multitude of other Latin vocabularies, through France, where it is to be found some two centuries before it occurs in England. On its etymology we have already dwelt (pp. 70-71). The old English was "de" (earlier "det"), the plural being "dez." The English form day existed in the Xth century, and this and des were sometimes used down to the XVth century. The "New English Dictionary" enumerates many orthographical variants particularly of the plural. The chronicle of Robert de Brunne gives us (1230) the plural dez, while the "Chester Plays" (1400)—unless that be due to its modern editor—has the form now in vogue: "Using cardes, dice, and cupes smalle," the cupes (cups) being, doubtless, the dice-boxes. The oldest Chaucer MS has dees, which survived, says lexicographical, as late as 1494 in a book from Caxton's press; but in Caxton's "Playe of the Cheeseman" (1471) we have another form, which is treated as both singular and plural: "He caste three dice, and on each dyse was a nise [six]." and elsewhere in the same work: "In his left hand thre dice." These passages recall the fact, already noted, that in certain games of tables two and in others three dice were employed. This was the case in England as well as on the continent. Thomas Wright, in his "History of Domestic Manners" (1802, p. 217), cites from the French translation of Jacobus de Cessolis' work on chess the mention made of a dice, who is represented as using three dice. The writer adds: "Two dice were, however, sometimes used especially in the game of hazard which appears to have been the great gambling game of the middle ages. Chaucer, in the 'Pardoner's tale,' describes the 'hazardous' as playing with two dice. But in the curious scene in the 'Townsley mysteries'—a collection of thirty-four mystery-plays edited by the Surtees society, London 1836—the scene mentioned is on p. 241—a work apparently contemporary with Chaucer, the tormentors, or executioners, are introduced throwing for Christ's unsewed garment with three dice; the winner throws fifteen points, which could only be thrown with that number of dice."

The scene mentioned anticipates the similar one of Hans Sachs, from which we have quoted, by two centuries. In 1539, Chaucer's contemporary, Gower, tells us, in two of the thirty thousand lines of his "Confessio Amantis," that

The chance is cast upon a dice
But yet fall oft a man may so,
and so on. In a work of 1430 the author declares "Nought so gret as a a [ace] in a dice." The well-known passage in "Richard III,

I have set my life upon a cast
And I will stand the hazard of the die,

is thoroughly Shakespearean, reminding one, in its construction, of the "stalemate" passage familiar to most chess players; it is interesting, too, as giving a second dice-term, the noun cast. In another drama of the same period, "The Changeling" of Middleton and Rowley (1635), we discover this couplet:

'Tis a precious craft to play with a false die
Before a cunning gamester.

Child's great collection of ballads (III. 296) has a piece, "Young Hunting," containing these lines:

Will ye use to the cards or dice
Or to a tavern’s wine?

In more modern writings the references to dice are, of course, too numerous to cite. There is a slang expression, now rarely used, but once common: "The whole box and dice," implying "the whole lot," "the whole number of persons or things." Dice-box occurs in a vocabulary of 1592, with the Latin definitions, "dexter," "fructum." The word has thus been, for three centuries, the ordinary name for what the French style the "cornet." Addison, in the "Guardian" (no. 120) alludes to "Thumping the table with the dice-box;" the implement is sometimes called in American slang "the shaker." As to the dice-boxes or pip, this latter word is said by recent dictionary-makers to be a shortened form of "pippin," which signifies originally a seed of a fruit, while the former (point) does not seem to be given in any dictionary in the sense of dice-pip. The French names of the dice-points were greatly used in England until the last century, and are even now generally given, in a more or less corrupted form, in many treatises on table-games. The latest one of importance furnishes a list of the names of the points on the board (ace, deuce, trois, quatre, cinq, six); but the author also makes use of the same to designate the dice-points. Some confusion is caused by the fact that we English use point both for "dote" on the dice and the twenty four points (French "fléches") on the board: 1. Aoe is the French "as," which is the Latin "as," meaning an "unit," or a "one" which again is said—but recently doubted—to come from & a dialect (Tarentine) form of the Greek τέχνη ("one"). In early (middle) English it was
written in various ways, as, asa, most commonly, or aya, aye, etc., occurring perhaps as early as the word dice. We find it as a pure dice term in Shakespeare’s “Cymbeline:” “Your Lordship is the most patient man in losses, the most coldest that ever turn’d up ace.” Other illustrations of its use follow below. 2. Deuce, as a dice-numeral, is derived from “duo,” the accusative of the Latin “duo” (the second of the numerals) through the French “deux.” As we have stated, it has nothing in common, etymologically or otherwise, with the other (exclamatory) word deuce (“deuce take you”), which is a deprecative corruption of the Latin noun “deus” (“god”). Deuce was early written deenes and deuus and in other ways, but we find deus in 1519, while Florio (1598) makes its plural deuces. Besides the technical use of deuce there are many instances of its employment, with ace, in its figurative sense as representing the lower or poorer classes (see pp. 244-3) among which are most of those which follow: Caxton, in his “Reynard the Fox” (1481), speaks of “A pfygelmyr of deuex aas,” while we find that in another version of the same old allegorical story, but apparently of much later date, the idea is expressed in these two lines:

That which is likened to deuces-ace
Hath in esteem the lowest place.

From Shakespeare’s “Love’s Labor Lost” (1598) we take this: “You know how the grosser sums of deuce-ace amounts to ..., which the base vulgar call three.” 2. Trey (tray) is through the old French “treis,” modern “tress,” from Latin “tres.” The old play “Rogister Doctrise,” Nicholas Udall—the earliest English comedy (1566)—has: “I wyll be here with them, ere ye can say traye ace.” 4. Cater (catter, quater) is, of course, the French “quatre,” remotely from the Latin “quattuor,” and was formerly in frequent use for the four-point of the die. William Hammon, a chaplain to Queen Anne Boleyn and a writer of rare learning, says in his “Vulgaria” (1519) “Cater is a very good caste.” Sir Thomas Wilson, in his “Arte of Retorique” (1555), employs the word but not in a dice sense. John Kersey, the younger, in his “Dictionarium Anglo-Britannicurn” (1708), explains catterpoint as “the number four at dice,” though it doubtless meant the four-point on the board. Bailey the lexicographer, a little later (his dictionary appeared in various reprint or editions from 1721 on), defines catter-tray as “the four and the three, hence apparently, a cast term for dice.” But long before the time of these writers of dictionaries we find catter in very general use. In the before quoted “Cheeter Plays” (1500) this occurs:

Here is catter-tray.
Therefore goe thou thy wayes.

“The quarrel was about cater-tray,” signifying that “it was a dice-disputa,” is a phrase in the tract “Pappe with a Hatchet” (1589), now usually ascribed to the dramatist and novelist, William Lyly. 5. Cinque (cing, sinke, synke), from the Latin “quinque,” through the French, appears to have been common from an early day. Hornan (1519), cited above, speaking of ancient dice, asserts that “Deuce and synke were not in the old dice.” In Otway’s tragedy, “The Atheist” (1684), a character exclaims: Farewell ... seven and eleven, sink-tray and the doublets! Perhaps the oldest appearance of cinque is in the “Pardoner’s Tale” (1386) of Chaucer, who certainly knew the dice points familiarly, as probably most dwellers in cities in those days did. The passage is: “Senere is my chausene and thyn is cynk and trey.” Motteux (1708), the translator of Rabelais, speaks of “Cinques, quaters, tryes and duces.” 6. Dice (size, size, siz) are from French “six” and Latin “sex.” Chaucer (1386) in the “Monke’s Tale” has these lines:

Empoynd of this eyeus folk thon were:
Thyn sixe fortune hath turned into ase.

In his version of the satires of Persius, Dryden produces the couplet:

But then my study was to cog the dice
And dexterously to throw the lucky size.

The next citation,

Thushe eyss or synke them fayre
The dyce oft runeth upon the chanceys of thine,

is found in the translation (1593) of the German “Ship of Follys” by Sebastian Brant.

The names of the dice-doublets are in English mostly wholly restricted to that given to the double ace, which has entered largely into literature and much, at one time, been in common use. To this word, ambes-ace (ambes-ace), in early English, ambesar, ambessas, we have before more than once alluded (see especially p. 190), and have cited one of the earliest passages (1300) in which it is found in literature. Chaucer, introducing so many dice-words, did not neglect this term for double aces. In the “Canterbury Tales”—so faithful a picture of English life in his time—the “Man of Lawes tale” (1386) has:

Yeare bagges but not fould with ambes ase,
But with synke synke, that reyneth on your chausen.

But before the “Harrowing of Hell” (1300) and before Chaucer, we have, in a metrical chronicle of England (1297), reputed to be by Robert of Gloucester, and of which he pretty surely wrote a part, a phrase: “Ao he caste per of ambes ase.” Another writer, who wrote very near 1300, makes a speaker say: “Thou ert ico into ther to late; the laste ambes ase.” In a middle English poem usually styled “The History of Burne,” for a time attributed to Chaucer, but written about 1400, occur these lines:

I here thrw dice in myne owne pur;
... I kist [cast] hem forth all three,
... And too [to] fell amys ase.

That widely-famed voluminous writer of those old days, John Lydgate, who died about the middle of the XVe century, was fond of calling himself “Chaucer’s disciple.” In one of his minor poems (composed about 1400) he writes of one,

Whose lenesse godde nother in sike nor nise,
But with amys ase enworith his displeasure.

A character in Shakespeare’s “All’s well ends well” (1601) cries: “I had rather be in this choise then throw amese-ace for my life.” The other French word for double aces, “besas,” “beset,” which has rarely been used in
English, is defined by Cotgrave in his French-English dictionary (1611) as "gamen, on the dice." Cleveland (or Cleveeland), the cavalier poet, in his "Vinicia," a collection of verse, speaks, in a poem (1658), of some one:

In whom Dame nature tries
To throw less than sixes apo upon two dice.

The couplet,

I try vesting her good grace
To be disposed of by sixes and ace.

is to be found in a piece of verse (1680) in the "Remains" of Samuel Butler, the author of Hudibras. Mrs. Susannah Cibber's was popular, both as an actress and a dramatic writer. In her play "The Gamester" (1705) a character exclaims:

My evil genius says sixes and ace before me!

It is a little singular that William Wollaston's "Religion of Nature" (1722), a book greatly read in its day, should contain the following bit of figurative language: "Nobody can certainly foretell, that sixes and ace will come up on two dice [sic], fairly thrown, before sixes and ace." Sherwood's English-French dictionary (1650), which was the second part of Cotgrave's work, renders "to cast ambias-ace" by "faire ambersats" — a noticeable orthography of the French form (now written "ambassas"). The philosopher, Thomas Hobbes, in those "Questions of Liberty, Necessity and Chance" (1656), which he discussed with his acrimonious critic, Archbishop Bramhall, introduces the dice-term: "This will be yet clearer by considering his own instance of casting ambas-ace, though it partake more of contingency than of freedom." Fielding, in one of his less-known plays, called, we believe, "The Lottery," introduces the term; "If I can but nick this time, ame's ace I defy thee." The expression, after falling into disuse, has been revived in our own day by one of the most distinguished of American essayists, James Russell Lowell, who in his "Among my Books" (1870), characterizes something as "A lucky throw of words which may come up as the sices of hardy metaphor or the ambie-ace of conceit." Here we have two words unknown except to the technical writer. Besides this special word for the two aces we have noted no other which have been introduced into English, either in dice-games or table-games, nor do any seem to be known to the lexicographers. The Italian duino is interpreted into English by Florio's dictionary (1598) as "two ducats."

The variation of backgammon, which are or have been played in England, are numerous. The first edition of "The Compleat Gamester" (1674), which was anonymous, treats various kinds of what it styles "Games within the tables," that is, inside the table-board, meaning the folding chess and backgammon boards. That they are named "tables" is probably on account of their double character, being composed of two pieces, although there may be a faint echo in the term of the early times when people played "tables," and so called it. The list of games, to each of which a section is given, is: Irish, backgammon, tick-tack, dublets, size-ace, and ketch-dolt. And another shorter list (1700), which we have mentioned (p. 79), spoke only of backgammon, tick-tack and Irish (unless two others, "oaks" and "basset," were backgammon games, which they pretty surely were not). The derivation of the general name of the game, as we now regard it, backgammon, cannot be altogether definitely decided. It is said by the best lexicologists to be a compound of back and gammon. The former element had its present signification; the latter is our word game, which, in middle English, was variously written gamen, gamen, gamen, gammen, gammon. It became our modern English game because the -en, (-m) came to be erroneously regarded as an inflectional suffix, like -en in "oxen" and "brethren," and was accordingly dropped as the development into the newer English went on. It is an indication of the age of the term that the compound, backgammon, was probably formed before gamen became game, and the second element, for this reason, underwent no change. As to the literal meaning of the compound, and especially of its first element, back, in this connection, the general opinion (or shall we say surmise) of the lexicographers is expressed by the "Century Dictionary" (sub voce). It states that the game is "apparently so-called because, in certain circumstances, the pieces are obliged to go back and re-enter. The reason of the name is not certain, but the formation is clear." There is another surmise that may be made, and which is at least equally probable. Let us suppose that in the varieties of the very earliest medieval tables, each player was confined to his own table, advancing his men toward through the twelve points, and that then the game ended by his having brought his men to the last point, or when he had thrown them off from his own second board (that is from his last six points). There are indications that this was the case with at least one method of playing tables. Now suppose that in one variety (which may have existed before, but from its supposed superior difficulty had not been common) — one new variety, let us say — the course of each player's men was continued. They crossed over into the opponent's second board (second six points), and, reversing their course, were played or moved back to the other end of the board, whence they had come. This variety, from the peculiar feature which we have mentioned, got to be known as backgammon, the game in which the men went back to the portion of the board whence they started. Becoming popular — the most played of all the games "within the tables" — it led to the abandonment of the venerable name "tables" so far as England was concerned, and the adoption of the generic appellation backgammon for all games "within the tables." It must be remembered that this was the course of events only in England, in which the backgammon proper has always been looked upon as the typical "tables" game. In other countries, the ancient "ludus tabularum," perhaps for similar reasons, assumed other names. We have a strictly modern form of the word backgammon in the technical term back-game, which is explained in the "Compleat Gamester" to be like the French jeu de retour, which has nothing to do with "re-entering the men, but is really a first step, by going over to the enemy's side, towards playing the men back to the other end of the board. But the whole of this explanation is, we confess, not wholly convincing, and certainly that of the
dictionaries is assuredly of no greater force. We cannot imagine that anybody would call the re-entering of the captured men a back-game at any stage of the game’s history. The word game is not descriptive of the operation. The name of the game is often mentioned in English literature after the XVith century. It occurs in Howell’s “Letters” (1646), as we shall see hereafter. Thomas D’Urfe in his play, “Madame Fliche” (1679), speaks of it as if it were a well-known game: “I won 300 guineys of him t’other night at backgammon.” In Butler’s “Hudibras” (1678) the author says:

The backgammon

Was like to lurch you at back-gammon,

in which lines we have likewise the very ancient and widespread back-gammon term, lurch. In “Humphrey Clinker” (1771) we find that Smollett alludes to the game in the phrase: “And play at billiards, cards or back-gammon.” In Lockhart’s life of Scott (under date of 1814) the great romancer tells us that “In the evening backgammon and cards are in great request.” In “Don Juan” (V. x.), Byron (1820) has the following comparison:

Like a backgammon board the place was dotted
With white and black.

Mrs. Piozzi, the friend of Dr. Johnson, in her “Journey through France” tells of “A backgammon table preserved behind the high altar” of some church she visited. We have not been able to discover any instance of the use of backgammon in the XVith century, although it is very likely that the word may have begun to be employed in the latter part of that period (see pp. 78-80). Prefixed to the earliest “Compleat Gamester” (1674) is an elaborate copperplate frontpiece picturing, in its different divisions, the playing of six different classes of games treated in the volume. Opposite is a rhymed “Explanation of the frontpiece,” with allusions to each panel and the game depicted thereon. The lines relating to backgammon run as follows:

Now it’s back-gammon or back-gammoners we come,
Who with their money, with their men, safe home,
But as in war, so in this subtle play,
The struggling men are two up by the way,
By eating, one, one richer than ever,
It may be to be lost, as those before,
By hopping, knapping and foot play some win;
But those are losers, who so gain by sin.

“Topping” is thus explained by the “Century Dictionary:” “A method of cheating at dice in vogue about the beginning of the eighteenth century. Both dice seemed to be put into the box, but in reality one was kept at the top of the box between the fingers of the person playing.” In connection with this explication it is natural to ask what became of the “fingered” die. Of course, the two dice must fall on the table, or the cast would be void. Did the holder drop it on the table, by some prestidigitation, or on the side he wished it to lie? The explanation has its difficulties. By the same authority tapping (“to tap”) signifies “cheating,” the work sitting a passage; “Assisting the frail square die with high and low fullums, and other napping tricks” from the works (1707-8) of Tom Brown, the satirist. But what are “fullums?” Of the origin of the name of the variety called Irish, the merlin being a falcon. In the “Letters” (1645) of James Howell, the editor of Colgrave’s “French and English Dictionary,” which we have mentioned more than once, it is a passage which refers not only to Irish, but to an early form of the word backgammon. Though you have learnt to play at backgammon, you must not forget Irish which is a more serious and solid game.” Another knight, and a comedy-writer, Sir George Etheredge, in his “Love in a Tub” (1664) says: “Here’s a turn with all my heart like an after-game at Irish.” Addison, in “Cato,” uses after-game, and in doing so is perhaps thinking of Irish. Until after the middle of the XVith century Irish was still to be found in the “Compleat Gamester,” but has long been discarded from books on games. The next game in the “Gamester” list is tick-tack. On the supposed origin of this name, we have already touched (pp. 185-7). It would seem that the form was used in England rather than trick-track (the French spelling, tric-trac being, of late times, more common than either). Trick-track, of course, came from France, and it is possible that tick-tack may have reached England from Holland. Hyde (1694) pretty plainly says that tric-trac is used in France and nomet in England. The dictionaries do not help us to judge which is the earlier. Tick-tack is used by Shakespeare (in “Measure for Measure,” first acted in 1645): “a game of tick-tack;” by Milton, who speaks of “A game at tick-tack with words;” and earlier than either by Ben Jonson in “Every Man in his Humour,” first produced in 1598, this being the oldest citation yet found: “He’ll play at fayles and tick-tack;” which we have quoted more fully in an earlier place (p. 88), also explaining “fayles.” The reader will perhaps recall the absurd etymology quoted from the “Complete Gamester” (p. 159, note). This is cited, apparently in all seriousness by the “Century Dictionary.” It even calls special attention to it. The definition given of tick-tack by the dictionary is incorrect: “A complicated kind of backgammon, played both with men and with pegs;” what here referred to is the “Great grandtric,” which we have...
described; it is not played with pegs at all—the pegs are employed merely to mark the game or the game-points. The "Century" gets this bit of wisdom from "Webster's Dictionary" (1828), without any effort at further research, and repeats it under the word trick-track, which Webster does not. The game following is "not at table," but there is some resemblance with our doubles or queenes game. As regards the latter name Hyde (ii, 37) quotes a passage, explaining its significance from one of the learned Vesalius. "Salmusius (Claude Saumais), the author of the "Defensio regis pro Carlo I," and the intensely hostile oricle of Milton—the diabolical relator of the work cited makes him call the great poet—the passage explaining that "renette" is a corruption of "regineta" or rather "regineta," a diminutive of "regina;" "Preter tric-tracrum quos vocamus, alium etiam ludum cura tessereis et calculi in tabula lustitiae consuevimur; reginam vulgo vel reginam vocamus, quasi parvam reginam; nam quidam calculi nunquantur. Ingeniosum hic ludus, et mulsum habet artus, et super duo decem tantum tabule punctis luditur. Vincit autem qui omnium tabule punctis luditur." Hence the game is called the "queen's game." From the peculiar value of doubles in the game (double fours, for instance, as we shall see, enabling him who has cast to move eight men) comes the other name of this variety. It is heard of in literature in the XVth and XVIth century. Bishop Lattimer, the reformer in his fourth sermon before Edward VI (1549), says: "They be at their doubles still." In one of his plays (1661), the poet William Cartwright puts into the mouth of a character:

What? where's your cloak... To tell you truth, he hath lost it at dumble.

Still another bishop, John Earle, in his "Microcomographie" (1623), which went through many editions before 1786, says: "At tables he reaches not beyond doubles," though this may refer rather to the dice than to the game itself. There is the same doubt about the passage from Osway's "Atheist," cited on a previous page. The name of the next "Gamerster" game, sice-ace, can hardly be found outside the manuals of games. It is so called because of the prominent part played by the dice-points, ace and six. It is slight in character and may be played by five persons. It will be described with other English games later. The final game in the "Gamester" list bears the name of catch-dolt; from the game's character there is little doubt that the word is properly catch-dolt,—indeed it is printed so in later issues—which explains its own derivation. The only other issue of the "Compleat Gamester" now before us is the eighth (London 1754), eighty years after the first. In those eighty years two other games were added to the list of those "within the tables." They are "The famous game of scrjuere" and "The noble and courtly game called the grand trick-track." These make the number of backgammon varieties eight. It is perhaps reasonable to suppose that between the two dates the two games (which are given a position before the others) had either been newly introduced into England, or had recently become prominent; or either or both may have been translated from...
we have previously cited (p. 188). As we have suggested, the Dutch vre-ker may have come from the German verkehren, or vice-versa, but the former is possibly the more likely case. The word got into French as vrequier, but was superseded by resterier. The variety, so far as we know, has never had a genuinely English name. The other additional game, the “Grand trick track,” is the French “tric-trac,” which, from its elaborate method of play, has obtained its epithet of “grand.” We have already stated that one of the numerous “Jans” explained in the account of the French game is the “jan de retour” which is here spoken of as the “gens des [sic] retour” or the back-trac game, and not from any French manual. The name of vonguer was never made its way into general literature, not less into the dictionaries; nor has the French name, resterier, been used in English as it has been in German. We find “Grand trictrac” cited once outside of the manuals, although trictrac is more frequent. The London Camden Society in 1867 published the old “Journal of the very Rev. Rowland Davies,” dean of Ross, kept in 1688-90; in it the writer says: “I taught them to play grand tric trac,” which proves that the name and the game were known in Great Britain more than a generation before it could have been treated in the “Gamester.” “There’s Mrs. Delacour leading Miss Portman off into the tric trac cabinet,” writes Maria Edgeworth in her novel of “Belinda” (1801).

In Julia Fardon’s “Beauties of the Bosphorus” (1856), the author mentions the game among the other customary diversions in Turkey: “The amusements consist principally of... matches at tric-trac.” An early account of the game, and the passage cited from Salmassius in regard to doublets (“renette”), adds a phrase showing that “the grand trictrac” was already in his day so called in France: “I descend into the trictrac game quem magnum vulgo vocant.” This refers to the first half of the XVII century. In regard to other names of varieties, we have spoken of “Russian backgammon,” a favorite game in America, and likewise described in handbooks printed in England, but there seems to be, as has been hinted, no trustworthy information obtainable as to the provenance of the cognomen bestowed upon it.

edition 1676, followed by others dated 1690, 1700, 1701, 1726, and one, styled apparently “Games,” without date. Second, under (Seymour), “Court Gamester,” 8vo edition, London 1700, and then 1721, 1729, 1724, 1725, 1726, to the eighth (as he numbers them) 1724. In addition to these two lists, as nearly as we can deduced from the fuller titles found in the “Geschichte der Schachspiele,” the “Complet Gamester” of Cotson went through these editions: 1671. (1715), 1720 (secondly, styled the title page the second edition) 1720, 1721, 1725 (so the title page the fifth edition); but in 1721 had appeared the “Court Gamester” (“written for the use of the young princesse” according to the title-page), apparently anonymous, but ascribed by the bibliophiles to Richard Seymour, the second, third and fourth editions following in 1712, 1716, 1728. There is here an express of a 1721 edition of the original compilation by Cotson. After this time it must have been decided to merge the new “Court Gamester” into the old “Complet Gamester,” which resulted in the sixth edition of the latter (1726) with Seymour’s name on the title-page, and his acknowledgement of Cotson’s work in the preface, as in the eighth (1746) edition. Seymour may have died before the next issue, and then Johnson may have edited it (1785), but that can only be settled by a sight of the complete title. The 1726 edition is the final appearance of the “Gamester.” The more modern handbook of Hoyle superseded it. But there was another book of the “Gamester” kind, which never got beyond the first issue: “Annals of gaming. Or the history of the player’s wise guide, compleat cheat, novel, lanquest, plucket, billiards, loo, quadrilla, lottery, backgammon &c. by G. Counsellor. London 1725,” which may or may not be of value as regards backgammon.

We have suggested that the German lutsch or lutschepiel may have had its origin in the English lurch, but the latter, so far as we know, has been little used except as a technical term (“to lurch”) at backgammon.

In treating of such terms, we should first recall the fact once more that lurch is one of the oldest we have, it occurring even in the ancient tables, as we have recorded. The word seems to be in a very confused etymological condition. Hyde (ii. 36) tells us that in France there was a mode of play (“lussum”) known as “ouche,” in which, by a certain rule, the loser suffers a double penalty and the winner wins a double stake. This feature is well known, he tells us, in Belgium and in Italy, in which latter country it is called “marces,” whence the word has gone into the “lingua franca” of the East, where it is “marzi” (which he also gives in Arabic letters). It is styled “jan” by the Danes, and among the French of to-day it is “lousouille,” and this mode of winning is denominated a “partie bredouille.” He then speaks of the use of “l’ouche” (that is “the ouche”) in English, and states that it is employed outside of the game of backgammon, quoting the expressions: “the he is left in the lurch,” “to lurch anything.” Much of all this must be cautiously taken. The “Century Dictionary” thinks that the l belongs to the word, which should thus be written in French “louche” and is probably connected with the old French “lourche,” meaning “in- snared,” “deceived,” “duped.” Its first definition of the English noun (probably inexact) is then “an old game, the nature of which is unknown,” and it cites from Sir Thomas Urquhart’s translation (1635) of Rabelais the sentence, “my mind was only running upon the lourche and another from the prolific dramatist Thomas Dekker’s play, “The Bellman of London” (1669): “Whose inn is a bowling-alley, whose books are bowels, and whose law-cases are lurches and rubbers.” The second definition is that of a technical term at cribbage (more common, if common at all, it would seem in England than in America), the third is “a cheat,” “a swindle,” and then the phrase “left in the lurch” is cited. Then a verb “to lurch” is explained as “to win a double game at cribbage, piquet, etc.,” and as “to leave in the lurch, disappoint.” This has the same origin (old French “lourche”), but the lexicographer thinks that it has been, to some extent, confused with a pure English verb “to lurch,” being another form of “to lurk,” and signifying variously “to lie in concealment,” “to shift or dodge,” “to walk unrestedly or stagger,” and so on. No clear use of lurch as a backgammon term is given, but it is quite certain that the German “lutsch,” if not from the English, has the same origin as the English term. A very old word in backgammon is the verb, to bear. It signifies to move or throw off the men from the board, after they have been all advanced to the fourth, or final quarter. To throw off is now often used instead of it. But it has entered into literature. In the “Epicramis and proverb” (1589) of the witty and popular writer, John Heywood, we find the following:

I will no more play at tables with thee:
When wee come to bearing, thou beggest me,
In bearing of thy men,

and later in the same work he says: "Eacha other caste thou hearest a man to [too] many," An early (1748) edition of Hoyle’s “Games,” as cited in an article in the “Fenny Cyclopaedia” (iii. 240), gives this backgammon rule: “If you bear any number of men, before you have entered a man
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taken up... such men, so borne, must be entered again in your adversary’s
tables.” The “Complete Gamester” (1674) says under backgammon. “When
you come to bearing have a care of marking when you need not,” and “If
both bear together, he that is first of both wins one.” In the
newest English “Handbook of Games” (1869) we read: “as soon as either
player has brought all his men into his home table, he must begin to take
them off the board, which, in the technical language of the game, is called
bearing his men... If it is impossible to play up a man, the man must be borne.”
This term bear must not be confused with carry, which has also been
long in use and means “to advance” (or “move forward”) the men.
The “Handbook” describes it thus: “The game consists in moving the men
from point to point, according to the figures on the dice thrown, out of
the adversary’s home table into his outer table, across into the player’s outer
table, and then over the bar into the player’s home table. This process is
called carrying a man or men.” A blot is a single man on a point, and
therefore exposed to capture. The origin of this term is doubtful; some of
the lexicologists suggest the Danish blot, Swedish blot, but the history of
the game will hardly support this. Another guess has been the Dutch
blott, “bare,” “naked,” “exposed.” It is not easy to see why it should not
be our ordinary word “blot,” in the sense of “spot,” “mark,” “speck,”
since a single man, before it is doubled, is called “spot” in the game or a
“mark” for the adversary. In the Italian dictionary of Pierio (1568) he
renders the word “caccia,” literally “hunt” or “chase,” but used technically
in backgammon, by a “blot at tables.” Henry Porter the dramatist,
in his only now extant play, “The pleasant history of the two angry women
of Abingdon” (1690), makes one of the characters say to another: “Look
your mistress, now I hit you.” The other responds:

You never use to miss a blot,
Especially when it stands so fair to hit... I hit your men.

A more noted writer, William Wycherley, in his comedy, “Love in a wood”
(1672) makes a character exclaim: “The I made a blot, your oversight has
lost the game.” With blot is associated the verb, hit. To hit a blot is to
capture a man standing singly on a point; from being a backgammon term
it has become a very common figurative phrase. We have just cited an
instance of its use as far back as 1679, but it is probably earlier, and is
still used in all the manuals. The figurative use is likewise early. Thomas
Halle, in his “Account of several new Inventions” (1691), says: “And he
there hits a blot in the papal tenets that was never hit before. Dryden, in
the dedication to the Æneid (1698), writes: “He is too great a master of
his art, to make a blot which may so easily be hit.” The following lines,
its faults... have taught him the wit,
The blots of his neighbours the better to hit,
occurred in a political ballad of 1734. Cowper employs the figure in his poem
“Hope” (1781):

The very best of slander, and the blot
For every dart that mailes ever shot.

In our own day it occurs constantly in such sentences as: “Here the critic
has undoubtedly hit a blot.” But the noun hit, as a backgammon term,
bears generally quite another meaning—so different that it is difficult to

perceive any connection between the two. One might perhaps say that when
a blot has been hit, the player has made a hit, but we have never heard or
read that expression. A hit, in backgammon parlance, is the simplest or
mildest form of victory—the winner having borne or thrown off all his men,
while his adversary remains with some of his still in the bearing board.
In the “Complete Gamester” (1754) this advice is given: “If your design
be to get only a hit, your taking up only one or two of your adversary’s
men, will seem it better than if you took up a greater number;” and in
the recent “Handbook of Games” (1890) this is the definition of the word:
“The player who bears all his men first wins a hit or single game, provided
his opponent has borne off one or more of his men.” It is doubtless the
result of a misunderstanding that hit is sometimes used in literature in the
sense of game or “partie.” Goldsmith in the “Vicar of Wakefield” (1766)
commits this error in speaking of backgammon, “at which my old friend
and I sometimes took a penny hit”—a meaningless expression. In the
novel by Lever, “The Martins of Cro’ Martin” (1866), is found the passage:

“A hardly contested ‘hit’ of backgammon was being fought out,” regarding
which the author might claim that the players were playing for a hit—a mere
simple win—but whether it were to be a hit, in this proper sense, could
hardly be decided while the battle was still “hardly contested;” so I fear
that Lever is in the same category as Goldsmith. The 1890 “Handbook”
explains in connection with the two hits, other technical words: “But if a
player has borne all his men before his opponent has borne any, that player
wins a gammon, equivalent to two games or hits. If the loser still have one
or more men in his adversary’s home table, or waiting to enter, when the
winner has borne all his men, the latter is considered to have won a backgammon,
provided that the loser has not previously borne a man.” These two terms
are likewise in use as verbs; to gammon one’s adversary is to win a gammon,
and to backgammon him is to win a backgammon. That long-continued and
useful serial, the “Annual Register,” for 1785 (p. 246), uses this phrase: “At
length he has 20 men back-gammoned.” The verb gammon is not lacking in
general literature, having been used in 1736 by the unfortunate Richard Savage:

At tables now!
But oh, if gammon’d there
The starting echoes learn like him to swear.

but still earlier (1684) by Laurence Echard in one of the plays of Plautus
translated by him: “No’r a gamester of in all has half the cunning. Faith,
t was an excellent cast; ’t has quite gammon’d the rascal.”

In Dickens’s “Good Words” (1887) we read: “More fool you,” remarked his
father, without looking up from the backgammon-board. “There, madam,
you are gammoned.” The noun backgammon, in its technical sense, is found
in the earliest “Complete Gamester” (1674); both gammon and backgammon
are in use in the last edition (1754); and the proper definition of gammon
is given in the dictionary of Dyke and Pardon (1736). Formerly gammon was
occasionally used for backgammon, the name of the game, but has long been
rare in that sense; it was perhaps never more than a merely conversational
expression. The poet Thomson, in his “Autumn” (1730), inserts these lines:

Or the quick dice,
In thunder leaping from the box awake
The sounding gammon,
an odd bit of writing, to say the least. In the lives of several of the North family by Roger North (1734), the writer says of one, whom he is describing: "Whatever games were stirring, at places where he retired, as gammon, gleeke, picquet, or even the merry main, he made one." In 1800, in "The Mourstray Family," a novel by Mrs. Hervey of Aiton, the reader learns that "Mr. Chese was above, playing at gammon with misetis." The "Noctes Ambrosiannae" of Christopher North (1550) furnishes this; "the tailor at Jarrow ford dang ye all to bits baihit at gammon and the dambord" — the final word being the Scotch for draughts. "It may be inferred that he too was a gammon-player," says an article in the "Monthly Magazine" (1814). On the other hand a line in the "Gentleman's Magazine" (1800) affords a legitimate use of the word: "And by quick taking off, a common win." The term back-game is used in the "Grand Triornac" as the equivalent of the French "jant de retour." In the English game it signifies, according to the "Handbook": "exposing of blobs unnecessarily, and otherwise waiting for the opponent to make blobs, with the view of prolonging the content in the hope of being able to outplay the adversary. Nor should this be confused with afterpassage, a term used in connection with "Irish," the definition of which, sufficiently vague, is given by the "Century Dictionary": "A second game played in order to reverse or improve the issue of the first; hence, the methods taken after the first turn of affairs," the last phrase describing, as it seems, its figurative sense. The definition is credited to the "New English Dictionary." Can it be of the nature of the "reprise" ("tenir") in the French triornac (see p. 181)? Probably not. It should be noted in examining the English methods of play.

The two games now, as far as can be ascertained, almost exclusively played in both England and America are that called simply backgammon, and that called "Russian" backgammon. The former is the "toutes-tables" of aforesaid in France, of late very much played (p. 180) in that land, and the game now called "gammon" in Germany (and now likewise growing more common in France, according to the cyclopedia of Shipd it up, on which would indicate the revival of "toutes-tables," but under a foreign name). It is one of the oldest forms of this table-game, going back, without much doubt, to the "todas tablas" of Alfonso the treatise, and thus probably representing, as notably as any other method of play, the "tables" of the middle ages. Its typical characteristic is the method of "setting" the man before opening the game (see fig. 21). Their arrangement on the board is a most ingenious one, although it does not seem a difficult one devise. It is explained or alluded to by that noted scholar, Roger Ascham in his "Toxophilus" (1567), when he mentions from the latest authorities and the model of re-entering the men which are hit and the rules for the final "bearing" or throwing off the men—considering all these features, the practitioner, as soon as he has well grasped their significance, will concede the cleverness of the initial distribution of the pieces. It is no wonder that the "todas tablas" has a recorded history of more than six centuries. This is the variety of backgammon which has principally entered into English literature; having been the favorite diversion of men and women of culture among the English-speaking peoples for many generations—particularly among those classes, like the rural clergy and gentry and the more intelligent and leisured of the professional and com-
first born or throw-off, is the winner. The other prevalent English game, the so-called “Russian” backgammon, is played in the same way except in two respects. The men are not placed on the board before commencing, but are gradually entered, those of each player in the same table, in accordance with the dice-numbers thrown. The table selected is called the “entry table.” The first player throw five-ace, for instance, he enters two men on the ace-point, the other on the five point, counting from the outermost point of the board of entry. If the other player then throw five-trey, he enters a man on the trey point, and with another hits his opponent’s blot (the five point), and removes his opponent’s man there placed, putting it outside the board with the unentered men, and it has to be re-entered. This process goes on until a player has entered all his men in the board of entry. He then begins to advance his pieces through the tables to the remotest place, where they are to be born or thrown off, the first player to throw off all his men being the winner—all exactly as in the ordinary backgammon. The other feature which is different in the Russian game, is the treatment of doublets. If a player throw doublets, he not only plays them doubly, but afterwards he may again play doublets, that is those on the opposite sides of the dice, and after that he has played, he is permitted to have a second cast of the dice. If he then chance to throw doublets again, the whole process is repeated. Thus, if he throw cinques (double fives), he plays four fives, then four deuces (the number on the reverse of the dice), and then throw deuces again. All this is done, whether he be entering or advancing his men. In England, however, but generally not in America, the privilege of the second throw is denied to either player when he throws his very first set of doublets. As stated, other varieties of backgammon are now rarely played in the English lands. It is well to call attention to the fact that this long existing English backgammon (Alfonso’s “todas tablas”) is not described in the British Museum “Tables” MS.

Of the other varieties known and practised in Great Britain, the oldest is faylies (falias), which goes back not only to the time of the British Museum MS, but even to that of Alfonso, in the former of which it is described under the name of faylja (see p. 164) and in the latter under that of falias. It would seem to have been practised as late as the time of Ben Jonson, who mentions it in the same line with sick-baack (see p. 88, note) Frater’s Douce (d. 1854), the antiquarian, may have derived his brief description of it from the British Museum MS. Of the 15 men, 13 were placed, at the beginning, on the sixth point in the table to the right of one player and the left of the other, and the other two on the ace-point of the adversary in the table opposite. The other player’s 15 men occupied the two points directly opposite. He who first bore his men won; or if one party throw a number which could not be played, he was at once declared the loser.

We shall now copy the whole backgammon section of the “Compleat Gamester” (1754), partly to give an idea of the varieties at that date known in England, partly upon account of the quaint language of the descriptions, which is, except in the case of one or two, the same as that employed in the first edition of the work in the third quarter of the XVIIth century. Our extracts include pages 229-250, the first relating to venqueure: “All the table-men are placed on the ace-point, where you set the two men at back-gammon; and as at that game, bring them
round into your own tables, but with different circumstances; for you are not allowed to make a point in either of your tables, next your adversary, the farther ace-point excepted, for there you may do it as your discretion does best direct you; but you may take as many points in your own tables as you think good to advantage your game, and by so doing, to hinder your adversary from approaching you, and by the luckiness of his throw to get the better of it. In the next place, you are to observe, that this game is commonly played double and single; the double is called John, which is a particular advantage your adversary gets over you, if his luck in throwing be extraordinary: but you can never be John'd except you have more men than you can enter upon six points, that is to say, 7 men, which is more than your points will bear; and in such a case you must yield the double, and consequently your game is in danger to be lost. Note, that tho' you always point as your cast affords you convenience, and to the best advantage of your game, yet you cannot enter two men upon any point, and in that particular this game is more remarkable than any other played upon your tables. You play doubles, and at last bear away all your men, as at back-gammon, and the art is in managing your move to make your game proper; for this, whilst your adversary, by ill throwing, or indifferent management lags behind, is very convenient for you to be skilful at. Note also, that when you have more men to enter, than you have opened points to receive them, you are to let your adversary throw; which I have seen for a considerable space of time, until by playing his men forward (contriving as much as possible he can, to gain the preheminence [pre-eminence], and put back your game) he makes room for you by a vacancy; else, perhaps, the nature of this diversion is such, that the game may hold out a long time, there being no possibility of going on, till you have the privilege, by his opening the passage for you on the tables, to enter your remaining men. Note too, that if you hit any of your adversary's men, by a fortunate cast of your dice, and that he has the favourable fortune presently after, to hit you again; in such a case, which, indeed, is not very common, if there be not room for you to enter in his tables, nor for him to perfect the advantage of this throw to enter in your's, it is the nature of this game, that you must lose it before, you being the first to throw. Thin, and the rest of the accidents of verquerie, are like most other games, to be understood, and avoided, by experience in play." The next game to be considered is the Grand triquetra, which we are told in the introductory lines "is a French diversion: and most commonly used by persons of the first quality," which assertion most likely means that this form of the game never became popular in England, or, throws you mark with one marker 4. There are 12 holes on the sides of your tables, with pegs in them, for the use of this game. Note then, that 12 marks gained on the points of your tables, make an hole, and 12 holes make up the game, if you agree to it; else less, or more: if you fill up your points, for every single throw on the dice, you make 4, and for doub-

lets 6; and may hold your game as long as you think convenient, that is, play on without breaking up your own, and your adversary's, if you believe you shall get no advantage by beginning again. If you hold with your double men in your tables, before you can make a point, and your adversary cannot fill his tables, you are obliged with your man to pass over into his tables, that he be not advantaged by your game, but if he throws so well, as to fill up, then it alters the matter, and you cannot pass. Note, that when you have marked 12 without your marker, which, as I said before, makes up one hole, you may go off, break up your tables, and begin again, provided you have the dice; or else you cannot. If in playing this game, you touch a man rashly, as intending to play it, and think to change it for another, you are obliged to play it as you before intended. Note, as to those men that are obliged to pass over into the adversary's tables, if he hits them, he marks thus: for every single throw; for doublets 4; and if at any time, by your good fortune in throwing, you can mark over and above 12, you must then mark a hole, or else 2, if you go double, and the overplus remaining is called to the good, provided you do not break your game; you cannot go off, nor break your tables by your adversary's throws. And note, that if you chance to make more or less than is right, it is in his power to take the advantage, put you back, or oblige you to mark full. This is what is most considerable in your first tables. Now, as to your adversary's second tables: for every man you hit of his with a single die, you mark but 2; and for doublets 4; tho' in his first tables, 4 for each single die, and 6 for doublets. If you chance to hit a blot or two in your adversary's tables, and cannot pass, by reason of his standing in your way, and hindering you, it is allowable for him to take the advantage of marking by your own throws in both tables, as before-mentioned. The ace-point of both corners in the second tables, cannot be divided here, nor fill the corners, as at other games; tho' in lieu of that convenience, if the dice favour, for each single cast, you mark 4; and for doublets 6. Then as that part of the game, called gens des retour, or the back-game, which is the latter part; next, bearing off your men, as it is used at back-gammon, you play your men as fast as you can, into his tables, endeavouring to fill up the points, as at the fore-game; which being done, you bear off your men; only there is one distinction between this and back-gammon (noted before) that as doublets thrown at the last cast gives considerable advantage to the gamester there, it is here of no value, nor gives any addition to the throw. Note, that if at any time you break up your tables, and disorder your men, except by gaining 12 points, you can mark a hole, it is in your adversary's power to oblige you to bear your game on still, and to permit all the table-men you have so touched and disorder'd to his own advantage. Note, also, that we distinguish the single from the double in this manner: if your adversary, by his ill fortune in throwing, has no points on his tables marked, altho' your throw is single, yet still you may mark a double point; but if, otherwise, he has such good luck by the dice, to have any point to mark, then he comes double; which you are to take off again, if you can hit him. There are all the advantages that are considerable in this game; which tho' easily to be comprehended, by those who divert themselves with playing often at tables, and especially such who have any skill in tick-tack, of which, this game is observed to make a complement, by adding more parts and embel-
lishments; yet the most ready way for a young gamer, who is desirous to learn it, is to see it performed by two gamers; and then taking notice of these instructions, he will presently be let into the secret."

"Irish" was certainly at one time, as we have been able to see by the citations concerning it, a favorite diversion. The "Gamester" thus describes, not with too much lucidity, the method of playing it: "Irish is an ingenious game; and requires a great deal of skill to play it well, especially the after-game; it is thus played: The men, which are 30 in number, are equally divided between you and your adversary, and are thus placed: 2 on the ace-point, and 5 on the side of your left-hand table, and 3 on the cinque, and 5 on the ace-point of your right-hand table, answered on the like points, by your adversary's men, with the same number; or thus, 2 of your men on the ace-point; 5 on the double six, or six-cinque point, 3 on the cinque point in your table, and 5 on the ace-point at home; and all these pointed alike by your adversary. In your play have a care of being too forward; and be not too rash in hitting every blot, but with discretion and consideration, move slowly, but securely; by which means, thou' thy adversary has filled his tables, but with all blots, and you by hitting him, enter, you may win the game; nay, sometimes, thou' he hath borne his men all to a very few. It is the part of a prudent commander, as he leads out his men, to bring them home as safe as possible: So must you have a care of your men as you are carrying them home, that they are not picked up by the way. Have a special care that your adversary double not the trey-ace-point with his men; and so make what convenient haste you can, to fill up your own tables, and beware of blotting: that done, bear as fast as you can. For an after-game, I know not what instructions to give: You must herein trust to your own judgment, and the chance of the dice; and if they run low for some time, it will be so much the better." The difficulty here is to determine exactly what an "after-game" is, or was. From the space given to it (ten pages) it will be noted that the variety, known then as now by the simple name of "backgammon," was the most notable of all the English games "within the tables." We omit the "Gamester's" account of it, since the method of play does not differ from that portrayed in our modern handbooks.

The next game is tick-tack, which is thus described: "All your men must stand on the ace-point, and thence play forward; but have a care of being too forward, or so, at leastwise, that doublets reach you not. Secure your Cinque and cinque-point, whatever you do, and break them not, unless it be when you have the advantage of going in; which is the greatest advantage you can have, next to a hit: for your adversary's 11th point standing open, you have, it may be, the opportunity of going in with two of your men, and then you win a double game. A hit is but 1; and that is, when you throw such a cast, that some one of your men will reach your adversary's unbound, but sometimes, thou' it hits it, will not pass, by reason of a stop in the way, and then it is nothing. Sometimes it is good, going over into your adversary's table; but it is best for an after-game. Playing close at home is the surest way; playing at length is both rash and unsafe; and be careful of binding your men when you lie in danger of the enemy. Moreover, if you see you are in danger of losing a double game, give your adversary 1; if you can, it is better doing so than losing 2. Here note, if you fill up all the points of your second table with your own men, you win 2; and that you may prevent your adversary from doing so (if you are in danger thereof) if you can, make a vacant point in his tables, and it is impossible for him to do it. This is the plain game of tick-tack, which is called so from touch and take; for if you touch a man you must play him, tho' to your loss; and if you hit your adversary, and neglect the advantage, you are taken with a whoot, which is the loss of 1: likewise if in, and your cast is such that you may also go into your adversary's 11th point, by 2 other men, and you see it not, either by carelessness or eager prosecution of a hit, which is apparent before your eyes, you lose 2 irrecoverably. Besides, it is a very great oversight, as your men may stand, not to take a point when you may do it. Now some play this game with tooths, boveries, and flyvers; tooths is when you fill up your tables at home, and then there is required small throw; for if you get over with a sice, you have no benefit of tooths. Boveries, is when you have a man in the 11th point of your own tables, and another in the same point of your adversary's, directly answering. Flyvers, is when you bring a man round the tables before your adversary has got over his first table; to the effecting of which there is required very high throwing on your side, and very low throwing on his. Much more might be said as to the craft of the play, which cannot be so well discovered, as from observation in your own or others playing." Peculiar here are the singular technical terms, tooths, boveries and flyvers, which have been noted, so far as we know, in no dictionary. The explanations given of them in this section are therefore of interest. The first of these words has been used in describing a previous variety. The use of binding and unbound in this paragraph, in the sense of German "binden" and "ungebunden" (see p. 250), is also to be noticed. They are of course connected with the noun "band" or "bund" (a double point); an unbound man would, therefore, be the same as "ein ungebunden Stein," that is, equivalent to the more usual term, blot.

The accounts of the three varieties finally enumerated and described are very brief, but doubtless sufficient, considering their slight importance. The first one is, however, of great antiquity, as it is identical with that called "dobleet" in the codex of King Alfonso, and "doublets," or "doubles," by Hyde. This is the description of the "Gamester:" "At doubleets the 15 men are thus placed; upon six, cinque, and quatre, there are 3 men a-piece; upon trey, dace, ace, but 2 a-piece. He who throws most hath the benefit of throwing first, and what he throws he lays down, and so doth the other; what the one throws and hath not, the other lays down for him: and thus they do till all the men are down; and then they hear, but still they are down; he who is down first, bears first, and will doublely win the game, if the other throws not doublets to overtake him. Now he who throws doublets apace, is certain to win; for as many as the doublets are, so many he lays down, or bears. For example; if 2 fours, he bears 8, and so for the other doublets; and therefore he who can either map, top, or hath high runners about him, hath a great advantage herein." Let us compare this with the text of Alfonso describing his "dobleet," premising that the latter plays it with only twelve men, so that but two of the men are placed upon each of the six points in the board of each player (instead of two upon three points and three upon each of the other three):
"El otro juego hay de tablas a que llaman doblot que se juega en esta guisa—Cada uno de los jugadores debe tener las doze tablas [twelve men], e ponerlas dobladas, una sobre otra cada uno en su cuadrar de tablero, que sea la uno en derecho de la otra; e el que venciere la tablata [who makes the higher throw] lanzara primero. E deverse baxar [French "abasser", lower, that is take the upper man over the point indicated by the dice, and lay it down beside its fellow] aquellas doze tablas, que estan sobre las otras, por las suertes de los puntos de los dados. E otrose se devan levar; e el que las ante levar [bears], ganara el juego. Est si por aventura qualquier de los jugadores lançara suerte, que non tenga tablas de que la faze tan bien de baxarlas como de levarlas deve fazer el otro logo [if one player cannot play the man or from or to the point indicated by the dice, the other player has the right to play the cast]. E desta guisa a viene muchas veces, que ganaré ella [sic] un jugador por las suertes, que lançara ella otro. E esto es el departimiento deste juego, e esta es la figura del entablamento " [with a design of the board, displaying the position of the men].

This is the exact description of "les dames rabattues," as doublets is styled in French, given by the Mouldars "Encyclopédie des jeux" (see p. 184).

We finally cite the notices of the last two simple games recorded by the 1754 "Gamster," both of which have apparently been forgotten. The first one is "sise-ace": "Five persons may play at sise-ace with 5 men a-piece, they one load another with aces; sixes bear, only, and doublets drinks and throws again; so have I often seen one who, for the lucre of a little money, have resolved rather to lose themselves than a penny. It is commonly agreed the last two, or the last out, shall lose, and the rest shall go free." Here we encounter the technical term "drinks," of which we have spoken elsewhere. On a later page we shall find that this simple but very old game (going back to the days of Alfonso), though lost in England, is still preserved in another North-European land. The next game is "catch-dolt." "At catch-dolt, the first throws and lays down from the heap of men without the tables; what is thrown nt, it may be sise-ace; if the other throw either sise or doute, and draw them not from his adversary's tables to the same point in his own but takes them from the heap, and lays the ace down, he is dolted, and loseth the game; or if he touch a man of the heap, and then recall himself, the loss is the name. Some by frequent practice will never be dolted, and then they strive who shall fill up their tables first; which done, he who bears them off first hath the game." The "Complete Gamster" closes its review of the different varieties of backgammon by exhausting "So much for games within the tables."

In English there is little literature, except in the books of games, which is specially or exclusively devoted to backgammon. There are translations of Parin's poem and of Mermére's tale, which we have noticed. A singular anonymous tract, in octavo of twenty-two pages, is preserved in the British Museum, bearing the following title: "Back-gammon: or the battle of the friars, a tragic-comic tale. To which is added, a short essay on the folly of gaming by way of application. Printed for F. Wilwood at the Three Flower-de-Luces behind the chapter-house in St. Paul's Church-yard 1734."

The poem is in the style of the time, and cannot boast any great merit. Such as it is we copy it:
CHESS IN ICELAND

This was a service he perform'd by rote,
And got the point that suited with his coat.
Vitiello then, two times by his side,
Came rushing forward with a manly stride.
Fabric as yet conceiv'd no inward pain,
Duce azopp'd, but oh! opp'd in vain:
Homeward three pieces mov'd; he singly stood
And stopp'd directly in Vitiello's road.
This is my privy, sir, Vitiello cries,
And if he meant me once again, he dies.
Fabric attempts to place him in the field,
And sixes were his buckler and his shield.
With those, alas! he no admittance found;
The enemy began to seize the ground,
With treys into an empty space he ran,
And got a guard too for his naked man.
Duce azopp'd for Fabric did admittance gain,
And he pass'd him of the homeward plain.
Duce azopp'd forth, and took him on the pate;
He falls a victim to his adverse pair.
And when he came again, he came too late.
No room for his uniting quaters now;
Two treys again prove'd the fatal blow,
Filling a space and moving forwards too.
Fabric attempts the trenches once again;
But sixes and quaters made th' attempts in vain,
Vitiello presses on with cinque and dice,
And made the future blows of little use.
This for a rampart he design'd to keep,
Or'se the nimble warrior could not leap.
In safety now the olive squadrons move;
In vain the Egyptian privy's strive,
In number three; they could no farther go,
Coop'd up within the trenches of the foe.
The friar almost did his faith renounce,
And lost a triple victory at once.
Another battle Fabric than demands;
But found that fortune had forsak'd his bands;
Quite vanquish'd he began to sue for peace;
And all Vitiello's triumphs did increase.
A little trace conceiv'd th'vanquish'd light.
And this like others, ended with the night.
The more advante Vitiello was the same;
And Fabric did the whole creation blame;
The ruder passions to expression swall,
And the poor fautless dice are wish'd at h—h.

The word "drinks" in the ninth line has evidently a technical sense. It occurs in one other place which we have noted, namely, in the first and following editions of the "Compleat Gamester," in the brief account of the game of six–ace, in which we are told that "sixes bear only, and doubles drinks and throws again." It is difficult to say what it means, as we find it in no dictionary. Possibly it is a way of stating that doubles are played twice, and then the statement is made that the thrower of doubles, has another cast, as in Russian backgammon; or "drinks" may mean that doublets do not count in the game, but the thrower must cast again. In the preceding phrase we are told that sixes can only be used in bearing (or throwing off) the men. But the whole description (of nine printed lines) in the "Gamester" is, as will be remembered, obscure enough.

The "Penny Magazine" proceeds to quote from Burton's "Anatomy of Melancholy" (part II, section 8) on the tendency of such "honest recreation" as cards, tables and dice, shove-board etc. to foster gaming and other vices. From that the author goes on to discuss 'tric-trac and tie-tack,' citing the absurd derivation of the latter ("touch and take") from the "Compleat Gamester," and afterwards quote s from a volume of essays, entitled "Horae vacuæ" (1846) by John Hall of Durham, who asserts that tie-tack sets a man's intentions on their guard. Errors in this and war can be but once amended." Then he draws upon Strutt's "Sports and Pastimes," citing the statement there given that Dean Swift once wrote to a friend in the country, asking him: "In what esteem are you with the vicar of the parish? Can you play with him at backgammon?"—evidence of the devotion of the rural clergy to the game. He has taken it for granted that backgammon is of Anglo-Saxon origin, and therefore closes by saying that its continued existence is a proof of the slight changes made by the Norman conquer.

As to the nations of Eastern Europe, many of them appear to have known the old game of tables, though at a comparatively late day. The dice game reached them earlier, and pretty certainly from Southern or Byzantine Europe. The word for "die" in many of the Slavic nations (in Russia, kaste, kastohe, in Polish and Bohemian kaste), has its origin in the word for "bone." In western Europe there is no such connection between "die" and the material of which it is made, unless it be in the case of the Icelandic

In the "Penny Magazine," (new series vol. 10, 1841, pp. 100-101) there is an essay on "Backgammon," to which the author's name is not attached. The magazine was in that day a popular publication, published by the Society for the diffusion of useful knowledge." The slight historical information which the writer endeavors to give is of the usual sort. He extracts from a book of epigrams and epitaphs, called "Wits recreations" (1659), an epitaph on one John Crop, a backgammon player, in which, as will be seen, the game is still called tables:

"Man's life's a game at tables, and he may
Mend his bad fortune by his wiser play;
Death plays against us, each disease and sore
Are bred; if hit, the danger is the more"
tenning, which the dictionaries make a derivative from tussa, "tooth," since early Icelandic dice were made from walrus-teeth. Perhaps the development of the word was aided by the resemblance of the dice to the little tooth. Kost is is said to be the Bohemian dictionaries to be a diminutive of kost, "bone." In Russian, dice-play is igra (= game, play) ve kosti; in Polish, gracz w kostki is "to play at dice;" and in Bohemian, dice-play is hra v kostky — all cognate expressions. There is no verb to be compared with the German "doppeln." The points on the dice seem to be styled "eyes" in other Slavonic terms, as in German, but whether this term is in imitation of the German is not ascertainable. No special word for "ace" seems to be discoverable in any accessible Russian dictionary; titice is to be found as a rendering of the German "daus;" it may be the French "deux." In Polish, ace is translated jednaka by one authority, which means also "one-eyed," and "daua" is rendered by "twa," which may be a loan-word from the German. The Bohemian dictionary gives erace for ace, and taisy for dozen, evidently derived from the German. It would seem that the other points are designated as "third eye," "fourth eye," and so on. In a single Bohemian dictionary "dice-box" is translated vonhaoka, which appears to mean a "thrower." In the same tongue the German "paach," in the form of pesa, is given by some lexicographers; and there are the following derivatives of kostki (die): kostk, "dice-player;" kostkaretn, "dice-man;" kostkorent, "throw dice;" play-dice, "dice;" (the verb; paostorent, is found in a Bohemian-German lexicon rendered by one set black and the other white. In beginning the game the men are placed on the board in the following positions, (fig. 31) — two pawns on the one-point on each side, five on the six-point, three on the eight, and five on the twelve. The two dice are common to both players, but each has his own dice-box, and throws are taken alternately. The dice are perfect cubes, marked with dots from one to six. French terms are commonly used; thus, one is called ace, two, deux; three, 3é (three, trois); four, quatre; five, cinq; and six, six. At every throw the two dice are employed; consequently the player may throw from two (double-one) to twenty (double-six). If the player throw doublets, or two dice of one number, he counts double the number of dots on each die; thus, by a throw of double-two, he does not count four, but eight. Suppose the table, as arranged in the diagram, to be played by the two players, whom we will call black and white. The men move towards their ace-points, and are governed in their moves by the throws of the dice. Thus, while the white man counts round from the ace-point of black, and black counts round from the ace-point of white. These points are seen to have severally two men on them, on opposite corners of the table. The grand object of the game is for each player to get all his men round into his inner table, removing them from point to point of the table. Fig. 31.

as there are dots on the dice, instead of one or two, as may be done in the case of ordinary throws. Thus, suppose you throw two deuces, you may move one man eight places, two men four places, or four men two places, always presuming that the road is clear. No man can be moved a point covered by two of the opponent's men. If each point be covered by only one man — which is called a blok — then that man can be kit and be removed from the point, and placed on the board between the table, and his place taken by the man who has won it. The removal of a man from the board throw the player to whom it belongs considerably behind in the game, because the man must remain out of play till he is entered by a throw of the dice turning up the number corresponding to one open point on the adversary's table — the man, or men out, being replaced by removing them according to the throws of the dice, on the points of the opposite player's inner table, but each entering can only take place on points, not having two or more of the adversary's men on them — after which he is brought round in the same manner as the others in the set to which he belongs. The frequent occurrence of this nature of playing of a blok gives an adversary a great advantage, and allows him to win his game. If at any time during the game, every point to which you might move is covered by your adversary's men, then your man must remain in state quo, and the game is continued; if it were only one; or by one man, your men must play it. We must explain that there are three kinds of victory — one the winning the kif, the second the winning the pom, and the third winning a backgammon. The player who has played all the men round into his own table, and by fortunate throws of the dice has borne or played the men off all the points, wins the kif. The pom is more thus explained: — When you have got all your men round to your own table, covering every point, and your adversary has a man out, then you are enabled to bear or lift your men away. This you do by throwing the dice and removing from the points corresponding to the spots on the dice. If you can bear all your men away before your adversary has borne off one man, you win the game, which is equivalent to two games or kifs. But if your adversary is able to bear one of his men, before you have borne all yours, then your victory is reduced to a kif. If the winner has borne all his men off the board, and has carried all his man to his own table, and the game is equal to three kifs or games. This account is extracted from the anonymous "Boy's own book; new edition, London 1800," (p. 613-30). The same volume contains an acting account of "A Beggars' game and a pantomime sketch in three scenes," (p. 39), and of the first scene, representing the syllable "back," the second "gammun," and the third the whole word.
As to Greece we have heretofore (pp. 80-81) cited many early terms in its language connected with dice and dice-games. The modern lexicons repeat most of these, besides adding others, like όσσω, όσκελις, “dice-player,” for instance. The word for “die,” in later as in older times, is, at least in the literary dialect, όσσος, its signification of “cube” being, probably, a secondary one. It has as many derivatives as those coming from the foreign ("tabula")—όσσω, όσσομα, “dice-game” or “dice-play”; όσσοφυκόν, “place for dice-play;” "gambling-house;" "κοβάς, "οσσοφύτευς, "dice-player;" όσσοφονεκτής, “skillful at dice,” “relating to dice.” There are no means of knowing (except in the case of όσσος) how much any of these are used directly in relation to backgammon. If we may believe a recent New-Greek dictionary by a French compiler, Emile Legrand, a good many words connected with the ancient αξόμα game are still in use. His vocabulary includes (we give also his definitions): αξόμα, λευκό, πίσο; αξόμα, εκσισσα, "sorte de jeu rapprochant des danses ou du trictrac"; αξόσσον, "lieu où l’on joue à la mosaïque;" αξόσσοφυτά, "table à jouer;" αξόσσοφυτης, αξόσσος, "jouer à la mosaïque;" αξόσσοφυτικός (adjective), "de jouer." Again we cannot say whether any of these terms are applied to backgammon. The ancient αξόμα has been classified by some authors with the Latin "duodecim scriptorum ludus" among the games which may be considered akin to nard. Hyde (ii, 17) gives various forms of the Arabic "zar" ("die"), introduced probably through the Turkish, as occurring in the "lingua romana seu greca moderna," namely: ζάρα, ζάρι, ζάρος, ζάρους; of these, later dictionaries mention only ζάρος, defining it as "die," and as "the game of hazard," and ζάρος, "cube," "die for playing;" with the derivatives ζαρέω, "to play dice," ζαρευτικός, "dice-player;" and ζαρευτική, "dice-play." We suspect that ζαρος is at least as common as any other term for "die," though we find in the very latest lexicographical works this and όσσος (pronounced όσσος), and a third appellation, νότος (perhaps of slavonic origin). In a modern Greek work we meet τολίκο (play) ζαρα, to "play or throw dice;" and ζαρα το ζαρα θαυμασίων τό όμο, meaning to "throw doublets," but expressed by a paraphrase, literally, to "cast dice quite the same." In a German-Greek dictionary we have όσσέλα given as "triktracs" and όσσελόν as to "play tric trac," which confirms us in the belief that this old word is the ordinary name for the game, though the French "trictrac" is very likely also used, as elsewhere. In the same dictionary αζόμα and all its derivatives are omitted; they therefore hardly belong to the language of daily life. The French "pion" (mèo) is employed for draughtsman (though not for "pion" at chess), and is therefore probably made use of for "man" at backgammon. For draughtboard there seems to be no single word but το ζαραν (board, abacus) τος ντάμα (literally "board of draughts") expresses it in a roundabout way. In the same manner the dice-box is described in Greek as τό κομπά το ζαρά, "the funnel for the dice." The latest dictionary before us also interprets "trictrac" as όσσός and a trictrac-board as τό όσσον, the same word, as in some other languages, being used for both. The notable fact to be gleaned from all this is that όσσος is in Greece still the customary name of the nard game; so that all the countries on the north shore of the Mediterranean yet maintain the medieval name, "ludus tabularum," ("table") in one form or another. Spain ("tablás"), Portugal ("tabulas," partially, crowded out perhaps by "gamão") both preserve the plural form of the
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Middle Ages; Italy ("tavola reale") and Greece (régale), employ the singular. Of other coast-lands of the Mediterranean we shall have something to say directly. We do not know of any publications in the Hellenic tongue treating of backgammon. The local history of the nard begins naturally with the latest centuries of the Byzantine empire. We know that chess (Xénon) was played at the Byzantine court in the first quarter of the Xth century, coming thither from the Arabic east, as is indicated by the name given to it. Tables, whether arriving from the East or the West, should have soon followed it.

In the Southern Mediterranean lands from Turkey to Morocco, the name of the game is nard (ou pronounced like no in "now", identical with the English "nard" or "tavola." Whether the name came from the Latin direct or through the Byzantine Greek, or through the Venetians, may be a moot question; it is a question, too, whether the appellation has extended to the farther Arabic lands, Arabia, the coasts of the Persian gulf, Zanzibar; nor is the name used in modern Persian quite certain, though the dictionaries seem to imply that word is still the title in that country. In that excellent and little known Arabic dictionary of the Swedish scholar Berggren (1844), we are told that trictrac in Syria is dagh or totec. The former word signifies "knocking," "ringing" in its original sense, and may in this meaning be quasi onomatopoeic as the lexicographers assert "tick-tack" to be. Totec is, of course, towea (Berggren transliterates it elsewhere thanole). In modern Egyptian, it is tet toteo is "the game of backgammon;" it is a modified common version in the bazaars and cafes of the valley of the Nile, and in the Arabic-speaking lands. It is not improbable that backgammon, in the Levantine regions, in which it has taken, may be of the Semitic origin, rather than Byzantine. The pronunciation of the name, which seems to show no trace of an old, but rather of a e, is an argument in favor of that view. The fact that chess in the Levant (Greece, Turkey, Egypt) keeps the old Arabic name is noteworthy, since there is no trace in that region of the present or any modern use of the word "nard." The usual word for "die" in Turkish and in the Arabic countries is zahr (plural, in vulgar Arabic, zard). The dictionaries of the classical tongue sometimes give it as zahr. It is a most interesting adjective, having gone, as we have seen, in the days of the Turkish domination, into Modern Greek, and being, according to most lexicologists, one of the sources of the word "hazard" in English (in medieval Latin zardum, in Italian zardo); and, as we have noticed (p. 84), a Bolognese canonical writer of the XIVth century speaks of "ludus zardari," referring to dice-play, while in early Italian the dice-game was called zara. If the adjective be pure classical Arabic, it may be from the stem to which abbr, signifying "flower," belongs, sprouting, possibly, from the flower-like appearance of the sides of the die—the black spots on a twelve)—are due. Some of the dictionary-makers believe that ka 'b (pl. ku'ub or ak'ub) also represents the word "die" in certain Arabic regions. This may or may not owe its origin to the Greek sofoe. On the other hand, Salmond, in his late lexicon of the classical tongue, does not give the definition of "die" to zahr, but attaches the signification of "dice" to the plural of quite a different word. We have no information as to the variety of backgammon played by the modern Arabs. That, as Lane in "Modern Egyptian," asserts, it is one of the most usual diversions, every observant traveller can testify. As to the Persian nard, that well-known authority on all eastern table-games, Karl Himly, has somewhat obscure in his "Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft" (1879, XXXIII, pp. 679-81). If we understand him rightly the men at the beginning of the game occupy the following positions (see fig. 20): White's men 5 on M, 2 on A, 3 on R and 5 on T; Black's men just opposite these points namely, 5 on N, 3 on H, 5 on F and 2 on Z. White is supposed to sit in front of N-Z and Black in front of M-A. The brief sketch of the rules which he gives seems to show that the mode of play as closely resembles that of the ordinary English game, as does the arrangement of the men. It is virtually the "outo-tables" variety, which perhaps conforms our idea of its age. But as the modern European chess, and not the old "aturanga" is now played in India, it is difficult to state whether the modern English nard-backgammon may not have been introduced into Persia.

In 1639, near Galleuus in Southern Jutland, then, as now, belonging to Denmark, there was found a horn of gold, two feet nine inches in length and weighing seven pounds and eleven ounces. On the outside of the horn, which was divided into ring-like divisions, were many figures and ornaments. In 1794, a few acres away from the site of the first find, was discovered a similar drinking-horn, weighing seven pounds and eleven ounces, which, besides elaborate ornamentation, had also a Runic inscription encircling the base or larger end of the horn. Both these remarkable horns found their way ultimately to the royal cabinet at Copenhagen, were stolen by a burglar on May 4th 1806, and melted down. Fortunately drawings of them had been made at an early day, thought out with the accoutrements of the archaeological draughtmen of to-day. Among the scenes depicted on the 1639 horn were, on the third ring from the smaller end, two figures, holding up each with a hand on its opposite side, a square tablet. This tablet was in an upright position, and around its inner margin were regularly arranged, close to the edge of each side, a row of sixteen small discs. This square tablet has been explained by some writers as a tables-board, and as late as 1838 this opinion was held (see the "Annaler for nordisk oldkyndighed," Copenhagen 1838-9, p. 152). But the perpendicular position of the board and especially the number and arrangement of the discs or counters make this view an impossible one. But there is no doubt that the game of tables was in vogue in Denmark at an early time. It was called tar, a genuine old word, which occurs in some of the ancient ballads and elsewhere. So close were the connections with Germany that "wurstabel" would have readily made its way across the border. The Danish also has (now, with its derivatives, obsolete) the word dobel, a congener of the German (or north German) "doppel" (see pp. 248-50). It apparently lost, at a very early day, its signification of "dice-play," and took on the meaning of "gambling" or "illicit play." It has the derivatives doble (German "doppeln"), to "play games of chance," "stake money unlawfully;" doubel, dobbelbroder, "gambler;" dobelang, dobelag, "fraternity of players." An old Danish law-code declares that "ingen er pligtig til at betale hans i dobel taber, nobody is obliged to pay if he losses at dobel. At disse steder hekker evedrevende eller dobelang, 'that these clubs are neither drinking clubs nor gambling fraternities," says Rahbek, a Danish essayist and scholar a century ago. Christian Molbech, the Danish lexicographer, states only
under dobbel in his Danish dictionary (1833) that the word is of uncertain origin. But in the second volume under tærl, of which we have been speaking, he makes a suggestion which is not without interest. He cites as cognate with tærl, the Anglo-Saxon “tæfæ,” “tæblæ” (“dice,” “alea” is his dubious definition), and “tebærle” (“aleator”), and then refers the student to dobbel and doble. He has previously said sub vocce that "dobbel" is the Low German form of "doppeln." It does not seem impossible that this stem dobl may have been formed from the Latin "tabula," like tærl, or at least have been influenced by it. This, however, is a question for linguistic students. But to return to tærl. The chief derivatives are tælbord, tælbræt, “tables-board”; tæselgang, “table-game.” How much these are still used we do not know; they all have a more or less antiquated look. Some phrases there are: at lage tærl eller spille tærlættet, “to play at tables, or at table-games;” de legte guatule, “they played at a golden board,” is found in a ballad. There are also the compounds: skaktærl, “chess” or "chessboard," and tærlætt, a table-game of some sort, no lexicographer seems to know what—"ear being our "ware" in "beware," "aware" and "wary," perhaps. "Die" is tærlætt (from the Lowland "tænnung" or more modern "teningur"); the plural is tærlætter. Fætæk tærlætt is "loaded die;" tærlætter (an imitation of the German) is "dice-box;" tærlætt (plural, -æt), is dice-pip; tærlættspil, is "dice-play" or "dice-game;" tærlættspiller is "dice." Tærlætterfæld is "a list of dice;" the Danish poet, Conrad Malthe Bruun (1775-1830), in later years more famous as the French geographer, Malthe-Bruun, says in a piece of verse: 

De skul af mere holdtærlættEthærlætt fældig bespodt givet.

An earlier poet, Vilhelm Helt (d. 1724), has a line:

Lykken er dær som et tærlættspil.

"Ace" is es, with the plural, esser, though the numeral eset is modernly used, ses er es es er ace, and a common saying, but not a very clear one, is has er ikke i sit es, meaning "he is out of sorts." An old (but really German) form is es. Deuce is simply, "two," or with the affixed article tom, "the deuce;" and in the same way tærm, "the trap," (for which tærm is sometimes used), færen, "the four" (or formerly quatuor or quater), femmæ, "the five" (or quinquæ or sêven), seems, "the six" (or seis or ses). The doublets are ordinarily the plural numerale, bogge aecer (esser), "double aces" (or, in old books, ambaxas or beset); tærm, "twos" (bogge aecser, double deces, in the foreign manner, "both the deuces"); treærm, "threes" (terna, carmen); femmæ, "fives" (quintæ), and seser, "sixes" (sexages, same). To femmæ would be "double fives." "Point" on the backgammon board is fæld (feit) literally "field," or fælæ, "pillar," or fæld. "Brikke" is the general term for Ægalæt (tabblætætt, being draughtsmans), "brickerand," "round as a table,” being an adjectival derivative; it is also a Low German term. "Blots" are blotti (blott = "naked"); "bare” brikker; and board is used (as in German) for a "covering." There are several names for backgammon, or varieties of it—all foreign words. Verkehr is, of course, German, though we have somewhere seen cited or used a Danicised form forkæring, which we do not, however, find in the dictionaries; toocostegi, tøkkudjúi, both having lexicographical authority, come also through the German; trikkætr is now, doubtless, the most frequent of the three appellatives. They, as well as the occasional employment of døvs, and the two descriptions of backgammon games, which we are about to cite, are common enough examples of the German influences which so long prevailed in Danish letters and social life.

There has been really only a single general work on social and table-games, so far as we know, issued in Denmark, but it has appeared in three editions. The title of the original edition is "Nye og fuldtændt dansk spill-bog indeholdende rigtig og tydelig undervisning i de brugelige kort-spi, sammun l'homme, quadrille, einmilj wielquet, reversy, tresett, taroc, whist og a.o., samt grundig anvisning til billard- og schach-spi, verkehr, trikkætr, toocostegi o. s. v.—Kjøbenhavn. 1789." In the compiler (the work is largely a word for word translation of the German “Neue Königliche l’homme”) was Johan Christian Melbye (1754-1818), all his life a clergyman on the Baltic island of Bornholm, and author of many Latin tractsates on theological themes. The second edition was published at Copenhagen in 1802, with a slightly changed title, edited by S. A. Jørgensen, of whom nothing beyond this fact is known. The third and last edition bore the following title: Nyeeste dansk spillebog, indeholdende rigtig og tydelig undervisning i l’homme, bost, -whist-, taroc-, frantsussou-s, picquet og andre brugelige kort-spi, samt grundig anvisning til billard- og schachspil, verkehr, trikkætr, toocostegi, dam, domino, gnaw, kugspil o. s. v.—Tredie foregade og efter nuværende tidspunkt spillemaade forbredede oprindeligt point. Jørgensen. —Kjøbenhavn, 1829 (pp. VIII, 344). The backgammon section fills pages 285-328. It is divided into two portions, verkehr (285-295) and trikkætr eller toocostegi (295-328). They are both reproduced almost literally from the first edition, so that they are to be regarded from a point of view half a century earlier than the book’s date. As we have commented fully on the German originals, we shall do no more than make a note of some of the Danish technical terms; the notes to the second article, explaining the slight differences between trikkætr and toocostegi, are placed at the bottom of the pages. In verkehr we find hukæn-corner, used for the “coin de repos;” hortzian, "cast away," for "hitting" blotte brikker; hus ("house") for "home-table;" junker as in German; kaste end, "cast in," for "re-enter;" det første bred, "first quarter of the board;" jan, as in the German original; tilziage ("take out;"), for "bear" or "throw off;" feld (possibly a borrowed German form, as the Danish is usually written "felt"), for "field" for "point" on the board. In the second section the following terms occur: doublæt (plural), "doublet;" the foreign names of the dice-points as previously cited; marschen (German, with the post-positive article), the "march" ("marcio;") or progressive movement of the men; pontos, for "game-points;" delingslist ("filet of division") for "bar" in the center of the table; partio bredouille; jan, jan som ikke kan, Janem paa tre kast, janen i to breter, contrajamen, messeajan, den lille jan, den store jan (or else the German schuster), rukjan (distorted German).
In Sweden notices of dice occur not much later than in the other Northern lands. The well-known archaeologist Hildebrand, director of the important historical museum at Stockholm, states that what were apparently dice of a crude sort have been found in what is now the southernmost province of Sweden, which date from an early period of the iron age. They are made of pieces of ribs, are oblong and narrow—growing narrower towards one end. The dice from the latest heathen age which have been found buried, are always three in number. They still continued to be oblong, Hildebrand tells us, although not so narrow as the earlier ones. The form, he thinks, is peculiar, since a die, so shaped, must have had great difficulty in falling upon one of its smaller ends, on which the ace and deuce are marked and which, for deciding the progress and result of a game, are of equal importance with the five and six. From this fact he considers it probable that during the close of the heathen age and the beginning of the Christian, Sweden was not yet in possession of any game in which the moving of pieces from square to square, or from point to point, was determined or regulated by the pipes on the dice, as in the present backgammon; but that dice-players were anxious to cast only high points. In a grave, supposed to be that of a Christian, on Björkö, an island in Central Sweden, false dice have been discovered, having the number five on three of the sides. In a later paragraph Hildebrand says that tables (backgammon) was apparently introduced into the North at a time when hnefataft (or hneattoft), which long been known and practised. He commits an error in saying in a footnote, that avel in the German of the Middle Ages was applied to draughts, in contradistinction to weravel, which meant backgammon, or as he styles it brædspejl (properly speaking, this latter word should be a generic name for various table-games). Allusions, in Swedish documents dating from early times, to the different games we are investigating are infrequent, especially when we consider that some of these games must have been very commonly practised, judging by the frequent finding of dice and of table-men. That after their introduction into Sweden they must have continued to be played through the whole medieval period, we have to take for granted. They were very likely considered to be so simple, as compared with chess, that it occurred to no one to write about them—an opinion shared by Hildebrand.

Dice-play was forbidden, as in other lands, by the early Swedish law. In the ancient code known as "Foder Mâssons stridslag" we have the words:" Vi stadda öfverbända, att ingen skalh dobba eller leka med tärnings, varaffelsil, ... karhensespel eller annan lek om penningar, ty derafor kommer kif och osämna. Hvilke det göra, lages i jern, och hälften af penningarne, om hvilke de lekte, taga gärningsmälen, och den andra hälften den som uppenbarade det. Den som treddes resa varde fonna så dobbla eller leka, han skall mista sin lön för en månad, hälften åt konungen och hälften åt honom som dobblaren röjde, och dertill nåpå lekamenlig efter konungens skönjans."

This runs in English: "We decree that no one shall be permitted to gamble or play at dice, varaffel (f), cards, or other game for money, for from that practice some quarrels and discord. Those who play are to be cast into irons, and the half of the stakes shall go to the informer. He who shall be condemned a third time for gambling or playing shall forfeit his wages, or salary, for a month, half going to the king and half to the person who informs against the gambler." Here we have the words dobba (German, "doppeln") and dobblare (German "doppler"). Of other words relating wholly to dice-play we have dobbel, "dicing," "gaming," "game of chance," dobbelska, "female dice-player," all showing the frequency of the diversion, and all having, like the same words in German and Danish, the derived significance of "gambler," "gambling," "gambler," etc. Of other technical dice-terms the Swedish language now has the following: täning (plural, täningar), "die," "dice," with such common sayings as täningen är kastad, täningen har blivit kastad, "the die is cast," "the die has been thrown"—this wide-spread saying, as the reader will have judged, affording the best evidence of the universal and, to some extent, of the age of dice-play. The compound täning aro täningspel, "dice-play," "dice-game," but in use is likewise the English "raffle," orthographically raffel; and as verbs, att spela täning (to "play dice"), att kasta täningar, att spela raffel and att raffa all mean the same thing. Täningspelare is "dice-player"; and täningsbord is cited as the name given to a board on which dice are thrown. The nouns, kast and kastning, and the verb, kasta, are the usual words for "cast," "throw;" att få stora kast, is to "make a high throw;" att stå sitt kast, to "stand by one's throw;" to "accept the consequences;" jag står mitt kast, "I abide by my throw" (also figuratively), and det för stå sitt kast, "one must abide his throw," "it may go as it will." But the noun värp (from the same stem as the Icelandic verb verpa) still survives in Swedish, so that one hears both ett godt kast and ett godt värp, "a good throw." To load or (cog) the dice is att knipa (really "pinch") täningsarna. Dice-box is either täningkappa or, less usually, in imitation of the German, täningbåge, kassa meaning "cup;" kornett, the French "cornet;" is found in Delen's "Engelska och svenska lexikon" (Stockholm 1806); and kastbåge (throw beaker) is given in Carl Heinrich's "Svenskt och tyskt lexikon" (Stockholm 1828); it is likewise styled brädspejsbåge, "table-game (backgammon) beaker." Öpa (plural, öpor), literally "eye," is, as in the neighboring Germanic tongues, the term used for the dice-pip; att få upp öra means to "turn up ten (points) on the dice;" det stod allemast på ett öra in, figuratively, "it was within the turn of a die;" but the French point, sometimes written as pronounced, poing, is likewise used. As (with a second orthography, ess) is "ace," although, as in the case of the other points, the genuine Swedish name of the number tio, "an one," is also employed; das is "deuce," as das ess, "deuce ace," with an older orthography, nor; but sometimes the ordinary numeral, två, is used; and the nominal tre (Latin, or corrupted French, trois) is "tree," but equally common for troja, a Swedishised form of the French "trois," as tres ess, "trey ace," one of the dictionarv's give, in addition, tres eller tres; quatre, and the almost disused guatar, represent the four point, with the ordinary numeral name, fyra; cinka or, older, cinqua, or, by some writers, sinka, sinka (French "cinq") and the less usual, the nominal numeral, femma, are the names given to the five-point; sex, or, at an earlier day sex, from the French) and its nominal seen are used for the "six" or "sise." Att stå das, tres ess, etc, is to "throw deuce," "trey" and so on. These terms are used in the plural to express the doubles, generally with the addition of all, "all;" åser all, "double ace;" åser all (older, åsen par), "a pair of deuces;" "double deuces;" tres all (troaty all),
in every tongue of central and western Europe, took the shape in Swedish of *tavle*. It was applied generally to the hard-game, and did not become in Sweden, as it did in Iceland, first a generic name for table-games, and then an ordinary appellation of chess. It continued to be, for a long time, the only name of backgammon, and for this reason no such word as *hædross*, as in Icelandic, ever made its way into the Northern Kingdom. Little as is known about the game in medieval days, still less is it to be learned about its story between that time and the appearance of modern Swedish books of games. An early and now very rare Cologne compilation in German from the De remediis utrisque fortunae of Petrarch was reproduced in Swedish in the XVth century, but it did not include the section concerning tables, and has now become as seldom as its German original. The chess treatise of Jacobus de Cessolis was also rendered into old Swedish even earlier, but never found its way into print until in our own day. But the early works on tables were never given a Swedish dress. No doubt references to the game may still be found dating from the XVth-XVIII centuries, but only after a thorough search in archives, collections of letters, and other such obscure haunts of literature. From the beginning of the XIXth century some knowledge of backgammon may be gleaned from dictionaries, but of course, it is confined merely to technical terms. We shall attempt to examine some of these. The board is styled *brådu*, and in compounds *bord*. Both are, of course, variant forms of our English "board;" the former was adopted from the German *brett*, but grew to be so especially applied to the backgammon-board that *brädisk* or *brådesk* ("hard-game") may be laid to be the most usual name of backgammon, and was and is so understood unless it be accompanied by some qualifying word or phrase. Vili ni spela *brådesk* is perhaps the most common way of inviting a person to a game of backgammon. The appellations of the various varieties we shall come to later. The name given to the points of the board is *tunga* (plural, *tungor*), our "tongue," but in its technical sense derivable from the German "stange"; but *horn* (meaning "horn"), *lätt* ("wedge"), *pil* ("arrow") and *fält* ("field"), German "feld") are also found in the manuals; while "man" is (as in Danish *bricka* (plural *brickor*), a Scandinavian, or at least Low German vocabulary, applied likewise to draughtsman, and to morrismen, but at chess it is, we believe, less used, its place being there taken by *gios* ("piece") and *bende* ("pawn"). *Blotta* (noun), virtually the same as the Danish, is the English "blot," being the nominal form of the adjective *blott* ("bare," "naked," *en blotta bricka*, "a solitary man"); *att blotta* is the corresponding verb, *att blotta en bricka*, to be rendered "to leave a man standing alone," to "make a blot." *Att slå en blotta* is "to hit a blot." Band (with the definite article *bandet*) is a double point (two or more men on one point). *Att binda* (to bind) is to form such a point. *Att bytta band* is to remove a man or men, leaving the point a blot. When the points each side of the bar are secured (double points), they are styled *fornband* (iron double-points) or *fors- och morsbanden* ("father's and mother's points"). The point next the *hus* ("talon") of each side, when doubled, is known as *jamban*. Points on which more than two men stand are often styled *polahusk* ("Point") or *sjöfåtband* ("oiver-points," "plus-points"). *Att hålla i hop sina band* signifies to "keep one's double points together," so as to form a barrier to the advance of the adversary. *Ala* (the singular or collective) is sometimes used for "doub-
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lets," when no number is expressed, but more usually the plural aller (literally, if one could say so, "alt"). A series of singular names for the various combinations of the two dice exists in Swedish, to which, so far as is known, no parallel is to be found elsewhere. Sixes (dubbila sexnam) are styled secor mogn, the latter word being a contraction of mognas ("many"); Fives (dubbila femnam) are cinkor (cinkor) mogn; four (dubbila fyram) are quartor; threes (dubbila trenam) are trullar; deuces (dubbila dyvan) are duvan; pairs, like the English "a pair of deuces;" aces (dubbila essnam) are essnam par; six-five is ordinarily known as sextiofem (really "sixy five"); or sex till fem ("six to five"); or sex och fem ("six and five"); six-four as sextiofyr ("sixty-four"); sex till fyra, sex och fyra, and so with six-three and six deuce; but after that the two numbers are simply used together, like the larger always first, as sex ess ("six-ace"); sinka fyra, sinka tre, sinka dus, quart tre, troja dus, tres (tres) ess and dus ess. Some of these forms are probably very old, and are chiefly taken, like many of the terms we have been giving, from the real and ordinary Swedish backgammon. Very notable, in this variety, is the term munk (meaning literally "monk"); if one player has finished the game, (that is, according to the English expression, has borne or thrown off all his men), while his opponent has still some captured men (slagna bricker), which he has not succeeded in re-entering, the loser is said to be munk (or, as we might say, monked), resembling in character our "backgammoned." Now this term munk is the Icelandic mikir which (as the reader will shortly ascertain), is a contracted form of mikar, the Icelandic word for "monk." What is remarkable in the identity of these two terracotta pieces to be re-entered, while some of his pieces are still remaining in his hus (in which case he is forbidden to re-enter them on that point), the player casts the useless throw of double aces and loses his right to play until he throws a higher number; the French faise is likewise applied to other situations, when a player is unable to play his throw. An öppet fallt ("open point") is one on which the adversary has no men. Then we are told that if more blots are hit (or men taken) than there is space for them to re-enter, this is called to become junker or stagen ur brödet ("put off the board"). It depends upon the juncker's will either to play in as many of his captured men as he can without throwing, or to wait until he can enter them all. He chooses the latter if there is danger of his becoming jam, and the former if he thinks that the adversary will soon be obliged to break up (bryta) some of his double points. The writer goes on to say: "Jan is when one has taken more of the opponent's men than he can re-enter, even if the hus-point or his six-point be not doubled (or, if men are still on the hus-point, the seven-point being open), the single man on the six-point or seven-point being, in that case, called the jambricka. He who becomes jan loses a double game, and the partie is ended." The description is not over clear, but we render it as exactly as possible. The account of the method of play continues, with explanations of kromset, uppet and so on, the game ending, in the ordinary course of events, when all the winning player's pieces are brought around to his husram (that is, when the hemset is complete). After some important rules are given, we have the second sub-section (pp. 18-20), being a description of verhoren utan junker ("without junker"), in which the junker feature is done away with. It is styled an abnormal variety, in which there is more of chance then good play, and in which occurs the position of sprängjan ("bursting") or break-
ing jan”), when the player, having his men captured and unable to re-enter them, does not become junker, but is allowed to “hit” his adversary’s obstructing double points (band) as if they were bolts. The compiler condemneth this variety. The whole section on verkehren seems to be an inade¬quate account of the real Swedish backgammon, spoiled by features of the German verkehren gathered from a German manual. After this we have a description of the French trictrac (the name being applied alike to the game and the board), which, says the writer, is in many respects unlike verkehren, and in others like toccategi. The terminology is, as usual, largely French, with, in some instances, attempted translations, as bok-jan (the German rückjan), stora jan and lite jan (“great jan,” “little jan”), jambrøde (the field or quarter of the board in which the player’s half lines, marqueta (to “mark points”), and so forth. Immediately thereafter follows the account of toccategi, in which one of the terms is schuster, defined as a phase of the game in which the player is not yet prevented from forming in his opponent’s board six double points. The men are placed at first on the first point to the right of one player and the left of the other. The backgammon division of the work ends with the variety called schuster which is declared to be properly “a game for women.” The men are placed as in toccategi. We render the remaining few lines: “According to the throws, the men are moved from the has into the next quarter of the board; if the player there make or secure each point with three extra men (lila bricker) on the three last, all following each other, he wins two game-points, and the contest is over. If neither player obtain this position (called schuster), then it is permitted to move across into the adversary’s board, and the game is won by him who, in the ordinary way, first ‘boars’ his men. No blocks can be hit.” This simple variety, as well as the two which precede it, evidently all owe their descriptions to some German manual, but the last-named, simple as it is, may still be of great age.

The next Swedish acadeémie is entitled “Ny och fulktendig svensk spepbok, eller grundlig anvisning till alla nu brukliga kortspel...” (Göteborg 1847), being a pretty coarse translation of the title-page of “Das königliche l’homme.” It treats only one backgammon game, namely, verkehren ibridédel (pp. 226-239). This is the game described in the preceding work, but the section is better arranged and better written, and consists of twenty-two numbered paragraphs. We shall call attention to a few additional features and terms. The third paragraph tells us that in entering upon a game a previous agreement should be arrived at as to whether a player must have made five bolts before being “free play” meaning evidently that he can form double points at once, also as to whether each candidate shall be allowed to make only five successive double points (fem band), or whether he may form six; likewise as to whether the game shall be carried on with or without the junker feature; if the series of double points be limited to five, junker is excluded, otherwise the game usually includes the junker. The throw to decide the privilege of the first move is called förkastet (literally, “fore-cast,” or “fore-play.”) Except in two exceptional situations only bolts can be hit (paragraph ten). Excep¬tions being (paragraph fifteen) when the game is played without the junker, and yet one adversary does force the other into a junker position, and (paragraph eighteen) when the storm-jan occurs in a junker-less game, this being an enforced series of moves making the opponent junker, when the latter can also capture men on the double (or doubled) points. Utlagnings (taking out) is used for “bearing” (hemspel). Att vinna paa sista bricken (“to win on the last man”) is when a player, after his adversary has borne all his men but one, captures that one and thereby gains the right, in order to hinder his advance when re-entered, to form a barrier of six succes¬sive double points, even if the pre-arrangement has been made to play with only five. The phrase here given is also used figuratively.

The latest and by far the most important treatise on games published in Sweden is the “Illustrerad spelbok en handling i de sista i Sverige och utlandet brukliga spel...” after de bästa källor utarbetad af Tom Wilson” (Stockholm 1888), a handsome volume, the pseudonym “Tom Wilson” representing, it is asserted, a well known Stockholm journalist. The fact that both “domestic and foreign games” (i Sverige och utlandet brukliga spel) are described prevents a clear recognition of those which are actually practised by the Swedish people. We shall enumerate the backgammon games in their order, afterwards examining, in considerable detail, the most important and interesting one. The space occupied in pages 216-239: 1. tric¬trac, the well-known French variety, of which we have already said much. The section is apparently based on a careful study of the latest French au¬thorities. The compiler boldly asserts, following French compilers, that it was known to the Greeks and Romans, and states that its present laws and methods were established during the reign of Louis XIV. It has never been played much in Sweden, and is therefore often underestimated by un¬formed persons. If compared with the only backgammon much practised among Swedes, it is difficult to say what would be the result. The French game is more complicated and therefore much more difficult; but simplicity is after all a merit, and just that characteristic, in addition to its variety of features and movements, makes the Swedish game particularly prominent and interesting, and preferred by many to its French rival. The board-points are variously called pijar, tillt, juglar, kilar, speter (the last being literally “points”). The “coin de repos” or “ruhocks” is styled hukem or hvlovren (this compound meaning “rest-corner.”) The French terms for the doublets (“ambesas,” or “beset,” “tens,” “tours,” “quartiers,” etc.) are explained by the genuine old Swedish expressions (redor or duvorna par, trexor, quartarner, siskor mung etc.), the foreign terms thus being unnecessary. After further definitions follow a table of the possible combinations of the dice, a definition of skolom (“l’école”), an account of the various jans (their names in part translated) and other positions, a table of the values of the game-points, and finally a translated trictrac partie, “according to the method first published in 1788.” This is a game of seventeen throws (moves), each one carefully commented, with two variations, one running to the thirtieth throw, the other to the eighty-fifth — the whole being a most useful feature for the learner. But all the section is very every well done. 2. Protokolltriktrak (“trictrac à écrire”), which we have mentioned, the description being only a short note in length. 3. Fuldlepel (“jeu du plein”), a few lines of toccategi (or techasdict, French, “too”), its origin attributed, as usual, to Italy; four pages are given to it. 5. Puff, (two pages) describing both the varieties tanguen and kontræ, citing bro (“bridge”) as the name of a barrier formed by
The author's name for this variety is given to it because it is the most practised in Sweden. Probably, he thinks, it was originally identical with "revertier" ("verkehrten"), but has undergone some, perhaps unimportant changes, and has added some new features. It is the best-known of all Sweden's games of any kind, and is played in every quarter of the country, even in the rural regions, though not much by the lower or undisciplined sort, all six combinations. Tikkanen man alla de olika sort, som kunna göras med två träningar, föreslager alltid endast 21 kombinationer, medan men: 5 och 1, 6 och 2, 5 och 6, 6 och 5, 6 och 6; 1 och 5, 2 och 4, 3 och 5, 4 och 3, 4 och 4, 5 och 5, 5 och 5, 5 och 6, 6 och 1, 6 och 2, 6 och 3, 6 och 5, 6 och 6. Eftersom dessa kombinationer måste man lägra 15 andra, kalla de dessutom, hvilket till stora del är lika att beteckna. Det ligger tyden, som en och en och en bör vara vara något annat. 

Egen på den bälte

Anslut sitt kombineras.

Källor: 7 har de dessa kombinationerna, bör detta ögonblicksaktast ofta komma upp, hvirstill man bör lägra hänsyn. De olika träningstkasten ha erhållit följande namn: Dubbla sexan (6-6) kallas sexan medan dubbla femman (5-5) kallas sexan (inkommedan); Dubbla sexan (6-6) kallas sexan (inkommedan); Dubbla sexan (6-6) kallas sexan (inkommedan); Dubbla sexan (6-6) kallas sexan (inkommedan); Dubbla sexan (6-6) kallas sexan (inkommedan); Dubbla sexan (6-6) kallas sexan (inkommedan).
points, the men and the disco with their combinations, and the names attached to the points and doublets are fully treated. There are twenty-one real (veritabla) and perceptible (sesamöna) dice-combinations (six-one, six-two, six-three, six-four, six-five, six-six, five-one, five-two, five-three, and so on), and twenty-four, three one, six-two, six-three, six-four, six-five, six-six, five-one, five-two, five-three, and so forth —
destat om de olika sätten, hvarpå man kan och får taga för kasten. En hubor regel dövdir t, att man alltid taga just för de ögon, som komma upp på hvarandra tärningens, med andra ord, att man inte får störder kasten. Så lär man t. ex. troja de ögon en tärning, och t. ex. troja tre och två, t. ex. ett braschen i en kast, t. ex. 3, och man får taga 8, och med andra ord, att man inte får taga 3, som man får taga t. ex., för 1 med den ensa braschen, för 4 med den andra. Att tags med en braschen, att taga ett hvarandra kastna kunnat i det efterhållande tags fullt med en. Men enj eger rätt-
played each for itself, or may be combined—in other words one man may be moved (according to the sum of the two points), or two men. Doublets are accounted doubly. If the dice permit, the player may move men into his own side of the board whenever he will. The march of the men from right to left is thus in agreement with the players' side of the board, afterwords from left to right. The object of the game is to bring them all on 9, but man leks haller der några, tar man brickorna på 9 s.o.m. Man får leks skyldig att för hvarje kast spelar han eller, såsom det ock kallas, taga de 3 bröck på en gång.


around the board, until the player has been enabled to "play" them "home" to the point where they originally stood. They are generally placed on their starting-point (when "borne" or "thrown off"), but this final stage of the game is likewise called uttag ("take out") or uttagning ("taking out"). To move only one piece at a throw (instead of two) is styled to taga fullt med en ("take fully with one.") A man can neither be moved to a point covered by two of the adversary's men, nor played in such way that he would hit it if it were a blot. No double points can be formed until the player has reached the eleventh point from his starting-point, that is until he has arrived at the hak ("coin de repos"); to illustrate this: supposing a player has thrown five-ace at his first cast, and then plays one man six points to the point adjoining the bar; if he throw, at his next cast, double sixes he is prohibited from moving, for if he play his sixes from the huss he will reach the man previously moved, forming a double point, which is not yet allowed, and if he move the man already played six points he would strike the adversary's huss. But a player may form a double point in his own hak ("coin de repos"), the twelfth point from his huss, and the only point on the adversary's board on which he can place two men. A double point cannot be hit, or captured, except in a single case to be noted

...
a series of as many adjoining double points as he may choose to form, in other words he is no longer restricted to five consecutive ones. The game can also be decided, before all the men of the one player or the other player reach the final or throwing-off-board, by jam or springtigan. The former occurs when a player has more men captured ("hit") than there are places in the first quarter (the kas-quarter) of the board, on which to re-enter them. For instance, if I have already five blots in my first quarter, where the men must be re-entered, and my adversary captures two men, then I can enter only one of them and am jam, and my opponent wins a double game. The other position is more complicated. If one has one or more men hit and there is no vacant point on which to enter them, because all the points in the re-entering quarter are occupied either by his own blots or by the double points of his adversary—if then, the adversary is unable to re-enter the men thus captured, he becomes springtigan. If a player see that he is threatened with becoming jam he may resign, and thus loses only a simple partie. It is customary that the player losing a game has the first throw in the following one. The general advice for players, as to the proper style of conducting their game (forming the last three pages of the account in the "Illustrirad spelbok"), we omit, both in this summary and in the original text, since nothing therein contained throws any additional light on the character of this interesting variety of backgammon.

From internal evidence it seems fair to conclude that this game, existing so long, and so universally played, in a land like Sweden, comparatively isolated in the remote Scandinavian peninsula, may well be considered as representing the most common variety of the medieval game of tables (taff) as it was first called in the North, or, in early Swedish, tappe. Of course such features as the two jansen may have crept in at a later period, just as we have seen, in our day, modifications introduced into popular modern card-games like euchre, which have soon grown to be generally accepted. Another thing seems not improbable, namely, that between the earliest date of backgammon in Sweden and that of backgammon in Iceland no very great period could have elapsed. If this be the case a careful study of the two varieties would doubtless yield some notable results as regards the development of games. In both countries the original European name gave place to another, because the Latin word "tabula" ("table") got to be more particularly applied to chess or to table-games in general. In Iceland the foreign (Latin or French) name of the most striking side of the die was given to the game. We know not how long the appellation brädgespel has been in use in Sweden as a general name for backgammon; otherwise we might say that the Swedes translated "tables" into their own tongue, since brädgespel means simply, "table-game." But, again, bräde may be itself a foreign term borrowed from the Low German dialects south of Scandinavia. Here, again, we have an instance of how much researches of this kind are hampened by the lack of reasonably complete lexicological works, based, like the great Oxford English Dictionary, on historical principles, and presenting the forms of words at different stages of their growth—even of words which have now disappeared—with numerous examples of their use. More intimate acquaintance, too, with Norway is especially desirable in prospecting our northern investigations. That land was the mother-country of the Icelanders; there was a close and continuous intercourse between the mother

and the daughter until some time after the union of Norway with Denmark (after 1400), by which event Denmark obtained control of the Arctic island. It would, therefore, be interesting to know something of the early history of Norwegian backgammon, especially during the saga period and the centuries which immediately followed, as well as to learn the exact character of the most popular form of the game in that country at the present day, particularly in the northern and more remote towns and villages. Iceland may have received the game from Germany or Sweden, or even from France by the way of Norway. That it came by the way of England, as chess did, seems to be excluded by the differing technical terms of the game. While the intercourse with Denmark was too slight, in the Xllth-XIVth centuries, to favor the belief that the game made its way to Iceland from that country. Two geographical points must be considered when studying this subject. The first is that the limits of Sweden were, until the XVIIth century, much more restricted than now, the whole southern portion, previous to that date, belonging to Denmark. The second is that Sweden was until 1665 an independent kingdom, having a certain amount of intercourse with France, and thus might have been the medium, if not directly then through Shetland and the Orkneys, for the introduction of foreign novelties into Iceland. Perhaps we shall be obliged to look at this latter fact, when we consider more closely the matter of tradition, its character and origin.

At the end of the description of the Swedish brädgespel which we have reproduced, but not forming a separate section of the "Spelbok," we find a brief account of a minor variety of backgammon styled sex ess. This is the English side-ace (see our p. 300), which, singularly enough, still survives in Sweden, and has been long dimmed and forgotten in England. As the sketch we have given from the "Compleat Gamester" fails to depict it properly we shall translate the notice of it ("Spelbok," pp. 281-3). It will be found afterwards, that besides the interesting fact of its survival in an unexpected place, we have probably ascertained another fact of even greater importance. The writer says: "On the usual backgammon-board is played a game which has received the name of side-ace. It is quite a simple game, the issue of which does not at all depend on skill or prudent foresight, but only on the throws of the dice. It is played by two players, with six men on each side, and two dice used in common. The point of the game is to get rid of one's men, the first one accomplishing that being the winner. The pip of the die are reckoned as follows: Casting ace, a piece (or man) is turned over to the adversary; casting six, a piece is laid aside; casting five, a man is placed in the 'deuce' (duscn), which ordinarily has its place between the two players [that is, as seems probable, an indicated space, so called, on the board between the points]; casting deuce, a piece is taken from the 'deuce' (tusper man in duscn); the pips four and three are not regarded. Each dice-point must be taken separately and uncombined. For instance, if my throw be five ace, I am not allowed to combine the two points and play them as a six, but I must regard them as a five and an ace, each to be played separately. Doubles are counted thus: if I cast double sixes, I lay aside two men; if double ace I give my opponent two men; if double fives, I place two men in the 'deuce'; if double deuces, I take two men from the 'deuce' (on condition, naturally, that there be so many therein), in case the game is played on the principle that only one man
shall be taken from the ‘deuce,’ for every deuce-point cast, which is not so common a method as that which requires that on throwing two all the men in the ‘deuce’ shall be removed. Even this game, however meaningless it may appear, presents some variety dependent on the different ways of availing one’s self of the five and the deuce, when they turn up together. For example, if several men are in the ‘deuce,’ and I turn up five-deuce, it makes a great difference, whether I shall reckon the five first, therefore placing a man in the ‘deuce’ and afterwards, for the deuce, take away all the men in the ‘deuce’ (if that mode of play be adopted), even the man just placed for the five I have cast, which is really the same as if I had counted nothing at all for the five; or whether I count the deuce first, therefore taking away (as in Atba deuces) the men in the deuce, and afterwards putting in a man for the five. In the latter case it will be seen that I have got rid of a man. The best play, therefore would seem to be, when a deuce is thrown, to take up the whole ‘deuce,’ except one man, which is to be left in. If doublets be thrown, the player having thrown has the right to a second cast. When a player has got rid of all his men, then, in order to win, he must still throw a free cast (at de freeget), that is to say, he must turn up an ace or a six (according to whichever be the customary mode of play). When he has done that he is pronounced the winner.”

One historical fact of unexpected interest we have learned from this account of the Swedish sice-ace game, which the description of the English game could not have taught us. In the latter, as the reader will remember, there was no mention of the singular “deuce” feature (by that name at least: the occurrence of this in the Swedish game enables us to recognize this variety as that which is mentioned in the Alphonseine codex as “seis dos à as” (“sice-deuce-ace”), thus identifying as still in existence, even more than six centuries, another of the varieties of “tables” practised in the days of the royal author (see p. 233). We have no doubt that a faithful and searching study of his manuscript, accompanied by an equally careful examination of all the other medieval documents relating to the ludus tabularum, followed by a complete investigation of all the modern backgammon games, would lead to the discovery of several other such survivals. In regard to the game of sice-(deuce)-ace it is to be considered a backgammon game only because the backgammon-men are used in it, for although the backgammon-board may be employed on which to throw the dice, the board-points do not seem to have any proper part in the game. We may conclude from what we already know, which is far too little, that the name “tables,” or ludus tabularum, was a generic name for all the varieties played on the “tables,” or rather the “tabulæ” really referred to the two boards (one, with twelve points belonging to one player, the other just like it, considered as belonging to or placed before the other player), which were joined together to make what we now call the “backgammon-board.” Hence the use of the plural “tabulae.” Later on, as one variety became more prominent than others in different countries, the term “tables” went out of use and the board was called, especially in lands north of the Alps, by the name of the variety most generally played. Perhaps the custom of including in one piece, on the outer sides of which were chess and morris boards and on the inner side (“within the tables”) the backgammon board, may have had something to do with the abandonment of the name “tables.”

STRAY NOTES

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meaning to "throw," "cast" (the Anglo-saxon "weorpan," English "warp"), just as the Germans have a similar and allied verb, "werfen," with a like meaning. Now the noun verpfl is formed by means of a well-known nominal suffix (-ti) from this verb, just as the German noun "würfel" comes from the German verb, and both signify the thing cast or thrown, namely the die. Verpfl has other meanings, especially that of a barrel or caust, or a vessel made by means of scorched pieces of wood, and in this we have the sense of the English "warp," the consonant of the Icelandic verpfl. Whether the Icelandic noun verpfl can, under these circumstances, be said to be derived from the German würfel is a question awaiting the decision of philosophers. The other word for "die" is tenningur (with the modern form tenningar). Guðrúnardívísósson says of this word that the "Dan. 'tenning' is a corrupt form, for the word has no doubt from tönnr = 'tooth,' 'tusk,' the dice being made of walrus-tusk." This all looks reasonable enough—so far as the old Icelandic tenningar, the Danish "tenning," the Swedish "täcka" are concerned. But how about the Dutch "diereling"! The Icelandic tönnr, the English "tooth," the Danish and Dutch Swedish "tand" are all the same word and all signify "tooth." But is it certain that the most common word in all the Scandinavian dialects, and a frequent term in the Dutch, for "die," is to find its etymology in a word meaning "tooth?" The lexicographer has been influenced by the belief, to which so much currency was given, both in England and Denmark, by Sir Frederick Madden, that chessmen were largely manufactured in Iceland from walrus-tusks and exported them—a subject to which we shall return hereafter.

In the saga of St. Olaf (or St. Olav, as he was known in London), one of the great series of royal biographies, written by Snorri Sturluson, the greatest of the Icelanders (we cite the edition of Munch and Unger, Christiana, 1853, p. 90), occurs a dice incident. The holy Olaf and his contemporary, the Swedish king of the same name, had met a reconciliation at Konungshella in Norway in 1020. There was talk of a place, the situation of which was in doubt, that is, whether it lay in Sweden or Norway. The sagaman entitles the story of what followed "Fra ost kafl rikjum," "about the (dice) cast of the kings:" "'Sva sagði Porsteinn frøfi, at byggja la i Hising er fylgt hafSr ymist til norog ëta til Gåttalin. Þát melto pa konungr gar i milli, at þeir scyldi lutha [draw lots] um eign pa oc casta til tenningar [throw dice], scyldi sa hafa er starrar castaði [cast the higher]. Þa castaði Svia konungr. vi. tvav. [Then the king of the Swedes throw sixes two], oc meðti at Olafskonungr purrti ögni at casta. Hann svaraði og höfði tenningarna [shook the dice] i hendi ser: enn ero vi. tvav [two sixes] a tenningonom oc er gviði drotnin minn en litl fire at lata þat upp horda. Hinn castaði þanno upp tvav sex [double sixes]. Þa castaði Svia konungr. vi. ll. [two sixes]. Þa castaði Noræs konungr. Var þa. vi. a skýrhom, en annarr brætt i avdr, oc voro þar pa. vil. signaði pa byggina. Eigi havfin var hreyti getfið dreire ðísenda æ einum fimdu. Seldra konungr satirfi." This is told, let it be remembered, by the same historian who gives us, in the same saga, our first absolutely certain knowledge that any Icelander knew chess, since he (Snorri Sturluson) not only alludes to chess in a story about the Danish king Canute and one of his nobles, but makes the king leave "a knight en prise," attesting the writer's intimate acquaintance with the game. The above passage is thus translated in Samuel Laing's version of Snorri Sturluson's "Heimskrìtingla," which includes the "Olafr saga helga" (2 ed. London, 1889, ill, pp. 1-2): "Thorstein frøfið = the learned relates of this meeting, that there was an isolated district in Hising which had sometimes belonged to Norway and sometimes to Gautland (Gotland, a part of Sweden). The kings came to the agreement between themselves that they would cast lots by the dice to determine who should have the district. The Swedish king threw two sixes, and said king Olaf need scarcely throw. He replied, while shaking the dice in his hand: 'Although there be two sixes on the dice, it would be easy, sire, for God Almighty to let them turn up in my favour.' Then he threw and had sixes also. Now the Swedish king threw again, and had again two sixes. Olaf king of Norway then threw, and had six upon one die, and the other split, two so as to make seven eyes in all upon it; and the district was adjudged to Norway. We have no idea of anything else of interest that took place at this meeting; and the kings separated the dearest of friends." The translation is not very good, but it gives us an idea of the incident. We see by the tale that dice-boxes were not then known even among kings, and that the dice were therefore cast from the hand (see p. 186) in the ancient manner.

The incident is repeated in another saga, the "Orkneyinga saga," or tales of the early (járs) of the Orkneys. We quote from the edition edited by Guðrúnardívísósson for the English master of the rolls (London 1887, i. 93): "I Englønd úr tvir menn þeir er mikít (to lögði við tvæ xarf, at that is on dice-throwing), ok hafSr annarr láfið mikít fá. Þa lagði hanner út kugg einn [a "cog," a kind of ship], og allt þat sem hann átti, í möti því òlíu, er hafSr fyrri láfið. En hann kaftaði fyrir sex tvau. Þá þótti hinnun sér urvet hofra, ok hét á ím helga Magnús jari, at hann skylde eigi látið sínu eigu alla; ok kaftaði síðan. En tenninginn hrauti í sundr annarr, ok komu upp tvau sex ok ásaf; ok hlaut hann allt þat er víð ía, ok síðan gaf hann Magnús jari mikít fá." The tale is apparently omitted in the English version of the saga by J. A. Hjaltaín and Gilbert Goudie (edited by Joseph Anderson, Edinburgh 1875). It is thus rendered: "In England there were two men, and both staked much at dice, and one had lost a great deal. Finally the loser stalked his ship against all that he had lost, and called on St. Magnus [an Orkney saint, who had been earl of the islands] to let him not lose all his property; and then threw. One die broke in two in such a way that there came up two sixes and an ace; and he won the whole stake, and he gave the saint a large contribution." This is very likely a reminiscence of Snorri's story.

Still another incident of this sort is related in the "Sturlunga saga," the story of the deeds of the family to which Snorri Sturluson belonged. It was written by his nephew, Sturla Þorðarson, and is really a general history of Iceland during a large portion of the XIIIth century (from 1202 to 1229). The event in which we are interested is narrated in the edition of the "Sturlunga" by Guðrúnardívísósson (Oxford 1878, i. 129), the text telling us that two hostile chiefs, Kolbeinn and Sighvatr, met, in order to settle their differences, in the Hörgdal in the North of Iceland; "En er þeir könum til fundarins, ok menn leitaðu um settir, kom þat helst ásamt, at annar hvarði skyldi eina gora; ok skyldu þeir þat híta mæð eðr, ok kasta til tenningum. En er þeir hituðu fyrir kaft, kaftið Sigvatr dúað ok ás. Þá..."
and each is fined half a mark of silver to the king. But if they wager, nothing is to be paid to any one, and the parties are not to be convicted.

Outside of legal literature the word occurs in one of the most popular of all the Icelandic sagas, the "Grettis saga"; it is found in a verse (the edition of Valdimar Ámundarson, Reykjavík 1900, pp. 140-141):

Stráyn börðu 1 textur bygir
Brotútry, at þe þyntir
Uppil að fisk Kreppl, 
Aljupins, Sóknakul.
Eir var staðar & stæða --
Stjóðk allmikins, Halli! --
Diesgruf að æð sigur blögum
Duf, í sigurum knúti.

The verse is ascribed to Grettir, the hero of the saga, and not very easily understood without the context. William Morris, the poet, who made such good use of the old Icelandic literature, has put the stanza into English, retaining to some extent the alliteration so characteristic of Icelandic verse:

In broad-people lands say thou
Then thou nearest even now
Unto Cropp-farm's gate angh
Saddle-fair and slim-stalk high;
That thou sawest stith onstood
(Got thou gone so greatest speed),
One who loveth game and play
O lud in cope of black to-day.

Here duf is translated by "game and play." The date of the saga, as the literary historian, Dr. Finnur Jónsson, surmises, cannot be earlier than 1300. He ascribes its compilation to an anonymous priest in the neighbourhood of Mýrðjörður in North-Iceland.178

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178 The word duf (dufb) has of late years been occasionally used in an unwarranted way in Iceland, but has been revived in America in its general sense of "gambling." After some communications concerning its real significance in the columns of the Winthrop Hsmborg, the editor, in a leading article (vol. xvii, no. 13, 1904), cites a communication from an anonymous correspondent giving explanations of the word, but without any special knowledge of its early history or etymology. He cites the "Jónsbók" giving the year of its arrival in Iceland as 1370, instead of 1381. He cites correctly enough the comment on the word in the Journal of the learned society "Lærdomsleifstaðs" (vol. iii, 1879, p. 127), where the three lines devoted to duf read: "(nuna allur, hóvadd-epi, doðð) at doplar, teðlafal, en erðið markur, þar heller eller spilas, er tvær fylk saman." These papers in the "Riti

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[Continued...]
CHESS IN ICELAND

The most important of the few works in the old Icelandic language which were produced in Norway is incontestably the Konungs-skuggjd or "Royal mirror," a sort of didactic treatise, devoted to practical ethics, remaining one in a little, in its general spirit, of the "Perfetto Cortigiano" of Castiglione, although its date is generally regarded to be about 1500. It mentions both table-games and dice, but only to deprecate the practice of either. The edition consulted, that of the learned Icelander, Hálfdán Einarsson (Soros 1768, p. 430) gives the brief phrase: "Paer er ok sigiði at fylja tai ok tennagaskat," that is "It is also good-breeding to shun table-games and the casting of dice." The author then goes on with his list of habits and vices to be avoided. The book is in the form of a colloquy between a father and a son. In an earlier passage (p. 26) exactly the same counsel had been given: "En eno þer lirur, er þau skall ska fylja ok varast sem laondan sjafmann, pat er ofdrickir ok tai..." etc. in a similar way. We have now cited, we believe, all the passages in the old literature having reference to dice-play.

The text of the passage which we have quoted from "St. Olaf's saga" is given with a slight difference in the edition contained in the "Formannalsögur," a collection of ancient sagas published at Copenhagen (1829 IV, 211). Instead of the sentence "pa castaði Noregs konungr, var pa. vi. av ævrum, en annarr hraut i sundr..." etc., we have a more fuller statement: "Olafs Noregs konungr kastati eigi at síðr, var þá em sex á ðorrum, en annar hraut i sundr i tvö, ok voru þar á 7 augun, ok hafði Olaf konungr nú kastat 13, ok eignaði henn svá bygðina." This is without doubt from a later MS than that used by the Christiania editors (which was written in Iceland in the first half of the XIIIth century), namely from a vellum in the Arna-magnusson collection but probably cannot be much more than a century later. The important point to us is in the phrase "ok voru þar á 7 augun, ok hafði Olaf konungr nú kastat 13," etc. and there were on the split die 7 pips and king Olaf had now thrown 13," for it gives us the early Icelandic term for a point or pip on the dice, namely auga, being the ordinary word for "eye." Örnstrandur Vigfusson cites it as occurring in only one other place—"in the life of St. Magnus in the Orkneyinga Saga."

It may be that it is found in an earlier story cited by us from that saga, but in another MS than that used by the editors of the edition of 1870. This is of some historical importance because it helps to show that dice reached Iceland directly or indirectly from Germany, and not from Great Britain. The ace bears the title common to all Europe, dax, as we have seen in our extracts, the deuce is daxus (accusative, daxus), written like the German term, but pronounced very nearly like the old French "deux," from which comes the English "deuce." Guðbranur Vigfusson, in his dictionary (p. 97), makes a most remarkable blunder in regard to this word, rendering it into English by "die," and clinches the blunder by giving the phrase, kasta daxus, with the translation, "to cast a die." The error is the more astonishing since all preceding lexicographers, like Björn Halldórsson (1814), Konráð Gissur (1851), Sveinbjörn Egilsson (1860), Eiríkur Jónsson (1863), Johan Fritzner (1887), had given the correct definition. Both saw and deuce seem to be used figurately in a verse in the Sturlunga saga (Oxford edition, I, p. 277), ascribed to a skald of the period, Guðmundur Gislason:

Öður ogir upp at falli snæv-vida runni
Tvanir ríkis fornir fram ok daxus í hvamm;
Ok má eftann síðum eila ekki vel falla
(Mær en um mætt þat ek bættir marg-rasti) semu leik nasti.

We shall see later on that dás is said to be in use as a variant of daxus, but it has not found its way into the lexicon; the same may be said of troja, hereafter cited as the equivalent of the English "troyst," kotra is given by Björn Halldórsson (1814) as the name for the four point, while Eiríkur Jónsson has krotra or kotra; dós is the usual numeral "five," and sex is "six." We shall also learn that the throw dace-ace is called dós og daxus, but sometimes dásís, and shall hear how the doublets are expressed.

The proverbs and sayings connected with dice are given by Ólafur Davíðsson as follows: Forsýjjum leikar or tengingalukkinni að trín, "the prudence of the player is to trust to the fortune of the dice." Hann lígur d annan tenginginn, en stellur d annan, "he lies by one die, and robs by the other," the signification being far from clear. Leika máttu, loð er að kasta, "you must play, the dice are thrown." Léttr er að leika, ef tenginginn vill eitt, "it is easy to play when the dice are all right." Lýðurukkinni tenginga, "Load the dice to look." Stríðr er tenginga-kast, sem seltir lukkinni upp og síður, "the battle is the throw of the dice, which turns fortune up and down." Teningur er súndur varningur, "the dice are a bad piece of goods." Þýmist settur upp d tenginga, "anything may turn up on the dice." Then there are these expressions: að eiga ettan bæði varingar tenginga-kasti, "to have something on the turn of the dice;" nú komur til misrað (þenn) kasta, "now it's my (thy) turn;" þák fæg og tengingurinn er hjóð komum, "he's got both the board and the dice," that is, "he has it all his own way," perhaps derived from backgammon. These two couplets are likewise cited:

Tellingurinn talnæk heitir
Trygg hana lífs standinn veittur.

"The die is called 'talous,' keeps only a brief faith" — (tuul) being used as the Latin word for die (in which tongue it also means 'ankle'); perhaps some play on that word is intended.

Ef ðóttur leikvæg s er ber,
Sin megin leyfi að tella er,
“If the abbot carries the dice with him, then we monks are allowed to play.” Finally, in the “Dískóm íbók” of Konrád Glaislon, to “throw or cast dice” is explained as *kasta varpflum* or *kasta tennings*; but, as we have said, the latter is the more usual; “dice-box” is explained as *verplast*, the latter element being the Scottish “stoup,” signifying “cups,” “beaker,” but as he thinks it necessary to explain the word carefully to his Icelandic readers, it is probably not much employed; for “dice-throw” he has both *verplakast* and *teningakast*; “dice-play” is, according to him, *verplakast*, citing *Grágás*; and “dice-pip” is *tenings-uga*.

There is also in Iceland a pure dice-game, known as *göðaflott*, in which, though sometimes a backgammon-board is used for convenience sake in playing, the players usually sit down at any kind of a table. According to some, each player has twenty men, although Dr. Konrád von Maurer gives the number as thirty-two (“Germania,” 1869, xiv., p. 108), but evidently any number previously agreed upon would answer. All cast the dice three times to decide who shall be *göð* (apparently equivalent to “banker”) in some card games. This is a complicated process. In the course of it the dice are cast six times, and at each cas a line of the following verse is recited:

Heims ráð og göða minn,
Bæti vel og lengt;
Ég skal göð þar stót oft og reingi
Í göða leifi.

Gøta og á gír fiug.

Therefore, the various players throw the dice in turn and according to the throw receive from the *göð*, or pay him, a certain number of men (they would be called “chips” in some of the American card games). Each player plays until he has lost all his men. A long description, not easily understood, is given by Ólafur Davíðsson (“Skeimanní,” 1888-92, pp. 317-18). Some proverbs are connected with this game. Two are cited at the reference just given.

In accordance with the custom we have pursued, we shall give a hasty summary of the account of Icelandic backgammon contained in the essay on Icelandic games by Ólafur Davíðsson, relegating the original text to a foot-note. Our sketch will include the principal matters which are treated either in the text or in the notes attached to it, and on certain topics we shall enlarge or supplement his observations. But despite a desire to be exact and clear, we shall be obliged, we fear, to leave many things in obscurity and many questions unexplained—partly because of the imperfect sources of information open to our writer, partly because of his want of any practical knowledge of the games he is investigating. The author states that the chief

*SNORRAS TEXT*
Icelandic dice-game is backgammon (köta). No detailed account of its method of play has yet been published, so far as is known, in Iceland, and he therefore proposes to explain it as fully as may be possible. This is not by any means a useless task, for backgammon has now become thoroughly known in Iceland, at least in those parts known to the writer, while in many respects it is the most amusing and liveliest of all table-games. The old sagas show that

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**Chess in Iceland**

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people formerly took much pleasure in backgammon, and there is a singular narrative connected with it in the sagas of the Icelandic bishops ("Biskupsöfætar"), ii. 1873, pp. 176-7. It is there said: "It happened in the western fjords that two men sat at the backgammon board, which is of common use in those districts—although it is not a praiseworthy custom—and were wagering several of the objects they possessed; in the end it began

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St. Guðmund, and brings the vessel back full of water, which pours into the lamp. Then they resume their places at the table, and the water burns like the brightest sperm-oil. All present praised God and the blessed bishop Guðmund, but he who had brought the water gained several games and thereafter ceased to play backgammon (kóðrunar), thanking God who had given him to win back that which he had lost in his thoughtlessness.

This account is found in the particular sagas of Guðmundur Arason, bishop of Hólar, written by the abbot Æringrimur. The same incident is told more concisely in the earlier volume of the admirable collection of the sagas of the Icelandic bishops (1855, p. 596): "An event took place at Hvammur in Breiðafjörður, when Þórður Sturluson dwelt there, which was that some men were playing backgammon (kóðrun) at night, and one of them was called

Hermundur, who was the principal person among them. Now it chanced that the oil gave out and they grumbled much about it, and bade the women to bring them more, but these refused to do it. Then said Hermundur: “Let us take water from bishop Guðmund’s well and try that.” This was done. Now the water burned like the best oil and they played so long as they wished.” This brief account is from the earlier saga of the bishop, which was the work of an anonymous author about 1320. The later saga, by the abbot Arngirmur, was originally composed in Latin, but was afterwards translated into Icelandic, and dates from the middle of the XIVth century. Arngirmur was abbot of the convent of Píngeyri from 1350 to 1366. He wrote the eulogistic poem from which we quote below, when he was a simple friar of the same holy bishop of Hólar in 1345, which thus becomes a sure date in the history of the game in Iceland. The lines in which the consecrated well, the burning of the water and the playing at the kotra (kédra) are alluded to, are like this in the “Biskupasógi” (II. p. 195):

Váða þeir, or þarða þottinn,  
Pammun hokjúr e vigthum brunn,  
Pvi þítst þenn í Ína eil,  
Etrí greitul, s haldn landi;  
Vaklitt braun, áva sigst tólit skólam.  
Skrygitt vörk mektið dýrum,  
Træst og gaf sunge þrymr,  
Til þeis að, lík þræfin lodi.

Like chess, backgammon is of foreign origin and the author agrees with the declaration of Sigurður Guðmundsson, keeper of the Archeological Museum at Reykjavik: “Backgammon must be a French game as is indicated by the names applied to the points of the dice and by the words snor or mar and jarn.” The name of the game itself, as we shall see hereafter, is identical with one of the dice-numbers, which is additional evidence of the origin of this amusement. Backgammon has been played in Iceland from very early times and must have been known in the “Bíhops saga” as well. Sigurður Guðmundsson, the archaeologist, asserts that we have the first trustworthy knowledge of backgammon in Iceland in the XIIIth century. In the “Sturlunga saga,” according to our author, we find in a passage the word kotra (old edition, 1817-20, iii., chap. 26), and again with an older orthography, kotra, in the same work (v., chap. 38); and there is also another reference to the ace and deuce on the dice (v., chap. 31). The two mentions of the game in the “Biskupasógi” write the name kotra (I. p. 196) and kotra (II., pp. 170-7). In the “Konráðssaga keisararsonar” (published in the “Fornæsgr af skýrslunna,” Lund 1854, p. 53) is an allusion to kotra; and in the “Karlamanús saga” occurs the word kéttra (pp. 470, 486). But in none of these places is there any light thrown upon the method of play. We shall, however, cite the passages in question with sufficient fullness. Of the “Karlamanús saga,” being a romantic history of Charlemagne, there are two MSS, the first (designated as the A manuscript) from the third quarter of the XIIth century, and the second (B) from the beginning of the XIVth. It is supposed to have been originally written about 1550. The older MS was edited by the Norwegian scholar Unger at Christiania 1860, and from this edition (p. 470) we take these lines: “Now king Karlamanús set out, and did not break his journey until he came to Mikhailor [Constantinople]. Half a mile from the city there was a garden of the king [that is, of the Byzantine emperor] ‘with every kind of green thing in it. There the king found twenty thousand knights, clad in velvet, ermine and marlin skin; some were playing at chess, some at backgammon (kétra at kotrautaf; some were carrying goshawks and some had domesticated hawks sitting on their hands.” The three italicized words are omitted in the B-manuscript, which, perhaps, may indicate that the copyist did not know the game. The other passage in the saga is here quoted from the same edition (p. 488): “The same day in which king Marsili’s ambassadors came to meet Karlamanús, he was sitting in a garden amusing himself and his friends with him. There were fifteen thousand Frankes, all of whom sat under costly woven tents to keep themselves cool, and played at chess, but some at backgammon (at kotrautaf), both young and old; and every other seven was of gold and every other of pure silver; and so were the squares [points] on the boards; every other one was gilt and every other inlaid with white silver.” Those were indeed gorgeous days.

The next citation is from the story of Konrad, son of the emperor (“Konráðssaga keisararsonar”), a tale of chivalry published in the well-known collection of romantic sagas, “Fornæsgr af skýrslunna,” edited by Gustaf Cederschiöld, formerly of the Swedish University of Lund, but now of Gothenburg. We translate it in full as follows (Lund 1884, p. 69):

“At this entertainment Konrad and Matilda were crowned and led to their bed. The wedding feast lasted for half a month; there were provided everywhere amusements; some played at chess or hnefaft or backgammon (kéttra); and arrangements were made in all directions for the joy and diversions of the guests. The thrones were as great as at the greatest assemblies (kigvölds); and every man could amuse himself as it seemed to him best.” Dr. Cederschiöld, in his introduction, states that the “Konráðs saga” was certainly written before the year 1300.

In regard to the Sturlunga, the greatest work relating to the history of Iceland, matters are not so satisfactory. The first passage cited by Olafur Davidsen is from the portion known as the “Guðmundar saga fyrir” (chap. 25), written in 1270-1280 and relating to an incident which took place in 1211. Two of the characters, Kolbein and Guðmundur are said to have quarrelled “about chess and backgammon” (laft ok kéttra), but the second (Oxford) edition of this work substitutes the older and probably more correct reading, laft ok konur (“chess and women”), although it must not be forgotten that laft ok kéttra (table-game) was either for chess, hnefaft or backgammon (tables). The other citation of kéttra (kotra) from the Sturlunga made by our author is a wrong reference, since no mention of the game is to be found in chapter 38. The third excerpt from the Sturlunga (chap. 31), relating to dice, is from the “Ifíndingssaga” (Oxford edition, I. p. 328). There is no allusion to a game proper, but only to the casting of dice, two characters agreeing to decide a question in that way—the text of which passage we have already reproduced. In an edition of the “Búlög,” of about 1500, it is said that the cost of learning backgammon was eight eils of cloth, which would be about five crowns of our (Danish) money. Bishop Jón Arason and the poet, Hallgrimur Pétursson, both men-
tion backgammon in their lyrics relating to games. Eggert Olafsson ("Reise
<Jogleen Island, p. 59) likewise speaks of kotra, and some foreign writers
who have traveled to Iceland have copied what he says, but have corrup-
ted the name of the game. Eggert Olafsson asserts that backgammon is often
played in the Kjósarsýsla. In a singular work called Gverndæg ("Witch's
ride"), preserved in manuscript among the archives of the Icelandic Literary
Society (now in the National Library at Reykjavik), the author, which is
Jón Ólafsson, rector at Arnarhóll, South-Iceland, (d. 1676), we are told
(chap. 47) that Attalus Antius (see V. d. Linde’s "Geschichte," I, pp. 10-12
— the name of this inventor comes from the "Roman de la Rose"), was the
first man "in Europe to play kotra and dice, and likewise, as some say
riddaradskók (’knight’s chess’),” soon after the battle of Troy. This is all
that the author of the "Skemlanica" has discovered in regard to the former
popularity of the amusement in his country; he thinks that at the present
time his countrymen hold backgammon in less esteem, and that it is played
in very few districts. We ought perhaps to remark, in reference to the
word mar or mar, cited in a preceding page as going to show that Icelandic
backgammon is a French game, that no such term is to be found in connection
with any variety of French backgammon.

There still exist in Icelandic old magical formulas to enable one to win
at backgammon, just as there are others applicable to chess. One of them
runs thus: "If thou wistest to win at backgammon, take a raven’s heart,
dry it in a spot on which the sun does not shine, crush it, then rub it
on the dice." A similar fantastic counsel is that reported by Jón Árnason,
the folk-tivist: "In order to win at kotra, take a tongue of a waggall (the
bird, moskarál tóttum) and dry it in the sun; crush and mix it afterwards
with communion-wise, and apply it to the points of the dice, then you are sure
of the game." The first of these formulas is found in a manuscript preserved
in the archives of the Icelandic Literary Society. Another method of coming
off conqueror at backgammon is mentioned by Jón Árnason, as follows:

"The backgammon players (kotrmanum) should cry ‘Olave, Olave, Harold,
Harold, Erik, Erik.’ The one wishing to win must write this formula with
Runic letters and either bear it somewhere about him, or let it lie under
the backgammon board, on his knees, while he is playing; besides that he
must say the Lord’s prayer in honor of St. Olave, the king." In his "Inter-
pretations of ancient terms in the code of law called Jónsbók" ("Skýr-
ingar yfir fornryði logbókar," Reykjavik 1854, pp. 179-80) Páll Vididó's
speaks of magical backgammon verses (kotrvers); and these must have been
not uncommon at certain periods, for Árnir Pétursson, who was burned in the
presence of the Althing 1681 for witchcraft, confessed, before his death, among
other things, that he had made use of kotrvers in his magic tricks. Many
similar things are related in connection with dice, but they hardly be-
considered as standing in any special relation with backgammon. But there
are some proverbs which have their origin in the game. Of these may be
cited: Hann er kongur í kotru og kortspilum (an alliterative adage signifying:
"He is king at backgammon and cards");

Kotra og kanna
Gjóna mærgan skjalæg manna,
(a couplet which may be rendered "A triomac-board and a can make
many a poor man"); Lóng er von í kotru ("hope is long at backgammon"); Nú

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will ei upp nema dauaðinn (an exclamation of despair, "nothing will
turn up but the dice"), but this may also be used of simple dice-play;
Ymsir raga í kërri kotru, "different people, different luck at backgammon."
These proverb are seldom made use of in these days, but there is no doubt
that they were once in everybody’s mouth. The last-mentioned, for
instance, in a letter written by the famous Árni Magnússon about 1720.
Árni Magnússon in this letter writes thus: "og hugga mig við, að ymsir
raga í kotru."

Our author states that in the XVIIIth century kotra was played for stakes,
as may be noted in the poems of Stefán Olafsson (Copenhagen 1888, II, p. 112),
in which the poet’s friend is obliged to pay a wager lost at backgammon.
The little poem runs as follows:

Nú má Kynge klá sér klán,
I kotro mótik hún hvalþúmn sinn,
Áf þú hún er smæginn.
Ekkir þar fyrst Námi mín.

Maðurinn taka velu varð,
Von er sigr guða;
Ekkir er gaman, sannar hans,
Við ðegum að tókurr.

Olafur Davíðsson has discovered, in his researchs, a drawing of a back-
gammon board such as was used in Iceland a century and a half ago. It
is like those now seen. He then gives a representation of a modern Ice-
landic board, stating that he intends to describe the present method of play
(fig. 25). He states that folding-boards, with a chess-board on the out-
side of one cover and a morris-board on the outside of the other, and back-
gammon on the inside of both, are of frequent occurrence. He then mentions
the number of men and dice employed, and remarks that he has never heard

Fig. 25.

that kotra is sometimes played with twelve men, as is stated by the director
of the Icelandic Archological Museum. Boards are occasionally found, in
which the points are not colored, but are formed of wooden strips tacked to
the bottom of the board; on these the men are placed as it becomes ne-
necessary; while within the folded and closed board, the dice and men are placed when the game is over.

In beginning the game, the players sit each on his side of the board. They may be called A and B. Each of them has 15 pieces or men, each 15 having its own color. A places all his men on that point which is the farthest to his right in that side of his table which is remote from him, and which is called sometimes the “home table” (ætinsby). He is supposed to sit on the lower side of the table, and sets his men on a, B does the same. He sets his pieces on 1. Then each casts one of the dice, each in his own board (the division at his right). The one making the smallest cast plays first. A second cast, with both the dice, indicates what is the play, or how to move the pieces. The points on the dice are called ds, danus or ðir, tefja, harta, femm or svi according to whether 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6 turn up.

Björn Hallardósson, in his dictionary, gives setr or ælt as the name of the highest number on the dice, but the ordinary numeral, sæx, is, to say the least, much more common. When the two lowest dice-points are thrown they are usually spoken of as dag og danus (ace and deuce, or deuce-ace) but sometimes the thrower calls out: “Here comes danus” (Áðstir being also a female proper name). If the same number turns up on both dice at one throw, the double numbers are called sennan (“doublets”), and they are spoken of as ðótr altir, tefjúr altar (“aces all,” “twos all”) and so on, according to the number. This corresponds, as will be remembered, to the Swedish homenomenclature. “Sixes all” are likewise called tóflin (“twelve”).

Björn Hallardósson has this word, but in the “Flateyjarbók” (1380) the term sæx réð (“six two” that is to say, “two sixes”) is used. This passage in the poem describes the casting of lots by the kings, St. Olaf of Norway and Olaf of Sweden, to decide who shall possess the little Swedish Isle of Hising (at the mouth of the Gaultseif, near Gothenburg). Tóflin is also used in some proverbs, as in ná xarar tóflaum, “this exceeds everything.” He who has doublets has to play the turned-up number four times, if he can. Jón Olafsson says that some call it ælcfein, when one die shows six and the other five. He is so carried on that one or two men are moved as many points as are indicated by the points of the dice which turn up at each throw, and the count is made from the point on which the man stands. If, for example, A has four-deuce at the first throw, then he moves two men, one to c and the other to e. He may also naturally move one only to g, but the usual custom is to move at the beginning two pieces at the first throw, if this can be done, except when double sixes turn up. Then it is not possible to move more than one piece. Some say, however, that when this cast is thrown four men may be moved out, and all up to the sixth point, from which the men are originally placed. Some also say that the adversary is allowed to capture them or break them up (sva upp), as it is called, if he can do so before the other has himself spread them or broken them up. This however is also said not to be an Icelandic rule.

When A has thrown and moved, then B plays. Nothing prevents the player from placing men on a point already containing a man, one or more of his own pieces, but he may not allow two or more pieces to stand on the same point. For example, if on the chess board, until he has reached the uttermost point in that side of the table which is opposite him, but that is only allowable when he has moved five men from the point originally containing his men. Then A can place men on the point c again. It is permitted to him to make points wherever he will on the other side of the table, with the same conditions as have been stated. The men go from A’s side over into B’s side, from 1 to 2, and so on to 12. Their whole course is therefore from a to 12, and that of B’s men from 1 to 10. Neither may play to a square on which his opponent has a man except it should be impossible to get past his line of squares; then he may take up or capture pieces on points wherever he can. If, for example, B has men on 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and A then A cannot pass, not even if he should throw a six, but he may “take up” in accordance with the throw of his dice. Therefore one ought to beware of placing men on six squares, each beside the other. This custom is the most common rule in regard to the occupation of six squares in a row, but there is another rule which is very ancient in Iceland. According to that it is not permitted to “take up” men on any one of six successive points which are occupied, but the opponent is not permitted to move until some of the points are vacated, unless he has men beyond these six points, for over them it is impossible to get. This is called for fariaka. Mr. Sigurður L. Jónsson, who communicated this rule to the writer, says that the Rev. Árni Helgason (of Garðar), who was titular bishop of Iceland (d. 1650), always played in this way, and he was a proficient at backgammon. When the opponent again has only one piece on a point, then A may move his piece to that point, and take up the other, if the dice thrown will permit. Then B must afterwards re-enter it (or them) in his home-board, but in that case the entering point is included in the game, he may throw, for instance, four and six, after two two men have been captured, then he must enter them on four and six, otherwise he cannot play, until they have been entered. But often he must wait a long while for this, for it is not allowed to place captured pieces on those squares, on which he already has men, or on the squares which his opponent holds, except when he has more captured men than there are points vacant. In that case he may “break up” the points of his adversary in accordance with the casts of his dice. If it happen that the position of the men elsewhere is such that he cannot play the points he has thrown, then he must refrain from moving.

Thus the game goes on—with captures and hindrances to play. It is of great importance that each player place obstacles in the way of the other, and it is a good plan for this purpose, to hold many points in the board of the opponent, so that it will be more difficult for him to re-enter his captured men. Frequently, though, the desire to capture must be restrained, so that the adversary cannot break up one’s points. It is regarded as desirable at backgammon to attain the kearkatak (literally, “throat-hold”), that is, to reach the extreme point in the home-board of the opponent and the point which is next to it. If A holds the points at 6 and 7, then he has the kearkatak.

Finally it is wise and proper to build up a row of points at the farthest end of that side of the table which faces the player, or in other words the "throwing-off" table, for it is regarded as unlikely that the opponent should get a turned up (retur) is a square which is excepted occasionally, but the points in the row should not be six, for it is in case impossible for the opposite player to get his men over, and he is then permitted to "break-up," or capture the obstructing points.
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It is in this manner that there is the most likelihood of being able to make the opponent jan, or to jan him, and that counts for the most at backgammon, the other so-called jan is when he has more captured pieces than he can enter. The game ends with a jan, as is natural, and also with the throwing-off ("bearing") of all the pieces, which is the most common method of winning. The word jan, the author tells us, he first met in the poems of Eggert Olafsson ("Kvæði," Copenhagen 1820, p. 120):

Skromarar mændi verka jan
Og hagðbæsl við hinnaðri
дрéddir halla í stað.

Jón Olafsson says about jan: "neutrum, indeclin, vocula peregrina"; he likewise says that the word occurs in some card-games, for example one called marísk (a corruption of the French "marriage"). Jón Olafsson talks about janstórk (stórk="definition") in forkøring- and koira, but that is doubtless the same as jan, though he does not explain how the word occurs, whether one can say "to be or become janstórk," or what? He states that, in other respects, he does not understand Jón Olafsson on this point, nor do those to whom he has submitted his remarks. He seems to wish to say that janstórk is when one of the players does not get into the corner of the board, but the other one gets out ("cum quis non tantum vincula tabularum in ludó forkøring vel koira anseque, collisores altero feliciter evadente").

When all the pieces of a player have reached the "throwing-off" ("bearing") table, for example, when A's men hold the points 7-12, then he may proceed to throw them out, that is, to throw them off, but he may also move them, if he wishes, while there is an opportunity. The throwing-off consists in removing his pieces from the table, or board, and those which are thus thrown out have no farther connection with the game. In this process of throwing-out it is advantageous to cast doublets, for then four men at once may be removed. In throwing-off, the points are reckoned as when the men are entered. If A holds the points 9, 10, 11, and 12, and throw five and trey, then he must take the five from 9, but it is voluntary with him whether he move the trey to 12, or whether he take it off from 10. To speak generally, he who throws higher numbers than he can play, while he is throwing off, is bound to take off from his rear points, and then it often happens that his opponent can capture one or more of his men. When such a thing happens, he to whom the men belong is obliged to re-enter them in his home-board, just like other captured pieces, and may not proceed with the throwing-off until they have again arrived at the throwing-off table.

Jan and throwing-off (útökla) are the most usual methods of winning at backgammon, but besides these there are "extra winnings" (aukávinnigar), and these are: meistari, ("master"), stutti mýkur ("little monk")—mýkur being a popular corruption of munukur), langi mýkur ("big monk") and langi hryggur ("big back"). Meistari consists in being able to place all the men on the most forward point. If all the men of A stand on 12, then he has gained the meistari. If he has five men on each of the points 10, 11, and 12, then he has gained the "little monk." If he has succeeded in placing three pieces on each of the points 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12, then he has made the "big monk." "Big back" is three men on each of the points 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11. This rarely occurs, except when the opponent holds the point 12; one must then exert all his force to wrest this point from him, and then rather play for a simple "monk."

Better than nothing is to make a "half monk," and that is if a man can get his men in a required position by means of one of the dice numbers which he throws. E.g. for example, is playing for a "little monk," and has five men on 12, five on 11, four on 10 and 10 on 7. Now he throws, and gets six and trey. He plays only the trey, and thus has a "half monk." Some players, however, permit only one die to be thrown under these circumstances. If the proper numbers turn up, then it is a regular "monk."

To all this the author, who, when he wrote, was a student at the University of Copenhagen, adds: "Backgammon is hardly played anywhere as frequently among Icelanders as among the Icelandic students at Copenhagen during the summer. But it is not a new and custom and perhaps may not grow to be one [since the writer was at the university it has been largely superseded by chess]. We have the rule that he who has arrived at the point of getting a 'monk' may throw only one of his dice and make his 'monk' complete, if his throw allow of it. But if he do not succeed, then we permit him to throw the other die, and make his 'monk' a 'half,' if the dice will admit of that. But this is too much of a favour to the man playing for a 'monk.' It would doubtless be the right thing to allow him to throw both dice, or else one die once, so that, if he have the proper luck, his 'monk' will be complete. Some reckon 'little meistari' among the 'monks.' It is "little meistari" when the eight men are on the uttermost point and the other on the next. But, on the other hand, players generally do not consider this "little meistari" authorized. In contradiction, however, meistari proper is sometimes styled "big meistari" (stórt meistari). It increases the value of each "winning," if the opponent has a captured man when the "winning" is gained; it is then said that the adversary is mar in ("throwing-off," "monks," etc. The author informs us that the word mar is sometimes pronounced mor, but he has never heard it in that form. Neither form is found in any Icelandic dictionary. When A has thrown off all his men before B has succeeded in doing so, then he is allowed five, seven or thirteen "after-throws," or extra throws (the number differing probably in different tracts of the land), according to whether he aims at making "big monks," "little monks," or meistari, and these are good and valid if he gets them with the throws permitted. There are individual players who do not permit any after-throw, and without them "monks" are very rare. It is regarded as a greater honour to obtain one of the additional winnings than to succeed merely in "throwing-off." Of these meistari is foremost; then stutti mýkur; then langi hryggur; but langi mýkur is the least of all. The author has heard the value of the different winnings given in numbers thus: "simple throwing-off," 2; langi hryggur, 3; langi mýkur, 5; stutti mýkur, 7; meistari, 13; jan, 15. For mar, 2 is added to each "winning." For mar, at stutti mýkur, for example, the count would be 9; for half a "monk" the count is half of that which is given to a "monk." It ought to be remarked that as "throwing-off" is a low "winning" in comparison with a "monk," the player seldom begins to throw off before he has regarded the position sufficiently to see the impossibility of making a "monk." When one player has thrown off all his men, and it is plain that the other cannot make a
"monk," the game is closed. Some permit the one who was second player at the beginning of the game to have one more throw after he has thrown off his men, and if then the position be an even one, it is regarded as a drawn game (junsta). This rule can only come under discussion at "throwing-off," for often one of the players has only two or four men when the other has completely thrown off. This rule is not in agreement with that which permits no "after-throw" proper. Finally if more than one game of backgammon is played at a sitting, he has the first throw in a following game who has had, in the preceding one, a "throw-off" or a "jam. The "monks" do not count in this regard.

Jón Óláfsson, the lexicographer (see p. 138, foot-note), mentions backgammon, but everything he says about it is confused and unintelligible, so that little credit is to be attached to it. He first talks about kotunastaft ("game of backgammon") and tells us that it is the same as kotra; and that its name comes from the fact that it is played with four knights (ipturum), or because it is founded (fyrstrend). In another place he remarks that in kotunastaft four knights are opposed to all the peyjumumum (a corrupt orthography of the dative plural of pey, the Icelandic word for "pawn"), nowhere else is there any account of knights orawns in connection with kotra, a fact which at once excites a grave suspicion of the dictionary-maker's intelligence. In another place the same writer speaks of koem-kotra ("female backgammon"), which he says some call kotra. But he does not explain the game. Besides these he mentions skokatra ("every body's backgammon.") Ólafr Davísson has found none of these names elsewhere, and therefore has nothing to report in regard to them. Finally Jón Ólafsson states that some call kotra "English tacra," and also "forkæring." Further on he remarks that the different games at backgammon are these: 1. Ást elta stelpur, 2. ofánfellingartafa, 3. forhaerings, 4. göstaft, 5. Ólafrs kongs tafa. This classification it is impossible to agree to, for kotra, as it is played now, and as it was in all probability played at that time, bears no resemblance, for example, to göstaft. These games the author proceeds to say, he considers separately, not regarding any of them as kotra proper. There is, though, one of the games which Jón Ólafsson alludes to under kotra, which rightly belongs there, and that is piprjátt, for it is nothing but a modified kotra. The difference consists in the treatment of the doublets. When double sixes (tjófn) occur at kotra the six is played four times, but in piprjátt the sixes are played first, then fives, then fours, then threes, then deuces and last of all aces. On the other hand when aces are thrown they are played first, then deuces, then threes, then fours, then fives, then sixes. When fours, threes, or deuces are thrown they are played successively downwards, that is, aces last, but when fives are thrown they are played upwards, that is, only fives and sixes. This is all the difference. Piprjátt was also called köpkrjátt (both terms being, so far as we can learn, unintelligible nonsense), and we can thus understand how the expression "Kopar i alin" gets into the "tafvisa" of Hallgrímur Pétursson. Another Icelandic writer thinks that pipela (whether it be the name of a game or a dance) is the same as piprjátt, and should be related to pipryjál. It is proper to state, before this subject is ended, that Jón Ólafsson, under kotra tala of anfellingartafa simply ofánfelling. Under kotra also he likewise treats pipryjál, færingartafa, døddismannatafa, etc. as games at kotra, but under taf he regards them as special table-games. In general he seems inclined to consider as varieties of kotra everything played on tables and with dice (compare the travels of Eggert Ólafsson, p. 50); but according to this definition Ólafrs kongs tafa cannot be a kotra game, for that is played without dice, as has before been stated.

Oáfanfelling or ofánfellingartafa. This game is played on a backgammon board, the players being two. Each one sets two men on every point in that division of the board which faces him at his right hand. One has the black men, and the other the white. First of all the dice are thrown to decide who shall play first. He who has the greatest number of points, at one throw, casts the dice again and moves the uppermost lying men on the points down beside the lower man, nearer the small end of the point, in accordance with the dice-points thrown. If he throw, for example, six and deuce, then he moves down the uppermost man on the six and deuce points. If he throw doublets, then he can only move down one man, but he has the right to another throw, even if he cast several doublets one after the other. The other player now throws, and proceeds in the same way, after which they take turns. If a dice-point turn up corresponding to a point on the board on which the upper man has already been moved down, then the throw does not count. When either or both players have brought down all their men, then they move them up again, that is place each again on the lower, or underlying man, that is to say where they were originally placed, moving, of course, in accordance with the throws of the dice. When all the men have been again doubled up, then they are thrown off, an operation which takes place exactly as at backgammon. The player who has first throws off all of his pieces. Jón Ólafsson mentions this ofánfellingartafa, but does not explain it. Sigurður Guðmundsson also touches upon it. Hallgrímur Pétursson names it. The word ofánfelling signifies "falling down," or "lowering down." It will be evident to those who have read the preceding pages that the simple game here described is identical with the one still known in France under the name of "les dames rebattues," and which, as Iyde tells us, used to be played in England, where it was called "doublet" or the "queens" game. The surmise that it is one of the most ancient forms of backgammon, to which one of the writers we have cited has given utterance, may, therefore, be correct, if we may judge by its long existence and practice in Iceland.

Ást elta stelpur. This game (its name is a rather vulgar one, signifying "pursuing wench") is also played on the backgammon board. The players are two. One of them has at his disposal six white men and the other six black men; they are arranged as in ofánfellingartafa except that only one man is placed on each point. The first player is decided by the throw of the dice; the winner then begins throwing again. If six turn up, he moves the two furthest men forward before the others to the left, and does the like if doublets turn up, except double sixes, for they give the right to move four men. Besides this, he may throw again after all doublets. If he throw an ace, then he moves one. No other throws count except six, ace and doublets. Then the second player casts the dice and proceeds in the same manner, and so on they turn. When the furthest piece of either player has arrived at the end of the half table, then he moves the aftermost piece or pieces over across the board to the nearest point in the other half of the table,
according to the throw of the dice. If the men of either player are standing, for example on the points g-i in the left backgammon table (see fig. 2b), and the throw is six-ace, then he moves the pieces on g, h, and i to 1, 2 and 3, etc. The other man then chooses the other. When pieces of his opponent are situated on those points to which the player must move his own, then he captures them. If the pieces of one are placed, for example, on 1-6, while the pieces of the adversary are on 7-12, and the former throw double sixes, then he moves his men from 1-4 to 7-10, removing from the board his opponent's men, which thereafter, being captured, have nothing more to do with the game. Whenever either player has only one man left its move undergoes a change. It can be played only into the corners, and it is called a hornaskella (horn=“corner,” skella=“rattle,” “rattler”). If hornaskella for instance, is on the point 4, and he to whom it belongs throw six-ace, then he plays it to 5, 7 and 12. As a matter of course the hornaskella captures only those men which stand in the corners—Moreover the piece itself cannot be taken when it stands between men of the adversary.

If one player have, for example, men on 5, 6 and 7, and the hornaskella of the other player is on 1, and the latter throw an ace, then he plays it to 6 and captures the man which previously stood there. If the other player now throw also an ace then he is obliged to play his man from 5 to 8, etc. Again the hornaskella is duly liable to capture when it stands in advance of the adversary’s men. Finally, it may happen that both the opponents have lost all their pieces except the two styled hornaskella, and then often succeeds a long, chasing game until the one can capture the other. With that the game ends. This includes all that the writer has been able to find in regard to this game except a casual mention of hornaskella in the journal “Norsk tider” (1745, XIII, p. 49), where a letter constantly carried about in the postman’s bag and not reaching its owner is compared to a hornaskella. It is stated in the “Annales for nordisk oldkyndighed” (1888-9, pp. 133-4) that a certain piece, in a certain Icelandic dice-game, is called hornaskokka. The author does not know this word, but thinks it likely that it is simply a case of confusion arising from its resemblance to hornaskella. Hallgrímur Pétursson has an allusion to this game in his frequently cited “Tadvisa.”

Dánumaður or dánumamann. — Jón Olafsson asserts that this variety of backgammon gets its name from the seriousness or earnest propriety with which it is played. The words dánumaður, dándimamaphur, or dánimamaphur (the Danish “dannemand”) signify “gentleman,” or literally “excellent man.” The game is played with three dice, and is more frequent than any treated of by the old lexicographer. We do not know the position of the men at the beginning, but very likely they are placed as in the more common sorts of backgammon. When double sixes turn up the men may be moved 15 points. When ace, deuce and trey are thrown, the position (or the cast) is styled háttungi (“all-in-a-row,” the noun literally meaning a “young bird following another”); when the dice yield deuce, trey and four the position is known as fjóðamaður (“cowhead”); when trey and four and five, the name is liti dánumaður; and when four, five and six, they form the stóri dánumaður (stóri=big). Jón Olafsson has something more to say under this head, but it is not of such a character as to give any idea of the mode of play, and is otherwise very obscure. The writer, therefore, refrains from the endeavor to report it. Bishop Finnur Jónsson

(1704-1789), in his fragmentary lexicon, alludes to dánimamannafst, but says nothing worthy of note. “Dánumaður” is cited in the textfætis of Hallgrímur Pétursson, and in these doubtless intended for dánimamannafst. Finally it may be stated that from this game is derived the phrase: Nú kastar dán in yfr (resembling a dice term already quoted)—áð jánn, “eighteen” referring to the three sixes thrown—which is found twice in the “Grýla-kvæst” of the poet Stefán Olafsson (edition of 1885, i, 230-231):

Péturmanns sokkrar tók korlæga króna.
Pa nótt takl áð át yfr
Usfétt listr hátt rík.
Pó út takl áð át yfr,
Reið þar or mæl.
As þar sé komin Grýla,
Sinn geta þegir vir.

The two concluding lines of the first stanza may be rendered: “Though now the vagrant-round goes beyond everything.”

Forkæringur is included in Jón Olafsson’s vocabulary of games, but his explanations throw little light upon its character. He tells us that it is a very difficult diversion, but one frequently indulged in. The name, as Olafur Davíðsson thinks, comes from the Danish word “forkæring” (“verkehern”), as it is written in the latest Danish orthography, forkæring (compare the Danish “forkert,” meaning “perverted,” “up-side-down,” “aspy turvy”), because the pieces are played, as it were, in the wrong direction. The game is said to be Icelandic, although the name is a Danish; and Eggert Olafsson declares out and out that forkæringur is not known in foreign countries (“Reise i genuen Island” i, p. 50). Of jæstork, in this game, we have already treated. In the “Sigrurðalshégvegur” (“Religious meditations”) of the Reverend Jón Jónsson (Hólar 1797, p. 38) we find the phrase: “Guð tebler líkja sem Forkæring vil Mælenn í þássum Heimn,” “God plays as at forfæring with man in this world.” Magnús Stephensen, in his “Minniserbæ” (1797, i, p. 335), scoffs at this phraseology and says that it is most likely that, when two such unequal persons play together, man suffers a “big monk” with man. According to this, if taken literally “forkæring must have had its “stóri mákar.” Finally, Björn Haldórsson asserts that the verb forlaka means “to move the men to the outermost line in the game of forkæring.” This, our author tells us, comprises all that he has discovered in regard to this game, which seems to him to have now disappeared from Iceland. Hallgrímur Pétursson names it, and so does the poet Hjarni Pétursson, in a lyric:

Myrkur eykur mála þing,
Menn þegar skrá þana,
Fjóðimann lýsir forkæring
Fyrir þa sem lyða.

This may be freely translated: “When people are playing falsely with their words, so that they make the ambiguity of their speeches increase, the devil is playing forkæring for the liars.” Of course the reader will notice that this game, so far from being Icelandic, is the French “reverdier,” the German “verkehren,” or “verkehrspiel,” which latter name is given to it in
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the three editions of the "Dansk spillog" from 1786 to 1822. The name used in Icelandic is therefore purely Danish, or a Danish rendering of the German.

Besides the games already described, Jón Olafsson briefly alludes to two foreign ones, taknak and trokodi. The writer we are summarizing says that both are probably no longer practiced in Iceland; the former is of course, trictrac, the other being toccatagli. These, likewise, are described with tolerable fullness in the Danish "Spillog", just cited, in all its editions. The two are treated as one game in the text, the differences being explained in the notes. The matter seems to be taken in a nearly or quite complete form from the "Neueste anleitung wie die trictrac- und toccatagli-spiele recht und wohl zu spielen" (Nürnberg 1773), in which the games are also treated together by comparison. The odd word trokodi is a humorous corruption of "toccatagli" or "takkadille" in imitation of the name of the animal, which is in Icelandic brokodil; the Icelanders are fond of such verbal fantasticalities, as they may be called.

The Icelandic name of backgammon, kótra, is undoubtedly derived from the French quatre (or the Latin quattuor) and, with almost equal certainty, directly from that word in its use to represent one of the dice-numbers. It is possible that the Icelanders were struck by this name as being the first one having a very different form from their own. They had á ("ace"), das ("deux"), dans ("trois"), trois ("trei"), each one not unlike the foreign names, but quatre (also much used in English of old) was probably dissimilar to fórir; or the regularity of the four-side of the die, with the four points or dots symmetrically arranged in the four angles, may have struck the old Icelanders. It is not very improbable therefore that this term (so common, like all the dice-numbers, in backgammon, in announcing throws, both singles or doubles) may have been conferred on the game. But, on the other hand, it must not be forgotten that similarly derived names, "size-ace" in English, "Seis, dos o as" in Spanish, "Doubléa" in English and so on, have been elsewhere conferred on varieties of backgammon. Moreover, it is somewhere stated that there was in medieval Germany a game styled "quator," and another one, bearing precisely the same title and perhaps allied to it, in England, still played in the XVIIth century. But proper investigation might easily throw much light on this question of etymology.

What seems without doubt is that kótra (kótrar)—the name and the game—reached Iceland nearly contemporaneously with chess—or perhaps shortly after. An argument for the precedence of chess is that taf (that is "tables") came in time to be applied to chess and never to kótra. The latter represented the "tables" of medieval literature, and it would be natural that its title should be conferred on backgammon rather than on chess. It is noteworthy that we have seen, in these last pages, in a fairly early romantic saga, the names of taf (chess), hnefataf and kótra cited in juxtaposition, showing that the writer of the saga had no doubt of their distinct character. Nor does kótra, least of all of the games which have been suggested as the real hnefataf, bear any resemblance to the saga game, so far as it has been described to us. We may therefore almost take it for granted that we have not yet discovered the true hnefataf.

Having deviated from the original design of limiting the scope of the present work to the subject of chess in Iceland—its history in that country and its treatment in Icelandic literature—we take the opportunity, in closing the first volume, of giving very summarily the principal conclusions, which may be drawn from the notes we have gleaned in regard to different table-games, their supposed or probable origin, and the manner and date of their introduction into Iceland. It must again be repeated that what has been said in reference to the rise, early development and subsequent spread of these games (saving only chess) is wholly based upon investigations now in great part first made, and hence necessarily incomplete and unsatisfactory. An exception to this sweeping assertion of novelty must, however, be recorded in the case of the labours, admirable for their day, of the learned Thomas Hyde—the outcome of which may be studied in his "Historia meridiorum, hoc est dicece, truncularum; cum quibusdam aliorum Arabum, Persarum, Indorum, Chinensium, & aliarum gentium indita" (Oxoni 1694), being the second volume of his remarkable work, "De ludis orientalibus." A certain amount of merit is likewise to be assigned to some of the many slight treatises on Greek and Latin games, by archaeological students, usually written in Latin, from the times of the Scaligers down to the end of the XVIth century, (see p. 122, note), but the ignorance of their authors in regard both to the practical character of games in general and of the games of the Eastern world in particular greatly affects the value and utility of these episcopi. In many cases, too, their information would doubtless, if carefully estimated, be of only a negative weight at best, as the games in which we are interested are concerned. But in this entire field, belonging alike to the folklorist and the historian of civilization, and demanding the services of linguistic investigators possessing great accuracy, patience and shrewdness, there is still much to be done. We have, as stated, confined ourselves wholly to table-games, that is those which are played on a board or other surface, on which some peculiar design is drawn. But even this branch of the subject admits of many subdivisions, such as line-games, and games of squares or points, games practised with dice and without, and so on. Historically, the important questions to be decided, in the case of all these games, are the place and time of their origin; the method of their development; and the manner, date and direction of their extension into various parts of the world. This last involves, naturally, explanations of the relationship, if any, existing between games, more or less similar in character, practiced in regions remote from each other. But to all scholars devoting themselves to any of these subjects a thorough practical knowledge of the games they are examining, in all their modern history and present state, is absolutely essential. The following final notes are set down with diffidence, and the reader will easily enough see that much work is yet required to make the indefinite results attained definite, and that many of the conclusions drawn are quite likely, in the course of time and the progress of research, to be greatly modified.
Indian frontier. Beyond that time all statements in regard to its chronology, in that portion of the world at least, are at present the merest surmises. It would seem that it spread at an early day to China and Japan, although there are not lacking writers who contend that the reverse was the case, and that the game really owes its origin to the former of these empires, whence it extended to India. But this is not the accepted theory, yet the records and authorities of the Farthest East still await a thorough and intelligent examination. Chess made its entry into Europe at widely distant points and (if we are to judge only by contemporary evidence) nearly simultaneously. These points are in particular Spain and the Byzantine empire, lying at the two extremities of the Mediterranean. The two earliest mentions of it in both regions occur in the eleventh century—in the case of Spain, in wills bequeathing costly chessmen and chessboards, and in the case of the Eastern empire, in the Greek “Alexias,” a life of her father, the emperor Alexius Komnenus (1081-1143), by the princess Anna Komnena; but equally early is the first recorded date in Italy, namely, in a letter of Cardinal Damiano, written as it would appear, in the year 1061. Historians of chess, in spite of the occurrence of these earliest allusions to chess at nearly the same epoch in three different lands, usually regard Spain as the chief gate, through which the game made its entry into the European world; this is partly, perhaps, by reason of its early invasion and long occupation by a people of Arabic race and speech, and the subsequent intimate intercourse of these foreign conquerors with their Christian neighbours; yet it should not be forgotten, in this connection, that a portion of Italy, that is to say the island of Sicily, was also held by Arabic (commonly styled Saracenic) invaders, and obtained by Arabic princes, from the middle of the IXth to the middle of the XIth century. Yet in the case of Spain and Byzantium we know, by abundant philological and other evidence, that chess reached them directly and immediately from the Arabs; as to Italy this is not clear. At any rate it was from Spain and Italy that the game passed to the central and western regions of Europe. On its march westward from its early Indo-Perso-Arabic home it underwent various modifications, just as it did on its march eastward from India to the shores of the Pacific ocean. Chess reached Iceland not later than the latter half of the XIIth century, certainly by the way of England, and probably from the English cathedral or conventual schools (see pp. 7-9).

2. Draughts is a greatly simplified chess, and is hence to be considered as having its direct and sole origin in that game. It was apparently devised in Spain (see pp. 92-97) during or before the XIIIth century. It had already reached England in the XIVth century and could not well have been known in Iceland much before the XVth, probably somewhat later. It came to the island—to judge by the name given it—possibly from Scotland, but more likely from Norway or Denmark, although it might likewise have made its way thither from Germany during the time of the trade carried on, especially after the beginning of the XVth century, between Iceland and the Hanseatic cities. Icelandic writers have, as yet, given very little attention to the story of draughts.

3. Morris. This game, as now ascertained (see p. 255, note), followed the track of chess, coming, so far as Europe is concerned, from the Arabic world. It, too, seems to have existed, at least in its simplest form, among the remote populations of easternmost Asia (see Hyde, ii, p. 311), but at how early a time cannot at present be surmised. The earliest positive date in its history belongs to the tenth century of our era, at which time it was practiced, with chess and backgammon, in the cities of Arabia (see p. 255, note). It was, demonstrably, a familiar sport in Spain before the XIIIth century, in France in the earliest years of the XIVth, and in England before the middle English period (1200-1300) had completed half its course. Still earlier dates in all these lands are not unlikely to turn up as the result of further research. As its Icelandic name (mylna) proves, it must have been carried to the northern island, not by way of France and England, as was the case with chess, but originally from Italy by the way of Germany, or of Germany and continental Scandinavia. This occurred doubtless several generations after the arrival of chess.

4. Fox-and-goose. Our investigations lead us to suggest that this certainly very ancient diversion may possibly be a survival of one of the several line-games of the Romans (see p. 148). There is no mention of it either in the codex of King Alfonso or in the treatise on Oriental games of Hyde; and we have found no trace of it outside of Europe and its colonies. That it bore the name of suipers in the works of Latin writers in a very early period of the Middle Ages, and possibly in a very late period of the Low Latin age, is a supposition largely founded on the mention of that word, as the appellation of a game, by John of Sallabury (1110-1182). Within the last two or three generations efforts have been made to transform into a fortress the upper arm of its cross, and to confer on it a new nomenclature. These attempts may have originated in a Catholic church which the cruciform figure was thought to be improperly employed for a mere sport. The Icelandic title (“fox-chess”) does not throw much light on the question of its age in that country, except as an indication that its introduction was posterior to that of chess. It suggests, too, that its source may have been England; geese are and have been so rare in Iceland, although foxes are common enough, that the English name could hardly have been rendered in its fullness; but a similar statement may be made in regard to the titles given it in other lands. In considering the provenance of the Icelandic game, we find certain notable coincidences between it and the Swedish form of the game, reminding us of the peculiarities characterizing the most common Icelandic and the most common Swedish varieties of backgammon (see p. 316). The Swedish game is styled räfspi (“fox-game”) virtually equivalent to réfrskád; while the minor pieces are called in Sweden fär (“sheep”) and in Icelandic íbóm (“lamb”)—quite unlike the nomenclature of the same game in other parts of Scandinavia. Both in the XVIIIth and XIXth centuries Icelandic writers spoke of réfrskád as the most familiar of all Icelandic table-games; the same remark would have been true also in nearly the whole of that period, if used of fox-and-goose in any English-speaking land. Outside of the cities, at any rate, it would not have been easy to find many youths unacquainted with it, either in Great Britain or the United States.

Backgammon. Many doubts, probabilities and possibilities obscure the story of the genesis and early period of this game. These may perhaps be partly solved or settled by means of events not unlikely to occur within a reasonable period. One such event would be the publication of the nume-
uous diagrams of popular table-games found within the last few years, more or less rudely incised or scratched on the pavements of porticos, the steps of public edifices, pedestals of monuments, in excavations made in the Roman forum and elsewhere. Another important source of information would be opened by the discovery and publication of special Arabic treatises on the game, such as that ascribed to el-Adlis ("Ritab el nard"), living in the IXth century, alleged author likewise of the first Arabic book on chess. His book should have had its successors in the following centuries; for as late as the XVth, a functionary of the chief mosque at Aleppo, who is called by Hyde Muhammad Sokeiker, a native of Damascus, composed a monograph on the superiority of chess when compared with nard. It must be borne in mind that there have been literally no studies in Arabic literature, prosecuted with special reference to nard, except those of Hyde, whose facilities were few and limited in comparison with those afforded to the student of the present day.

Let us style the first period in the history of this game the Asiatic (or pre-Asiatic), of which we can present the following rough data.

1. Many Latin writers, some of them as early as the first and second centuries of our era, allude to a game, frequently practised in their day, the most usual name of which was tabulet scrib matrimon (ludus), or the game of "twelve lines." The board (see p. 174) represented twelve lines (or points) on the side of the board next to each player, and the game was played with the aid of dice. These are the two certain features of this Roman diversion.

2. At the risk of some iteration we shall venture to point out here very briefly some of the essential lines of investigation in any endeavor to increase our knowledge of the present volume: a. A careful study of the treatises of ancient Greek and Latin authors on chess, of which we have given only a partial list (pp. 191-192); and a study of such diagrams of brlok and Latin boards (see p. 174) and of such specimens of men on places, as may exist in public and private archeological collections — the result of the extensive excavations and frequent "finds" of later times. b. A patient and comparative study of the so-called "trick" games (except the puzzles relating to chess), which are enumerated in the works of Ven Der Londe and Van der Linde (especially in the "Scur laeolechiae et Linearum" of the former and the "Descriptio" of the latter) and which are preserved in the public libraries of Rome, Florence, Paris, Montpellier, London and other cities, of these two no longer rest where they did when seen by the writers just mentioned — the Barberini and Uffizi libraries. c. A critical examination of the second volume of Thomas Hyde's "De ludis orientalibus" (1686), and of the authorities he there cites; of both volumes a new edition — with notes and other literary apparatus — is greatly needed, and it is hoped that, in the memory of one of Oxford's great scholars, the Oxford University press will some day give the world not only this reprint but a well-edited English translation as well. d. After Hyde, a search for Persian and Arabic MSS relating to nard in the great European and Asiatic collections; of course this will be a huge task, but it can be accomplished far more easily now than in Hyde's day, and he who sets about it is sure to receive the willing aid of many learned Orientalists in all countries; once a clearly expressed literary character or libra ris would be apt to lead to interesting results — so little has been done in this direction.

8. The purpose of the numerous essays of Karl Hamy, relating to the table-games of Eastern Asia, as he has written, and published, during the last few years, chiefly in the "Zeitschriften der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft," and the "Berichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie," the author spent several years as a member of the German consular service in the Far East, and made excellent use of the great opportunities he enjoyed in that position.

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which have come down to us. Some archaeologists assert that a game resembling it, or identical with it, existed in ancient Greece. Both the Greek and Roman games are mentioned under varying appellations, and the discussion of them and of other classic sports of the same character, gave rise to a considerable erudite literature (to which we have alluded) some two or three centuries ago. But there are as yet no noteworthy treatises, prepared in the light of modern exploration and research, which relate to this theme.

2. There exists a tract written in Persian (in the Pahlavi character), probably in the VIIth or early part of the VIIIth century, giving an account of the arrival of chess in Persia, to which it had been brought from India, and also of the transmission of a game styled arzadehkar from Persia to India (see p. 160). This latter game was played with fifteen white and fifteen black men, on a board or table, and with the help of dice. About the year 800 an Arabic writer attributes the invention of both this game and chess to India, and informs us additionally that the former was played on a board of twelve points, or houses. In 947 an authoritative Arabic historical cyclopedia corrects the statements of the preceding writer, and states that the game (properly called nard) was the invention of a Persian king. In the XIth-XIIth century the Persian poet, Firdusi, in his great epic, reproduces the original legend of the Pahlavi tract with some amplifications (see p. 170). Thus a game answering the description of our backgammon (played with the assistance of dice on a board having twelve points and demanding the use of fifteen men by each player) was known in Persia as early as the VIIth century, and less than two centuries later was mentioned by arabic historical writers.

3. But apparently the oldest known allusion to this Persian game yet discovered is that in the Hebrew "Talmud"—that monument of Jewish lore that goes back to the earliest times. In the "Megara," or later section of the "Talmud," we are told of a game bearing the name of nardal, and there seems to be little doubt that this is the equivalent of the Arabic nard (or nard). The date we thus obtain, would be one involving a notable period of time before the earliest literary reference to chess—nearly one century at least, and possibly more than two centuries, for the compilation of the "Megara" was carried on through portions of the IVth-Vth centuries. This fact does not, however, render it at all probable that nard is really older than chess; but it gives another and a more northwestern location to the Persian nard at a very early date—a locality, too, which is nearer the Mediterranean. The "Megara" was compiled, partly in Palestine and partly in Babylonia.

4. What, if any, were the relations between the old Roman or Greco-Roman backgammon-like games and the old Persian game of a similar character? In reference to this query it is wise to remember that an ancient legend attributes the invention of dice to the Lydians, which if it mean anything, signifies only that the most ancient peoples of the Mediterranean received these gaming implements from Asia Minor or the parts adjacent. They might also have received from that same region, or, in other words from that great tract of water which separates the Black Sea, including the valley of the Euphrates-Tigris, in which so many of the world's very oldest nations originated, and on which they camped their careers, any games with which dice were connected.

5. There is supposed to be a subtle signification to most ancient historical myths. It seems quite likely that the Pahlavi-Firdusi legend, relating
to the genesis of chess and nard, simply means that chess came to Persia from the south (India), and that nard went to India from the north (Persia or elsewhere). Even in days very far back a Greek game, or a game from the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, might have made its way to Persia by the travelled commercial paths, or by means of the great military expeditions like that of Alexander the Great in the IVth century before Christ; or it might have been brought back to Persia by the return of the Persian expeditions against Greece at a still earlier date. The conclusion, perhaps a fantastic one, to which all this leads, is that the true birth-place of the game which we know as backgammon, may have been the European or Asiatic lands bordering on the more easterly portion of the Mediterranean — the territory, in short, lying between the Tiber and the Tigris, which at earlier or later periods was overrun by the armies, dotted by the colonies and penetrated by the commerce of Greece and Rome. Its character might have been more or less changed when it had reached Persian or other distant regions, just as chess has undergone various modifications in its migrations from the east to the west.

The next period of backgammon may be styled the medieval European period, or that of the game of tables. In relation to this stage of its history, from which the modern era of the game is developed historically, we may add to our present notes the following ones:

6. The remaining notable question, not of easy solution, concerns the real relations between the nard of Perso-Arabia and the tabulae judaico-hellenicae of the European Middle Ages. It is true, as already stated, that, in the existing state of our knowledge, there is nothing of strict historical evidence, nothing in the names of the various games played in the Middle Ages, or in more recent times, on the backgammon board, nor in the technical terminology employed in these games, which indicates any connection with the Perso-Arabic game. We cannot, therefore, rely on philology to aid us here, as we can in the cases of chess and morris. Nevertheless the description, not very detailed, it is true, of the old Asiatic game, when compared with the description, still vaguer indeed, of the duodecim scripta, must lead to the opinion that the modern European backgammon far more nearly resembles the former than the latter. It is not improbable, as we have learned elsewhere, that when the Saracenic and Moorish conquerors brought nard, as they brought chess to the Mediterranean lands, new technical terms were borrowed from those already in use in a game, or in games of a similar character. This would be more likely, perhaps, were the game from the far-east first established or known in Italy. This is shown by the fact that morris retained its Arabic name in Spain, but on reaching Italy received a Low Latin name — that of a Latin counter, or coin, of the same form as the men or pieces with which it was played (see pp. 111 and 119). On the Latin duodecim scriptor board the lines or points were arranged in a different manner, so that it had the look of a single board (see p. 174), but on the nard they were so drawn as to give the appearance of a double board, or of two boards joined vis-a-vis together. This may account for the use of the plural of the Latin tabula ("table"), that is tabule, as the title of the newly introduced diversion. The employment of this word, in an age in which the Latin language was still in such general use in its original home, is a strong argument in favor of the belief that nard first naturalized itself, on crossing

the Mediterranean, on the soil of Italy. If that should ever prove to be the case it might affect the relations, so far as the game of tables is concerned, supposed to exist between the earliest Spanish and the earliest Italian documents treating of the game. We might then consider that the Alphonsine MS borrowed much of its information from the North Italian writers, or their predecessors. What might strengthen that opinion would be the peculiar character of many of the romance technical terms used in all those early writings. But many of these suggestions are merely surmises, which at best can only be regarded as possibilities; much further investigation is needed before any of them assume the character of probabilities.

7. Whether the Asiatic game, then, were first introduced by the Arabic invaders into Italy or into Spain, its name became table — a generic term including all the varieties played with the same implements (board, men and dice). Spain, Portugal, France and England adopted the original plural form, simply vulgarising it (tables, tabolas, tabloes); Italy and some other countries chose to give it in their vernaculars a singular form. Derivatives of table (in its sense as the title of the mediaval nard) are found in all the languages of Europe, evincing the wide extent of the domain in which the game was practiced. In many tongues these derivatives are still in use. It is an important fact that Greece, Turkey and the other nationalities (even those in which the Arabic tongue is the medium of intercourse), which lie along the shores of the eastern Mediterranean, adopted the Latin name for backgammon, whereas they all call chess by a more or less corrupted form of its Arabic appellation. In a later time, in some countries, fashion or other accidental cause, made one particular variety of tables so prominent that the old name as a general term, went out of vogue, and the name of the popular variety took its place. Thus the variety styled todas tablas in Spain in the XIIIth century, which involved the carrying of all the men around all the tables back to their original starting-point, became the principal and peculiar form of the game in England, and in that land, during the XVIth or XVIIth century, the appellation backgammon (that is, "back game") came into universal use, and tables was forgotten. In the German nationalities it can hardly be said that any general modern name for the game as yet exists, the two or three principal varieties each having its own special appellation. The same is true of the Scandinavian lands. They have lost the word tables, but have not supplied its place.
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The characters ā, ő, å, are to be found under a, ó under o, and ü under u.

The Icelandic letter þ is to be found at the end of the index.)

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CORRIGENDA

Pag. 9 line 1 For whith read with.
31 5 For of read af.
36 10 For Dansk read Nordisk.
73 32-33 Omit and in the earlier edition (ed. Guessard, Paris 1800), also p. 88. There is only one edition of 1860, that by Krogh and Serwitz, being Vol. IV. of "Les anciens poètes de la France" published under the direction of F. Guessard.

73 50 For Goría read Goría.
79 21 For Shakespeare's read Shakespeare's.
85 54 For Scherer read Scheler.
85 58 For Scherer read Scheler.
85 59 For Scherer read Scheler.
88 1 For todas, tablas read todas tablas.
88 1-2 For la bufa, cortesía read la bufa cortesía.
90 18-19 For Lacorda read Lacorda.
99 50 For Glannulo read Glannulo.
102 47 For Covarrubias read Covarrubias.
122 13 For Huabiblothek read Handbibliothek.
122 27 For B. Comparetti read D. Comparetti.
128 3 For Stieler read Stieler.
140 25 For tofl read tøfl.
141 3 For Drengernas read Drengones.
141 16 For Giai Konráðsson read Konráð Gislason.
141 52 For tre read tø.
147 3 For belejngespei read belejngesvil.
155 37 For töfl read tøfl.
155 50 For Pegar read Pegar.
156 50 For lómb read lömb.
156 17 For Reykjavik read Reykjavik.
156 29 For hnetta read hnetta.
157 28 For bondi read bondi.
157 32 For huni read húni.
157 41 For húni read húni.
173 2 For p. 157 read p. 155.
**CORRIGENDA**

Pag. 188 line 3-4 For Baron d'Albikir read Baron d'Alblkrac.

» 225 » 47 For 1890 read 1897.

» 243 » 15 For Reimar read Reinmar.

» 245 » 32 For Simplicius read Simplicissimus.

» 253 » 31 For las quinze Tables read las quinze Tablas.

» 254 » 45 For Libro de las tablas read Libro de las tablas.

» 267 » 25 For Buch der spiel read Buch der spiele.

» 288 » 42 For showing read showing.

» 290 » 3 For königliche read königliche.

» 290 » 27 For Harmon read Harman.

» 296 » 32 For Osway's read Otway's.

» 299 » 12 For flyers read flyers.

» 309 » 15 Omit as now.

» 311 » 10 For spill-bog read spille-bog.

» 317 » 43 For uppel read uppel.

» 321 » 22 For báða read báda.

» 331 » 14 For 1018 read 1118.

» 331 » 16 For 1201 read 1202.

» 333 » 47 For Hörgadal read Hörgárdal.

» 334 » 44 For teningakast read teningakast.

» 336 » 9 For tafl read tafl.

» 336 » 24-25 For Formannasögur read Formannasögur.

» 336 » 35 For Olaf read Ólafr.

» 342 » 38 For stelpu read stelpur.

» 355 » 35 For stóri mukur read langi mukur.