

*LOS LIBROS DE ACEDREX DADOS E TABLAS: HISTORICAL, ARTISTIC AND  
METAPHYSICAL DIMENSIONS OF ALFONSO X'S BOOK OF GAMES*

by

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As members of the Dissertation Committee, we certify that we have read the dissertation prepared by Sonja Musser entitled “*Los libros de acedrex dados e tablas: Historical, Artistic and Metaphysical Dimensions of Alfonso X’s Book of Games*” and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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DEDICATION

To my beloved Chase

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## ABSTRACT

Combining three major facets of Alfonso's final and most personal work, this holistic study utilizes a philological approach involving codicology, hermeneutics, history of art, iconology, paleography, and philosophy. Like his *Cantigas de Santa María*, with its vast musical, poetic and artistic dimensions, the *Book of Games* is a largely unexplored multi-media treasure trove of knowledge about thirteenth-century games, art and symbolism as well as personal information about the Wise King himself. Chapter I explains the historical chess, dice, backgammon and mill games and offers the first complete English translation of the *Book*. Descriptions and diagrams of all 144 games, including PowerPoint presentations of all 103 chess problems using a font specially designed to match the original manuscript exactly, are presented in an international format which brings these challenging and entertaining games to life. Chapter II surveys all 151 illuminations, exploring their cultural value and identifying portraits of Alfonso, his wife, his lover, his children, his friends and his sources. Alongside traditional medieval iconography, these may represent some of the earliest known likenesses in medieval portraiture and some of the first private, non-iconographic images of a Spanish king. Chapter III interprets the literal, allegorical, tropological and anagogical meanings of each game according to the Hermetic principle "As above, so below" as well as the numerological symbolism and didactic structure reflected in the book's Scholastic structure. Each game in the *Libro de los juegos* contains a clue "*pora los entendudos e mayormiente pora aquellos que saben la Arte de Astronomia*" (fol. 95r) for understanding the connection between astrology and human affairs. At the end of his

ill-starred life Alfonso saw reflected in the microcosm of these games, the determinism inherent in the workings of the universe. By studying the patterns in these games, Alfonso hoped to discover how best to play the game of life using both his “seso,” or skill, and his lucky number seven. The numerological and astrological significance of the numbers seven and twelve, present in the entire work’s structure and especially the concluding games, relate the *Book of Games* to the Alfonsine legal, scientific and religious corpus.

## INTRODUCTION

The *Libro de los juegos* or *Book of Games (LJ)* is a pioneering collection of thirteenth-century Spanish games whose contextual artwork and multiple layers of symbolism make it unique to this day. Compiled by Alfonso X (1221-1284), known as the Wise King, the *LJ* represents a highly successful integration of text and miniatures which at once explicate and illustrate 144 games in a functional structure based on the astrologically-significant numbers 7 and 12, mirroring Alfonso's understanding of St. John's *Apocalypse* and, its supposed model, the universe of seven planets and twelve zodiacal signs. The seven treatises under twelve headings contain symbolic numbers of illuminations of the games of chess, dice, tables and mill—most of which are still played today—in their standard formats and in symbolic variations which represent larger metaphors of time and space including the earth and mankind as well as the planets and the stars. At the same time., the *LJ*'s rich miniatures portray identifiable members of Alfonso's court, both iconographically and realistically, including some of the earliest evidence of physiognomic realism in medieval portraiture.

The nature of the chess problems and the geomantic and astrological divinatory aspects of the games encountered towards the end of the treatise offer personal insights into the Wise King's *Lebensphilosophie*. In much the same way as the *LJ* offers an invaluable snapshot of a particular moment in time in the evolution of the game of chess, triangulated with earlier thirteenth-century Iberian works on chess by Hebrew authors, it also provides an intimate glimpse into the psyche of this troubled monarch. The majority of the 103 checkmate or endgame problems in the first treatise, or “*Libro del acedrex*,”

are of a type known as king-hunt problems, i.e. those in which repeated attacks force a doomed monarch to march to his ultimate demise. At the end of his reign, Alfonso's son Sancho challenged his father for the throne, ultimately resulting in the Wise King's betrayal by the nobility and even his wife. Taking refuge of Seville, the last city to remain loyal to him, Alfonso identified personally and tragically with the chess piece emblematic of his rank. Ironically, this most noble of pieces—with its slowest step of all chessmen and a uniquely constrained choice of movement—seems to have been designed to embody precisely such an ironic lack of power. During these years, Alfonso finally abandoned hopes of becoming Holy Roman Emperor while at the same time courageously depicting himself in the miniatures as a much younger man who loses at games of chess. Thus, the *LJ* offers both a snapshot of a particular moment in political history and a portrayal of Alfonso's life.

Among Alfonso's encyclopedic literary production, the *LJ* has until now stood apart, misunderstood and unconnected from his better known historical, legal, scientific and didactic works. This dissertation's holistic study of the *LJ*'s many disparate media situates it firmly in its correct and proper context, not as a frivolous work, but rather as a serious study of games in order to better understand the larger game of life. Passages from the Wise King's monumental juridical works are utilized to elucidate the superstitious nature of Alfonso's cosmovision and the divinatory role of astrology within this particular world view. In this respect, the *LJ* is a practical guide to divination as well as a functional illustration of the esoteric concepts of Alfonso's many astrological works. Seen as a book of games which is at once a work of art and a philosophical treatise, the

*LJ* perfectly forms the nexus between the two main genres of Alfonso's writings: the legal and astronomical treatises.

*“Los libros de acedrex dados e tablas: Historical, Artistic and Metaphysical Dimensions of Alfonso X's Book of Games”* is the first study to integrate the three major elements of Alfonso's final and most personal work. Like his *Cantigas de Santa María (CSM)*, with its vast musical, poetic and artistic dimensions, the *Libro de los juegos (LJ)* is a heretofore largely unexplored treasure trove of knowledge about thirteenth-century game variants, art and metaphysical symbolism as well as the Wise King himself. Chapter I explains the historical chess, dice, backgammon, mill and astrological games in the context of their richly illustrated and significant miniatures. Complete and annotated solutions for all 103 chess problems are presented in an international format that both unites and, when necessary, amends previous scholarship. Chapter II gives an overview of all 151 illuminations while exploring their cultural value and identifying, in many cases for the first time, the portraits of Alfonso, his wife Violante, his lover Mayor Guillén de Guzmán, and some of his children and his friends. My research in this area leads me to believe that we may be dealing here with the earliest known likenesses in medieval Spanish portraiture and with some of the first private, non-iconographic images of a king. Chapter III explains the literal, allegorical, tropological and anagogical meanings of each game according to the Hermetic principle “As above, so below” as well as the numerological symbolism and didactic structure reflected in the book's Scholastic organization. At the end of his ill-starred life Alfonso saw reflected in the microcosm of these games, as in astrology, the determinism inherent in the workings of the universe.

Each game in the *LJ* contains a clue “*pora los entendudos e mayormientre pora aquellos que saben la Arte de Astronomia*” (fol. 95r) for understanding the connection between astrology and human affairs. Through a study of these games, Alfonso hoped to discover how best to play the game of life using both his “seso,” i.e. wits or skill, and his lucky number seven, present in every aspect of the book.

The *Book of Games* was completed in Seville in 1283 where it had been commissioned years earlier by King Alfonso X, el Sabio, ruler of Castille, León, Toledo, Galicia, Seville, Córdoba, Murcia, Jaén, Badajoz and the Algarve. A precise year when composition of the work began has not yet been ascertained though this study will attempt to establish an *a quo* date. Its codex consists of a single volume of 98 parchment fols.<sup>1</sup> measuring 15  $\frac{3}{4}$  x 11 inches (40 x 28 cm) and containing 151 illuminations executed in full color with gold leaf.<sup>2</sup> There is no record of and there does not appear to have been any restoration work to the images of this manuscript. However, some degree of restoration to the manuscript itself has been carried out, tears to the parchment pages have been sewn and it has been bound into its present leather binding with florentine end papers. Its stunning beauty and the fact that it is extant in a single copy strongly indicate that it was wrought for the king’s personal use and enjoyment. Numerous passages containing the royal “we” together with portraits of the king and his family along with

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<sup>1</sup> Eleven pages have only illumination with no textual passages, ten pages are blank, and 175 pages have only text.

<sup>2</sup> Fol. 77v contains the sole double illumination of the work. All other illuminations appear one per folio. I believe fol. 77v may have been given two distinct frames in order to achieve the number 151 (1+5+1=7), reflecting the 77 of the fol. number in keeping with the king’s evident numerological predilections. Alfonso did much the same thing by dedicating 64 folios to the first book on chess, reflecting the 64 squares of the chess board. We find this same numerological proclivity in Berceo whose 25 miracles of the Virgin represent the square or perfect state of the number 5, the cipher most often identified with the Virgin.

other symbolic details, such as the name *emperador* for two of the tables variants, provide evidence of Alfonso's personal touch and intervention in the book's creation.<sup>3</sup>

### **A Quo Data**

Gonzalo Menéndez Pidal includes the *LJ* in the second period of Alfonsine literary production, between 1269 and 1284 and following roughly the decade spent dealing with the "fecha del Imperio" and other numerous military matters. Also, "An Alphabetical Listing of the texts used in the second edition of the Tentative Dictionary of Medieval Spanish" (*TDMS*) gives the date of the "Aaj" or "*Libro de Ajedrez*" as 1270, probably an attempt to provide an *a quo* date. However, we know that work on the *LJ* continued during Alfonso's imperial pretensions due to his apparent reference to himself as emperor in the "Libro de las tablas."<sup>4</sup>

Several references are made to Alfonso as emperor in the *LJ*. These occur on fols. 75v and 76r with two versions of tables, designated *emperador* and *medio emperador* respectively, and on fol. 85r which states that the emperor himself is shown in the following illumination. Alfonso's aspirations to the title of Holy Roman Emperor began as early as 1254-55 and he never officially renounced his claim even though it was abundantly clear by 1275 that Pope Gregory X would never anoint him.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, we may assume that at least some work on the *LJ*, especially on the treatises on tables and

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<sup>3</sup> As does Alfonso's well-known explanation in the *General estoria* of a king's role in making a book, "así como diximos nos muchas vezes, el rey faze un libro, non por que'l él escriua con sus manos, mas porque compone las razones dél, e las enmienda e yegua e enderesça, e muestra la manera de cómo se deuen fazer, e de sí escriue las qui él manda; pero por esto dezimos por esta razón que él faze el libro."

<sup>4</sup> "**Este iuego llaman en Espanna emperador; por que el lo fizo. Otro iuego a y de tablas que llaman en Espanna ell emperador por que el lo fizo. & entablasse & iuegasse desta guisa**" (fol. 75v, boldface indicates rubric). This and all my *LJ* quotes taken from my own critical reading of the text found in Appendix A1.

<sup>5</sup> Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *The Learned King: The Reign of Alfonso X of Castile* (Philadelphia: U Pennsylvania P, 1993) 198-99 and 231-33.

larger game variants, was carried out during this twenty-year period between 1255 and 1275. We may also assume from this, that at the separate times in which the prologue and colophon were written, Alfonso was not pursuing this claim because he does not call himself emperor in those portions of the text.

An important clue may be the *LJ*'s colophon which specifies that the work was not only finished but begun in Seville. A document entitled the *Creación del estudio general en Sevilla* was signed by Alfonso 28 Dec. 1254. In R. C. Bell's discussion of the game "tabula," he offers without explanation a beginning date for the *LJ* of 1251 (36) which Botermans et al. echo.<sup>6</sup> However, since the *LJ* was begun in Seville I believe this date would mark one of the earliest possible moments at which it could have been undertaken since Seville was not conquered until 1248 and had been hardly settled two years later at the death of Fernando III. However, there are other factors to consider such as Alfonso's imperial pretensions and the names of territories listed with his name and title.

Meissenburg disagrees with van der Linde's assertion that work could have begun at the earliest sometime after 14 Oct. 1275 when he gave up his pursuit of the title of emperor because such a complex manuscript would likely require more than eight years to complete given Alfonso's preoccupations with family feuds, hereditary disputes and military conflicts.<sup>7</sup> I disagree with van der Linde due to the evidence which points to Alfonso's imperial hopes coinciding with work on the *LJ*. Referring to the phrase in the

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<sup>6</sup> Jack Botermans, Tony Burrett, Pieter van Delft and Carla van Splunteren, *The World of Games: Their Origins and History, How to Play them, and How to Make Them* (New York: Oxford, 1987) 9.

<sup>7</sup> Egbert Meissenburg, "Zum Schach- und Spielbuch Alfons des Wiesen vom Jahre 1283," *Aus dem Antiquariat* 29.12 (1973) A514. He refers to Antonius van der Linde, *Geschichte und Literatur des Schachspiels* (Leipzig, 1874).

justification for placing chess first in the *LJ*, in which Alfonso says that times of peace are for the showing off a king's treasures, his riches and the noble and strange things he has (fol. 2v), Calvo posits a rare peaceful interval during Alfonso's troubled reign as between the years 1262 and 1264 after putting down the Moorish insurrection at Niebla.<sup>8</sup> Calvo and Canettieri both suggest a starting date of between 1262 and 1264 for the *LJ*, based upon the twenty-year period required to produce such a richly illuminated and beautifully written manuscript, comparing the timeframes needed for the roughly similar *Lapidario* which was merely a translation rather than a compilation.<sup>9</sup> This suggestion falls believably between Alfonso's founding of Seville's *estudio general*, or university, and the abandonment of his imperial aspirations. Domínguez Rodríguez observes that the *LJ* does not, like some of Alfonso's books, list *Rey de Romanos* among his titles.<sup>10</sup> From this, it can be argued then that the text for the *LJ* was begun before this time.

In attempting to suggest an *a quo* date for the *LJ*, it is also important to compare the very beginning of the prologue with the colophon which states that the *LJ* was completed in Seville in 1283 and begun in that same city but without indicating a date for its inception. Both the prologue and the colophon name Alfonso and give his parentage along with a listing of his territories. However, their differences yield some clues.

First, the prologue calls Alfonso king by the grace of God whereas in the

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<sup>8</sup> Ricardo Calvo, "El Libro de los juegos de Alfonso X el Sabio," *Libros del ajedrez, dados y tablas de Alfonso X*. 2 vols. (Madrid: Poniente; Valencia: García, 1987) 2: 128.

<sup>9</sup> Paolo Canettieri, ed. and trans., *Il Libro dei Giochi: Il Libro dei Dadi, delle Tavole, del Grant Acedrex e del Gioco dei Scacchi con Dieci Caselle, degli Scacchi delle Quattro Stagioni, del Filetto, degli Scacchi e delle Tavole che Se Giocano con l'Astrologia* (Bologna: Cosmopoli, 1996) 8. His note 76 explains: "Il *Codex buranus* è generalmente datato intorno al 1230, mentre come si è visto il *Libro de los juegos* sarà stato iniziato più o meno negli anni '60."

<sup>10</sup> Ana Domínguez Rodríguez, "El Libro de los juegos y la miniatura alfonsí," *Libros del ajedrez, dados y tablas de Alfonso X*. 2 vols. (Madrid: Poniente; Valencia: García, 1987) 2: 45.

colophon he is described as the son of Fernando and Beatriz. The pessimistic nature of the past tense of the verb to reign (*regno*) used in the colophon has been well noted by Domínguez Rodríguez (“Libro de los juegos” 31), whose work will be discussed in Chapter II of this dissertation. It is also noteworthy that he does not even call himself king anymore in the face of Sancho’s uprising against him in 1282. Given that the verb is not only in the preterite but also in the third person, I suggest another possibility: that a scribe added this colophon after Alfonso’s death in 1284 but accurately indicating that work was completed on the *LJ* the previous year. Supporting this theory is the fact that the royal “we” does not appear with Alfonso’s name here as it does in the prologue and throughout the rest of the manuscript.

The second difference is the colophon’s inclusion of Badajoz in the list of Alfonso’s territories when it is absent from the listing in the prologue. All other regions named are the same, with Badajoz being inserted next to last between Jaén and the Algarve. Badajoz was reconquered in 1230 by Alfonso IX of León but rebellions continued there even into the reign of Sancho IV.<sup>11</sup> The only other Alfonsine work that I have found so far that also lists Badajoz is the *Libros de los juicios de las estrellas* (1254), which places Badajoz at the very end of the list of Alfonso’s kingdoms.<sup>12</sup> Badajoz does not appear among Alfonso’s kingdoms in the *Lapidario* (1250), *Fuero real* (1255),

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<sup>11</sup> Cf. O’Callaghan 156-62.

<sup>12</sup> The Latin text of the *Liber Razielis* attributed to Alfonso X as the one who commanded it to be translated into Castilian also lists Badajoz last among his territories: “Et ideo sit benedictum suum sanctum nomen et laudabile quia dignatus fuit dare nobis in terra in nostro tempore dominum iusticie, que est cognitor boni et sobrietatis et est pius et requisitor et amator philosophie et omnium aliarum scientiarum. Et iste est dominus Alfonsus, Dei gracia illustris rex Castelle, Legionis, Toleti, Gallecie, Sebellie, Cordube, Murcie, Jahen, Algarbe et Badaioz” (as quoted from Vat. Reg. lat 1300, fol. 1r, by Fernando Martínez de Carnero, “De Raziel a la teosofia. Magia y literatura en España” (*Artifara*, n. 1 (Jul.-Dec. 2002), Monographica. 2 Feb. 2006 <<http://www.artifara.com/rivista1/testi/Raziel.asp>>).

or the *Libros del saber de astronomía* (1256-1277, 1297/1259).

The third difference is the differing order of the kingdoms listed. The prologue lists the second and third kingdoms as Toledo and León while the colophon reverses their order. The majority of Alfonsine texts including the *Siete Partidas* and the *Lapidario* (ca. 1250s), the *Libros de los juizios de las estrellas* (1254), the *Fuero real* (ca. 1255), the *Libros del saber de astronomía* (late 1250s to 1270s) follow the same Toledo-León order as the *LJ*'s prologue while both Alfonso's wills, dated 8 Nov. 1282 and 10 Jan. 1284 and written by the scribe Johannes Andree, give those cities in the order of the *LJ*'s colophon but in Latin as *Legionis* and *Toleti*. Therefore it may be possible to associate this reversal of kingdoms either to this individual scribe or else a change in the conventional order between the earlier decades of Alfonso's reign and the 1280s.

In consideration of all the above information, I believe that the earliest possible time during which work could have begun would be December of 1254. Given the changes in both style and the way in which Alfonso refers to himself, I believe it quite likely that work on the *LJ* occurred in fits and starts with at least some of it, if not the majority, occurring between 1256 and 1275.

### **The *LJ*'s Titles**

The *Book of Games* is known by several names most of which center around the variant spellings of the Spanish word for chess found throughout the centuries together with the mutable meaning of the word *libro*. These several names are the *Libro de(l)*

*ajedrez* or *Libro de los juegos*, or the plural *Libros de acedrex*,<sup>13</sup> *dados e tablas*, the latter likely having been taken from Alfonso's own introduction by those who first catalogued the manuscript: "mandamos fazer este libro en que fablamos en la manera daquellos iuegos que se fazen mas apuestos. assi como acedrex & dados & tablas" (fol. 1v) by the cataloguer(s) discussed next. The work has often been catalogued according to this more modern spelling, *Libros de axedrez*<sup>14</sup> *dados e tablas*, found on the paper guard leaf which reads "Juegos diversos de Axedrez, dados, y tablas con sus explicaciones, ordenados por mandado del Rey don Alonso el sabio." This paper folio and the title of the work,

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<sup>13</sup> The word for chess is written both with and without a cedilla in the manuscript. However, the form *acedrex* without cedilla strongly predominates, especially in the "Libro de acedrex" and so I have chosen to use it here. The HSMS file "Alfaindx.ace" lists *acedrex* occurring 48 times, and *açedrex* 11 times. This count does not appear to include headings and contains a few errors. Including the headings, I count *acedrex* 113 times and *açedrex* 14 times. The heading "Libro de acedrex" probably also appeared on fols. 10r and 49r but was lost when the pages were trimmed for binding. *Acedrex* is the principal form used in the "Libro de acedrex," the "Libro de las tablas," the fourth treatise on larger game variants including *grant acedrex*, the "Libro del alquerque," and the description of the astrological games. *Açedrex* is used exclusively only in the fifth treatise on four-player games and once each in the "Libro de los dados," the rubric for "Grant Acedrex," and the "Libro del alquerque." It occurs in the treatise on chess only four times on fols. 1r, 4v and 5r. The *DPCRAX* lists the following variant forms under *ajedrez* (89) in *JUZ*, *YMG*, *ACE*, *EE2*: *acedrex*, *açedrex*, *acedrexes* and *acedreyxes*. The *TDMS* lists the variants *acedrex*, *açedrex*, *acedreys*, *axedres* and *xedrez* under *axedrez* and gives the following entry: [ár. as-sitrang] *m.* 1. el jeco (sic) de ajedrez, *Por* 42,16 (*acedrex*); *Teo* 509,15; *Apc* 431b23 (*acedrexes*); *Aaj* 1b8 (*acedrex*); 1c16 (*acedrex*); *Aju* 120b17 (*acedreyxes*); *Afo* 2r80 (*acedrex*); *Cas* 103, 11 (*var.* *xedrez*); *Cas C* 28c1 (*xedrez*); *CZi* 179,1 (*axedres*); *Pla* 153,20; *Lga* 35,36. 2. conjunto de piezas que sirven para el juego de ajedrez, *Apc* 628a23 (*açedrex*) (95). From [www.rae.es](http://www.rae.es): "(Del ár. hisp. *aššaṭranġ* o *aššiṭranġ*, este del ár. clás. *šīṭranġ*, este del pelvi *čatrang*, y este del sánscr. *čaturaṅga*, de cuatro miembros)."

<sup>14</sup> It is interesting to note the spelling of the word for chess in Spanish from the thirteenth to the present: *acedrex*, *axedrez*, *ajedrez*. All names of chess evolve from Persian word for king: *shah*, *shahmat*, *xadres*, etc. Certain forms of the name of the game evolve from Arabic perversion of the root word into *sheik*. Some modern variations maintain final *k* sound: French *échecs*, Italian *scacchi*, and the related game checkers. A key feature of all the name variants is the problem of transferring the palatal sibilant *sh* from Persian into Latin, Spanish and other languages that lack this phoneme or a clear, consistent symbol for it. In Alfonso's thirteenth-century written Spanish, it appears as both *acedrex* and *açedrex*, with and without the cedilla, indicating a certain confusion with regard to its pronunciation. By the sixteenth century, the spelling of the word in Spanish is *axedrez*, the *x* representing the phoneme /sh/ sound rather than the modern /h/ as in Tejas or Méjico. In other languages the phoneme /sh/ became the velar /k/ as in the French *échecs*, the Italian *scacchi*, and the English checkers. The full etymological evolution of the various words for chess will be addressed at their first occurrence in this chapter.

together with several previous catalog numbers, I.N.2., j.T.6., I.Ξ.7, I.e.4<sup>15</sup> assigned to the codex were probably inscribed in the manuscript at some time during the sixteenth century by either Benito Arias Montano (1527-1598) or José de Sigüenza (1544?-1606), the clerics charged with cataloging the Library of the Escorial.<sup>16</sup> The book is currently indexed in that same collection with the signature T.I.6, a standardization of the current shelfmark j.T.6. In this study, the work will be referred to either as the *Book of Games* or the *Libro*<sup>17</sup> *de los juegos (LJ)*, a title which best reflects all its contents, even though the work itself is divided into seven treatises, each of which Alfonso refers to as “libros.” Each of these books or treatises within the codex will subsequently be referred to by their respective titles or by the description of the games they present.

Each of the seven treatises of the *LJ* codex relates to a specific category of board games and together they represent a grand total of 144 games, variants and problems. The first treatise, entitled the “Libro del acedrez,” occupies fols. 1r-64r and contains the prologue to the manuscript together with the presentation of the game of chess, one variant with compulsory captures and 103 checkmate problems. Fol. 64v, separating the chess and dice treatises, is blank. The second treatise, the “Libro de los dados” (fols. 65r-

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<sup>15</sup> As cited May 2, 2005 in *PhiloBiblon* (<http://sunsite.Berkeley.EDU/PhiloBiblon/phhm.html>) BETA (Bibliografía Española de Textos Antiguos) manid 1090 (cnm0095 and textid 1024) with special thanks to Prof. Charles B. Faulhaber. Faulhaber in personal email 11/2/01 “Zarco Cuevas gives the shelf mark as T.I.6 and states ‘Sign. ant.: I. N. 2, I {XI} (i.e., capital Greek letter xi, and not the Roman numeral eleven) 7, y I. e. 4.’ T.I.6 is the standardized form of the current shelfmark, which is sometimes give as j.T.6, as in the title of the White ed.” P. Fr. Juan Zarco Cuevas, *Cátalogo [sic] de los manuscritos castellanos de la Real Biblioteca de el Escorial* (S. Lorenzo de el Escorial, 1924-29), III: 444-45.

<sup>16</sup> Meissenburg (1973) notes that Alfonso did not give the work a title and that the “Juegos diversos de axedrez, y tablas, etc.” is by a later hand. He also, erroneously I believe, feels that the chapter headings were added later. Since they are consistent in both blue and red colorations with the original *calderones* and with the same gothic hand as the rest of the text, I believe the headings to be original.

<sup>17</sup> *Libro* here is given in the singular, reflecting the modern sense of the work rather than the medieval usage of “chapter” as in the Bible.

71v), presents twelve dice games. The third treatise, the “Libro de las tablas” (fols. 72r-80r), contains fourteen versions of tables or backgammon. Fol. 80v is blank, separating the backgammon treatise from the next one which presents larger-sized variants of chess, dice and backgammon. The fourth treatise, (fols. 81r-85v), is set forth under three headings dealing with three separate yet related games: the first, like the first book or treatise, is titled “Libro de acedrex” (fols. 81r-82v) and describes a chess variant, *grant acedrex* or great chess, on a board with twelve squares per side, instead of the usual eight, for a total of 144 squares and is played with a king, a fabulous elephant-eating bird called an anka (*aanca*), two crocodiles, two giraffes, two rhinoceros (*unicornios*), two lions, two rooks and twelve pawns per side; the second section of the fourth treatise (fols. 83r-84v) titled, like the second book or treatise of the manuscript, “Libro de los dados,” explains the use of the eight- and seven-sided dice invented by Alfonso for the purpose of accelerating the play, respectively, of the *grant acedrex* of the first section of this treatise on larger games and a 10x10 square version not presented, as well as explaining that these same dice may also be used separately from the chess board to play games of pure chance; the third section of the fourth treatise, another “Libro de las tablas” (fols. 85r and 85v), presents a larger variant of tables that is also to be played with the seven-sided dice mentioned in the previous section of the fourth treatise. This particular tables version, rather than having the usual 6 spaces or points for each of four boards or tables, for a total of 24 points, instead has 7 points per table for a total of 28 points, reflecting Alfonso’s predilection for the number seven. Fols. 86r and 86v are blank, separating the treatise on larger game variants from the fifth treatise with four-player variants. The fifth treatise

again has multiple sections. Here the games are all related in that each is designed for four players. The first section is again titled “Libro del acedrex” (fols. 87r-88v) and gives a four-player variant of chess based on the four seasons of the year. The second section of the fifth treatise (fols. 89r and 89v) bears no heading. Its rubric describes the four-player tables game presented stating “*Este es el Tablero delas tablas delos quatro tiempos del anno; a que dizen; el mundo que comiença assi*” (fol. 89r). Fols. 90r and 90v are blank, separating the four-player game variant treatise from the sixth treatise called the “Libro del alquerque” (fols. 91r-93v). This penultimate book explains four variants of the family of games, called variously mill and morris in English, and describes the three different boards on which they were played. Fols. 94r and 94v are blank, separating the mill games from the seventh and final book on astrologically-based checkers and tables variants. It, like the fourth and fifth books, has multiple sections and titles. This final treatise contains the most elaborate and symbolic variants of checkers and tables, both played according to the rules of the Ptolemaic universe model. The first section of the seventh treatise presenting *escaques por astronomia* or astrological checkers repeats the title “Libro del acedrex” (fols. 95-96) while the second section on “tablas por astronomia” or astrological backgammon replicates the title “Libro de las tablas” (fol. 97). Fols. 98r and 98v, the final parchment page, are blank except for a small sketch in the lower left of fol. 98v that appears to have been added at a later time in imitation of the gaming scenes in the *LJ*'s miniatures.

### **Other Studies of the *LJ***

While much research has been done on other Alfonsine works, few scholars have undertaken an extensive, in-depth study of the *LJ* either for lack of interest in the games themselves or perhaps in the belief that as a book of pastimes it did not merit serious scholarly investigation. More recently, a handful of researchers have studied one or another aspect of the work, but as yet no single investigator has explored the work as a whole in the context of Alfonso's entire literary production for the purpose of ascertaining why the Wise King undertook this particular project completed a year before his death in 1284. The splendidly executed *LJ* possesses a wealth of elements to study and decipher and the quality and quantity of its artwork is second only to Alfonso's *Cantigas de Santa María (CSM)*. While the 151 illuminations of the *LJ* do not begin to approach the scope and depth of the portrayals of daily life found in the *Códice rico's* 1257 panels, its large and numerous miniatures offer a more private view of the Wise King's personal existence with portraits of Alfonso, his loved ones, friends and heroes. Certainly, the breadth and depth of its treatment of games may be said to be unique for its time as well as the work's philosophical treatment of the games themselves. Other later medieval discourses on tables and chess treat the games only as morality tales emphasizing the equality of all chessmen, no matter their station, once returned to the bag, an approach which Alfonso uses as stepping stone to grander, more universal interpretations.

The obvious symbolic nature of the games combined with the careful thematic and didactic organization of the volume itself reveal a complex underlying numerological

structure which has not yet been adequately analyzed in the context of Alfonso's entire legal, literary, historical and scientific production. This dissertation will relate the *LJ* to the complete Alfonsine corpus in two ways: first, with reference to his studies on law and, second, with regard to his astrological treatises. The Wise King's *Setenario* reveals and explains his predilection for numerology, in particular the number seven, and the principles underlying intellectual games. For example, he here explains the significance of his own 7-letter name which begins with A (alpha) and ends in O (omega). The *Siete Partidas* repeats this favorite number in the context of the rule of law while his translation of the *Escala de Mahoma* reveals the number seven to be a heavenly key, to wit, the number of steps to enlightenment. Alfonso's *Libro de las tahurerías* codifies the laws governing gambling houses and repeats much of the Wise King's disdain for gamblers or *tahures* as we find in the second treatise of the *LJ*, the "Libro de los dados," an attitude previously expressed throughout the *CSM*. Alfonso's *Lapidario* combines his interest in astrology with the supposed magical influence of the stars on stones and minerals. In this same way, this dissertation will illustrate that Alfonso's love of and belief in the efficacy of astronomy and astrology are combined with games in the *LJ* revealing his decidedly non-sectarian, universal views of the world and the forces that move it, such as we find in medieval treatises of Eastern philosophies, hermetism and religious works based on a quaternity as opposed to a trinity.

Previous scholarly investigations that specifically address Alfonso's *LJ* can be organized chronologically into the following four groups with some slight overlap: three manuscript reproductions; two full transcriptions and five incomplete translations; three

textual studies; six general and/or global studies; fifteen art studies; and thirty-seven games studies. Each is treated more fully in relevant chapters and sections below.

### **Manuscript Reproductions**

1. John Griswold White owned a handwritten transcription of the *LJ* which is now housed in the Special Chess Collection named for him at Cleveland Public Library, the largest collection of chess materials in the U.S.<sup>18</sup>
2. K. W. Hiersemann created a black-and-white photographic facsimile reproduction of fols. 1 through 97 of the *LJ*, omitting the final blank fol. 98, in the early twentieth century.<sup>19</sup>
3. Edilán's edition offers a color photographic full-size facsimile edition with gold leaf and is accompanied by a companion volume containing studies by Luis Vázquez de Parga, Ana Domínguez Rodríguez, Ricardo Calvo and Mechthild Crombach which are listed separately below.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Alfonso X, el Sabio. *Libro del acedrex*. 1875 long-hand copy by John G. White. The Cleveland Public Library's catalogue identifies this item (call no. Q789.092M AL28L.) as the John G. White copy because it belonged to the founder of this special collection. However, both the library's catalogue and an accompanying letter written by H. J. R. Murray to White indicate that the transcription is in George Fraser's handwriting.

<sup>19</sup> K. W. Hiersemann, ed. *The Spanish Treatise on Chess-Play Written by Order of King Alfonso the Sage in the Year 1283. Manuscripts in the Royal Library of the Escorial (J. T. 6 Fol.) Complete Reproduction in 194 Phototypic Plates* (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1913). There is also a Spanish/German edition edited by John Griswold White: *El Tratado de ajedrez ordenado por mandado del Rey D. Alonso El Sabio, en el año 1283 / Das Spanische Schachzabelbuch des Königs Alfons des Weisen vom Jahr 1283: Illustrierte Handschrift im Besitze der Königlicher Bibliothek des Eskorial (J.T.6 Fol.); Vollständige Nachbildung der Handschrift in 194 Lichtdrucktafeln* (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1913).

<sup>20</sup> *Libros del ajedrez, dados y tablas de Alfonso X*. 2 vols. Madrid: Poniente; Valencia: García., 1987). I worked with the College of William & Mary's #1411 of 2000 for my master's, the Escorial's #031 in June of 2001 as well as my own copy, #859.

## Transcriptions<sup>21</sup>

1. The Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies (HSMS) produced the following two identical transcriptions with few errors in different formats.<sup>22</sup> As a purely textual transcription with no mention of the game positions in the miniatures, the *LJ* may not be fully comprehended by such a work alone despite its quality.
2. Mechthild Crombach's modernized transcription also offers a glossary of both medieval and modern terms for the *Book of Games* but her transcription suffers from several lacunae as indicated in my critical text.<sup>23</sup>

## Translations

1. The English translation made by translator George Fraser and known by its owner's name, i.e. *the English translation of the Alphonsine Manuscript from J. G. White's Long Hand Copy*.<sup>24</sup> See Appendix B1 for further comments about the problems with this work.
2. Arnald Steiger offers a German translation of only the "Libro del acedrex," and not the remaining six treatises, in his book which is described more fully below under games studies.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Many studies of the *LJ* offer partial transcriptions of one passage or another. Since these tend to be very short, problematic or both, I footnote their variances in my critical text rather than list them here.

<sup>22</sup> These are the microfiche edition of *The Electronic Texts and Concordances of the Prose Works of Alfonso X, El Sabio* (Madison: HSMS, 1978) and the CD-ROM of the same title and imprint (1997).

<sup>23</sup> Mechthild Crombach, "Transcripción de los textos del manuscrito original," *Libros del ajedrez, dados y tablas de Alfonso X*. 2 vols. (Madrid: Poniente; Valencia: García, 1987) 2: 237-393.

<sup>24</sup> This item's sole copy is held in the Cleveland Public Library's John G. White Chess Collection (call # Q 789.092 AL28E). Cleveland's library catalogue indicates that it has 101 numbered leaves, but in my examination of it in 2004 I found only 94 and these not numbered sequentially but rather starting over with each new bout of work.

<sup>25</sup> Arnald Steiger, *Alfonso el Sabio: Libros de Acedrex, dados e tablas. Das Schachzabelbuch König Alfons des Weisen* (Geneva: Droz, 1941).

3. Paolo Canettieri offers an Italian translation of second through seventh treatises, i.e. all but the “Libro del acedrex,” in his book described more fully below under global and general studies.<sup>26</sup>
4. Sue Kronenfeld offers a problematic online English translation of the final *LJ* treatise on astrologically-based games. See the section 1.7.2 on astrological backgammon for further comments on her work.<sup>27</sup>
5. Luiz Jean Lauand offers a Portuguese translation of the *LJ*’s prologue.<sup>28</sup>

### Textual Studies

1. Hans Siegfried Scherer offers three related studies of the technical language of the *LJ*’s “Libro del acedrex.”<sup>29</sup> Scherer’s web article focuses on one small aspect of the work, the technical language employed to describe the construction and play of the games relating the evolution of chess problem notation from Alfonso’s wordy, descriptive system to modern algebraic notation.<sup>30</sup> Scherer’s work inspired my textual

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<sup>26</sup> Paolo Canettieri, ed. and trans., *Il libro dei giochi: il libro dei dadi, delle tavole, del grant acedrex e del gioco di scacchi con dieci caselle, degli scacchi delle quattro stagioni, del filetto, degli scacchi e delle tavole che si giocano con l’astrologia* (Bologna: Cosmopoli, 1996).

<sup>27</sup> “The Astronomical Games,” Sue Kronenfeld (pseud. Roselyne l’Estrangere) trans., *Medieval & Renaissance Games Home Page*. Ed. Mark Waks (pseud. Justin du Coeur) 2004. 24 Jan. 2006, <<http://jducoeur.org/game-hist/zodiac.html>>.

<sup>28</sup> Luiz Jean Lauand, ed. and trans., *O xadrez na idade média* (São Paulo: Perspectiva EDUSP., 1988), part of which is also available on his website at the URL <<http://www.hottopos.com.br/rih3/xadrez.htm>>.

<sup>29</sup> “Ansätze von Fachsprachlichkeit im *Libro del Acedrex* Alfons’ Des Weisen” (*Studien zu Romanischen Fachtexten aus Mittelalter und Fruher Neuzeit*. Ed. Guido Mensching and Karl-Heinz Rontgen. Olm: Hildesheim, 1995) 161-88; “Primeros pasos hacia un lenguaje técnico en el *Libro del açedrex* de Alfonso El Sabio”<sup>29</sup> (*Kunst und Kommunikation: Betrachtungen zum Medium Sprache in der Romania*. Ed. Maria Lieber and Willi Hirdt. Tübingen, Germany: Stauffenburg, 1997) 279-302, and the online article dated Jan. 1996 and accessed June 1998 but no longer accessible “Zwerge auf den Schultern von Riesen: Das Schachzabelbuch Alfons’ des Weisen: Beispiel früher Fachkommunikation.” Scherer (1997) uses the incorrect form of *açedrex* rather than *acedrex* throughout without explanation of his choice.

<sup>30</sup> According to Murray: “At the root of all advance in the science of chess-play lies the necessity of discovering an intelligible system of notation, by means of which the squares of the board may be easily defined and the moves of the pieces recorded” (1913: 469).

analysis of the chess problems, leading to important discoveries about the origins of the different problems as well as the way in which the problems were compiled.

2. The *Tentative Dictionary of Medieval Spanish (TDMS)* offers definitions of many of the *LJ*'s unique gaming terms, some more accurate than others.<sup>31</sup> These are discussed or footnoted at the first mention of each such term in the relevant section.
3. The *Diccionario de la prosa castellana del Rey Alfonso X (DPCRAX)* offers definitions and problems regarding *LJ* terms similar to those in the *TDMS*. The *DPCRAX* definitions are footnoted together with the references from the *TDMS*.<sup>32</sup>

### **Global and General Studies**

1. The value of Egbert Meissenburg's *LJ* study rests on his investigations into other possible copies of the manuscript, specifically an early copy cited by van der Linde and Murray,<sup>33</sup> supposedly dating from 1334 and held by Madrid's Biblioteca Nacional.<sup>34</sup> Meissenburg clearly states that the results of his investigations into this matter are that no such early copy of the *LJ* is to be found in either the Biblioteca Nacional or the Biblioteca de Palacio.<sup>35</sup> Finally, he gives a mostly accurate

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<sup>31</sup> Lloyd A. Kasten and Florian J. Cody, comps, *Tentative Dictionary of Medieval Spanish. (Second Edition, Greatly Expanded)*. (New York: HSMS, 2001).

<sup>32</sup> Lloyd A. Kasten and John J. Nitti, comps. *Diccionario de la prosa castellana del Rey Alfonso X*. 3 vols. (New York: HSMS, 2002).

<sup>33</sup> H. J. R. Murray, *A History of Chess* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913. Oxford: Oxbow-UP, n.d.) 569n11.

<sup>34</sup> Egbert Meissenburg, "Zum Schach- und Spielbuch Alfons des Wiesen vom Jahre 1283," *Aus dem Antiquariat* 29.12 (1973) A512-A518.

<sup>35</sup> Grandese believes the 1283 *LJ* to be the earliest and sole example of the work, explaining that while Murray's 1913 *A History of Chess* indicates that there was a copy made in 1334 and subsequently lodged in the library of the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid, this copy is not found there today. I think that this was probably a text-only copy, or we would have seen its images appear somewhere by now due to their beauty. Someone interested in the problems probably stole it or else it was found useless without the miniatures and being useless it was lost. Meissenburg then goes on to list the other, later copies and studies treating the *LJ* that he has found: 1) a 1798 copy in the Biblioteca de la Material, Academia de la Historia in Madrid (signature D 57) of the text with colored miniatures; 2) a copy possibly from 1872 by

description of the *LJ*'s organization, contents and miniatures.<sup>36</sup>

2. Piero Grandese's two works<sup>37</sup> trace the *LJ*'s provenance, from the Capilla real of Granada in 1591 to Felipe II's (r. 1556-1598) order<sup>38</sup> to move it along with the *CSM*

Florencio Janer in the Biblioteca Nacional (signature 8257); 3) an 1857 copy which don Pascual de Gayangos, a professor of Arabic in Madrid, made a copy for Frederic Madden, the head of the British Museum's manuscript department, which led to the production of *The Alfonsine Chess Manuscript in five or six copies: the 103 Chess Problems* (which sets forth the problems with all the solutions given at the end) and then passed to J.W. Rimington-Wilson (I suspect this may be the source for Charles A. Gilberg's handwritten copy of the chess problems for Miron J. Hazeltine, Esq. which is highly inaccurate and uses a form of British notation.); 4) in 1786 Joseph Rodríguez de Castro includes the prologue and excerpts of the *LJ* in the second set of the *Biblioteca Española*; 5) in 1788 Nicolás Antonio lists its contents in the *Bibliotheca Hispana Vetus*; 6) in 1847 the *LJ* is mentioned in the bibliography of Anton Schmid's *Literatur des Schachspiels*; 7) in 1853 Johann David Passavant mentions the work in passing; 8) in 1863 José Amador de los Ríos prints the *LJ*'s prologue and, following Rodríguez de Castro, gives its contents; 9) Florencio Janer; 10) José Brunet y Bellet; 11) J. B. Sánchez Pérez and 12) Arnald Steiger.

<sup>36</sup> Meissenburg divides the work into seven sections but only describes one game for each of the last four. He inaccurately states that the blank folios of the codex are fols. 86, 90, 84, 64r and 80r (his order), when in fact they are fols. 64r, 80v, 86r and 86v, 90r and 90v, 94r and 94v, 98r and 98v. However, he correctly counts twelve dice games and fifteen tables games.

<sup>37</sup> Grandese's typographed thesis "El Libro de los juegos de Alfonso X" (University Ca' Foscari, 1986-87) is a precursor to his article "Sulla composizione del libro dei giochi di Alfonso X el Sabio," *Annali di Ca' Foscari* 27 (1988) 171-81. Provenance is discussed on pp. 1-2 of the latter.

<sup>38</sup> "Se conserva [el *LJ*] en la Biblioteca del Monasterio del Escorial desde el 1591, año en que por orden de Felipe II fueron llevados desde la Capilla Real de Granada, como demuestra la siguiente cédula que en la misma Biblioteca se conserva: '† Relacion e memoria de los libros que por mandado del rrei nuestro señor se llevan a El escurial desde la ciudad de Granada de la capilla rreal de ella en cumplimiento de vna cedula rreal que se tenor es el siguiente.—Por el rrei a los capellanes de su capilla rreal de la ciudad de granada.—El rrey.—Capellanes de mi capilla rreal de la ciudad de granada. El rreverando en cristo padre obispo de guadix de mi consejo que por mi mandado bisita esa capilla escrebi me enbiasse los libros que ay en ella a esta santa casa asi por no tener ay aposento comodo en que tenerlos e no aprovecharsse dellos como por otrass caussas para que los que dellos pareciese quedassen aqui e otros se llevasen a mi archivo de simancas e a otras partes por conbenir a mi seruicio sobre lo qual escrevi tanvien a vosotros e porque el dicho ovispo me auissa ahora el desconsuelo que teneis de que se saquen estos libros y que los guardareis adelante con cuydado que creo yo bien. Yo os lo agradezco todabia por ser aca tan necessarioss como ya se a uisto en cosas que se a ofrecido estos dias desde que se tiene noticia dellos os mando que sin que se difiera mass los hagais dar y entregar luego a el dicho ovispo por ynventario tomando para vuestro descargo rrecaudo suyo del entrego con lo qual os doy por vien dados e a vosotros por libres de ellos que en ellos me sirvireis. De San Lorenço a treinta e vno de agosto de mill e quinientos e nouenta e vno. Yo el Rey. Por mandado del rrey nuestro sseñor francisco gonçalez de heredia. - .... 1- ... .... 2. Otro libro de a folio en rromanze escrito de mano en pergamino contiene las diferencias dell juego del ajedrez autor el rrey don alonso el savio... (etc. hasta 48).—Todos los quales libros Juan de Astorga y el dotor Raya capellanes de la dicha Real Capilla de la dicha ciudad de Granada en cumplimiento de la cedula Real de su Magestad suso yncorporada dieron y entregaron a su senoria Don Juan Alonso de Moscoso obispo de Guadix e Baça del Consejo del Rey nuestro Señor y su bisitador de la dicha Capilla Real y Hospital Real de la dicha ciudad y su senoria los rreciuio de los susodichoss a uista y en presencia de mi el scriuano y testigos yuso escritos de que yo el dicho escriuano doy fee e lo firmo siendo presentes por testigos el dotor Don Alonso de Cayas y el dotor Espinosa capellanes Francisco Fonte de Vasconçellos vecinos de Granada.—† epus guadixns.—E yo Diego Marin escriuano del Rey nuestro Señor y de los conmissiones de su Señoria del

to the new library he was constructing at the Escorial between 1562-1584 where it was rebound by the Augustinian monks who served as librarians. The real contribution of Grandese's article consists of his scientific study of the manner in which the folios of the *LJ* were grouped and bound in *fascicoli* or gatherings. Since his study of the *LJ*'s organization frames his argument for the supposedly missing folios which would have presented the decimal chess variant in the fifth treatise, my discussion of his observations are to be found in Chapter I, Section 1.4.3.1.

3. Paolo Canettieri's Italian critical edition of the *LJ* presents a chapter on the games, a facing-page transcription of somewhat modernized spelling and punctuation with Italian translation, and a large section of textual commentary.<sup>39</sup> His chapter on games presents an overview of each type of game but does not give an analysis of some or all of the 103 problems. His textual commentary includes several important notes regarding the etymology of the names of the games, particularly those for dice and backgammon and his suggestions are discussed in the pertinent sections of this chapter. Canettieri treats each individual miniature from fol. 65r through fol. 97v representing all the sections of the *LJ* except for the largest "Libro del acedrex." His art comments have been included in the discussion of the miniatures in Chapter II.

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dicho obispo visitador presente fui a lo que de mi se haze mencion y este traslado fice sacar en estas diez foxas con esta y fice mi sigmo a tal † en testimonio de verdad. Diego Marin, scriuano.” (J. B. Sánchez Pérez, *El Ajedrez De D. Alfonso El Sabio* [Madrid: Tip. la Franco, 1929] 5-6. According to Trend the other works moved with the *LJ* included “*Bocados de Oro*, *Libro de astrologia del rrey don Alonsso el Sabio* (i.e. the Index to the *Lapidario*), *Rregimiento de principes*, *Flos Santurum* (sic), *Valerius Maximus*, *Otro libro de Juego de ajedrez muy antiguo*, and numerous others” (J. B. Trend, “Alfonso el Sabio and the Game of Chess,” *Revue Hispanique* LXXXI [1933] 6).

<sup>39</sup> Paolo Canettieri, *Il libro dei giochi: il libro dei dadi, delle tavole, del grant acedrex e del gioco di scacchi con dieci caselle, degli scacchi delle quattro stagioni, del filetto, degli scacchi e delle tavole che si giocano con l'astrologia* (Bologna: Cosmopoli, 1996).

4. The *Diccionario filológico de literatura medieval española* places the *LJ* in its socio-political context of a ruler who has just “maldi[cho] solemnemente a su hijo” and as a synthesis of all the Wise King’s courtly, military and astrological wisdom, relating to his three scientific encyclopedic works.<sup>40</sup>
5. Charles Faulhaber’s *PhiloBiblon Bibliografía Española de Textos Antiguos* (BETA) lists the *LJ* under the reference number “manid 1090” and control number “cnum 0095.”
6. Olivia Remie Constable approaches two of the *LJ*’s three main facets, the ludic and the artistic, including an accurate analysis of Problem 24 and its miniature, as well as interesting comments on several other miniatures.<sup>41</sup> Likely following Parlett, she only counts the works seven treatises as three, according to the later title, and grouping the remaining twelve games (including great chess, the larger dice and tables, all four-seasons games and *alquerque*) under the too broad description of astrological.<sup>42</sup> This summary dismissal of the complex games which crown the collection causes her infer that the text and images of the *LJ* “consistently emphasize the superiority of chess, and its distinction from all other games” (316), thus missing the metaphysical meaning behind the games and to assert incorrectly that the *LJ* contains no “theological overtones, allegorical intent, or explicit life lessons to be learned from chess” (317).

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<sup>40</sup> Fernando Gómez Redondo and José Manuel Lucía Megías, *Diccionario filológico de literatura medieval española* (Madrid: Editorial Castilia, S.A., 2002: 41-42), s.v. “Libros de axedrez, dados e tablas.”

<sup>41</sup> Olivia Remie Constable, “Chess and Courtly Culture in Medieval Castile: The *Libro de Ajedrez* of Alfonso X, el Sabio,” *Speculum* 82.2 (Apr. 2007) 301-47. Seventeen of her figures are of *LJ* miniatures.

<sup>42</sup> David Sidney Parlett, *The Oxford History of Board Games* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1999) xii.

## Art Studies

1. Florencio Janer's offers two studies on games.<sup>43</sup> The first of these covers the invention of cards as well as one of their ancestors, dice, and so refers to both Alfonso's *Libro de las tahurerías* and the *LJ*'s twelve dice games. His second study on the text, art, culture and games of the *LJ* opens with a pair of slightly altered images of fols. 72r and 73r. At the time of his investigation, the *LJ* was in an older pasteboard binding and he notes that the folios lack "numeración antigua" but does not state whether this is meant to imply that they do possess a later page numbering or that he himself added it.<sup>44</sup> Janer erroneously believes that the miniature usually appears in the upper portion of the page and that it represents the game explained in the text below it. His fine observations of the rich details of the miniatures occasionally include whimsical interpretations of details hinted at or not entirely visible, including imagined conversations between the players or interpretations of previous or future movement within the scene. Like his presentation of fols. 72v and 73r at the beginning of the study, these presentations are not strictly faithful in the modern sense, however they do bear testimony to lively realism evoked in the lifelike vignettes.
2. Carmen Bernis Madrazo's study of medieval clothing offers names and styles of medieval clothing using several examples from details of the *LJ*'s miniatures in black

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<sup>43</sup> Florencio Janer, "Naipes ó cartas de jugar y dados antiguos con referencia á los juegos del Museo Arqueológico Nacional," *Museo Español de Antigüedades* 3 (1874) 42-63 and "Los libros de Ajedrez, de los Dados y de las Tablas. Códice de la Biblioteca del Escorial, mandado escribir por D. Alfonso el Sabio: Estudio artístico-arqueológico," *Museo español de antigüedades* III (1874) 225-55.

<sup>44</sup> Karl Justi (1832-1912) wrote to Antonius van der Linde sometime before 1874, describing the pages as unnumbered (Van der Linde 278).

- and white photographs.<sup>45</sup>
3. Carl Nordenfalk presents an overview of the *LJ* with emphasis on the miniatures.<sup>46</sup> His study is of special interest because of his daring in suggesting identifications for several portraits as discussed in Chapter II.
  4. Mary Louise Trivison studies one aspect: women playing the games in the *LJ* miniatures.<sup>47</sup> She observes that while women are shown playing chess and tables in the first and third *LJ* treatises, they appear only as spectators of dice games or working in gaming houses or *tahurerías* in the second treatise and do not appear at all in any of the final four treatises.
  5. Pilar Benito García also focuses on one narrow artistic aspect of the *LJ*, the appearance of stringed instruments in the manuscript's illuminations.<sup>48</sup> String instruments appear in a limited number of incidences: a harp is present in the miniatures of fols. 9r and 22r, a lute or related instrument is seen on each of fols. 18r and 68r, and two beautifully detailed instruments including a fiddle with heraldic castles and lions appear on fol. 31v.
  6. Ana Domínguez Rodríguez addresses two-thirds of the illuminations in the *Book of Games* together with other Alfonsine art.<sup>49</sup> Though this is the largest art history study of the *LJ*, it is not a complete study of the work and focuses on many artistic details

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<sup>45</sup> Carmen Bernis Madrazo, *Indumentaria medieval española* (Madrid: Instituto Diego Velázquez, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1956).

<sup>46</sup> Carl Nordenfalk, "En Medeltida Schackbok," *Spanska Mästare (Arsbok for Svenska statens konstarnlingar)* 8 (1960) 20-35.

<sup>47</sup> Mary Louise Trivison, "The Medieval Woman: Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Leisure," *Romance Quarterly* 33.3 (Aug, 1986) 377-83.

<sup>48</sup> Pilar Benito García, "Los instrumentos de cuerda en el Libro de ajedrez," *Reales Sitios* XXIII/90 (1986) 25-36.

<sup>49</sup> Ana Domínguez Rodríguez, "El *Libro de los juegos* y la miniatura alfonsí," *Libros del ajedrez, dados y tablas de Alfonso X*. 2 vols. (Madrid: Poniente; Valencia: García, 1987) 2: 30-165.

found in other Alphonsine manuscripts as related to the *LJ*. Underscoring the well-known fact that the Wise King's participated directly in the creation of his own books,<sup>50</sup> Domínguez Rodríguez believes that the Alfonso, at the end of his days, seeing himself as the king of chess given the affront and dishonor of check,<sup>51</sup> equal to that of being defeated or killed, could have pondered the initial question of the *LJ* to explain the origin of the games: which is better, skill or luck? All his rightful acclaim for having plenty of the former could not save him, forcing him accept that for kings, as for pawns, luck can be a decisive factor. Domínguez Rodríguez believes this may explain the inclusion of the final two games of the manuscript which involve astronomy. Finally, she finds a special pessimistic significance in the use of the preterite tense in the *LJ*'s colophon because she feels that only the King himself could refer to his reign in the past tense (*regno*) as something already over the year before his death.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> There are other multiple proofs of Alfonso's direct intervention in the creation of the *LJ*. The text employs the royal "we" no fewer than ninety times. It is found in the usual places such as introductions to each book but also rather unexpectedly to explain the presence of certain problems and to claim authorship of games or dice. Domínguez Rodríguez ("Libro de los juegos") and Calvo (1987) only point out the "we" used in Problem 60 ("E maguer que auemos fecho otro iuego departido que se semeia con este; mandamos fazer este por que es mas fremoso & mas sutil" [fol. 40v]) but there are three other royal intrusion on fols. 18v (Problem 20), 32r (Problem 44) and 43v (Problem 65) showing not only Alfonso's hand but his appreciation for the subtleties of the game.

<sup>51</sup> Domínguez Rodríguez, "Libro de los juegos" 32. The *LJ* on giving check to a chess king: "EL Rey pusieron que nol pudiessen tomar. mas quel pudiessen dar xaque por quel pudiessen fazer salir de aquel logar do souiesse; como desonrrado. E sil arenconassen de guisa que no ouiesse casa do yr; pusieron le nombre xamat que es tanto como muerto" (fol. 3v).

<sup>52</sup> This is plausible given that Alfonso saw himself as cornered or checkmated in Seville, the only city that was loyal to him until his death, by the machinations of his son Sancho to overthrow him. However, I believe that even more information can be extracted from this single verb. Not only is it in the preterite tense, with which a person who predicts his own impending doom might refer to himself, it is also written in third person singular, which would be an unusual form for a king to use in reference to himself rather than the first person plural or royal we. Since Alfonso uses the royal we heavily and consistently throughout the *LJ*, it is my strong inclination to believe that this colophon was written by someone other than Alfonso and after his death. Such a person would then easily refer to the king in the third person singular and, if he were dead, naturally use the preterite tense to refer to his bygone reign.

7. Pilar García Morencos's study of the entire manuscript focuses on cultural content of the artwork and, for the stranger and more complex games, the details of the game boards.<sup>53</sup> García Morencos only briefly discusses the problems or *iuegos departidos* and confuses the *iuego de donzellas* for one of them. Her presentation of the second treatise lists only eight of the twelve dice games described: *triga*, *marlota*, *par con as*, *panquist*, *azar*, *medio azar*, *azar pujado* and *guirguesca*; of the third treatise she names only seven of the fifteen tables variants given. Her description of the final four treatises is accurate.
8. Luis Vázquez de Parga offers a brief introductory study with brief commentary on content of some of the miniatures.<sup>54</sup>
9. Héctor Toledano, writing on the occasion of the Edilán facsimile edition, gives a good description of the facsimile's appearance and content by section, except for counting ten dice games rather than twelve and reversing the order of *grand acedrex* and the mention of decimal chess.<sup>55</sup> He sees the *LJ*'s lack of religious specificity as evidence of the work's "objetivo filosófico más amplio" (7) which transcends the single religion of Christianity perhaps due to the non-Christian origin of the games (8). Toledano sees, as I do and discuss in this dissertation's third chapter, a connection between *el mundo* and *pachisi* and between the simplest *alquerque* and

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<sup>53</sup> Pilar García Morencos, *Libro de ajedrez dados y tablas de Alfonso X el Sabio* (Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 1987).

<sup>54</sup> Luis Vázquez de Parga, "Alfonso X el Sabio," *Libros del ajedrez, dados y tablas de Alfonso X*. 2 vols. (Madrid: Poniente; Valencia: García, 1987) 2: 14-27.

<sup>55</sup> Héctor Toledano, "El *Libro de juegos* (ajedrez dados y tablas) de Alfonso X," *Boletín Editorial de El Colegio de México* (1990) 5-11.

- tic-tac-toe or *gato*, as he calls it.<sup>56</sup>
10. Mike Pennell and Ricardo Calvo present their interesting but unconvincing assertion that the *LJ*'s fol. 54v shows Edward I of England and his wife, Alfonso's half sister, Queen Eleanor.<sup>57</sup>
11. Armando Hernández Marroquín created the beautiful chess fonts used in this dissertation.<sup>58</sup>
12. Colleen Schafroth offers some artistic commentary on the *LJ*'s fols. 10r and 62v.<sup>59</sup>
13. María Victoria Chico Picaza emphasizes the role played by Jewish translators and includes the miniature of *grant acedrex* from fol. 82v.<sup>60</sup> She describes it as composed of three independent treatises with a conclusion in four parts, consisting of “gran ajedrez, a otros juegos varios, a los juegos de alcorque y a juegos astronómicos.”<sup>61</sup> Some data is incorrect including the strangely larger measurements overall for the codex than all other studies, the assertion that the prologue's origin myth refers to chaturanga (not merely the Indian name for the game of chess but rather specifically a

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<sup>56</sup> While the American name of the game does not involve a cat, tied games are sometimes called a cat's game and I have heard it called a kit(ty)-cat game in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia; in Britain the game is also known as Kit cat (cannio).

<sup>57</sup> M[ichael] Pennell and R[icardo] Calvo, “A Discovery,” *The Chess Collector* VI.2. Apr. 1997.

<sup>58</sup> Marroquín's original Chess Alfonso-X True Type Font (1998), is available as freeware for download from the webpage “Chess Fonts” from the *En Passant* website of the Nørresundby Skakklub at the URL <<http://www.enpassant.dk/chess/fonteng.htm>>. In 2002 Marroquín also generously created additional fonts based on the original Alfonso-X font in order to show the pieces rotated in exactly the same ways as in the original manuscript. These additional True Type Fonts are available on the CD-rom accompanying this dissertation but not on the version archived by UMI due to technical limitations.

<sup>59</sup> Colleen Schafroth, *The Art of Chess* (New York: Abrams, 2002).

<sup>60</sup> María Victoria Chico Picaza, “El scriptorium de Alfonso X El Sabio,” *Memoria de Sefarad* (Toledo: Centro Cultural San Marcos, 2002-2003). This article is available online, under the chapter “Judíos, moros y cristianos bajo la autoridad del rey,” at <[http://www.seacex.com/documentos/06\\_autori\\_1\\_sefarad.pdf](http://www.seacex.com/documentos/06_autori_1_sefarad.pdf)> accessed 1 Apr. 2005.

<sup>61</sup> María Victoria Chico Picaza, “El scriptorium de Alfonso X El Sabio,” *Memoria de Sefarad* (Toledo: Centro Cultural San Marcos, 2002-2003). This article is available online, under the chapter “Judíos, moros y cristianos bajo la autoridad del rey,” at <[http://www.seacex.com/documentos/06\\_autori\\_1\\_sefarad.pdf](http://www.seacex.com/documentos/06_autori_1_sefarad.pdf)> accessed 1 Apr. 2005.

four-player version of chess similar but not identical to the *LJ*'s four-seasons chess), the description of the language in the checkmate problem solutions as concise (though it is perhaps precise) as well as the total number of miniatures in the “Libro de los dados” as ten rather than twelve.

14. Francisco Marcos Marín emphasizes the necessity of reading the *LJ* in the context of its miniatures.<sup>62</sup> Marcos Marín confirms my reading of the Cufic script on fol. 17v, positively indentifying both the portrait of the man and one of Alfonso's bibliographic sources as tenth-century chess master as-Suli.
15. My article “The Illuminated Microcosm of Alfonso X's Book of Games” gives an overview of all seven treatises of the *LJ* by offering 17 key examples from the 151 miniatures with commentary.<sup>63</sup>

### **Games Studies**

1. Charles A. Gilberg offers the 103 chess problems of the *LJ*'s chess treatise using first the 103 diagrams with the traditional nineteenth-century English letters used to denote the pieces followed by the solutions in English notation.<sup>64</sup> The source used for the work is unclear and the difficulties encountered in the solutions suggest that it was not based on the original. The work had little or no distribution, having been copied solely for one person, Miron J. Hazeltine. The problems occasionally say that

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<sup>62</sup> Francisco Marcos Marín, “Texto e imágen en el *Libro de los juegos*” (paper presented at AATSP Chicago 2003).

<sup>63</sup> Sonja Musser Golladay, “The Illuminated Microcosm of Alfonso X's Book of Games,” *P Art Magazine* 31 (2004) 60-77.

<sup>64</sup> Charles A. Gilberg, *The Alphonsine Manuscript: Chess Problems: With Additional Solutions and Remarks / Copied for Miron J. Hazeltine by Charles A. Gilberg* (Brooklyn, 1874). This handwritten work is held in a single copy by the Cleveland Public Library's White Chess Collection (call # 789.0924M AL28G).

no solution is given in the manuscript when this is not the case, and at other times attempt to offer better plays than those given.

2. Antonius van der Linde's initial chapter offers a collection of chess origin mythology but Alfonso's myth is not among them.<sup>65</sup> His Ch. V, "Arabisch-persische Schachlitteratur," presents a handful of chess variants of differing sizes, arrangements and pieces including one 10x10-square variant from the tenth century (113, fig. V), whose extra piece van der Linde calls a *Belagerungsdach* along with its placement in the opening array aid in future understanding of the *LJ*'s decimal chess, as well as an 11x11 variant from 1446 and containing exotic animals (114, fig. VII), which may have descended from the *LJ*'s *grant acedrex*. In the section titled "Verbreitung des Schachspiels nach Europa" van der Linde calls the *LJ* the earliest European collection of Arabic-Spanish chess problems compiled by Alfonso who he says reigned 1232-1284.<sup>66</sup> He also briefly describes the *LJ* in a section called "Spanisches Schach" on chess problems, quoting from Carl Justi's description of it. Van der Linde also quotes Justi's good transcription of part of the work's prologue and presents an altered diagram for the *iuego de donzellas* in his German translation of the same. In the section on chess problems, van der Linde presents forty-three of Alfonso's problems and calls the *LJ* the "Alonso" manuscript Van der Linde also correctly but separately presents the positions and mate conditions for problems 22 and 89, this time calling the *LJ* simply as "Escorial."<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Antonius van der Linde, *Geschichte und Literatur des Schachspiels* (Leipzig, 1874).

<sup>66</sup> Alfonso's reign began upon his father St. Fernando's III's death in 1252.

<sup>67</sup> Van der Linde shows *LJ* Problems 93, 39, 97, 65, 64, 80, 82 and 87, 55, 78, 46, 74, 88 and 96, 75 and 83, 30, 32 and 102, 76, 94, 19, 45, 84, 25 27 and 101, 85, 77, 81, 79, 69, 50, 8, 103, 2, 16 and 20,

3. José Brunet y Bellet offers detailed analysis of great chess, 28-square backgammon, four-seasons chess, four-seasons backgammon, astrological checkers, and the game of the maidens or the forced game.<sup>68</sup> He notes the colophon but incorrectly calculates the date of 1321 (*Era Española*) as 1270 instead of 1283 of the Christian era. Basing himself on Janer's miniature descriptions and expanding upon them, Brunet y Bellet also treats the artistic dimension of the *LJ*. Those observations of his are discussed in my Chapter II.
4. Harold James Ruthven Murray's landmark *A History of Chess* treats many aspects of the *LJ*, with an emphasis on chess, scattered throughout the work.<sup>69</sup> He offers an accurate physical description of the *LJ*, and accurately describes the *LJ*'s seven-fold arrangement, briefly giving the contents of each section (181, 279, 410, 452, 454, 457-61 and 568-71) as well as a transcription of fols. 2v-5r (485-89) and the colophon (569) which is, for the most part, accurate, as I note in my critical text. He groups the *LJ*'s Arabic-style problems<sup>70</sup> and European-style problems<sup>71</sup> separately, using a

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86, 38, 1, 9 and 18, in that order. Problems grouped together are presented with a single diagram because van der Linde believed them to be more or less the same problem.

<sup>68</sup> José Brunet y Bellet, "Sobre el juego de ajedrez," *La España regional* III.17 (1887) 412-32.

<sup>69</sup> H. J. R. Murray, *A History of Chess* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913. Oxford: Oxbow-UP, n.d.). Throughout this dissertation, I will distinguish between Murray's multiple works of similar titles by the year of their original publication. Murray refers to the *LJ* as "the Alfonso manuscript" or "Alf." (1913: 452). In a posthumous tribute to Murray, *British Chess Magazine* said that "has left an enduring monument, the greatest book ever written on the game" (Joseph Byrne Horton, *Dictionary of Modern Chess* [Secaucus, NJ: Citadel, 1959, 1965] 138).

<sup>70</sup> Murray identifies the *LJ* as one of the key Arabic and Persian works of chess literature because despite its European origin, "89 of its 103 problems are of unmistakable Muslim origin" (1913: 181). He presents the Arabic-style *LJ* chess problems numbers 1-55, 57-60, 63-65, 69-72, 85 (Murray also includes this under European style problems, see next note), 1913: 88-92, and 1913: 94-102 in his Part I's Ch. XV on the Arabic game of shatranj (1913: 282-304) and gives solutions for these problems separately (1913: 326-27). Unlike modern diagrams Murray's shatranj diagrams invert the opponent's pieces as does the *LJ*. He also presents problems from other collections similar to the *LJ* problems. As with van der Linde above, Problems grouped together are presented with a single diagram because Murray believes them to be more or less the same problem. While I have included the abbreviations for the manuscripts to which he alludes

variety of short algebraic notation with English abbreviations<sup>72</sup> for the pieces. Murray compares the *iuego de donzellas* arrangement to a similar one seen in a miniature from the Munich manuscript of the *Carmina Burana* (1913: 459, 473) and discusses the *LJ*'s four-player or four-seasons chess and astrological checkers variants and their symbolism (1913: 348-51). Finally, Murray compares the chessmen as drawn in the codex to other European manuscript representations, roughly from the same period (1913: 769).

5. Juan Bautista Sánchez Pérez offers an excellent study of the *LJ*'s first treatise in an apparently very limited edition, which is unique and important for several different reasons.<sup>73</sup> First, it contains a transcript of Felipe II's order to bring the several books, including the *LJ*, from the Capilla Real in Granada to the Library at the Escorial.<sup>74</sup> Second, J. B. Sánchez Pérez attempts to identify many of the *LJ*'s portraits. His

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in the Excel spreadsheet about the chess problems, the analysis of these works is beyond the scope of this dissertation and therefore omitted here.

<sup>71</sup> Murray presents the European-style *LJ* chess problems numbers 73-84 and 85-87 with their solutions on the same pages beneath their diagrams in his Part II's Ch. VI on "The Mediæval Problem" (1913: 571-79). Unlike his shatranj diagrams, Murray modernizes all pieces to the upright position for the European-style problems. Murray's *A History of Chess* does not present the following eight *LJ* problems: Problems 56, 61-62, 66-68, 93 and 103.

<sup>72</sup> K for king, Q for queen or here fers, B for fil or here fil, Kt for knight, R for rook, P for pawn. The differences from modern English notation are the symbol for knight which is now N and the use of the letter P for pawn which now is not given any letter. Also see Appendix B2 on chess terminology. Murray (1913) uses (+) to show check and "mate" to show checkmate. He gives only attacking moves, without regard to the modern rule of white first. Similarly he does not give threatened kings' moves if there is only one legal option for them. Neither does he give moves that are described as rejected in the manuscript. In all his problems, Murray occasionally inverts the board for no discernible reason (see the special board I created for aid in deciphering Murray's frequent board inversions). At times the winner is at the bottom or in the case of a draw the first player is at top; but this is not always the case. Finally, although Murray notes that the fers's and the pawn's optional first leaps represent documentation of important steps in the evolution of medieval European chess away from Arabic shatranj, he does not distinguish between ferses and promoted pawns in either his diagrams or his solutions.

<sup>73</sup> J[uan] B[autista] Sánchez Pérez, *El ajedrez de D. Alfonso el Sabio* (Madrid: Franco Española, 1929). Not to be confused with José Antonio Sánchez Pérez, author of "El dado de siete caras," *Murgetana* 1 (1949) 143-46.

<sup>74</sup> García Morencos notes Felipe II who moved the book to his library was known for his preference for this game and the great chess player of his time, Ruy López de Segura.

suggestions are presented in Chapter II of this dissertation. Most importantly, his presentation of the problems appeals to the modern reader and chess player and is the basis for the format of my study because he does several things that no other work before mine has attempted to do: rotate the board for the modern player and presenting each problem's diagram located on the same page above its solution in full algebraic notation. However, rather than use the pieces in the notation, he uses the Spanish abbreviations.<sup>75</sup> In addition to the 103 endgame problems from the “Libro del acedrex”, J. B. Sánchez Pérez presents great chess and four-seasons chess, the latter in comparison to the ancient Indian four-player chaturanga. Finally, offers a graphic reconstruction to explain the pieces arrived at the mid-game position illustrated in the *iuego de las donzellas*.<sup>76</sup> Like Brunet y Bellet, he presents this game at the end of his study although it is the first one to be presented in the *LJ*.

6. José Antonio Sánchez Pérez addresses the mathematical and geometric issues of the seven-sided dice presented in the *LJ*'s fourth treatise and used in its fourth and seventh treatises.<sup>77</sup>
7. John Brande Trend offers an etymology of chess and several of its piece names and boasts evidence from eleventh-century Barcelonan wills that “Spain can provide the

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<sup>75</sup> R = Rey/king, T = Torre/rook, C = Caballo/knight, A = Alffil/fil; J. B. Sánchez Pérez adds AL for Alfferza: avoiding the modern term “queen,” and PA for peón alfferzado thereby making an important distinction which some scholars prefer to omit. Both *alffil* and *alfferez/alfferza* have a variant spelling which contains only a single letter *f* in the *LJ*. The double *f* is the most common form of both words in the *LJ* and so I have chosen to use it in this dissertation.

<sup>76</sup> Please refer to the miniature on fol. 5r to see this position as well as the presentation of the *iuego de donzellas* later in this chapter.

<sup>77</sup> José Antonio Sánchez Pérez, “El dado de siete caras,” *Murgetana* 1 (1949) 143-46. See also my Chapter I, Section 1.4.4.1.

earliest certain references to chess in Europe.”<sup>78</sup> It is interesting to note that the wills show that both men and women played chess or at least owned pieces. Also interesting is that both left them to monasteries, indicating at least tacit approval of the game by the Church in the early eleventh century in Barcelona. Finally, Trend highlights two of Alfonso’s very farsighted recommendations which are the rule today but which were not at the time: that the board should always be checkered and that each player have a white square at his right hand.<sup>79</sup> The second point, though not textually explicit, is, however uniformly observed in the miniatures.<sup>80</sup>

8. Félix M. Pareja Casañas’s study of the Rich manuscript, an Arabic chess manuscript written in 1257 and thus a contemporary of the *LJ*, presents and discusses twenty-two *LJ* problems, each after its comparable problem from the Rich manuscript, in algebraic notation with Spanish abbreviations in his second tome.<sup>81</sup> These observations are treated with the appropriate chess problems below.

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<sup>78</sup> J. B. Trend, “Alfonso el Sabio and the Game of Chess,” *Revue Hispanique* LXXXI (1933) 8. I believe Trend is confused in his odd comparison of term for the castle or rook piece, generally believed to derive from the Sanskrit word for the chariot piece from which it evolved, with the Persian bird rukh, “the dreaded ‘roc’ encountered by Sindbad the Sailor” (7). However, I do believe that another chess variant shown in the *LJ*, great chess, contains a piece which is much more roc-like and may indeed be a roc, the *aanca*.

<sup>79</sup> The checkering of the board is specified textually on fol. 3r and reinforced in all the miniatures which have to do with chess or chess variants: “E la meytad delas casas an de seer duna color & la meytad de otra.”

<sup>80</sup> This specification is found in the anonymous Hebrew poem “The Kings Delight” dating from possibly *c.* 1280-1340 and possibly from much later (Keats 3: 43n70 and 57). Triangulation between this feature, Ben Ezra’s twelfth-century Hebrew poem containing the same optional opening leap for the fers but no double-step opening move for the pawn, makes the *LJ* a snapshot of the game of chess at a unique point in its evolution towards the game as we play it today.

<sup>81</sup> Félix M. Pareja Casañas, *Libro del ajedrez: de sus problemas y sutilezas de autor árabe desconocido según el ms. Arab. Add. 7515 (Rich) del Museo Británico*. 2 vols. (Madrid: Maestre, 1935). Pareja Casañas presents *LJ* Problems 1, 4, 7, 12, 14, 15, 18, 22, 23, 35, 38, 40, 47, 49, 59, 72, 88, 89, 93, 95, 96 and 99. The Spanish abbreviations for the pieces are R for *rey*, D for *dama*, A for *alfil*, C for *caballo*, T for *torre*, nothing for *peon*. Also see Appendix B2 on chess terminology.

9. Arnald Steiger's study gives an introduction to the work, a German translation of the whole manuscript complete with German algebraic notation of the checkmate problem solutions, as well as a transcription of the text that is truer in spirit than in letter.<sup>82</sup> He gives very accurate modern diagrams of the board's initial arrangement, being the only scholar who also notes which ferses are true ferses and which are promoted pawns in the same way Alfonso did in his diagrams if not his solutions. Steiger's solutions for all chess problems are in the long form German algebraic chess notation using German capital letters<sup>83</sup> with only very few minor chess errors. His work contains sporadic inclusion of black and white plates of fifty of the *LJ* miniatures and a medieval Castillian/modern German glossary.
10. H. J. R. Murray's tables article cites the four main medieval manuscripts in which table games are discussed, chief among them the *LJ*.<sup>84</sup> He explains the etymologies of the game and its elements and the playing pieces known as *tablas*. Murray also gives some game genealogy, both past and present, rules for the principle variants and a glossary of Latin game terminology as related to the game of tables.
11. H. J. R. Murray's *History of Board-Games Other Than Chess* completes Murray's encyclopedic aspirations as its title indicates.<sup>85</sup> In it, Murray lists or discusses all the games in the final six *LJ* treatises.

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<sup>82</sup> Arnald Steiger, *Alfonso el Sabio: Libros de Acedrex, dados e tablas. Das Schachzabelbuch König Alfons des Weisen* (Geneva: Droz, 1941).

<sup>83</sup> K for König, D for Dame, L for Läufer, S for Springer, T for Turm, B for Bauer. Also see Appendix B2 on chess terminology.

<sup>84</sup> H. J. R. Murray, "The Mediaeval Games of Tables," *Medium Ævum* 10.2 (June 1941) 57-69.

<sup>85</sup> H. J. R. Murray, *A History of Board-Games Other Than Chess* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1952).

12. Edward Falkener's *Games Ancient and Oriental, and How to Play Them* contains many games closely related to those in the *LJ*.<sup>86</sup>
13. John Gollon's presents the *LJ* games "Grande Acedrex" and "Acedrex de Los Quatro Tiempos" in his eleventh and twelfth chapters.<sup>87</sup>
14. Dennis Jesse McNab and Charles K. Wilkinson give the *LJ* as an example of early use of a checkered board, showing the chess miniature from fol. 64r as an example, and describe two different variants both called great chess.<sup>88</sup>
15. R. C. Bell discusses the rules of medieval chess under his section on Shatranj in the war games chapter of his 1969 two-volume work, *Board and Table Games from Many Civilizations*.<sup>89</sup> He claims that "the symbols used for the pieces are taken from the thirteenth-century Alfonso and Cotton manuscripts" (59) but they must come from the latter as they do not resemble those of the *LJ*. Bell also incorrectly asserts that the squares of the board were not checkered at this time. He also offers descriptions of the circular Byzantine chess variant, courier chess and Chinese chess.
16. Anne Sunnucks gives the correct total of 98 folios.<sup>90</sup>
17. Jerry Gizycki offers a beautiful drawing of the *LJ*'s *escaques* or astrological checkers after the Murray's diagram in *A History of Chess*.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Edward Falkener, *Games Ancient and Oriental, and How to Play Them; Being the Games of the Ancient Egyptians, the Heira Gramme of the Greeks, the Ludus Latruncolorum of the Romans, and the Oriental Games of Chess, Draughts, Backgammon, and Magic Squares* (New York: Dover, 1961).

<sup>87</sup> John Gollon, *Chess Variations, Ancient, Regional, and Modern*. (Rutland, VT: Tuttle, 1968).

<sup>88</sup> Dennis Jesse McNab and Charles K. Wilkinson, *Chess: East and West, Past and Present; a Selection from the Gustavus A. Pfeiffer Collection* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1968).

<sup>89</sup> R. C. Bell, *Board and Table Games from Many Civilizations*. 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1960, 1969. New York: Dover, 1979).

<sup>90</sup> Anne Sunnucks, *The Encyclopedia of Chess* (London: Hale, 1970) 7; s.v. "The Alfonso Manuscript".

<sup>91</sup> Jerry Gizycki, *A History of Chess* (London: Abbey, 1972) 74, after Murray 1913: 350.

18. Frederic V. Grunfeld presents many of the *LJ*'s miniatures as illustrations to his related games, which include the *LJ*'s *alquerque de doze*.<sup>92</sup> His instructions for how to make your own backgammon board are based on the half-wheel casings shown in the *LJ*'s "Libro de las tablas" (154-55).
19. Asterie Baker Provenzo and Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr. present modern versions of the *LJ* games twelve-, nine- and three men's morris and a later evolution of the *LJ*'s *cercar la liebre*.<sup>93</sup>
20. A. S. M. Dickins and H. Ebert present the *LJ*'s fifty-fifth chess problem as an early example of smothered mate.<sup>94</sup>
21. Ricardo Calvo's article "Zur Geschichte des Schachspiels" gives an overview of chess history and includes two famous Arabic problems from the *LJ*: Problem 58 of the Abu Naam type and Problem 90 of the Dilaram type.<sup>95</sup>
22. Ricardo Calvo's "El *Libro de los juegos* de Alfonso X el Sabio" gives an overview of all the *LJ*'s games and focuses on the chess problems, offering modern diagrams of the opening positions, solutions for the games in short form of algebraic notation with Spanish capital letters together with expert chess play and valuable provenance commentary and, at times, even textual and art commentary for all 103 chess

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<sup>92</sup> Frederic V. Grunfeld, *Games of the World: How to Make Them, How to Play Them, How to Came to Be* (New York: Holt, 1975).

<sup>93</sup> Asterie Baker Provenzo and Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr. *Favorite Board Games You Can Make and Play* (New York: Dover, 1990 rpt. of *Play It Again: Historic Board Games You Can Make and Play*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice, 1981).

<sup>94</sup> A. S. M. Dickins and H. Ebert, *100 Classics of the Chessboard* (London: Pergamon, 1983) 6.

<sup>95</sup> Ricardo Calvo, "Zur Geschichte des Schachspiels," *Schach*, H. Pflieger and H. Metzger, eds. (Hamburg: Hoffman, 1984) 16-27.

problems.<sup>96</sup> Calvo is the only researcher to maintain the modern white first order of moves, thus giving white's first move as "...” when black is the first to play in a problem. Calvo's study is the most exhaustive of this manuscript in terms of the individual problems, but unfortunately there are several errors which will be corrected in this dissertation. Though Calvo's chess scholarship is unmatched and forms the basis for much of what we know about the provenance of many of these chess problems, his transcription of the chess problems, a highly detail-oriented process, is one in which errors are unfortunately quite frequent.

23. Jack Botermans et al. present the *LJ* games of *alquerque de doze*, *alquerque de nueue*, both with and without dice, as well as *cercar la liebre*.<sup>97</sup>
24. Nigel Pennick accurately describes the seven treatises but then oddly refers to a fourth part, by which he seems to mean the fourth through the seventh *LJ* treatises, which

contains 14 *fairy* problems, where unorthodox numbers of pieces, often with aberrant moves, are set up to create a philosophical problem. There are also various forms of Great Chess, played on the 100—square board [should read 144-square board], and a Must-Capture Chess, where failure to capture leads to the offending piece being *huffed* as in modern English Draughts.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Ricardo Calvo, "El *Libro de los juegos* de Alfonso X el Sabio," *Libros del ajedrez, dados y tablas de Alfonso X*. 2 vols. (Madrid: Poniente; Valencia: García, 1987) 2: 122-235. The Spanish abbreviations for the pieces are R for *rey*, D for *dama*, A for *alfil*, C for *caballo*, T for *torre*, nothing for *peon*. Also see Appendix B2 on chess terminology.

<sup>97</sup> Jack Botermans, Tony Burrett, Pieter van Delft and Carla van Splunteren, *The World of Games: Their Origins and History, How to Play them, and How to Make Them* (New York: Oxford, 1987).

<sup>98</sup> Nigel Pennick, *Secret Games of the Gods* (York Beach, ME: Weiser, 1997. Rpt. of *Games of the Gods: The Origin of Board Games in Magic and Divination*. London: Rider, 1988) 191-92. The fourth through seventh treatises show thirteen games in miniatures and mention a fourteenth: 1) great chess, 2) decimal chess, 3) 8-sided dice, 4) 7-sided dice, 5) base-7 tables, 6) four-player chess, 7) four-player tables, 8) *alquerque de doze*, 9) *cercar la liebre* 10) *alquerque de nueue con dados*, 11) *alquerque de nueue sin dados*, 12) *alquerque de tres*, 13) astrological checkers and 14) astrological backgammon.

25. Ruth Oakley presents a backgammon board with half-wheel casings and *alquerque de doze* including the miniature from fol. 91v.<sup>99</sup>
26. Roswin Finkenzeller, Wilhelm Ziehr, and Emil M Bühler comment on several *LJ* miniatures they use to illustrate various historical aspects of chess.<sup>100</sup>
27. Jens T. Wollesen asserts that the *Book of Games* is deeply engaged with Alfonso's metaphysical view of the world and man's role in it.<sup>101</sup> Wollesen here also establishes a connection between Alfonso and his relative, Frederick II. This work, along with Ana Domínguez Rodríguez's four levels of interpretation ("Libro de los juegos" 59 ff.) of Alfonso's works will be a significant point of departure for my own Chapter III, the interpretation of symbolism in the *LJ*.
28. *The Oxford Companion to Chess* is the essential chess reference and offers an entry on the *LJ* which presents the miniature from fol. 47v and the corresponding solution for Problem 73.<sup>102</sup>
29. Victor Keats presents the *LJ* Problems 43, 76 and 79 and gives a brief description of *grant acedrex*.<sup>103</sup> However his study is problematic due to confusing presentation and very uneven editing, for example despite mentioning the *LJ* nearly a dozen times he never gives its title the same way twice and in his list of "Landmarks in Chess Literature" (383) he omits the *LJ* entirely. However, he does make some interesting

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<sup>99</sup> Ruth Oakley, *The Marshall Cavendish Illustrated Guide to Games Children Play around the World: Board and Card Games* (New York: Cavendish, 1989) 25 and 27.

<sup>100</sup> Roswin Finkenzeller, Wilhelm Ziehr, and Emil M Bühler, *Chess: A Celebration of 2000 Years*. (Lucerne, Switzerland: Motovun, 1989).

<sup>101</sup> Jens T. Wollesen. "Sub specie ludi... Text and Images in Alfonso El Sabio's Libro de Acedrex, Dados e Tablas," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 3 (1990) 277-308.

<sup>102</sup> David Hooper and Kenneth Whyld, *The Oxford Companion to Chess* (Oxford and New York: Oxford UP, 1992), s.v. "Alfonso Manuscript" (p. 11).

<sup>103</sup> Victor Keats, *Chess, Jews and History*. 3 vols. (Oxford: Oxford Academia, 1994).

- observations about alternate solutions to the chess problems he presents and some controversial observations of the Jewish elements in the some of the miniatures.
30. Portions of my MA thesis will be incorporated into the dissertation including my historical, evolutionary and variation studies of each tables variant and introducing new notes and comparing these strategies with other studies.<sup>104</sup>
31. David Parlett describes the *LJ* as having only four sections rather than seven: 1) chess, 2) dice, 3) tables and 4) *alquerque*, merels and various astrological games.<sup>105</sup> His generally accurate descriptions of the games follow Murray (1913) but his overview of the codex entirely fails to account for the larger and four-player games though he does mention four-seasons chess and *escaques*.
32. Charles Knutson presents the miniature and rules for the *LJ*'s *escaques*.<sup>106</sup>
33. Marks Waks ably reconstructs the game *escaques* and seven-sided dice.<sup>107</sup>
34. Marilyn Yalom offers a section on the *LJ* which focuses mainly on the miniatures depicting female players.<sup>108</sup> Yalom follows and expands upon Pennell and Calvo's questionable identification of the players on fol. 54v as England's Edward I and Eleanor, rather than Spain's Alfonso X and Violante, in the context of the evolution of the chess piece from fers to queen.

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<sup>104</sup> Sonja M. Musser, "The *Book of Backgammon* by Alfonso X" MA thesis (U of Virginia, 1995).

<sup>105</sup> David Sidney Parlett, *Oxford History of Board Games* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1999) xii.

<sup>106</sup> Charles Knutson, "Hyena and Zodiac: Arabic Games of Fun," *Renaissance* Vol. 7.3 (2002), sec. The Compleat Gamester: 18-19).

<sup>107</sup> Mark Waks (pseud. Justin du Coeur), ed. "Game Report: Astronomical Tables (aka 'Seven-Sided Backgammon')" at the URL <<http://jducoeur.org/game-hist/game-recon-astrotables.html>>.

<sup>108</sup> Marilyn Yalom, *Birth of a Chess Queen: A History* (New York: Harper, 2004).

35. Jean-Louis Cazaux's many webpages discuss several aspects of chess history including Alfonso's *LJ* and especially the game of *grant acedrex*.<sup>109</sup> Even though we disagree at times, Cazaux's lively debates via personal E-mail have been invaluable to me in my reconstruction of the piece moves for this variant.
36. Charles Knutson's webpage offers images of the complete work but it is a non-scholarly site which tends to quote from my own website's translation without documentation.<sup>110</sup>
37. Hans Bodlaender's amazing online collection of hundreds of chess variants on his *The Chess Variant Pages* (at the URL <<http://www.chessvariants.com>>) contains presentations, discussions and some playable Applets of the *LJ*'s chess, great chess and four-seasons chess.<sup>111</sup>

All the above studies contribute to our knowledge of the *LJ* and indeed form the foundation for the present dissertation. However, this dissertation will be more accessible than the rare, costly or otherwise unavailable older studies and will address all major aspects of the work together in a synthetic and progressive order.

These studies tend to differ slightly in terms of four key pieces of information about the *LJ*, i.e. the shelfmark given for the codex, the number of folios it contains—either 97 or 98, the physical measurements of these folios and the number of miniatures within the whole manuscript. On the first matter of the shelfmark, Janer (“Libros de

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<sup>109</sup> Jean-Louis Cazaux's homepage is available at the URL <<http://history.chess.free.fr>> and his reconstruction of *grant acedrex* at the URL <<http://history.chess.free.fr/acedrex.htm>>.

<sup>110</sup> Charles Knutson's webpage, *Alphonso [sic] X Book of Games Homepage: A Game Researcher's Resource* is available at the URL <<http://www.historicgames.com>>. He quotes without credit a rough draft of my translation.

<sup>111</sup> Hans Bodlaender's *Chess Variant Pages* are available at the URL <<http://www.chessvariants.com>>.

ajedrez”), Brunet y Bellet, Murray (1913), J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Calvo (1987), Bell, and Toledano give no shelfmark information. Van der Linde, Steiger, Meissenburg (1973), Grandese (1986-87; and 1988), Wollesen and Canettieri give some form of the older, non-standardized version of the shelfmark J.T.6. Trend, Domínguez Rodríguez (“Libro de los juegos”), García Morencos, *PhiloBiblon* and I give the standardized shelfmark T.I.6. Secondly regarding the number of folios, Janer (“Libros de ajedrez”), Brunet y Bellet, Trend, Steiger, HSMS, Meissenburg (1973), García Morencos, Constable and *Philobiblon* give 97 as the number of folios contained in the *LJ* and do not count the final blank and numbered fol. 98 bound with the manuscript whereas Murray (1913), Calvo (1987), Bell, Grandese (1986-87; and 1988), Toledano, Wollesen, Canettieri and I include the final blank folio in our computation of 98 total folios. Thirdly, the parchment folios are, even after their trimming for rebinding, somewhat irregular and I believe that *Philobiblon*’s information of 40 x 28 cm to be the best description. Brunet y Bellet gives the measurements of 40 cm tall by 20 cm wide, but surely the width measurement of 20 is his or a typographical error. All others give measurements ranging from 39.5 (Murray [1913] and the *Encyclopedia of Chess* compiled by Anne Sunnucks [1970] who follows him) to 40 (everyone else except Chico Picaza who gives 41)<sup>112</sup> cm in height by 27 (Janer [“Libros de ajedrez”], Steiger, Grandese [1986-87; and 1988] and Canettieri) to 28 (everyone else) cm in width, with the exception again of Chico Picaza who gives 31cm in width and 5.5 in thickness. Fourthly, all other researchers who have given a total number of miniatures have counted 150 miniatures in the *LJ*, however I count 151 including the

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<sup>112</sup> “El scriptorium de Alfonso X el Sabio” in *Memoria de Sefarad* (Toledo: Centro Cultural San Marcos, 2002-2003), under the chapter “Judíos, moros y cristianos bajo la autoridad del rey” <[http://www.seacex.com/documentos/06\\_autori\\_1\\_sefarad.pdf](http://www.seacex.com/documentos/06_autori_1_sefarad.pdf)> accessed 1 Apr. 2005.

purposeful division of the miniatures on fol. 77v. This purposeful division shows the slightly differing opening arrangements, but moreover, I believe that the two miniatures on this page were made separate to arrive at a total number of miniatures that would relate to that symbolically important number seven (1+5+1).

Alfonso X, el Sabio's *LJ* has, until now, been studied exclusively as a mere catalog of thirteenth-century board games accompanied by the interesting miniatures which illustrate them. This dissertation will reveal that the work is an immensely complex system reflecting thirteenth-century philosophy and science logically ordered according to the dictates of medieval Scholastic methodology and meant, ultimately, to expound the relationship between humans, or the microcosm, and the universe, or the macrocosm. The third chapter of the dissertation will demonstrate that the philosophy of games revealed in the *LJ* is intricately related to the philosophy of life itself while the board and its strategies allow human beings to visualize the workings of the cosmos, utilize the wisdom gleaned from these games and, in due course, apply the knowledge in a practical sense to solve life's greater problems. Alfonso was not merely interested in these games themselves and this dissertation will demonstrate how he saw them as an indispensable adjunct of his lifelong, encyclopedic quest to comprehend the divine purpose in all things. In this way, the *LJ* becomes a hermeneutic exercise with the very same implications we find in the works of Origen (d.c. 254) who set the standards for medieval exegesis with his division of human nature into body, soul and spirit and the analogous or corresponding divisions of Holy Scripture into their literal, moral and spiritual meanings. This methodology was expanded by Gregory the Great (d. 604) to

include the anagogical and allegorical senses or interpretations, achieving its definitive form in a statement by Guibert de Nogent (d. 1124) who, in his *Quo ordine sermo fieri debet* (PL, 156.25d), declared that the four senses constituted “rules by which every page of Scripture turns as if on so many wheels: history speaks of things done; allegory understands one thing by another; tropology is a moral way of speaking ... and anagoge is the spiritual understanding by which we are led to things above.” This dissertation will demonstrate that in this very same fashion, Alfonso understood that games are a metaphor for life itself and that by achieving a more complete understanding of these strategies man might arrive at a more comprehensive appreciation and awareness of his place and role in the divine scheme of things. This, then, is the background and motive for attempting a new and broader interpretation of the *LJ*.

### **Dissertation Outline**

This dissertation is designed to be a resource work on the *LJ* and is organized into three chapters focusing on the three key facets of the *LJ*: (1) the games themselves; (2) the art of the miniatures; and (3) their symbolism. The appendices offer the first critical text of the *Book of Games* as well as tools for studying its chess, dice and astrological games. Following an introduction in which the manuscript’s provenance, physical description, date of composition and text are discussed, the body of the dissertation will be expounded in three chapters that treat sequentially each one of these three main features. Thus, by examining each aspect of the manuscript in detail, a greater understanding of the philosophical purpose, meaning and value of the work will be made clear. An accompanying CD-rom and several appendices, designed to aid in the

comprehension and future study of the *LJ*, include among other materials: my critical text; reference charts for chess piece and square terminology as well as odds and combinations for each type of dice; scans of the entire facsimile of the manuscript labeled by folio and, when applicable, the problem or game shown for visual reference; PowerPoint presentations to clarify every step of all 103 chess problems and compare key portraits; and an Excel spreadsheet of manuscript, game and art statistics organized by folio.

In Chapter I, I will present the prologue and the various games. The most important item to be discussed here, apart from the games themselves, is Alfonso's own prologue to the *LJ* which, like all medieval prefaces, deserves special attention for the many important clues it reveals concerning our understanding of the text as a whole. Here, Alfonso explains why games exist, by whom they are to be played and for what reasons, hinting as to the purpose of the book and providing a revealing myth to explain the origins of the three types of games discussed: chess, dice and backgammon. The monarch posits an Indian king who asks his three wise men: which is preferable, skill or chance? This dissertation will compare this chess origin myth with other similar legends that share its same elements, such as the adoration of the Magi, to show why Alfonso chose this particular and unique fable to explain his purpose for composing the book and its essential structure. For the games, I will include, where possible or relevant, the history of each game both before and after Alfonso's time, with the models he employed, if any, and the strengths and weaknesses of previous studies. At the first mention of each game's name, I offer its definition in the *Tentative Dictionary of Medieval Spanish*

(*TDMS*) and the *Diccionario de la Prosa Castellana del Rey Alfonso X (DPCRAX)* and, whenever possible, pertinent etymological information along with instances of the word's appearance in other Alfonsine works and medieval literature. The first chapter will be divided into seven sections corresponding to the seven treatises of the work itself.

Chapter I's Section 1.1 will discuss the *LJ*'s prologue and its presentation of the game of medieval chess using the landmark studies of H. J. R. Murray and the greatest chess minds of the last century. Here I will begin to delve into what Daniel Willard Fiske called the "impenetrable darkness"<sup>113</sup> of the origins of chess to lay the groundwork for the discussions to be presented in the third chapter on symbolism and the common origin of all these board games. I will provide a description of the games and rules as played in thirteenth-century Spain, correcting the weaknesses and errors of previous studies by Murray (1913), Arnald Steiger (1941) and Ricardo Calvo (1987). Complete descriptions, diagrams and English translations of all 144 games, including all 103 chess problems will be provided together with PowerPoint presentations showing the complete solution of each chess puzzle using the "Chess Alfonso-X" font and other fonts which were created especially for this dissertation by Armando H. Marroquín to match precisely the original manuscript.<sup>114</sup> Of particular interest to the chess player are: the beauty revealed in the

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<sup>113</sup> Qtd. in Murray 1913: 47-48: "Before the seventh century of our era, the existence of chess in any land is not demonstrable by a single shred of contemporary or trustworthy documentary evidence.... Down to that date, it is all impenetrable darkness." What I believe may be the original source of this quote, a work by [Daniel] Willard Fiske (1831-1904) and Horatio S. White, *Chess in Iceland and in Icelandic Literature—with historical notes on other table-games* (Florence: Florentine Typographical Society, 1905), remains unavailable to me. Murray's citation "*The Nation*, New York, June 7, 1900, p. 436" is also unavailable.

<sup>114</sup> Chess Alfonso-X font designed by Armando H. Marroquín based on the pieces in the *LJ* is a freeware True Type font. It and other chess publishing tools are available at "Chess Fonts," *En Passant - Nørresundby Chess Club*, Nov. 2005, accessed 3 Feb. 2006, <<http://www.enpassant.dk/chess/fonteng.htm>>.

circular Problem 1; what is perhaps the earliest known European smothered mate of Problem 55; the six Dilaram, the four Abu Naam and the six bare king problems; and what may be the earliest known false problem. This study also corrects Calvo's incorrect presentation of Problem 18 and all previous scholarship's classification of Problem 100 as a Dilaram problem (1987: 233).

Since earlier research has firmly established that the bulk of the chess problems in the *LJ* are derived from Arabic sources, I will also offer comparative studies for those *LJ* problems which are directly related to some of Alfonso's models for this section of the book based upon Félix M. Pareja Casañas study, *Libro del ajedrez, sus problemas y sutilezas de autor árabe desconocido* (Madrid 1935). Artistic proof of Alfonso's bibliography is addressed in the second chapter. An analysis of the technical language of the chess problems provides vital evidence that may be useful for discovering the sources for each chess problem in the "Libro del ajedrez." Finally, in this first section of Chapter I, I will explicate one of the principal motives for the composition of the *LJ* with the analogy of the *mansubat* or collection of chess problems closely related to the medieval exempla collections, and the concept of *niti shastra* embodied in the medieval *speculum principum* or dial of princes.<sup>115</sup> Like *Calila e Digna*, the first work translated by then Prince Alfonso in 1251, his last work, the *LJ* of 1283, is a collection of parables that

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All chess fonts used in this dissertation and instructions for their installation are also available in the accompanying CD-ROM.

<sup>115</sup> See also Appendix D5 showing details of the miniatures which show children being taught to play a game, illustrating the *LJ* as a dial of princes and princesses. The third of as-Suli's ten advantages of chess, as explained by N. Bland's study of "Lib. Arab. De Shahiludio, Autore Al Sûli," is its use in government, relating knowledge of the game of chess with wisdom of government, in the spirit of a mirror of princes (N. Bland, "On the Persian Game of Chess," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 13 [1850] 7).

originated in Oriental philosophy for the education of young nobles.<sup>116</sup> Certainly, it may be asserted that Alfonso's rebellious son Sancho, later Sancho IV, took to heart these lessons of life in his own attempts to checkmate his father: in chess, one need not nor can one ever kill the king. Instead, the king must be cornered so that he cannot move where he wants, cannot take what he wants or cannot move out of danger,<sup>117</sup> much as Alfonso, after Sancho's rebellion of 1282, was relegated to the city of Seville where this book had its beginning and end.

Chapter I's Section 1.2 will discuss dice games as presented in the second treatise of the *LJ*. Here, I will present the rules of each of the games with their individual histories and evolution whenever they are known. I will then compare this work to another of Alfonso's books on games of pure chance, the *Libro de las tahurerías*, together with his portrayal of dice games in the *CSM*. Here we will observe the king's great disdain for games of chance and principally his dislike of their accompanying blasphemy and cheating. The "Libro de los dados" is a relatively small section of the *LJ*, occupying scarcely seven folios whereas the "Libro de acedrex" occupies fully sixty-four

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<sup>116</sup> Keller rejects Solalinde's doubts as to whether Alfonso X really ordered the translation of *Calila e Digna* or whether such is merely attributed to it (Keller, *Alfonso* 51). Although Keller never mentions the provenance connection between *Calila e Digna*, chess and such a work as the *LJ*, Alfonso's undoubted participation in the *LJ* supports Keller's conclusion that he did indeed order the earlier work's translation. "Alfonso X, then, when he made *Calila e Digna* available to the western reader, opened the door to the eastern fable" (55-56). In much the same way, Alfonso also opened the door to the eastern game of chess and chess problems by making these available to the western reader in the form of the *LJ*. At least one early drawing of games (Falkener cover, 14 and 57-58) shows anthropomorphic animals playing a board game, perhaps showing a link to fables. Charles K. Wilkinson dates this image to c. 1000 B.C. (Introduction. *Chess: East and West, Past and Present; a Selection from the Gustavus A. Pfeiffer Collection*. By Dennis Jesse McNab [New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; distributed by the New York Graphic Society, Greenwich, CT, 1968] viii). Constable also links Alfonso's several amusements of "chess, music and stories" including the *Calila e Digna* (318).

<sup>117</sup> The *LJ* says the following on the humiliating effects of check and checkmate to the chess king: "aun que el fiero o prenda o mate. mas bien le pueden fazer uerguença; en tres maneras. faziendol salir dela casa do esta. o embargandol la casa o quiere entrar. & nol dexar tomar; lo que quiere" (fol. 4r).

folios, both numbers with symbolic meaning. Dice games are by their very nature based on pure chance and are therefore the antithesis of the nobler, more intellectual chess game to which the largest section of the *LJ* is dedicated.

Chapter I's Section 1.3 will draw from and expand upon my master's thesis on the third treatise of the *LJ*, "The Book of Backgammon by Alfonso X." Here, I will include my studies of the histories, evolution and variations of each game played on the backgammon board, introducing new notes and comparing these strategies with studies by Murray while highlighting Alfonso's personal intervention and emphasizing his synthesis and contrast of intellectual and aleatory elements. In this context, I will explore how Alfonso invents two tables games, naming them for himself: emperor and half emperor. These appellations reveal not only his own personal involvement in their creation but also his cherished political hopes and a predilection for this type of game that combines the requirements of skillful play and the speed permitted by the use of dice.

Chapter I's Section 1.4 will treat the fourth treatise's larger variants of chess, dice and backgammon, including *grant acedrex*, its corresponding eight-sided dice and an enlarged version of tables based on the number seven that Alfonso invented to accompany his seven-sided dice. The dissertation will present these variations, comparing games utilizing differently-sized chess boards with other derivations on the same popular theme from Alfonso's time to the present. Attention will be given to the shape and numbering of the special dice required here, including the seven-sided dice Alfonso claims to have invented, comparing them to modern dice with either more or less than six sides. In this section, I also present arguments for my refutation of Grandese's suggestion

that there are folios missing from the *LJ* which would have presented a decimal (10x10-square) chess variant (1988).

Chapter I's Section 1.5 will examine the games of the fifth treatise, chess and backgammon for four rather than two players. Here again, I will discuss the rules for play and the history and evolution of these game modifications. The variations of both games explicitly underscore the importance of the symbolism of the terrestrial number four, aligning the colors of the players' pieces with the four seasons, the four elements and the four humors of the body. This chapter will be of the greatest importance for our understanding of the links which can be established with the similarly symbolic four-handed, cross-shaped game of pachisi and its significance for the common evolution of these games and their innate metaphors, all of which will be treated in detail in the final chapter of the dissertation. Chess itself represents the four arms of the traditional Indian army as played on a four-sided board as can be deduced from its original name *chaturanga* (Skt. *chatur*, "four" and *anga* "arms, branches").

Chapter I's Section 1.6 will examine the mill or morris games of the sixth treatise or "Libro de alquerque," discussing their origins, evolution and rules and comparing these games, where appropriate, with their modern variants. *Alquerque* (Ar. al-qirq, "olive press where the residue of the olive is further shredded and subjected to a second pressing"), also known as the game of *tres en raya* or "tic-tac-toe," is at first glance significantly different from the traditional opposition games of skill versus games of chance, i.e. chess and dice games including backgammon. This is due to that fact that these mill games are played on the intersections of the lines of the board rather than in the

spaces in between, emphasizing in this way the cross-pattern from which it originated. The final chapter on the symbolism of the games will show how the development of *alquerque* inversely complements the other pair of games, chess and backgammon, which are played in the spaces and not on the lines.

In Chapter I's Section 1.7, I will address the astrological variations of checkers and backgammon of the *LJ*'s final and seventh treatise. Here, I will give their rules and trace their evolutionary history up to modern games with their accompanying divinatory practices. These games represent the highest development of Alfonsine scientific and esoteric knowledge transferred to a board game. Their textual introductions stress that these games are to be used for practical purposes by a reader who understands astrology rather than merely for entertainment. Both games are highly complex and symbolic with their individual colors and board sections reflecting a Ptolemaic vision of the cosmos. Each player represents one of the seven heavenly bodies passing through the twelve houses of the zodiac with monetary gains or losses in the game determined by the auspicious or adverse position of the players' planets. The illumination of *escaques*,<sup>118</sup> or checkers by the rules of astrology, presents the players or planets arranged on the game board in a fashion that is not determined by chance since the planets are positioned in the zodiacal houses they govern.

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<sup>118</sup> Corominas, *Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed., 2.1034, defines the term *escaque* as a "trebejo del ajedrez," and "casilla en dicho juego," while the plural, *escaques* is defined as "labor en forma de tablero de ajedrez." In the *LJ*, the term is nearly synonymous with *ajedrez*. The evolution of *escaque* from the Sp. *jaque* (Ar. *šâh* 'rey en el juego de ajedrez,' tomado a su vez del persa *šâh* 'xah, rey de los persas') gives us the French *échecs* and both the English chess and checkers. Interestingly, the word *escaquetes*, "playing pieces in gambling casinos," appears in the *Libro de las tahurerías* but not in the *LJ* which was intended for use by nobles. All these words are ultimately related to the Persian word for king, *shah*, with its initial *sh-*. Since it is used here to denote a game on a checkered board with all equal pieces of simpler movements, I have chosen to translate it as checkers.

Chapter II of this dissertation will focus on the art of the 151 illuminations which illustrate the *LJ*. Unlike many medieval manuscript miniatures, the art and text of this work are intrinsically linked and inseparable. Based on previous studies including those of Paul Binski, Rafael Cómez Ramos, Ana Domínguez Rodríguez, Joan Holladay (1983), Florencio Janer (“Libros de ajedrez”), John Esten Keller, Richard P. Kinkade, Carmen Bernis Madrazo and Georgia Sommers Wright, I will concentrate on the portraits of the players offering evidence of what may be the earliest known cases of physical likeness in the identified portraits of King Alfonso X, his queen Violante, his concubine Mayor Guillén de Guzmán and the king’s illegitimate daughter Beatriz. Further, one portrait of the queen playing chess against the concubine reveals graffiti possibly by Alfonso’s own hand while another portrait of the chess master as-Suli reveals some of Alfonso’s sources. The advice of Prof. Stephen Perkinson, Assistant Professor of Art History at Bowdoin College, is of particular importance here in deriving an exact definition of the term “portrait” as it was understood in thirteenth-century Spain. The painted portraits of the *LJ* include the king, Queen Violante, their children and other important or prominent members of their court. This study will further explore and identify essential elements and personal distinguishing factors of the illuminations that merit further scholarly inquiry, specifically analyzing those which will aid in the identification of the individual members of Alfonso’s entourage and family and assist in the interpretation of the symbolism of the *LJ* to be discussed in Chapter III. Other important artistic features include: the architectural framework elements and their significance; the contact of the three cultures (Christian, Arabic and Jewish) and the implications this may have had for

the dissemination of the games; and the symbolism of the numbers seven and twelve based on the seven planets known at the time and the twelve signs of the zodiac.

After making the argument for likeness in portraiture in this late-thirteenth-century manuscript, I then identify key portraits within the *LJ*'s miniatures. The Wise King himself is the easiest personage to identify. Alfonso is customarily portrayed at the beginning of each of his many historical and scientific works with all the conventional regalia associated with his office, seated with a gold crown on a throne situated above the level of his subjects while overseeing the composition of his books, often with an authoritative index finger extended down toward the scribes. Though he is normally cloaked in a checkered robe bearing the castles and lions of Castille-León in the traditional heraldic color gules, the *LJ* more often reveals the king in his more personal moments, at home and at ease with friends and family enjoying the very board games he describes. Within the "Book of Chess" and throughout the whole codex, the depiction of the king becomes progressively more relaxed and informal until the final illumination in which we see him seated on the floor with other players, a comfortable *birrete* or soft cap on his head. In this sense, the entire manuscript and its sequence of royal portraits echo the traditional chess metaphor, referring to the fact that, following the game, all the pieces, whether noble or plebeian, are placed together in the same bag or box as described in Edward FitzGerald's translation of the twelfth-century poem "Rubaiyat" by Omar Khayyam.<sup>119</sup> Games, of course, with their inevitable winner and loser, symbolize

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<sup>119</sup> FitzGerald published several versions of his translation of Khayyam's work, each with a different number of stanzas and sometimes different wording. Two of his renderings of this beautiful passage are: "270. We are but chessmen, destined, it is plain, / That great chess-player, Heaven, to entertain; / It moves us on life's chess-board to and fro, / And then in death's dark box shuts up again"

both life and death. The perception of the games as symbolic of the democracy of death would hardly be lost on the king and his retinue of scholars trained in the Scholastic hermeneutic method.

Alfonso's spouse, Violante, is also easily identified beginning with those portraits where she appears as the queen in full regalia next to her husband. Her distinctive wide, square nose and penetrating gaze are found in no fewer than five illuminations including fols. 16r, 18r, 47v, 49r 54v and 56r. Appendix D3 compares close-ups of the queen's facial features in that portrait where we can positively identify her (fol. 54v) with other miniatures within the work whose remarkably similar feminine profiles may in fact be her but have not yet been established as such. Two other ladies of the royal court, frequently portrayed with distinctive details, are likely Alfonso's first love, his concubine or *barragana*, Mayor Guillén de Guzmán, and the favorite child of this union, Beatriz. Named for Alfonso's imperial mother, Beatriz was to become Queen of Portugal and mother to another Portuguese king, the famous troubadour, don Dinis. These ladies appear with henna tattoos, rich jewelry and a fierce chess acumen, winning the games in fully three of the four folios in which they appear: fols. 18r, 40v, 48r and 54r.

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(Omar Khayyam, "Rubaiyat" Trans. Edward FitzGerald. *Bookshop Classics*, CD-ROM [Concord, MA: Simply Media, 1999]) and "We are no other than a moving row / Of Magic Shadow-shapes that come and go / Round with the Sun-illuminated Lintern held / In Midnight by the Master of the Show; / But helpless Pieces of the Game He plays / Upon this Chequer-board of Nights and Days; / And one by one back in the Closet lays" (*The Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám*, rendered into English quatrains by Edward FitzGerald [Roslyn, NY: Black, 1942] 145-146 qtd. in Clark M. Zlotchew, "El manipulador manipulado: el determinismo ajedrecista en Borges." *Kánina: Revista de artes y letras de la U de Costa Rica* X.2 (1986): 31). Another rendering by an unspecified translator is: "270. 'Tis all a Chequer-board of Nights and Days / Where Destiny with Men for Pieces Plays: / Hither and Thither moves, and mates, and Slays, / And one by one, back in the Closet Lays" (Theodore P. Hines, *Pool Checkers or Spanish Pool: Scientifically Known as Minor Polish Draughts* [Philadelphia, PA: McKay, 1947] n.p.).

While portraits of the other members of the royal family are not quite as apparent and unambiguous, they may nevertheless be identified utilizing several factors including their position relative to the king within each illumination, heraldic insignia either on their clothing or in other parts of the illumination, comparative analyses of their facial features and distinctions of both dress and color. The inclusion in the *LJ* of so many real people known personally to the king again indicates the intensely personal value of this work. Not only is this a register of the games he loved to play, these are the people with whom he loved to play them. In the *LJ*, then, Alfonso has revealed to us a private portrait of those within his closest circle, what they were like and even what they looked like.

Several other illuminations stand out in this volume due either to their defacement, such as those on fols. 1r, 48r, 72r and 97v; the unusual subjects they portray, such as the person on short stature on fol. 52v; or the chess problem that they depict, such as the variations of the well known “Dilaram Problem” on fols. 38r, 39v, and 56r or the “Abu Naam Problem” on fols. 40r, 42v, 43r and 60v.<sup>120</sup> The second half of this dissertation’s second chapter is a catalogue of all 151 miniatures describing the location, position, framework, contents of each and whenever possible identifying the game shown, cross-referenced with similar portraits and elements within the *LJ* and, in some cases, other related works.

The third and final chapter of this dissertation addresses the metaphysical symbolism of the *LJ*’s games and how their logically articulated arrangement within the work informs my understanding of the origins and evolution of these games. Exegesis,

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<sup>120</sup> See the accompanying CD-rom for the PowerPoint presentations entitled “The *LJ*’s Abu Naam Problems”, “The *LJ*’s Dilaram Problems” and “The *LJ*’s Problem 100—Not a Dilaram Problem.”

generally reserved for the interpretation of religious texts, shows that the *LJ*'s ludic symbolism functions on multiple levels and is therefore richer than the traditional one-dimensional "chess-equals-life" metaphor of most medieval chess moralities. Its symbolism is primarily numerological in nature and relates the games to Alfonso's scientific and religious understanding of the mysteries of space and time. My analysis identifies the *LJ*'s games as cosmological maps based upon their symbologies and supports this conclusion by comparison of the games with other early religious and scientific representations of earthly time through celestial space such as rose windows, labyrinths, calendars, clocks and maps. Ultimately, I reveal that the overall structure of the *Book of Games* is in fact an intentional puzzle or a game itself in the form of a Scholastic composition which guides the knowledgeable reader to the synthetic understanding that battle games such as chess and race games such as tables, often presented as opposites, are more closely related than is often supposed and may in fact be two versions of the same game. This radically innovative hypothesis sheds new light on the continuing debate over the origins of chess and other games by offering fresh support for an embattled theory that the 8x8-square ashtapada board is a genealogical link between the earliest known chess, a four-player battle game called chaturanga, and the earliest known four-player race game which is played on the same board.

Each game's symbolism is examined in the context of the *LJ*'s own text as well as that of related texts. Emphasis is given to the elements of numerology and sacred geometry as well as to demonstrating how each symbolic game operates on one or more exegetic levels: literal, allegorical, tropological and anagogical. The numerological and

astrological significance of the key numbers 7 and 12, which drive the culminating astrological games of the seventh treatise as well as the *LJ*'s entire structure, relate the *Book of Games* to the rest of the Alfonsine corpus, legal, scientific and religious. The geometrical and Hermetic symbols of the square and the circle are two further traditional opposites which are resolved in the thematic synthesis of the two principal games: chess which is played upon squares and tables whose pieces move in a circular path. Each successive game's symbolism expands the reader's understanding by another dimension. The literal explanations of the movements of the chess pieces, which echo those of their real-life models, blend logically into the commonplace metaphor of the game of chess as an allegorical representation of the game of life. The tropological concepts of the four elements corresponding to the four bodily humors and the four seasons, open the doors of perception for Alfonso's anagogical view of the effect astrology's seven planets and twelve zodiacal signs have upon the lives of men. The multi-dimensional symbologies presented in the *LJ*, when examined as physical expressions of Alfonso's macrocosmic beliefs under the guise of games, explain the work's previously unknown, uncertain or mistaken *raison d'être*. Instead of being a mere whimsical book of diversions the *LJ* is a serious work presenting games the Wise King valued highly because he saw his own scientific and religious understanding reflected in them.

The strongest expressions of metaphysical symbolism are found in the *LJ*'s fifth and seventh treatises. In the former, the interplay of the four humors in the human body is compared to the give and take of the four elements within the course of the year's four seasons, viewed as a wheel whose center is marked with an *x*. The play of the game then

represents the constant interchange between the elements at both the natural and supernatural levels. In the latter, the four earthly elements appear at the center of the Ptolemaic celestial sphere of seven planets moving through twelve zodiacal signs, the astrological movements which were believed to influence the life of men. All 144 *LJ* games are rooted to a greater or lesser degree in Hermetic and Oriental philosophies which view man, the earth and the heavens as interconnected dimensions of creation where what happened in one dimension was believed to be reflected in the others. Each dimension or level was connected to the next one by means of a central, omphalic point which has special form and, in many games, special function. Other early cosmological maps are compared with the *LJ*'s games based upon these same symbologies. Paolo Uccello's fifteenth-century frescoes painted on the clock of the Duomo in Florence as well as French and Italian rose windows present the world as rooted in natural and supernatural quaternities in much the same way as the four-player games of the *LJ*'s fifth treatise, including the tables variant of *el mundo*. The thirteenth-century zodiacal rose window and the labyrinth beneath it at Chartres cathedral, Ezekiel's vision of wheels within wheels and the mystic visions of Hildegard von Bingen all present the same view of the universe as the *LJ*'s penultimate game *escaques*.

Nothing about the *LJ*'s complex structure or contents is accidental but rather it is a carefully arranged game designed to educate the reader. The *LJ*'s dual internal structure of seven treatises and twelve headings presents its main games of chess, dice and tables in a symbolic progression of theme and variation. Alfonso's work expands in two ways on the traditional Arabic juxtaposition of the positive, edifying game of chess with the

negative, gambling game of *nard* (the medieval Arabic variant of tables). First, his prologue and the initial three treatises divorce the negative luck element of the dice used in tables into a separate game category, thus changing the two-sided debate into a three-part Scholastic *quaestio* wherein positive chess is opposed to the negative dice, resulting in their synthesis in the form of the game of tables. Second, the final four treatises unite all three types of games and primarily chess and tables under the guise of various scientific metaphors. The fourth treatise plays with the concept of space in its larger playing surfaces; the fifth treatise introduces the concept of time with the four seasons of the year; the sixth treatise reinforces the connection between the games; and, finally, the seventh treatise builds its games on then-current scientific theories about space and time as represented by the movement of the planets through the heavens. What is ultimately illustrated by the *LJ*'s juxtaposition of battle and race games in a Scholastic version of the religious debate between free will and predestination is that the two supposedly opposite games of chess and tables are so very similar that they can both equally sustain repeated remolding into the same sorts of metaphysical symbolism. This ultimately results in the resolution of the two supposed opposites into one synthetic concept: that the games of chess and tables are more alike than they are different and are nearly two versions of the same game.

My theory of their evolution is that this inherent similarity is due to both types of games having evolved from expressions of this very type of symbolism. Game boards may then be seen, like temples and the architecture of all holy spaces, as cosmic maps where man projects the human form, with his cruciform silhouette, onto the map of the

world or universe. As simulacra of cosmic interplay, games are physical expressions or artifacts of the same function as myths, i.e. man's attempts to understand and explain the world and his place within it. Games, like myths, cathedral architecture and music, are all designed to elevate the consciousness to a spiritual plane and ultimately to awaken a higher dimension of understanding. Studies on symbolism and myth, including those of Titus Burckhardt, Paul Calter, Joseph Campbell, Painton Cowen, Stewart Culin, Johan Huizinga, Karl Jung, Fu'ad Ishaq Khuri and Nigel Pennick counterbalance H.J.R. Murray's cool lack of interest in the divinatory aspects of game boards.

## CHAPTER I. HISTORICAL DIMENSIONS OF ALFONSO X'S

### *BOOK OF GAMES*

#### 1.1 The Prologue and the "Book of Chess," an Introduction to the *LJ*

Alfonso the Wise's *Libro de los juegos* forms a book of games completed in 1283 (1321 *Era Española*), the year before the monarch's death. The final work commissioned by the learned king exists in only one manuscript. As the famous chess expert and games researcher, Harold James Ruthven Murray (1868-1955) describes it:

The Alfonso ms. consists of 98 leaves of 39.5 cm. by 28, in a sheepskin binding [...] The ms. is written in two columns in a beautiful hand, with a great number of illuminated initials, both large and small, and is adorned with no fewer than 150 beautifully executed and coloured drawings, ten of them occupying whole pages.<sup>121</sup>

The beauty of the artwork and richness of the cultural information contained in this lovely *Book of Games* is rivaled perhaps only by one other Alfonsine work: the *CSM*. However, *Libros de acedrex dados e tablas* is more than a mere book of games. Its lavish art contains nearly as much cultural information and portraiture of the royal family as do the much studied *Cantigas* and its games, both of this world and of the heavens, hold the key to the Wise King's medieval cosmovision if we will but seek to interpret them. This work is mentioned often, more often than not, merely in passing. Frustratingly for many modern gameplayers, its medieval Spanish text hides the content they so eagerly seek. Furthermore, the many variations on the game of chess to be found in the *LJ* can also provide us with a great deal of information concerning the evolution of the games which may help us better explain their still mysterious origins. And up until now its playful title

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<sup>121</sup> Murray 1913: 568. Murray does not specify them, but they are the following: fols. 64r, 80r, 82v, 83v, 84v, 85v, 88v, 89v, 96v and 97v. Fol. 71v could also arguably be added to this list.

has deceived most scholars causing them to dismiss what I believe may be one of Alfonso's most significant and psychologically revealing works and not just a mere book of games. In the past century, several scholars have undertaken the process of unlocking the secrets of this fascinatingly beautiful manuscript. However, each has only focused on one aspect or another of the work such as transcription, the chess problems, their origin, the artwork, etc. The *Libros de acedrex dados e tablas* is much more than the sum of its parts. Understanding the symbolism behind the games, a hidden meaning which the medieval mind attempted to find in all things, will give us the ultimate meaning of the book and answer the question as yet unaddressed by modern scholarship: "Why did Alfonso X, el Sabio write a book of games?"

All societies have games and exploit them for many purposes. Play is a powerful teacher and philosophers like Huizinga in *Homo ludens*, Jung in *Man and his Symbols* and the studies of Joseph Campbell demonstrate the important role of play in life and life as play as well as the powerful messages contained in their archetypal symbols of the cross and the circle. Modern research shows that playing board games sharpens our intellectual abilities. As Benjamin Franklin said in *The Morals of Chess*,

The game of chess is not merely an idle amusement. Several very valuable qualities of the mind, useful in the course of human life, are to be acquired or strengthened by it, so as to become habits, ready on all occasions. For life is a kind of chess, in which we have often points to gain, and competitors or adversaries to contend with, and in which there is a cast variety of good and evil events, that are, in some degree, the effects of prudence or the want of it. By playing at chess, then, we may learn.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> Cf. T. Standage, *The Turk: The Life and Times of the Famous Eighteenth-Century Chess-Playing Machine* (New York: Walker, 2002) 39.

Games are then on one hand a diversion and on the other tools for teaching about life and living. In fact, games are metaphors of life. The playing pieces may be seen as representations of ourselves and the boards as microcosms of the world in which we move according to our various fortunes. Game boards share their geometrical origins with the sacred spaces and shapes of temples just as the random elements of dice and cards, games themselves, have a kinship with tools of divination. The *Book of Games*, by presenting the games that mirror the society that played them, therefore symbolically shows Alfonso's view of life in the context of the world of thirteenth-century Spain that valued and played them.

The *Libro de los juegos* is now housed in the Library of the Escorial as manuscript j.T.6. The Escorial, with its astrologically-oriented and gameboard-like grid shape, provides a very fitting home for our codex. Divided into seven parts or treatises, each section details the equipment and play of a different sort of game. The title indicating three parts, chess, dice and tables, may have been inscribed on the guard leaf much later for cataloguing purposes. The number of the treatises, seven, is significant as both the favored number of Alfonso the Wise (seven *partidas*, planets, days of the week, the *Setenario*, etc.) and also as a religious symbol for this Christian king as the number of the unity between the perfect terrestrial number, four, and the perfect heavenly number, three. This is but one example of the rich numerological symbolism in this *Libro de juegos* which will be explored in the third and final chapter. Here we will completely describe the medieval Spanish versions of the games for the first time.

Folios 1 through 64 contain the introduction and the “Book of chess.” The number of folios reflects the sixty-four squares on a chessboard. The prologue begins with a typical medieval *exemplum* to explain the origin of games and relates that once there was a king of India who asked his three counselors which was better, skill or luck, requesting each to produce a game to prove his theory. The wise men asked for a period of time to consider their answers and each went off to consult his books. Mirroring the organization of Alfonso’s book, the first counselor returned with his thesis that having intelligence was better and brought chess, a game solely of intellect and strategy, as his proof. The second counselor’s answered antithetically that luck was the best to have of the two, because if Fortune was against you no amount of intelligence could matter as games of dice demonstrate. The third counselor deemed it best to have the intelligence to know how to play in cases of both good and bad luck, synthesizing the elements of the first two in his game, tables.

Following the introduction, Alfonso’s treatise goes on to explain how the chess board and pieces are to be made, set up and moved. The starting setup was the same as now, except the text indicates no fixed rule about the relative position of the king and fers.<sup>123</sup> The diagrams however always show the fers on its color. The moves are somewhat different from and more limited than modern chess. The fers could only move one square diagonally, except for first move when it could move to the third diagonal

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<sup>123</sup> The fers is the Alfonsine chess piece which corresponds to the modern chess queen. For an explanation of this term, see note in section 1.1.2.1. This square specification is found in the possibly c. 1280-1340, possibly much later Hebrew poem by an unknown author, “The King’s Delight” (Keats 3: 43n70 and 57).

square even leaping over another piece.<sup>124</sup> It maintained this limited movement until sometime during the reign of Isabel la Católica when the fers changed into the much more powerful queen it is today. There may be a link to the role played by this powerful female monarch and chess evolution just as Isabel also influenced so many other aspects of courtly culture. Stone says that chess in England assumed its modern shape a little later than in the rest of Europe but also under the rule of a powerful female monarch: Elizabeth I (1558-1603).<sup>125</sup> The fil, or *alffil* (Pers. *pil* meaning ‘elephant’), leapt three squares diagonally instead of going as little or as much as desired like the modern bishop. Some players followed the rule that pawns could move to the third rank but only until a capture was made in the game.

Following an exposition of the rules, we find a variety of chess in which captures are mandatory and then one hundred and three chess problems which experts like Murray identify as being mostly of Arabic origin; only twenty are original. These *juegos departidos*<sup>126</sup> that teach by example how to handle various situations are the gaming equivalent of the *exempla* in the works of *niti shastra* or “wise living” such as we find in the contemporary *Disciplina clericalis* of Pedro Alfonso. A lavishly colored and gilt “diagram of each problem follow[s] the solution” (Murray [1913]: 568) in the manuscript. Alfonso now goes on to explain that chess comes first because it is the most

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<sup>124</sup> This initial option in the movement of the fers **represents is** found earlier in the poem on chess by Abraham ben Meir ibn Ezra, also known as ben Ezra (1092/3-1167), and this power represents an advance over that of the older *shatranj* piece, the *firzan* (Murray 1913: 460). Ben Ezra’s poem lacks however the double-step optional first move for the pawn, showing how the *LJ* represents a vital rung in the evolution of the medieval game. Murray offers an English translation (1913: 526-28).

<sup>125</sup> Lilly C. Stone, *English Sports and Recreations* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1960) 24.

<sup>126</sup> For a discussion of this term, please see the note at the beginning of the introduction to the 103 chess problems later in this chapter.

noble game for, after all, it has a king. The oldest known name of the game, *chaturanga*, meaning four-part, describes the pieces which were meant to represent the four parts of the old Indian armies: the king and his counsellor; the elephants, horses and their chariots; and finally the footmen. These symbols would have been particularly meaningful to the life of a warrior king like Alfonso during the Reconquest. The text takes great pains to explain that the forms of the pieces and the way they move and capture mirror how these military players appear and fight in real life.

Some general comments on the text that accompanies the chess problems in the *LJ* are now in order. The presentation of each problem follows a strictly formulaic pattern and does not in any way refer to the scenes, people or situations in the miniatures apart from the board diagram. However, this does not mean that the two are not intrinsically linked for it is impossible to understand one without the other since the image illustrates the position from which the moves the text describes are to be made. A purely textual presentation, such as the HSMS transcription, has little value as a history of games because the text cannot be understood without the corresponding diagrams.<sup>127</sup>

However, the text seldom if ever illuminates the art. This is merely to say that while the non-gameboard elements in the miniature provide us with wonderful clues to understanding Alfonso's vision of the games and his court, the text does not help us to interpret these sometimes puzzling additional clues. The language of the chess problems is fairly dry and uniform throughout but there are certain noticable groupings of specific phrases that allow us to conjecture further as to the manner of the book's production.

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<sup>127</sup> Lloyd August Kasten, John J. Nitti and Wilhelmina Jonxis-Henkemans, eds., "*Libros de ajedrez, dados y tablas*: Escorial: Monasterio T.I.6 [text.ace]," by Alfonso X, *The Electronic Texts and Concordances of the Prose Works of Alfonso X, El Sabio*, CD-ROM, (Madison, WI: HSMS, 1997).

These different phrasings, discussed in detail in section 1.1.5, give the impression that different chess experts were playing out these problems move by move, dictating as they went. Each had a slightly different style of diction, for example, “the king moves to such and such a square.” Since we know from the studies of Murray (1913) and Calvo (1987) that Alfonso used various sources for his problems, we may conjecture that from time to time the dictating chess expert was also substituted even as the source changed. We may further conjecture that this substitution was perhaps necessitated by a change in the language of the source for the problems and may well have determined that particular chess expert’s slightly different manner of phrasing his moves in the target language, Spanish.

### 1.1.1 The *LJ*’s Prologue

Beginning with the prologue and throughout the *LJ*, the text cites certain nameless *sabios antiguos*. In Book V’s *acedrex de los quatro tiempos*, I present evidence that St. Isidore of Seville (d. 636) is likely one of Alfonso’s sources. I further believe that he was given a nod in the *LJ*’s prologue since the *LJ* includes many of the same games in roughly the same order of presentation as Libro XVIII of Isidore’s *Etymologies*, “De la guerra y de los juegos.”<sup>128</sup> Fols. 1r and 1v of the *LJ* divide play into three types: those games played on horseback with weapons, those played on foot and those played seated. Isidore’s grouping of warfare and play together is seen in Alfonso’s first category and explained when the latter says, “E como quiere que ello se torne en usu & en pro de fecho de armas por que non es esso mismo; llaman le iuego” (fol. 1r). One of Alfonso’s sources

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<sup>128</sup> Isidore of Seville, *Etimologías*. (Madrid: Biblioteca de autores cristianos, 1951).

for the chess problems, as-Suli, also combined the battle and play components of chess as *dolce* and *utile*, in much the same manner as both the *LJ* and Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies*.<sup>129</sup>

Following a listing of many types of battle and play, on both horse and foot, Isidore also includes the idea of play in the sense of drama and ends like Alfonso with board and dice games. In Chs. LX through LXVIII, Isidore covers the topics of the board games (*alea*), the dice cup (*pyrgus*), the stones or pieces (*calculi*), the dice (*tesserae*, *lepusculos*), the types of games (especially allegorical, like three dice or three groups of lines on a game board to represent past, present and future), dice terminology (*unio=canem*, *binio*, *trinio=supum*, *cuaternio=planum*, *quinio*, *senio*), the throwing of the dice (especially those who can roll what they want as mentioned in the *Ordenamiento de las tahurerías* Law II), the movement of the pieces and the prohibition of dicing games (due to the frequency of trickery, lies, perjury, hatred and damage that arise from them).

#### **1.1.1.1 Connections between the *LJ*'s Prologue and the *Libro de las tahurerías***

Robert A. MacDonald's study of Alfonso's *Libro de las tahurerías* (*LT*) reveals some important connections between it and the *LJ*'s prologue, "Libro de los dados" and "Libro de las tablas."<sup>130</sup> Ley XL of the *LT* describes the licit games for playing and gambling, including: four tables variants which are also named in the *LJ* though in a different order and with differing spellings; three types of dice games also from the *LJ* and with very different spellings, as well as other non-sedentary types of games and

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<sup>129</sup> Bland 9.

<sup>130</sup> Robert A. MacDonald, *Libro de las tahurerías: A Special Code of Law, Concerning Gambling, Drawn up by Maestro Roldán at the Command of Alfonso X of Castile* (Madison, WI: HSMS, 1995).

sports as differentiated in Isidore and the *LJ*'s prologue, which also mentions the *ballesta* as a horse sport; and *dardo* which is played on foot. *Jaldeta*, *pares non pares*, *cruçetas*, *tejuelo* and *vja de la capa* are not mentioned in the *LJ*.

This law states that he who wants to play tables should play only:

al enperador<sup>131</sup> o a las fallas,<sup>132</sup> e al cabo quinal,<sup>133</sup> e al seys e dos e as,<sup>134</sup> e non a otro juego njnguno. E juegue fasta seys marauedis de la moneda blanca, e non mas. E que juegue a enbites<sup>135</sup> fasta que pague el tablaje. E si jugare a paradas, que lo pague de la marboto,<sup>136</sup> o de la gargisca<sup>137</sup> o del azar<sup>138</sup> en tres<sup>139</sup> dados e en dos dados. E si jugaren a la jaldeta<sup>140</sup> fuera de la tafureria, njn a pares non pares, njn a las cruçetas<sup>141</sup> njn a otro juego njngungo a que se pierdan dineros, que pague saluo si fuere a la vallesta,<sup>142</sup> o al tejuelo,<sup>143</sup> o al dardo,<sup>144</sup> o a la vja de la capa. Si non fuere

<sup>131</sup> Variant forms of *emperador* in *LT* manuscripts: *enperador*, *enpera*, *emperador*, *comprador* (MacDonald 342).

<sup>132</sup> Variant forms of *fallas* in *LT* manuscripts: *falles* (MacDonald 342).

<sup>133</sup> Variant forms of *cab e quinal* in *LT* manuscripts: *q~ual*, *qual*, *que val*, *ca lo qval* (or *ca lo q<ue> val*), *cabquinal*, *cabo que ual*, *qual al tabo q~ual*, *cabo que nal*, *calo que nal*, *cabo quenal*, *cabo que val* (MacDonald 342).

<sup>134</sup> The name for this game as given here varies slightly from the *LJ*'s *seis dos e as*.

<sup>135</sup> Variant forms of *marlota* in *LT* manuscripts: *marboto*, *mar boto*, *marvato*, *maruoto*, *marbeto*, *marbota*, *marueco*, *marvoto*, *marveto*, *manboto*, *atarboto*, *marabelo* (MacDonald 342).

<sup>136</sup> Variant forms of *jaldeta* in *LT* manuscripts: *xaldeta*, *galdeta* (MacDonald 305).

<sup>137</sup> Variant forms of *guirguiesca* in *LT* manuscripts: *gargisca*, *gargita*, *gagista*, *gargista*, *sargista*, *grigiesca*, *garguisca*, *garguista*, *gagisca*, *gorgista* (MacDonald 342).

<sup>138</sup> Variant forms of *azar* in *LT* manuscripts: *arar*, *asar*, *a(^??)[^z]ar*, *alzar* (MacDonald 342).

<sup>139</sup> Variant forms of *en tres* in *LT* manuscripts: *antes*, *e non tres* (MacDonald 342).

<sup>140</sup> “jaldeta [*der. from jalde*] s., f. 1. ‘(clase de) juego jugado por dinero’ *XL.a.(51)* si jugaren a la jaldeta fuera de la tafureria ... njn a otro juego njnguno a que se pierden dineros, que pague” (MacDonald 367).

Variant forms of *jaldeta* in *LT* manuscripts: *xaldeta*, *galdeta*, *galdera*, *faldeta* (MacDonald 305 and 343).

<sup>141</sup> “cruçetas [*der. from ‘cruz’*] s., f. (*w/o. sg.*) 1. ‘(clase de) juego jugado por dinero’ *XL.a.(57)* E si jugaren a la jaldeta fuera de la tafureria, njn a pares non pares, njn a cruçetas ... que paque ...” (MacDonald 359). Variant forms of *cruçetas* in *LT* manuscripts: *anzetas*, *cruzes*, *cruçetas*, *ançetas*, *crusetas*, *cruçezcas*, *cruçetas* (MacDonald 342).

<sup>142</sup> “vallesta [*from Lat. ballista*] s., f. 1. ‘(clase de) juego’ (*Can it possibly be related to ballestilla?*) *XL.a.(66)* si jugare a la jaldeta fuera de la tafureria ... njn a otro juego njnguno a que se pierdan dineros, que pague saluo si fuere a la vallesta” (MacDonald 382). Variant forms of *vallesta* in *LT* manuscripts: *ballesta*, *valesta*, *batalla*, *balesta* (MacDonald 305 and 343).

<sup>143</sup> “tejuelo [*der. from ‘tejo’*] s., m. 1. ‘juego de la chita o del chito, en que se tiro con un tejo’ *XL.a.(67)* pague saluo si fuere a la vallesta, o al tejuelo” (MacDonald 381). Variant forms of *tejuelo* in *LT* manuscripts: *tijuelo*, *tojuelo*, *tejolo*, *texuelo*, *tejuello*, *tajuelo* (MacDonald 305 and 343).

<sup>144</sup> “dardo [*from Fr. dard?*] s., m. 1. ‘(clase de) juego’ *XL.a.(68)* que pague saluo si fuere a la vallesta, o al tejuelo, o al dardo, o a la vja de la capa” (MacDonald 360). Variant form of *dardo* in *LT* manuscripts: *dado* (MacDonald 305 and 343).

por mandado de aquellos que toujeren las tafurerias, que pecha la pena que manda la carta del rrey en rrazon de las tafurerias, saluo si jugaren a comer o a beuer ansi como dize en la Ley deste Libro. (MacDonald 295-96)

Connecting Isidore's classical grouping of theatre and chess as types of play with this idea of play as a mirror of life is also found in Ch. XII of the *Segunda Parte del Ingenioso Caballero Don Quijote de la Mancha*, fittingly titled "De la extraña aventura que le sucedió al valeroso don Quijote con el bravo Caballero de los Espejos."<sup>145</sup> Cervantes presents both theatre, such as the *Danza* or *Parlamento de la muerte* so similar to Pedro Calderón de la Barca's *Gran teatro del mundo*, and chess as mirrors of life, echoing Omar Khayyam's "Rubáiyát" where at the end of the play all men are equal in the grave.

That Alfonso himself may also have seen the *LJ* as a type of prince's dial can be substantiated by Law Ten of his *Siete Partidas*. This law covers what things the king's children should be taught as they grow older. Among the princes' training, Alfonso includes the same three types of play seen in the *LJ*'s prologue, on horseback, on foot in practice at arms and sitting at board games.<sup>146</sup> The collections of exempla fostered by this royal family, and discussed in further detail below, like the chess problems and games themselves all present problems of both metaphorical and allegorical natures for kings, whether in real life or on the chess board.

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<sup>145</sup> Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Don Quijote de la Mancha II (Segunda parte del ingenioso caballero don Quijote de la Mancha)*. John Jay Allen, ed. 16th ed. 2 vols. (Madrid: Cátedra, 1994) 2: 108-14.

<sup>146</sup> "E otrosi les deuen mostrar commo sepan caualgar & caçar & iugar toda manera de iuegos & vsar toda manera de armas segund que conuiene a fijos de rey" (John O'Neill, ed., "*Siete Partidas de Alfonso X* [Seville, Oct. 1491] New York: Hispanic Society. Transcribed by Ivy A. Corfís [text.spo]," *The Electronic Texts and Concordances Madison Corpus of Early Spanish MSS and Printings*, CD-ROM, [Madison, WI: HSMS, 1999] fol. 86r).

World chess champion, Gary Kasparov, has made a similar observation concerning the game:

Chess has much to offer the world, especially youngsters who benefit greatly from more disciplined thinking, friendly competition, and learning about the consequences of their actions. It has been shown in many studies that children exposed to chess perform better on exams and are, even, better behaved. It stimulates the powers of imagination and calculation and also improves concentration.<sup>147</sup>

According to the *Guinness Book of World Records*,

In chess there is an incredible 169,518,829,000,000,000,000, 000 ways to play the first ten moves. The brain has to do with an infinite number of calculations so concentration, imagination, and logical thinking are required to anticipate your opponent's moves and plot your own. A project in New Brunswick, Canada, in the 1990s used chess to teach math in grades 2—7. The average problem solving score in the province increased from 62% to 81%. The game is now taught in schools in 30 countries worldwide.<sup>148</sup>

Chess teaches pattern recognition and “the playing of such games cultivates in its players the ability to grasp its underlying patterns” (Pennick 200). Politically, its lessons can teach how to govern what is one's own and to protect the space around one's king. Kasparov also says that chess fosters “talents and experience [that] can be useful in the political realm. There is something to be said for a chess player's ability to see the whole board.”<sup>149</sup> Also according to *Guinness*, “British chess playing champions were recruited during World War II to help break German codes.”<sup>150</sup> Bruce Beckers adds that “[i]t is

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<sup>147</sup> Gary Kasparov, “The Great Game,” *The Wall Street Journal* 14 Mar. 2005: A16.

<sup>148</sup> *Guinness World Records* 29 Apr. 2005 <[http://www.guinnessworldrecords.com/gwr5/content\\_pages/record.asp?recordid=55923](http://www.guinnessworldrecords.com/gwr5/content_pages/record.asp?recordid=55923)>.

<sup>149</sup> Kasparov A16.

<sup>150</sup> *Guinness World Records* 29 Apr. 2005 <[http://www.guinnessworldrecords.com/gwr5/content\\_pages/record.asp?recordid=55923](http://www.guinnessworldrecords.com/gwr5/content_pages/record.asp?recordid=55923)>.

rumored that backgammon is part of the curriculum at our war colleges.”<sup>151</sup>

Additionally, both the exempla and the game of chess proceed from the Eastern tradition and are presented in similar formats: presentation of the problem, explication of its solution and an artistic finale whether poetical, musical, artistic or a combination of all three. This same format was even used by Alfonso for his *Cantigas*.

Returning to the idea of teaching games to children, the *LJ*'s images provide ample evidence for this in six miniatures. Fols. 15r and 16r respectively show two kings teaching chess to two princes and the female version, two queens teaching two princesses chess. A religious version of the same theme is echoed on fols. 33r and 33v with two monks teaching two boys and at least one nun, perhaps two, teaching two girls. Two more women teach girls chess on fol. 58r, the pair at the right likely being Alfonso's lover Mayor and their eldest child Beatriz. While dice games were not considered edifying, children are seen being taught tables on fol. 74r and mill on fol. 93v. See also Appendix D5 showing details of the miniatures which show children being taught to play a game, illustrating the *LJ* as a dial of princes and princesses.

Law Twenty-One of the *Siete Partidas* allows the king himself certain pleasures such as hunting,<sup>152</sup> music and games like chess and tables that can be of comfort to him

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<sup>151</sup> Bruce Becker, *Backgammon for Blood* (New York: Avon by arrangement with Dutton, 1974) 157.

<sup>152</sup> The *Siete Partidas* lists hunting and games mentioned as king's pleasures. “{RUB. Ley .xx. como el rey deue ser manno so en çazar.} Mannoso deue el rey ser & sabidor de otras cosas que se toman en sabor & en alegria para poder mejor sufrir los grandes trabajos & pesares quando los ouiere segund diximos en la ley ante desta. & para esto vna delas cosas que falla son los sabios que mas tiene pro es la çaza. de qual manera quier que sea. ca ella ayuda mucho amenguar los pensamientos & la sanna lo que es mas menester a rey que a otro onbre & sin todo aquesto da salud. Ca el trabajo que en ella toma sy es con mesura faze comer & dormir bien que es la mayor cosa dela vida del onbre. & el plazer que en ella recibe es otro sy grand alegria commo apoderarse delas aues & delas bestias brauas & fazen los que los obedescan & le sirvan aduziendo los otros asu mano. E poren de los antiguos touieron que conuiene esto mucho a los

when faced with cares and troubles.<sup>153</sup> However the same law cautions that for every thing there is a season and games and other forms of relaxation are only to be used in the proper time and not played for profit or greed (see emphasized portion of previous note).

Games were not just common amusements to be enjoyed by everyone but actual training or leisure befitting only certain people.<sup>154</sup> The *Disciplina clericalis* by Moses

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reyes mas que aotros onbres. & esto por tres razones. La primera por alongar su vida & su salud & acrescentar su entendimiento & redrar de si los cuydados & los pesares que son cosas que enbargan mucho el seso & todos los onbres de buen sentido deuen esto fazer para poder mejor beuir a acabamiento desus fechos. & sobre esto dixo caton el sabio que todo onbre deue alas vegadas boluer entre sus cuydados alegria & plazer. ca la cosa que alguna vegada no fuelga no puede mucho durar que es arte & sabiduria de guerrear & de vencer delo que deuen los reyes ser mucho sabidores. La tercera por que mas abundada la puedan mantener los reyes que los otros onbres. pero con todo esto no deue y meter tanta costa porque mengue en lo que ha de conplir ni otrosi no deue tanto vsar dellas que le enbargue los otros fechos que han de fazer. & los reyes que de otra guisa vsas sen dela caça sino commo dicho auemos meter seyten por desentendidos desanparando por ella los otros grandes fechos que ouiesesen de fazer. & sin todo esto el alegria que dende reçibie sen por fuerça se les avria a tornar en pesar onde les vernia grandes enfermedades en lugar de salud. & demas avria dios de tomar dellos vengança} {CB2. con grand derecho por que vsaron commo no deuiian delas cosas que el fizo eneste mundo. {RUB. Ley veynte & vna. de que alegria deue el rey vsar alas vegadas para tomar conorte enlos pesares & en las cuytas.} Alegrias ay otras sin las que diximos enlas leyes ante desta que fueron falladas para tomar onbre conorte enlos cuydados & enlos pesares quando los ouiesen. E estos son oyr can tares & sonos & estormentes & iugar axedrez o tablas o otros iuegos semeiantes destes. E eso mismo dezimos delas estorias & delos romançes & los otros libros que fablan de aquellas cosas de que no onbres reçiben alegria & plazer. & maguer que cadavna destas fuesse fallada para bien con todo esto non deue onbre dellas vsar sino enel tiempo que conuiene & de manera que aya pro & no danno & mas conuiene esto alos reyes que a los otros onbres. ca ellos deuen fazer las cosas muy ordenadamente & con razon. E sobre esto dixo el rey salamon que tienpos sennalados son sobre cada cosa que conuiene a aquella & no a otra: asi commo cantar alas bodas & llantear alos duelos. Ca los cantores non fueron fechos sinon por alegria de manera que reçiban dellos plazer & pierdan los cuydados. Onde quien vsasse dellos ademas sataria el alegria de su lugar & tornarla ye en manera de locura. E eso mismo dezimos delos sonos & delos estormentes mas delos otros iuegos que de suso mostramos **non deuen dellos vsar syno para poder perder cuydado & reçebir dellos alegria & no para cobdiçia de ganar por ellos. Ca la ganancia que ende viene no puede ser grande ni muy prouechosa & que de otra guisa vsasse dellos reçebiria ende grandes pesares en lugar de plazer & tornarse ya commo en manera de tafureria que es cosa de que vienen muchos dannos & muchos males & pesa mucho a dios & alos onbres porque es contra toda bondad.** & porende el rey que no sopiese destas cosas bien vsar segund de suso diximos sin el pecado & la mal estança que le ende vernia seguirle ya avn dello grand danno que enveles çeria su fecho dexando las cosas mayores por las viles” (fol. 83v, emphasis mine).

<sup>153</sup> Quoting Salomon’s dictum that to every thing there is a season, Alfonso links the two royal entertainments of hunting and games in Laws 20 and 21 of the second part, title six of his *Siete Partidas*, thus linking Frederick II’s *De arte venandi cum avibus* with Alfonso’s *LJ*: “Alegrias ay otras sin las que diximos enlas leyes ante desta que fueron falladas para tomar onbre conorte enlos cuydados & enlos pesares quando los ouiesen. E estos son oyr cantares & sonos & estormentes & iugar axedrez o tablas o otros iuegos semeiantes destes” (fol. 83v).

<sup>154</sup> The *LJ*’s prologue also offers a fairly democratic list of people who might take pleasure in these sedentary games: “Los otros iuegos que se fazen seyendo; son assi como iogar açedrex. & tablas &

Cohen (baptised Petrus Alphonsi 1106 and Alfonso VI's physician) considered playing chess one of the seven knightly accomplishments<sup>155</sup> and Baldassare Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*, Book II, praises chess over dice and cards. The *Siete Partidas* prohibits both prelates and clergy from games and gambling. Law Fifty-Seven is clear from its title "que los perlados non deuen de yr a ver los iuegos ni iugar tablas no dados ni otros iuegos que los sacasen de sosegamiento" (fol. 23r). According to Law Thirty-Four, clerics are to be generous and hospitable, guarding themselves against the sort of greed which prelates were cautioned to avoid "& non deuen iugar dados ni<n> tablas nin boluerse con tafures ni atenerse con ellos."<sup>156</sup>

### 1.1.1.2 Fernando's *Espejo* to Alfonso

The *Libro de los doce sabios* or *Libro de la nobleza y lealtad* is the "espejo de príncipes" begun by Fernando III el Santo around the same time then Prince Alfonso was working on the translation of *Kalila wa Dimna* and his brother Fadrique was working on

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dados. & otros trebeios de muchas maneras. E como quiere que todos estos iuegos son muy buenos cadaunos en el tiempo & en el lugar o conuienen; pero por que estos iuegos que se fazen seyendo son cutianos. & se fazen tan bien de noche como de dia; & por que las mugieres que non caualgan & estan encerradas an a usar desto; & otrossi los omnes que son uieios & flacos. o los que han sabor de auer sus plazer apartadamiente por que non reciban en ellos enoio nin pesar; o los que son en poder ageno assi como en prision o en catiuero o que uan sobre mar. E comunalmiente todos & aquellos que han fuerte tiempo; por que non pueden caualgar nin yr a caça ni a otra parte; & han por fuerça de fincar [fol. 1v] en las casas & buscar algunas maneras de iuegos con que hayan plazer & se conorten & no esten baldios" (fols. 1r and 1v).

<sup>155</sup> "Probitates vero hae sunt: Equitare, natate, sagittare, cestibus certare, aucupare, scaccis ludere, versificari" (Keats 135n3). All seven of these knightly pursuits are illustrated in either or both the *LJ* and the *CSM*. Riding is shown throughout the *CSM* and horses are shown on *LJ* fol. 67v; swimming is shown in the *CSM*; bow hunting is shown in the *CSM* and with the bows on *LJ* fols. 11v and 91v; boxing is seen in the fights over dice in the *CSM* and on *LJ* fols. 67r and 70v; hawking is shown in the *CSM* and in the hawks on *LJ* fols. 8r and 30v; chess is of course shown in the first treatise of the *LJ*; and finally, verse writing is shown in the prologue to the *CSM*. Keats says Cessolis cites Petro Alfonsi's *DC* (Cf. Murray 1913: 541).

<sup>156</sup> John O'Neill, ed., "*Siete Partidas* [text.spo]," by Alfonso X, *The Electronic Texts and Concordances Madison Corpus of Early Spanish MSS and Printings*, CD-ROM, [Madison, WI: HSMS, 1999] fol. 29r.

the *Libro de los engaños*, completed after his death by Alfonso.<sup>157</sup> Fernando's grandson and Alfonso's nephew, don Juan Manuel, continued what had apparently become a family tradition with his collection *Conde Lucanor* as did Sancho IV with his *Castigos e documentos para bien vivir* (Keller, *Alfonso* 52). The *Libro de los doce sabios* opens its prologue with a king, very like the *LJ*'s Indian king in the prologue's game origin myth, who has consulted his wise men and ordered them to bring him physical proof. This proof comes in the form of the advice written down by the twelve wise men themselves for the purpose of advising Fernando and his descendants, making an explicit allusion to the three wise men<sup>158</sup> who followed a star to witness Christ's birth and an implicit one to Christ's twelve apostles.

As Fernando consulted his wise men on matters spiritual and temporal in order to make a book for his sons, so Alfonso followed in his father's footsteps by completing the work his father had begun and creating many other works of his own for his children to follow including the *Siete Partidas* and the *LJ*. After his father's death, Alfonso not only completed his own *speculum principum*, but also added a final chapter showing his desire to imitate his father's actions. In Ch. LXVI, Alfonso explains that when great discord arose among his siblings and subjects shortly after his accession to the throne, he sent for his sainted father's wise men to counsel him. Learning that two of the wise men had since

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<sup>157</sup> “Y señor, a lo que ahora mandades que vos demos por escrito todas las cosas que todo príncipe y regidor de reino debe haber en sí, y de como debe obrar en aquello que a él mismo pertenece. Y otrosí de como debe regir, y castigar, y mandar, y conocer a los del su reino, para que vos y los nobles señores infantes vuestros hijos tengáis esta nuestra escritura para estudiarla y mirar en ella como en espejo” (fol. 1r). This and all quotes from John K. Walsh, *El libro de los doze sabios o Tractado de la nobleza y lealtad [ca. 1237]*, Real Academia Española de la Lengua (*Anejos del Boletín de la RAE*, XXIX), Madrid (1975) 71-118.

<sup>158</sup> “Y señor, Él que es Rey de los Reyes, Nuestro Señor Jesucristo, que guió a los tres reyes magos, guíe y ensalce la vuestra alteza y de los vuestros reinos, y a todo lo que más amades y bien queredes.”

died, Alfonso chose their replacements and with good advice from this counsel of twelve he was able to overcome his difficulties. Alfonso also asked that each of the twelve write a sentence in praise of his father and, with their learned eulogy, Alfonso ends the work.

Other direct echoes from his father's *Libro de los doce sabios* are clear in the *LJ* in the number twelve but also even in the language explaining how the chessmen and their moves are analogous to the men they represent in real life. Fernando's advice to his son Alfonso in Ch. XLII of the *Libro de los doce sabios* says that the king should not rush into any action until he has thought about it.<sup>159</sup> Comparing this passage to Alfonso's description of how the king of the chessmen ought to act shows clearly that he heeded well his father's advice and how profoundly he takes game symbolism:

ca assi como el Rey non se deue arrebatat en las batallas mas yr muy a passo & ganando siempre delos enemigos & punnando como los uenzca. assi el Rey delos trebeios; no a de andar mas de a una casa en so derecho. o en sosquino como qui cata a todas partes en derredor dessi metiendo mientes en lo que ha de fazer. (fol. 3v)

One final bit of advice from his father's *Libro de los doce sabios* makes a more subtle appearance in the miniature of fol. 61r. In these unusual figures, whether little or deformed people, I see Alfonso following the counsel of Ch. XXXVI which directs that the king not disregard the counsel of simple men or from those where he might not expect to find it.<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>159</sup> “No te arrebatas a hacer ningún hecho hasta que primeramente lo pienses, salvo cuando vieres a tus enemigos delante ti. Que aquí no hay que pensar, salvo herir reciamente y pasar adelante.”

<sup>160</sup> “No desprecies el consejo de los simples, y sobre gran cosa, o a que se requiera juicio, ayunta a los grandes y a los pequeños, y tendrás en que escoger. Que muchas veces envía Dios su gracia en personas que no se podría pensar, y los consejos son gracia de Dios, y no leyes escritas. Aunque el fundamento de cada cosa sea buena razón, tan aína y más es dotada a los simples como a los letrados, a los chicos como a los grandes poderosos. Y recibe todos los dichos de los que vinieren a ti, que mientras más echan en el saco, más aína se finche.”

### 1.1.1.3 *Kalila wa Dimna*

It is curious and possibly momentous that Alfonso translated the oriental *speculum principum*, *Kalila wa Dimna*, and then ordered a book of games including especially chess. Murray mentions the connection between the provenance of chess and the *Kalila e Dimna* four times in his *A History of Chess* (1913: 27, 57, 154 and 215). According to him, “[c]hess is usually associated with the decimal numerals as an Indian invention, and its introduction into Persia is consistently connected with the introduction of the book *Kalila wa Dimna* (the *Fables of Pilpay*) in the region of the Sasanian monarch Khusraw I Nushirwan, 531-78 A.D.” (Murray 1913: 27). His other quotes ultimately attribute this information to al-Adli, al-Masudi and ar-Ristami. Given the historical parallel, it is possible and perhaps even likely that Alfonso also saw in the two works a metaphorical parallel given their contents of problems for kings. In a quote Murray believes is probably from al-Adli, in the manuscript AH: “It is universally acknowledged that three things were produced from India, in which no other country anticipated it, and the like of which existed nowhere else: the book *Kalila wa Dimna*, the nine cyphers with which one can count to infinity, and chess.”<sup>161</sup>

### 1.1.1.4 The *LJ*’s Prologue and the Three Magi

Other great chess historians from Antonius van der Linde (1833-1897) to Murray have studied the origin myths of chess. What we learn from their fundamental work is that the myth Alfonso chooses to include in his book is different from most if not all

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<sup>161</sup> Murray (1913: 57); he uses the designation AH for the manuscript *Abd-al-Hamid I, Constantinople, no. 560*, one of two manuscripts “of the same Arabic work, the ... ‘*Book of the chess; extracts from the works of al-Adli, as-Suli and others*’” (Murray 1913: 171-72).

other chess origin myths.<sup>162</sup> In spite of the creative variety of chess origin myths, however, Alfonso's remains unique due to the inclusion of the three wise men. Indeed, their presence bears a striking resemblance to the story of the nativity of Christ as exemplified by the late twelfth-century *Auto de los reyes magos*.<sup>163</sup> This parallel may

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<sup>162</sup> J. B. Sánchez Pérez incorrectly claims that Alfonso does not speak of the origin of chess since at that time “se desconocía completamente” (11).

<sup>163</sup> The *Siete Partidas* prohibited games to prelates and priests and mentions the miracle play of the three magi: “{RUB. Ley .lvii. que los perlados non de uen de yr a ver los iuegos ni iugar tablas no dados ni otros iuegos que los sacasen de sosegamiento.} Cuerdamente deuen los perlados traer sus fazriendas commo onbres de quien los otros toman enxemplo: assy commo desuso es dicho. & por ende non deuen yr a ver los iuegos assy commo alançar a tablado o bohordar o lidiar los toros o otras bestias brauas: ni yr a ver los que lidian. Otrosy no deuen iugar dados ni tablas ni pe lota ni trebejo otros iuegos semeiantes destos porque ayan de salir del asosegamiento: ni pararse} {CB2. a ver lo ni atenerse conlos que iuegan: que si los fiziessen despues que los amonestassen los que tienen poder delo fazer deuen por ello ser ve dados desu ofiçio por tres annos. ni deuen otro si alçar con su mano ave nin bestia: y el que lo fiziese despues que gelo vedassen sus mayora les deue ser vedado del ofiçio por tres annos” (fol. 23r) and “{RUB. Ley .xxxiiij. como los clerigos deuen dezir las horas & fazer las cosas que son conuinientes & buenas & guardarse delas otras.} Apartadamente son escogidos los clerigos para seruicio de dios & porende se deuen trabajar quanto pudieren seruir lo segund dize la primera ley deste titulo ca ellos han de dezir las horas en la yglesia & los que no pudieren ay venir no deuen dexar de dezir las oras por donde estuuieren. onde pues que puestos son para ello y han orden sagrada & yglesia cada vno dellos son tenidos delo fazer. Otrosi deuen ser ospedadores & largos en dar sus cosas a los que las ouieren menester & guardarse de cobdicia mala segund que de suso es dicho en el titulo delos perlados & non deuen iugar dados nin tablas nin boluense contafures ni atenerse con ellos ni deuen entrar en tauernas a beuer saluo si lo fiziesen por premia & andando camino nin de uen ser fazedores de iuegos descarnios porque los vengyan aver las gentes como se fazen & si otros onbres los fizieren no deuen los clerigos ay venir porque fazen ay muchas villanias & desaposturas ni deuen otrosi estas cosas fazer en las yglesias antes dezimos que los deuen echar dellas desonrradamente a los que fizieren que la yglesia de dios es fecha para orar & no para fazer escarnios en ella que assi lo dixo nuestro sennor iesu xpisto en el euangelio que la su casa era llamada casa de oracion & no deue ser fecha cueua de ladrones: pero representacion ay que pueden los clerigos fazer assi como dela nascencia de nuestro sennor iesu xpisto & muestra como el angel vino a los pastores & como les dixo como era iesu xpisto nascido & otrosi de su aparicion como los tres reyes magos lo vinieron adorar & de su resurreccion que muestra que fue crucificado & resuscito al terçero dia tales cosas como estas que mueuen al onbre a fazer bien & a aver deuocion en la fe pueden las fazer & de mas porque los onbres ayan remenbrança que segund aquellas fueron las otras fechas de verdad mas esto deuen fazer apuestamente & con muy grand deuocio(u)n & en las çibdades grandes donde ouieren arçobispos o obispos & con su mandado dellos o de los otros que touieren sus} {CB2. vezes & no lo deuen fazer en las aldeas nin en los lugares viles nin por ganar dineros con ello” (fol. 29r). These same entertainments appear in Alfonso's youthful profane poetry as well as in the *Estoria de España*: “...Nen de lançar a tavlado / pagado / non sōo, se Deus nãmpar / aqui, nen de bafordar; / e andar de noue armado, / sen grado / o faço, e a roldar; / ca mais me pago do mar / que de seer cavaleiro; / ca eu foi j'a marinheiro / e quero-m'ô-i-mais guardar / do alacran, e tornar / ao que me foi primeiro.” From the profane poetry of young Alfonso el Sabio, *Historia y antología de la poesía española: 1150-1650*. Edición y notas de Richard P. Kinkade y Dana A. Nelson. 3ª edición revisada. (Tucson, AZ: Dept. of Spanish and Portuguese, 1998) 59. “Estas bodas duraron .v. sedmanas. Et fueron y grandes alegrías a de mas. De alançar a tablados. & de boffordar. & de correr toros. & de iogar tablas. & acedrexes. & de muchos ioglares” (from the wedding celebration of the seven *infantes* of Salas in

very well indicate a subtle Christian apology of a Christian king's approval of and joy in games that were often condemned if not outright banned by both Catholic and Muslim religious authorities. For all the artistic parallels between the *LJ* and the *CSM*, there is one striking difference. Save for two initial and almost generic references to "God" on the first two folios, there is no mention of any Christian religious elements in the entire final work of Alfonso X.<sup>164</sup> Throughout the rest of the work, the only gods mentioned are Roman for whom the planets were named and whose likenesses are represented by the playing pieces in the astrological games. Most other medieval treatises on chess are less about chess than they are an excuse for a morality play or a comparison between the game and the various stations in medieval hierarchical society. Alfonso's work takes pains to point out chess's realism but stops well short of making his book a morality tale. This is due, most likely, to the deeper and more complex spiritual dimensions which he saw in the games and which, as already mentioned, will be further treated in Chapter III.

The prologue's myth about the origins of the games of chess, dice and backgammon bears a few but marked and telling similarities to the story of the visitation of the Magi at Christ's nativity. Since chess history and literature are rife with origin myths, such as the one given by Jacobus de Cessolis in the *Tractatus de ludo scacorum* (1462) about the Babylonian king Evilmerodach's invention of a board based on the city

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Lloyd August Kasten, John J. Nitti and Wilhelmina Jonxis-Henkemans, eds., "*Estoria de España*: Escorial: Monasterio [text.oe2]," by Alfonso X, *The Electronic Texts and Concordances of the Prose Works of Alfonso X, El Sabio*, CD-ROM, [Madison, WI: HSMS, 1997] fols. 83v and 84r).

<sup>164</sup> "Por que toda manera de alegria quiso **dios** que ouiessen los omnes en si naturalmientre por que pudiessen soffrir las cueytras & los trabajaos quandoles uiniessen; por end los omnes buscaron muchas maneras por que esta alegria pudiessen auer complidamientre" and "E Por ende nos don Alffonso por la gracia de **dios** Rey de Castiella. de Toledo de Leon de Gallizia de Seuilla & de Cordoua de Murcia de Jahen & del Algarue; mandamos fazer este libro en que fablamos en la manera daquellos iuegos que se fazen mas apuestos. assi como acedrex & dados & tablas" (both from fol. 1r, emphasis mine). See also Chapter III's discussion of "The *LJ* as a Christian Apology of Games."

plan of Babylon,<sup>165</sup> and the fact that among all these myths Alfonso's appears to be unique, it seems likely that the similarities it presents with a Christian tale popular at the time are not coincidental. The *Auto de los reyes magos*, an anonymous work dating from the second half of the twelfth century which also deals with this same tale, is the earliest known dramatic work in Spanish literature. The three magi are, like the three *sabios* who advise the Indian king in Alfonso's origin myth, wise men who consult their books to advise their king, the infamous Herod. Ironically, Herod is concerned about the man who will overthrow him and take his crown as happened to Alfonso at the hands of his rebellious son Sancho in 1282 even as the *LJ* was in the process of composition. Adding to the comparison between the magi and the *LJ*'s origin myth, the wise men, known among many other names as Gaspar, Balthasar and Melchor, are also astrologers or astronomers drawn to the location of Christ's birth by the miraculous sign in the heavens. The Three kings, as the traditional Christmas carol tells, were from the Orient as were these three types of games. Brunet y Bellet believes that the philosophical motive given for the invention has every indication of having originated with Alfonso himself or the wise man whom he ordered to write it since, after the fashion of the time, the invention is attributed to an unnamed and therefore imaginary king of an undetermined place and time in order to give the tale a more poetic character.

Since one of the purposes of this dissertation is to present all the text and games within the *LJ* in the most universal format, I have presented the chess problems in

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<sup>165</sup> Cf. Jacobus de Cessolis, *Tractatus de ludo scacorum [Liber de moribus hominum et officiis nobilium]*, ed. Luis Vázquez de Parga ( Madrid: Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, Dirección General de Archivos y Bibliotecas, 1970). Van der Linde treats the origin myths more fully in his *Geschichte und Literatur des Schachspiels* (Leipzig, 1874).

expanded algebraic notation. No such notation exists for the remainder of the text or the games in the *LJ* and so I will offer their translation into modern English. Rubrics are noted in bold and folio numbers are given in square brackets.

#### **1.1.1.5 English Translation of the *LJ*'s Prologue<sup>166</sup>**

[fol. 1r] Because God desired that man might have every manner of happiness, in himself naturally, so that they could suffer cares and troubles when they came to them, therefore men sought out many ways that they could have this happiness completely.

Wherefore they found and made many types of play and pieces with which to delight themselves.

Some on horseback, like throwing javelins and spears, taking up shield and lance, shooting with bow and arrow, or others games of whatever manner they be that can be played on horseback.

And although they are based on the use of and skill with weapons, because they are not that same thing, they call it sport.

And the others that are done on foot are like fencing,<sup>167</sup> fighting, running, jumping, throwing rocks or darts, hitting the ball and other games of many kinds in which men use their limbs in order to make them strong and have fun.

The other games that are played sitting are like playing chess, tables and dice and other game pieces of many types.

And though all these games are each very good in the time and place where they belong, but because these latter games are played sitting they are everyday and they are played as well at night as in the day; and because women who do not ride and are confined are to use them; and also men who are old and weak, or those who like to take their pleasures separately in order not to be irritated or grieved by them; or those who are under another's power as in prison or captivity or who are at sea. And

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<sup>166</sup> I have translated the *LJ* into modern English, attempting as much as possible to balance the dual goals of ease of reading with proper English and verbatim translation to scan as closely as possible with my critical text of the original manuscript. In the cases of dice and tables games, I have employed the modern terminology pertinent for related games such as craps and backgammon, where for chess games, I use the terminology and phrasing of the USCF Official Rules of Chess for greater clarity to the modern player. Any variance from the original or difficulty of translation is noted and explained in footnotes.

<sup>167</sup> In section VII titled "Los embajadores sarracenos ante Carlomagno", Charlemagne is found in Spain among his men playing chess: "Estos caballeros están sentados en alfombras blancas; para solazarse juegan a las tablas y los más prudentes y los viejos al ajedrez, y los ágiles donceles hacen esgrima" (*El Cantar de Roldán*, 3rd ed. Martín de Riquer, trans. [Madrid: Espasa, 1969] 8).

equally all those who have harsh weather<sup>168</sup> so that they cannot ride or go hunting or elsewhere and have perforce to remain [fol. 1v] indoors and seek some kinds of sport with which to amuse and comfort themselves and not be idle.

And therefore we don Alfonso by the grace of God King of Castile, Toledo, León, Galicia, Seville, Cordova, Murcia, Jaen and Algarve commanded that this book be made in which we speak about those games which are made most beautifully, like chess, dice and tables.

And although these games may be divided in many ways, because chess is more noble and of greater mastery than the others, we speak of it first. But before we talk of this we wish to show some reasons, according to what the ancient wise men said, why these three types of games—chess, dice and tables—were invented. Because about this they gave many reasons, each one wishing to show why these games were invented but those which are most certain and most true are these.

As it is told in the ancient histories of India there was a king who greatly loved his wise men and had them always with him and he made them very often to reason over the nature of things. And of these he had three there who had various opinions. The one said that skill was worth more than luck because he that lived by his wits did things in an orderly fashion and even if he lost that he was not to blame in this because he did what suited him. The other said that luck was worth more than wit because if his fortune was to lose or to win, no matter how much skill he might have, he could not avoid it. The third one said that best was he who could live drawing upon the one and the other because this was prudence, because the more skill he had, the more care he could take to do things as completely as he could. And also the more he depended upon luck, the greater there would be his risk because it is not a certain thing. But truest prudence<sup>169</sup> was to take [fol. 2r] from the wit that which man understood was most to his advantage and from luck man should protect himself from harm as much as he could and to help himself with what was to him advantage from it.

And after they had spoken their reasons very zealously the king ordered therefore that each one bring an example to prove that which they said and he gave them the time period which they requested. They went away and consulted their books, each according to his opinion. And when

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<sup>168</sup> Cf. Bland's discussion of a 1446 work titled *Anmúzaj ul Catál (Exemplum rei militaricæ)*, whose fourth chapter "especially treats of the proper times and seasons for playing, the best being considered when rain falls" (30).

<sup>169</sup> Compare this portion of the *LJ*'s prologue with al-Masudi's comments on *nard* in his *Muruj adh-dhahab*, "Lastly, a Muslim philosopher has maintained that the inventor of chess was a mu'tazilite believer in the freedom of the will, while the inventor of *nard* was a fatalist who wished to show by this game that man can do nothing against fate, and that the true wisdom is to mould one's life in agreement with the decrees of chance" (Murray 1913: 210).

the time arrived, they each came before the king with their example.

And the one whose opinion was skill brought chess with its pieces showing that he who had more wits and who was perceptive could beat the other.

And the second whose opinion was fortune brought dice showing that skill mattered nothing without luck because it seemed through luck that men came to their advantage or their harm.

The third who said that it was best to draw from both brought the tables board with its pieces counted and placed orderly in their spaces and with its dice which move them in order to play, as is shown in this book which speaks separately about this and which teaches that through their play, he who knows how to play them well, even though the luck of the dice be against him, that because of his prudence he will be able to play his pieces in such a manner as to avoid the harm that may come to him through the rolls of the dice.

### **1.1.2 The Introduction to the “Libro del acedrex”**

The *LJ*'s first and largest treatise is the “Libro del acedrex” or “Book of Chess” (fols. 1r through 64r, with fol. 64v blank). My translation of its introduction appears after my analysis of the equipment, the piece moves and captures as well as the forced game presented therein.

#### **1.1.2.1 The Equipment**

Alfonso's chess, like modern chess, was played on a square board composed of 64 squares. These squares alternate light and dark, with the miniatures if not the text indicating that the *LJ* held to what is the modern standard of always having a white square at the lower right of the board.

Both players' armies are, then as now, composed of sixteen pieces, one set light and one set dark. One hundred and one of the *LJ* problems show black and white pieces, while Problems 78 and 79 (fols. 50r and 50v) show the more Arabic-style red and white pieces. The armies and their arrangements are nearly identical to today's chess, with only

two large differences. Neither the modern queen nor the modern bishop had yet evolved to their present powers and were in fact called by other names: the *alferza* (vizier) and the *alfil* (elephant). Their powers are discussed below.

The *LJ* specifies how a six-sided die was to be used to speed the play, like early four-handed Indian chaturanga, of what tended to be a slower game.<sup>170</sup> The six faces of the die were assigned by rank to the chessmen. The numbers were assigned reflecting the relative value of the six types of pieces. The highest number was assigned to the highest ranking piece, the king, and so on, down through five for the fers, four for the rook, three for the knight, two for the fil and one for the pawn.

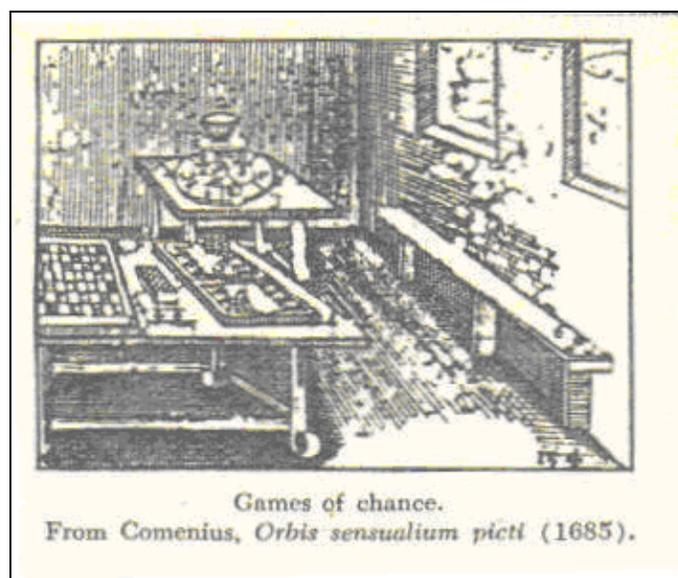


Fig. 1. "Games of chance."<sup>171</sup>

Comenius's inclusion of chess with tables and roulette in his illustration at first seems at variance with the *LJ*'s notion that chess is a game of skill played by wits. His

<sup>170</sup> Falkener observes that Oriental games tend to be longer to play (61) and that the taste for games which are quicker to play seems to have paralleled technological advancements of convenience (76). Alfonso's distaste for lengthy games is discussed in a note in Section 1.1.3.1.

<sup>171</sup> Image of Johann Amos Comenius's *Orbis sensualium picti* (1685) from Lilly C. Stone's *English Sports and Recreations* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1960), pl. 18.

text makes it clear that only skill holds sway in chess but the presence here of chance could be understood due to the use in some instances of dice in order to speed or add spice to the game.<sup>172</sup> The modern evolution of the idea of speeding or randomizing the play of chess by the use of a six-sided die is the Chessizer<sup>173</sup> or Chess Equalizer die. The Chessizer is a ten-sided die with faces showing one king, one queen, one rook, one bishop, one knight, four pawns and one infinity symbol. On each turn, a player rolls the die to see what piece to move. If the suggestion given requires either an illegal or impossible move, the player rolls again. A roll of the infinity symbol means he may move the piece of his choice. The manufacturer's instructions give many ways to use the die to break the monotony of regular chess or allow two unequally matched players to have more even chances.

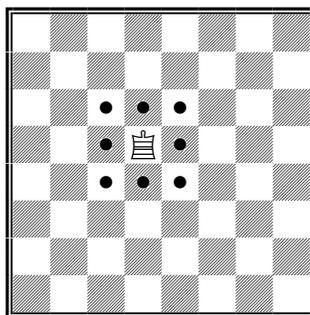


Fig. 2. The King's Move and Capture.<sup>174</sup>

<sup>172</sup> “A seventeenth-century view of games and magic can be seen from these pages taken from Johan Amos [Comenius] work *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*, the English/Latin version of which was published in London in 1672. The text of the first spread reads: Dice-Play. We play with Dice 1. either they that throw the most take up all, or we throw them thorow (through) a casting-Box 2. upon a Board 3. marked with figures; and this is Dice-players game at casting lots. Men play by Luck and Skill at Tables [Backgammon] in a pair of Tables; 4. and at Cards. 5. We play at Chesse on a Chesse-board, 6. where only art beareth the sway. The most ingenious Game, is the game at Chess, 7. wherein as it were two Armies fight together in Battel. Further on in the book, fortune and chance are dismissed” (Pennick 236-37, caption to illustration 67).

<sup>173</sup> Created by Fred Pennington whose URL is <<http://www.fred-pennington.com/chesslnk.htm>>.

<sup>174</sup> Compare Alfonso's *LJ*, “capitulo dell andamiento delos trebeios dell acedrex. El andar delos iuegos fue puesto otrossi por esta razon que uos diremos; ca assi como el Rey non se deue arrebatar en las batallas mas yr muy a passo & ganando siempre delos enemigos & punnando como los uenzca. assi el Rey

The king in both medieval and modern chess moves to and captures on any adjoining square on the file, rank or diagonal(s) on which it stands, so long as moving to that square does not move him into check. The medieval Spanish terms in the *LJ* for these orthogonal and diagonal movements are respectively “en su derecho” and “en sosquino” (fol. 3v); the four directions—forwards, backwards, left and right—are not specified here as they are for the rook below. The importance for understanding these terms, especially the expression of diagonal movement, becomes fundamental for understanding my arguments about the movement and captures of the pieces of *grant acedrex*, in particular the lion.

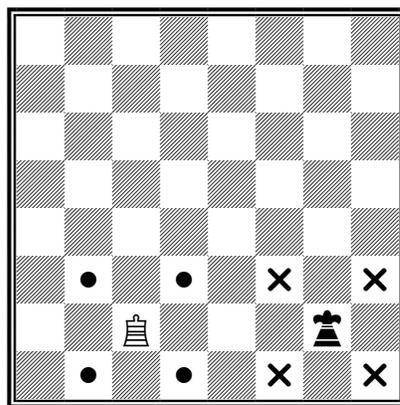


Fig. 3. The Fers's<sup>175</sup> and Promoted Pawn's Move and Capture.

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delos trebeios; no a de andar mas de auna casa en so derecho. o en sosquino como qui cata a todas partes en derredor dessi metiendo mientes en lo que ha de fazer” (fol. 3v) with his father Fernando III's *Libro de los doce sabios*, “XLII. En que el rey no se arrebate a hacer ningún hecho hasta que lo piense. No te arrebatas a hacer ningún hecho hasta que primeramente lo pienses, salvo cuando vieres a tus enemigos delante ti. Que aquí no hay que pensar, salvo herir reciamente y pasar adelante” (John K. Walsh, *El libro de los doze sabios o Tractado de la nobleza y lealtad* [ca. 1237], Real Academia Española de la Lengua (Anejos del Boletín de la RAE, XXIX), Madrid (1975) 71-118.

<sup>175</sup> I translate this term using *The Oxford Companion to Chess*'s English term defined as “the medieval piece that supplanted the *firzan* and was in turn supplanted by the queen. Besides having the same move as the *firzan* (one square diagonally in any direction) the fers had the power of leaping to a vacant square on its first move, with the choice of a [square root of] 4 or a [square root of] 8 leap, an innovation dating from the 12<sup>th</sup> century” (132-33). The *LJ* uses first *alf(f)erez*, as the correct and preferred term, and

The fers<sup>176</sup> moves to and captures on any adjoining square on the diagonal(s) on

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then *alf(f)erza*, first said to be what men who do not know the proper name call the piece but then contradictorily used throughout the rest of the manuscript to designate this piece which is the ancestor of the modern chess queen. Although Corominas (*Dicc. crítico etim. s.v. alférez*) says that the term *alferza* has no relationship to the term *alférez, consejero*, Alfonso's works used both words synonymously. Regarding the chess pieces and their moves, García Morencos gives them accurately. For the *alferza* or what is now the queen she gives an admittedly controversial linguistic account of the evolution of the piece's name: "del persa 'ferz', 'farzi' o 'farzin', que significa general, pasó a Europa latinizado, y se dijo entonces 'farcia' 'fercia' o 'fierce', convertido luego por el romance francés en 'fierge' primero y después en 'vierge' [virgin], llegó a ser nuestra 'dama' o 'reina'." Another theory she gives says that *dama* was the term given to a promoted pawn, copying the name from the game *damas* or checkers. Marilyn Yalom's *Birth of the Chess Queen: A History* (New York: Harper, 2004) speculates that this piece may have "taken on the feminine gender because, by 1283 when this work was written, the queen had been on certain Western chessboards for around three hundred years and had supplanted the vizier in most European countries. In Spain, where Arabic pieces coexisted for centuries alongside the upstart European figures, confusion about the gender of *alferza* was inevitable. The queen would have been obvious in figurative sets, as in the Walters piece ..., but at Alfonso's court, the Arabic abstract model still prevailed, as can be seen from the chessmen in the miniatures" (63). The Uig or Lewis chessmen, eighty-eight Viking-style walrus ivory chessmen thought to date from perhaps as early as the eleventh century and as late as the seventeenth, discovered in 1831 on Scotland's Isle of Lewis, may also reveal some clues about the timing of the evolution of the queen piece (for dating information see Keats 1985: 133). Eleven chessmen are held by the Edinburgh's National Museum of Scotland and seventy-six chessmen, fourteen round counters and one belt buckle are held by the British Museum in London. It is curious to note instead of masculine ferses, all eight Isle of Lewis queens (BM 84-88 and NMS 21-23) are crowned females, and thus further along in the evolution towards modern pieces even though they may predate Alfonso. (James Robinson, *The Lewis Chessmen* [London: BM, 2004] 15-19; Neil Stratford, *The Lewis Chessmen and the Enigma of the Hoard* [London: BM, 1997] 16-17, 63-64). Further, the queens' cheek-in-hand position is most similar to the figure of Saturn in astrological checkers (Murray 1913: 760). See also note on the also more rapidly evolved Isle of Lewis bishops (Murray 1913: 761) at discussion of fil below.

<sup>176</sup> This term appears in two Alfonsine texts as well as in the *Libro de buen amor*. The last uses it in a figurative sense "de todos los pecados es rrayz la cobdiçia, / esta es tu fija mayor, tu mayordoma anbiçia, / esta es tu alferez e tu casa offiçia, / esta destruya el mundo, sostienta la justiçia" Juan Ruiz, *Libro de buen amor*, stanza 218 (*The Book of Good Love*. Vermont: Tuttle, 1999) 46. Whereas Alfonso uses it literally twice. First, in his second will dated 8 Nov. 1282, King Alfonso proclaims himself to be the *alferez* or standard-bearer of Spain's patron St. James of Compostela ("... santum Jacobum, qui est noster dominus et patronus, cujus *alferez* sumus" [Georges Daumet, "Les Testaments d'Alphonse X le Savant, Roi de Castille" *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des chartes* 67 (1906) 76] much as in his *Cantigas* he proclaimed himself to be the *trobador* of the Virgin Mary. Second, the role of the real-life *alferez* is defined in the *Siete Partidas* Part II, Title IX, Law XVI: "Ley .xvj. qual deue ser el alferez del rey. & que es lo que perteneçe asu ofiçio Griegos & romanos fueron onbres que vsaron mucho antiguamente fecho de guerra & mientras lo fizieron con seso & con ordenamiento vençieron & acabaron todo lo que quisieron. & ellos fueron los primeros que fizieron sennas porque fuesen conoçidos los grandes sennores en las huestes & en las batallas. otrossy porque las gentes & los pueblos se acabdellasen parando mientes aellos & guardandoles que era manera de guiar & de cabdellamiento. & teniendolo por onrra muy sennalada llamaron alos que traen las sennas delos enperadores & delos reyes primipilarius: que quiere tanto dezir en latin commo ofiçial que lieua la primera senna del grand sennor: & le llamaron prefectus legionis. que quiere tanto dezir commo adelantado sobre las conpannas delas huestes. esto era porque ellos iugdauan los grandes pleitos que acaesçian enellas & en algunas tierras los llaman duques: que quiere tanto dezir commo cabdillos que aduzen las huestes. estos nonbres vsaron en espanna fasta que se perdio & la ganaron los moros. ca desde que la cobraron los cristianos llaman al que este ofiçio faze alferez: & asi ha oy dia nonbre. E pues que enlas

which it stands. The *LJ* expresses this diagonal movement as “en sosquino” (fol. 3v). Its position in the beginning array is not specified in the text of the *LJ* but the modern rule of placing it, like the modern queen, on its color is observed in the miniatures. In the medieval game, the pawn may only promote to a fers and so once promoted it moves and captures in the same way.

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leyes ante desta auemos mostrado delas dos maneras de ofiçiales que siruen al rey. de que aristotiles fizo semeiança alos sentidos & alos miembros que son dentro enel cuerpo: agora queremos fablar delos ofiçiales que han de seruir aque el fizo semeiança alos miembros que fueren de fuera. E destos el primero & el mas onrrado es el alferes que auemos mostrado. Ca ael pertenesçe de guiar las huestes quando el rey no va ay por su cuerpo: o quando non pudiese yr & enbiase su poder: & el mismo deue tener la senna cada que el rey ouiere batalla canpal. E antigua mente el solia iustiçar los onbres por mandado del rey quando fazian porque. E por esto trae la espada delante el: en sennal que es la mayor iustiça dela corte. E bien assi commo per tenesçe asu ofiçio de anparar & de acresçentar el reyno. Otrosi si alguno fiziere perder hereda mientos al rey villa o castillo sobre que deue se venir riepto el lo deue fazer & ser abogado para demandarlo. E esto mismo deue fazer enlos otros heredamientos o cosas que pertenesçen al sennorio del rey. si alguno quisiese menguar o encobrir el dere cho que el rey ouiese enellos maguer fuesen atales que no ouiese riepto. & assi commo pertenesçe asu ofiçio de fazer iustiça enlos onbres onrrados que fizieren porque. Otrosi ael pertenesçe de pedir merçed al rey por los que son sin culpa. & el deue dar por su mandado quien razone los pleitos que ouieren duennas biudas & huerfanos fijos dalgo quando no ouieren quien en razone por ellos ni quien tenga su razon. otrosi alos que fueren reptados sobre fechos dubdosos que no ouieren abogados. E por todos es tos fechos tan granados que el alferes ha de fazer conuiene en todas guisas que sea onbre de noble linaie: porque aya verguença de fazer cosa que le este mal. otrosi porque el ha de iustiçar los onbres granados que fizieren porque. E leal deue ser por amar la pro del rey & del reyno. E de buen seso ha me nester que sea: pues que por el se han de librar los pleitos granados que ouieren o acaesçen enlas huestes. E muy esforçado deue ser & sabidor de guerra: pues que el ha de ser commo cabdillos mayor sobre las gentes del rey enlas batallas. E quando el alferes tal fuere deuelo el rey amar & fiarse mucho enel & fazerle mucha onrra & bien. E sy por auentura acaesçiesse que errasse en algunas destas cosas sobredichas deue auer pena segund el yerro que fiziere” (John O’Neill, ed., “*Siete Partidas* [text.spo],” by Alfonso X, *The Electronic Texts and Concordances Madison Corpus of Early Spanish MSS and Printings*, CD-ROM, [Madison, WI: HSMS, 1999] fol. 89v). See also Keats 2: 132.

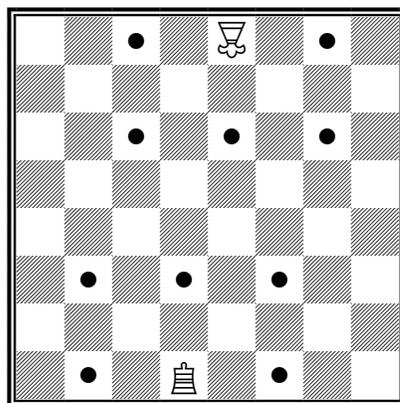


Fig. 4. The Fers's and Promoted Pawn's Optional Leap.

On its first move (shown Fig. 4), the fers or the promoted pawn may opt to leap to any vacant square two steps forward on its file or the diagonals on which it stands, even if the intermediate squares are occupied, instead of its usual move (see Fig. 3 above). However, this leap cannot be a capture (shown in Fig. 5). Fol. 4r explains, “mas ell alfferza non puede tomar la primera uez sisse despusiére yendo a tercera casa. mas depues que fuere despuesta tomara en la segunda casa; en sosquino. segunt es su andamiento.”

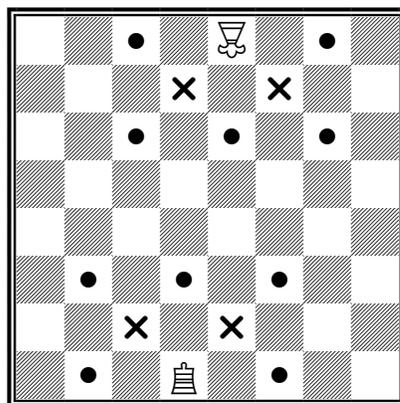


Fig. 5. The Fers's Capture as Opposed to its Optional First Move.<sup>177</sup>

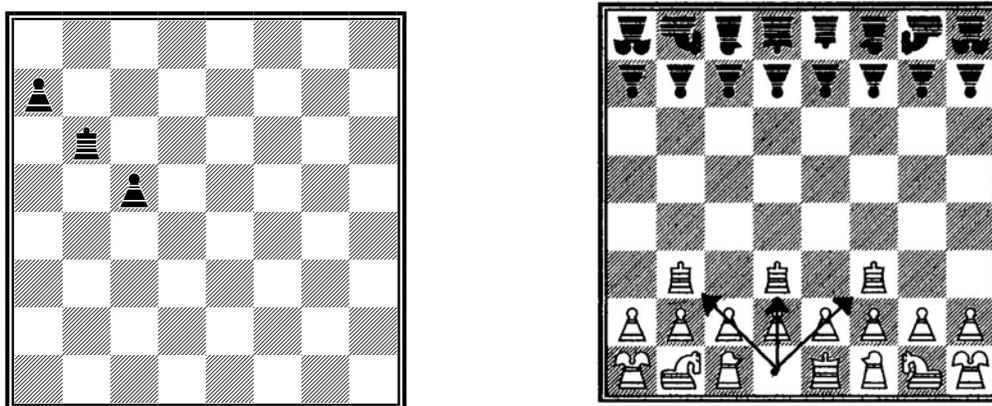


Fig. 6. The Fers Configurations Called *Alfferzada*.<sup>178</sup>

<sup>177</sup> This diagram is a correction to Calvo's diagram (1987: 161). In his diagram, Calvo uses a fil's piece but seems to have combined the movement and capture (same move) of a fil with the different movement and capture of a fers. The captures (indicated with *x*) and moves (dots) shown on the diagram do not make sense for several reasons. First, their usage is reversed in the upper and lower halves of the board causing it to appear that the black piece could capture on the leap on which he is trying to show it is prohibited. Second, while the dots accurately represent fil moves (or the optional opening moves of a fers), the *x*'s represent fers-style captures impossible for a fil and. Calvo shows repeated leaps as possible as for a fil, but which are impossible to a fers.

<sup>178</sup> Diagrams based on Calvo (1987: 160) at left and Scherer (1995: 176 and 1997: 292) at right.

When the fers makes its leap, a configuration called *alfferzada*<sup>179</sup> can result. Steiger defines *alfferzada* as a move with the fers protected by the pawns (389). The *DPCRAX* defines it as a “[l]ance del ajedrez, en que la alferza está rodeada por los peones” (109). Calvo calls *alfferzada* a technical term for a position in which two pawns and the fers mutually defend each other and offers the following example: pawn a7, fers b6 and pawn b5 (1987: 160). I offer another example, showing how in the fers’s first move it jumped to b6 and is guarded by the pawns at a7 and c7. Following Steiger, Scherer<sup>180</sup> offers a more accurate diagram for *alfferzada*, which unfortunately omits three white pawns in error from a2 through c2, and addresses the linguistic use of the suffix *-ada*.<sup>181</sup> Originating from the Latin past participles *-atus*, *-atum* and *-ata*, this suffix refers to an action done with a particular noun or the body concerned of such an action. English possesses the similarly formed word *cavalcade* which refers to an assembly or procession, i.e. a parade, of cavalry. Thus, an *alfferzada* is a constellation of pieces contains a fers.

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<sup>179</sup> “Pero bien puede la primera uex saltar a tercera casa o en derecho o en sosquino. & aun que este otro trebeio en medio. & esto es a manera de buen cabdiello que se adelanta en los grandes fechos & en las batallas & acorre a todas partes alli o lo an mester. E en este andamiento ayuntasse con los sus peones & bueluesse con ellos assi como si los esforçasse que non se partiessen & estudiessen en uno pora fazer lo mejor & en esto aguarda assi & a ellos teniendo los unos antessi; & parandosse ante los otros. E por ende quando ell alferza esta assi trauada con los peones; llaman le alfferzada” (fol. 3v).

<sup>180</sup> Hans Scherer, “Ansätze von Fachsprachlichkeit im *Libro del Acedrex* Alfons’ Des Weisen” (*Studien zu Romanischen Fachtexten aus Mittelalter und Fruher Neuzeit*. Ed. Guido Mensching and Karl-Heinz Rontgen. Olm: Hildesheim, 1995; 175-76) and “Primeros pasos hacia un lenguaje técnico en el *Libro del Acedrex* de Alfonso el Sabio” (*Kunst und Kommunikation: Betrachtungen zum Medium Sprache in der Romania*. Eds. Maria Lieber and Willi Hirdt. Tübingen, Germany: Stauffenburg, 1997; 291-92). Scherer believes that the use of the imprecision of this suffix is confusing and resulted in Steiger’s translation of *Läuferzug*, because it does not specifically designate whether it refers to the movement which results in this piece grouping or the grouping itself.

<sup>181</sup> “LOs Alffiles an auantaia sobrelos peones por *que* toman mas deluene & fazen otrossi alffilada desta guisa. Quando ell alffil esta en el tablero. si algun peon esta depos ell a una casa en sosquino segunt su andamiento; guarda el peon al alffil. E si otro peon esta en guarda del *primero* enla otra casa do ell alffil puede yr; guardal ell alffil. E desta guisa se guardan todos tres uno a otro. & a esto llaman Alffilada” (fol. 4r).

N. Bland describes two chess moves which may relate to the *LJ*'s *alferzada* and *alfilada* configurations. He explains that the positions called *Ferzínbend* and *Pílbend* (or *Fílbend*) result from pawn moves which fork two pieces, i.e. attack them simultaneously, as described in a work by as-Suli.<sup>182</sup> As-Suli's configurations involved the fers or the fil as being one of two pieces under attack rather than merely for protection from attack as in Alfonso, the name being based on whether the fers or the fil were one of the pieces threatened. For instance, in *Pílbend*, a pawn would threaten a fil and another piece (Bland 13). Bland later returns to these two concepts after a discussion of the term *shah rukh* (a forking attack which both gives check to the king and attacks his rook), and says that "Pílbend (or Fílbend) and Ferzínbend would appear from the use made of these terms in the few places in which they occur in the treatises, to signify what we call *forking* two pieces, of which the [fil] or the [fers] would be one" (Bland 51). This explanation clearly shows that the configuration is named for pieces under attack rather than those attacking. Given the unusual nature of the *LJ*'s terms and the fact that they are never used in that or any other work which I have encountered, I wonder if they are not confused interpretations of the Arabic concepts described in Bland.

The fers evolved from the *firzan* and later would evolve to the modern queen, changing both from the male to the female gender and from one of the weakest pieces into the strongest on the board. St. Teresa de Ávila (1515-1582), the patron saint of chess,

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<sup>182</sup> "Lib. Arab. De Shahiludio, Autore Al Sûli" (Bland 2 and 13).

knew the piece as the powerful and female *dama* in her Ch. 16 of *Camino de perfección* in which she likens approaching God through prayer to checkmating the divine king.<sup>183</sup>

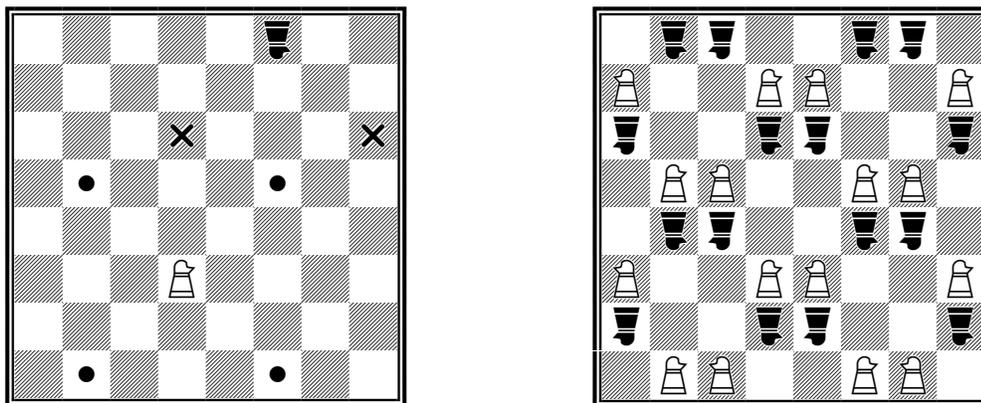


Fig. 7. The Fil's<sup>184</sup> Move and Capture (left) and a Chessboard of Fil Possibilities (right).

The fil leaps to any vacant square two steps on the diagonal(s) on which it stands. The *LJ* expresses this diagonal movement as “en pospunta” (fol. 3v) as opposed to the diagonal movements of the king and fers which used the synonym “en sosquino.” These two words are used as synonyms in the descriptions of the game *grant acedrex* of the *LJ*'s fourth treatise as well, where the movement of the crocodile piece uses the diagonal term “en sosquino” (fol. 81v) while the first part of the *aanca* piece's movement uses a

<sup>183</sup> Teresa of Ávila, *Camino de perfección*, “Camino de perfección 2,” *Cartel de Santa Teresa de Jesús*, 26 Oct 2007, <[http://www.mercaba.org/FICHAS/Santos/TdeJesus/camino\\_perfeccion\\_02.htm](http://www.mercaba.org/FICHAS/Santos/TdeJesus/camino_perfeccion_02.htm)>.

<sup>184</sup> The *LJ* uses *alf(f)il* to designate this piece which is the ancestor of the modern chess bishop. I translate this term using *The Oxford Companion to Chess*'s English term defined as “a leaper used in shatranj and placed in the array where the bishop now stands. The co-ordinates of the fil's leap of 2,2 and the length of its move is [the square root of] 8. A fil placed on f1 can be moved to d3 or h3 whether or not another man stands on e2 or g2. The weakest piece of the old game, the fil (the medieval aufin) can be moved to only eight squares, e.g. the fil on f1 can reach only b1, b5, d3, d7, f5, h3, or h7. Each of the four fils has an exclusive set of eight squares available. The world fil is derived from the Persian pil, a translation of the Sanskrit *gaja*, elephant” (134-5). The eleventh-century Viking-style Uig or Lewis sixteen bishop pieces (BM 89-101 and NMS 24-26), is instead obviously a Christian religious leader, as all wear that office's mitered hat and bear the shepherd's crook and often also a book. Michael Taylor uses the fashion of the bishop's hat, with miter oriented front to back, to date the pieces as “no earlier than about 1150” (*The Lewis Chessmen* [London: BM, 1978] 14-15). See also Robinson 19-23 and Stratford 18-19, 63-64.

variant spelling of “en postpunta” (fol. 81r). The fil’s extremely limited move, compared to the modern bishop or really to any piece, means that there are only eight possible squares for each fil. As the chessboard of fil possibilities above shows, all four medieval fils can only cover half the squares on the board. Modern bishops are then at least sixteen times more powerful because between the four of them, the modern bishops can cover every square on the board twice.

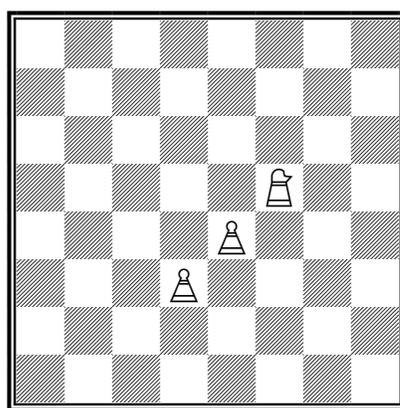


Fig. 8. A Fil Configuration Called *Alffilada*.<sup>185</sup>

Steiger defines *alffilada* as a bishop protected by one or more pawns (389). The *DPCRAX* defines it as a “[j]ugada en el ajedrez en la que un peón defiende a un alfil o varias otras piezas se protegen mutuamente” (109). Following Steiger, Scherer offers another diagram for *alffilada* and addresses the linguistic use of the suffix *-ada*.<sup>186</sup> If a cavalcade is an assembly of cavalry, troops mounted on horseback, then an *alffilada* is an assembly of elephantry, i.e. troops mounted on elephants or, as in chess, containing a fil.

<sup>185</sup> “LOs Alffiles an auantaia sobrel os peones por *que* toman mas deluene & fazen otrossi alffilada desta guisa. Quando ell alffil esta en el tablero. si algun peon esta depos ell a una casa en sosquino segunt su andamiento; guarda el peon al alffil. E si otro peon esta en guarda del *primero* en la otra casa do ell alffil puede yr; guardal ell alffil. E desta guisa se guardan todos tres uno a otro. & a esto llaman Alffilada” (fol. 4r). Diagram based on Calvo (1987: 162).

<sup>186</sup> Scherer 1995: 175-76.

Using the modern piece name of bishop, similar terms would include episcopate or bishopric, though these have not evolved to include the chess sense.

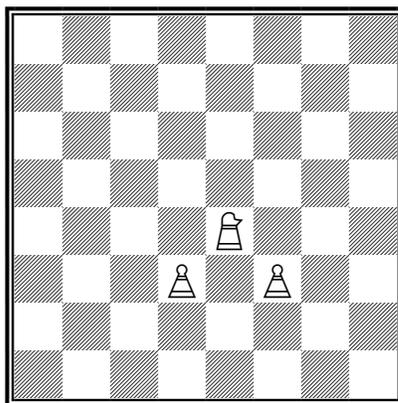


Fig. 9. Another Fil Configuration Called *Alffilada*.<sup>187</sup>

Like *alfferzada*, Calvo calls *alffilada* a technical term to describe the situation in which pawns and a fil mutually defend each other and offers the following example: fil at f5 and pawns at d3 and e4 (1987: 162-63). He also notes that these technical terms reveal an elevated level of playing and a pedagogical abstraction of the most important piece patterns. I am not sure if pawn-guarding-bishop-guarding-pawn or bishop-guarding-pawn-guarding-pawn is not also another possible configuration that would be called *alffilada*. However, and not noted by Calvo (1987), these terms never again appear in the 103 problem or anywhere else in the *LJ*.

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<sup>187</sup> “LOs Alffiles an auantaia sobre los peones por *que* toman mas deluene & fazen otrosi alffilada desta guisa. Quando ell alffil esta en el tablero. si algun peon esta depos ell a una casa en sosquino segunt su andamiento; guarda el peon al alffil. E si otro peon esta en guarda del *primero* en la otra casa do ell alffil puede yr; guardal ell alffil. E desta guisa se guardan todos tres uno a otro. & a esto llaman Alffilada” (fol. 4r). Diagram based on Scherer (1995: 176 and 1997: 292).

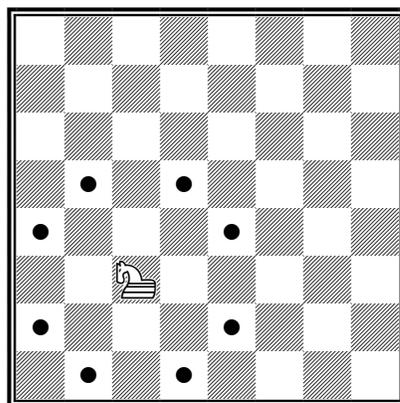


Fig. 10. The Knight's Move and Capture.

Both the medieval and the modern knight in chess have a two-step leap, first to the third square counting two squares along the rank or file on which it stands, and second counting one square along that diagonal. The *LJ* expresses this movement in two halves, with the knight counting two orthogonal squares (“en derecho” [fol. 3v]) whether forwards, backwards, left or right and including the one which he stands and then the third square diagonally (“en sosquino” [fol. 3v]) away from the starting square. Constable compares the figure of the chess knights in the *LJ* and *Bayad and Riyad* [Vat. Arab. 368] (Constable 308). However, the chess pieces are undistinguishable in the miniature Constable offers in her Fig. 4, so am unable to confirm this comparison.

The *LJ*'s rook moved the same as the modern piece with the exception that there is no mention of castling. Its bifurcated or “twin-front” figure possibly is meant to resemble the two humps of a camel (Keats 2: 121). The *LJ* specifies the four directions of its orthogonal movement—forwards, backwards, left and right—respectively as “en derecho” (here limited to the sense of straight forward), “a çaga,” “a diestro” and “a siniestro” (fol. 4r). In contrast, the second part of the *aanca* piece's movement in the

game *grant acedrex* of the *LJ*'s fourth treatise uses the term *en( )trauiesso* (fols. 81r-81v) to indicate the horizontal orthogonal movements, i.e. to the left and to the right as opposed to vertical orthogonal movement of forwards or backwards, of its *aanca*, giraffe, rhinoceros and lion playing pieces.

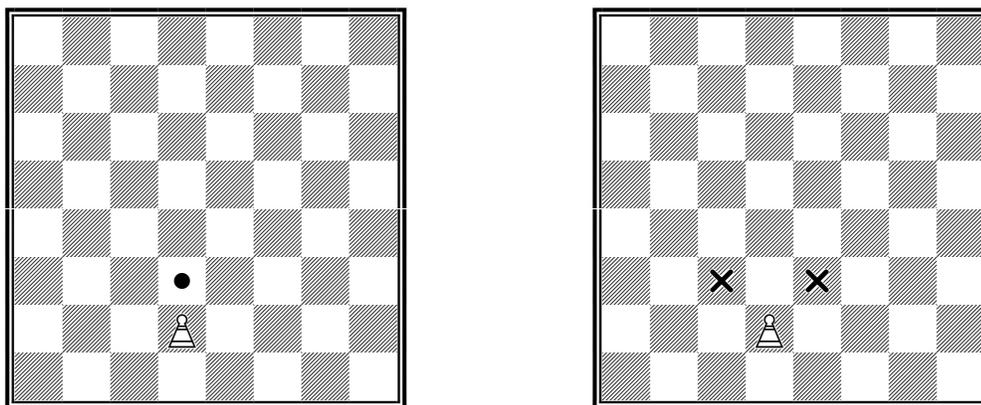


Fig. 11. The Pawn's Move ( • ) and its Capture (x).

The medieval pawn moved and captured mostly the same as its modern equivalent: the pawn's normal movement was to advance forward one vacant square at a time and to capture diagonally forward one square. The *LJ* describes these orthogonal and diagonal movements of the pawn in the same language used above for the king, i.e. respectively "en su derecho" and "en sosquino" (fol. 4r), however in this case these indicate only movements straight forwards towards the opposite side of the board. The *LJ* pawn also promoted upon reaching the eighth rank, but unlike the modern rule, the pawn could only promote to a fers. In modern chess, a pawn may promote to any major piece the player chooses.

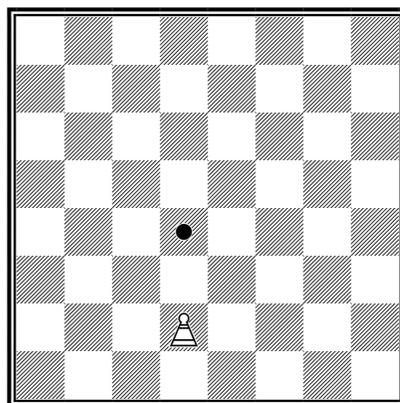
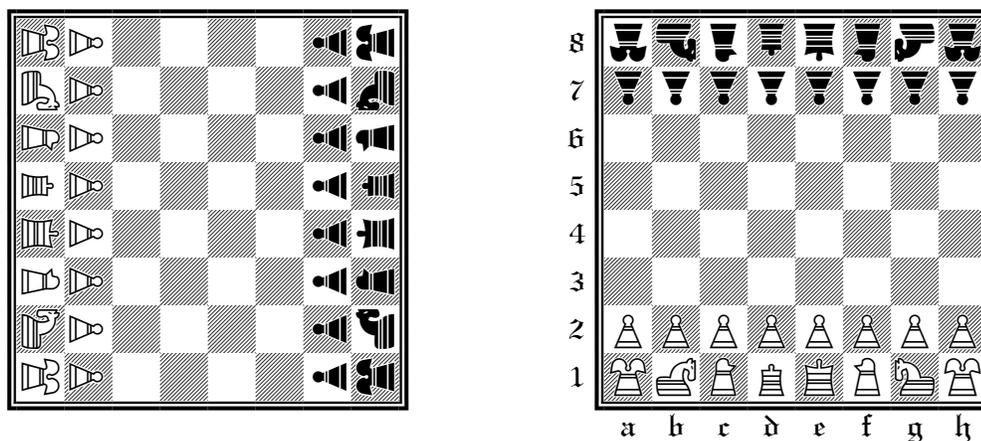


Fig. 12. The Pawn's Optional First Move.

This piece's evolution was just beginning around the time of the *LJ*'s writing because it says that some players allowed that a pawn could advance two squares on its first move, at least until a capture was made in the game.<sup>188</sup> In modern chess, the pawn may on its first move advance either one or two squares, even after a capture has been made in the game, except to avoid capture by another pawn. This latter case, called en passant, says that the pawn which advanced two squares is captured as though it had only moved one square. The en passant rule did not exist in the *LJ*.

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<sup>188</sup> Ben Ezra's twelfth-century chess poem also allows for an optional first move for the pawn, saying he may leap anywhere within three squares (Keats 3: 33).

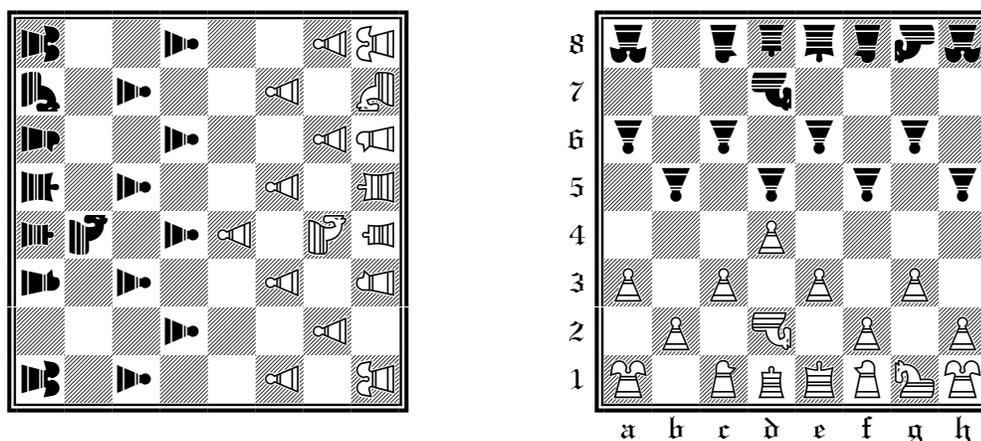
Fig. 13. The Opening Array.<sup>189</sup>

Inventory:

♖e1 ♗d1 ♘a1 ♙h1 ♚c1 ♛f1 ♞b1 ♟g1 ♠a2 ♡b2 ♣c2 ♤d2 ♥e2 ♦f2 ♧g2 ♨h2 (16)

♜e8 ♝d8 ♞a8 ♟h8 ♠c8 ♡f8 ♢b8 ♣g8 ♤a7 ♥b7 ♦c7 ♧d7 ♨e7 ♩f7 ♪g7 ♫h7 (16)

### 1.1.2.2 The *Iuego forçado* or *Iuego de donzellas*

Fig. 14. The *Iuego forçado* or *Iuego de donzellas*.<sup>190</sup> Fol. 5r description and diagram.

<sup>189</sup> Diagram based on fol. 3r. Scherer's diagram (1995: 181) of this same array gives a lateral view with a nice recreation of the pieces used in the manuscript, but all his knights face left following the modern convention and all his files face right.

<sup>190</sup> Both the names given in the *LJ* for this game, *iuego forçado* and *iuego de las donzellas*, as well as the rule of compulsory captures ties this game more closely to modern checkers than to chess. See

Inventory:

♙e1 ♘d1 ♖a1 ♗h1 ♕c1 ♜f1 ♞d2 ♟g1 ♚a3 b2 c3 d4 e3 f2 g3 h2 (16)

♜e8 ♞d8 ♚a8 ♗h8 ♕c8 ♜f8 ♞d7 ♟g8 ♚a6 b5 c6 d5 e6 f5 g6 h5 (16)

Van der Linde presents an altered diagram of the *iuego de donzellas* without explanation amid his German translation of the introduction to the “Libro del acedrex.”<sup>191</sup> Van der Linde’s presentation is discussed below in Murray’s analysis of it. The first chess game presented by Alfonso, that of the maidens or the forced game, is the last presented by Brunet y Bellet. Brunet y Bellet wonders if the six lovely maidens shown are those same ones who invented it and regrets not having requested that his assistant make him a copy of the miniature for further analysis.<sup>192</sup>

This position shown is a curious one of a game *in medias res* which has left me to wonder if the pawns for black were not mistakenly drawn a row forward of their normal positions. Or perhaps black has moved only pawns while white hesitated by moving the same knight back and forth due to the mandatory-capture rule of the game. J. B. Sánchez Pérez notes that the position of the *iuego de donzellas* on fol. 5r is a likely one due to the mandatory-capture rule of the game, saying that the manuscript “[d]a el diagrama siguiente con la posición después de haber jugado:” (16-17).

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Murray’s nomenclature comparison for draughts (checkers) which denotes the force rule (*jeu forcé, forcé* and *forçat*) and the female connection (*dames, damas, damsp(i)el, dam(m)enspiel, ntama* and *damki*) (*A History of Board-Games Other Than Chess*, 72).

<sup>191</sup> Van der Linde presents this diagram only with the caption “Arabisch-spanische aufstellung” amid his German translation of fols. 3r and 3v (and oddly not fol. 5r where it appears in the *LJ*) from the introduction from the “Libro del acedrex” (83). Uniquely this diagram of van der Linde’s presentation of *LJ* chess diagrams uses pieces which indicate either the different piece powers or their shape in the *LJ* miniatures: elephants for files, medieval-style rooks and human bust figures for ferses. All van der Linde’s other *LJ* chess problems uses modern, for the nineteenth-century, symbols of miter hats for bishops, castles for rooks and spiky crowns for queens.

<sup>192</sup> The illustrator was Sr. D. F. Guasch who did the other sketches in his study.

<u>B</u>	<u>N</u>
1. d2 – d4 -	g7 – g6
2. C b1 – d2 -	f7 – f5
3. C d2 – b1 -	d7 – d5
4. C b1 – d2 -	c7 – c6
5. c2 – c3 -	e7 – e6
6. C d2 – b1 -	b7 – b5
7. a2 – a3 -	a7 – a6
8. e2 – e3 -	h7 – h5
9. g2 – g3 -	C b8 – d7
10. C b1 – d2 –	

Calvo also notes that this diagram represents “una apertura apropiada para esta modalidad del ajedrez” (1987: 165). But then, perhaps because others like J. B. Sánchez Pérez have included this game last, he incorrectly says that “[t]res” doncellas a un lado y tres a otro, componen la miniatura que cierra el tratado de ajedrez” (1987: 165).

Murray presents this as an example of “the popularity of the *fers’ pawn Opening* in the Middle Ages” (1913: 473) and compares the early position of the forced game arrived at in the *LJ* with that of the *Carmina Burana*’s (Cod. Lat. 4660) on the page with the *Elegia de ludo scachorum* (fol. 92r). Murray deems the *LJ* as less accurate because he sees the sides as having taken an unequal number of moves, but not noting that the knight could have moved several times (1913: 473). I will address Murray’s comparison along with his analysis of van der Linde’s altered presentation of the *LJ*’s *iuego forçado* followed by my own analysis of a position seen in Willehalm Codex (1334) as it compares to both the *LJ* and the *Carmina Burana*.

Murray begins by saying that

[t]wo miniatures of early positions of games in progress also support the popularity of the *Queen’s Pawn Opening* in the Middle Ages. The first of these is taken from a Munich manuscript of Goliard poetry dating from the twelfth century, which has been printed under the title of *Carmina Burana*

(Second edition, Breslau, 1883). It occurs on f. 91b, between the two chess poems which I quote in the next chapter. The first player has the black men (the black men were the favourite ones in the Middle Ages, if the player had the choice of men), the board is arranged that h1 is white, but the Black Queen is one the white square d1. The first player is drawn in the act of placing his rook on h4. The game may have commenced—1 Pd4, Pd5; 2 Pe3, Pe6; 3 Pf3, Pf6; 4 Pa4, Pa5; 5 Pb3, Pb6; 6 Ph4, Ba3; 7 Ph5, Ph6; 8 Rh4. (1913: 473)

While I agree with Murray's textual presentation, I would have oriented red as white at the bottom of the board for the modern player. In fact, he does this himself in his diagram on the same page, but with the result of reversing the colors, perhaps to correct the placement of the ferses to squares of their own colors but also so that the diagram is incorrectly inverted in that white has developed his rook to h4 and black has developed his fil to a6 instead of vice versa. The result is that Murray's presentation of the *Carmina Burana*'s position is an inverted image of the original with the colors of the pieces reversed.



Fig. 15. The Chess Miniature from the *Carmina Burana*.<sup>193</sup>

<sup>193</sup> Cod. Lat. 4660, fol. 91r. *Ausstellung mittelalterlicher deutscher Handschriften*, May 2003, Bayerisch Staatsbibliothek, 6 May 2005 < [http://www.bsb-muenchen.de/imag\\_aus/saeku/carmina.htm](http://www.bsb-muenchen.de/imag_aus/saeku/carmina.htm)>. Cf. Murray 1913: 473 and the plate facing 503. The *Carmina Burana* also contains a miniature of dice similar to fol. 66r and a miniature showing two people playing a tables game that appears to be *emperador*.

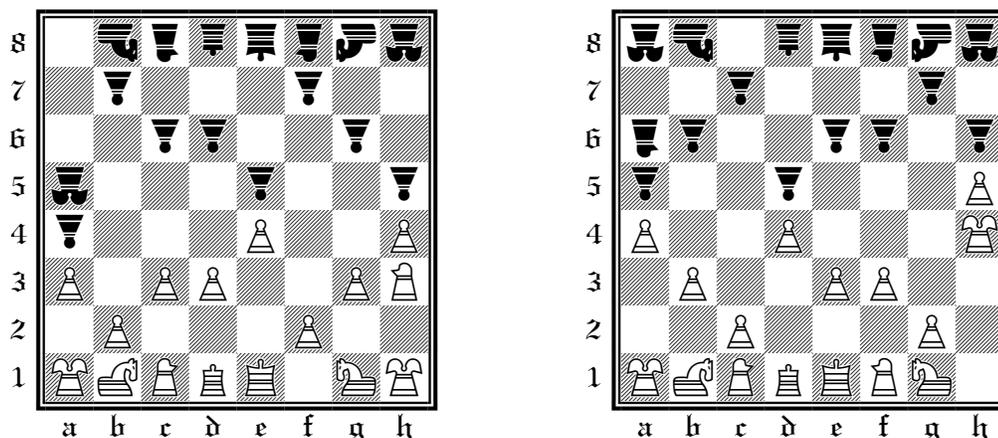


Fig. 16. The *Carmina Burana*'s Diagram (left) vs. Murray's Presentation (right).<sup>194</sup>

Murray continues his analysis saying that

[t]he second miniature illustrates the *Juego forçado* (see p. 459) in the *Alfonso manuscript*. It is even less accurate, for Black has played at least nine moves and White at most seven. V. d. Linde corrected it without remark (*Qst.*, 83) by placing the Pawns on g4, c4, and a7 on g2, c2, and a5 respectively.<sup>195</sup> In the manuscript h1 is white, and the Black Queen on e1 is accordingly on a black square. The corrected position may have been obtained by some such succession of moves as—1 Pe4, Pe5; 2 Pc3, Pf6; 3 Pd3, Pd6; 4 Pa4, Pa5; 5 Pb3, Pb6; 6 Ph3, Ph6; 7 Kte2, Kte7. Both players have obstructed the egress of their Queen's Bishop; evidently not much importance was attached to its early development.<sup>196</sup>

<sup>194</sup> Original inventory: ♚e1 ♜d1 ♞a1 ♞h1 ♜c1 ♜h3 ♞b1 ♞g1 ♠a3 b2 c3 d3 e4 f2 g3 h4 (16); ♚e8 ♜d8 ♞a5 ♞h8 ♜c8 ♜f8 ♞b8 ♞g8 ♠a4 b7 c6 d6 e5 f7 g6 h5 (16). Inverted inventory of the same position with colors reversed, per Murray (1913: 473) ♚e1 ♜d1 ♞a1 ♞h4 ♜c1 ♜f1 ♞b1 ♞g1 ♠a4 b3 c2 d4 e3 f3 g2 h5 (16); ♚e8 ♜d8 ♞a8 ♞h8 ♜a6 ♜f8 ♞b8 ♞g8 ♠a5 b6 c7 d5 e6 f6 g7 h6 (16).

<sup>195</sup> For the modern player's orientation with white at the bottom of the board, this translates to moving the pawns at b5, f5 and h2 to b7, f7 and h4 respectively.

<sup>196</sup> This bizarre statement shows that Murray has forgotten that in the *LJ* the fil leaps to the second diagonally square whether or not the intervening square is occupied. Cf. the *LJ* "LOs alfiles saltan a tres casas en pospunta" (The fils leap to the third diagonal square, i.e. counting the starting square) (fol. 3v) and Murray (1913: 458).

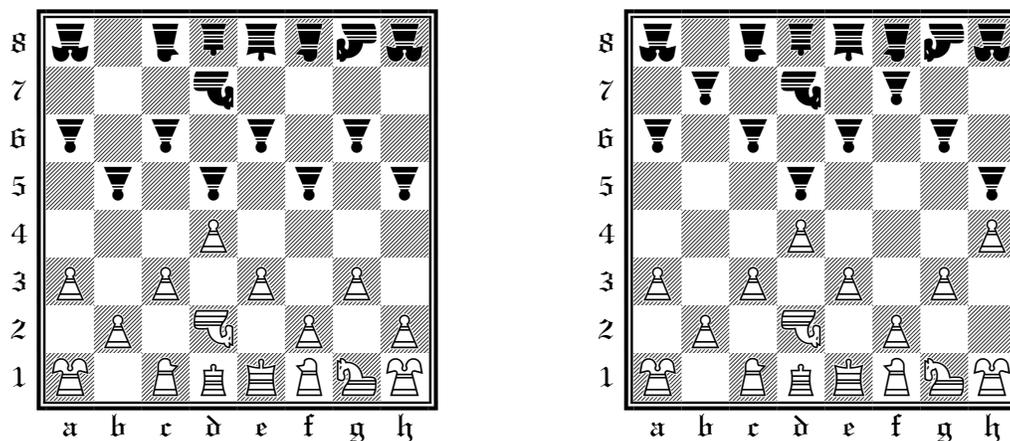


Fig. 17. The *LJ*'s *Iuego forçado* (left) and van der Linde's "Correction" (right).<sup>197</sup>

While I agree the black's pawns are all developed a full rank further than white's, I dispute Murray's assertion that the diagram on fol. 5r is incorrect and that it was necessary for van der Linde to reconstruct it and instead prefer the suggested reconstruction of moves offered by J. B. Sánchez Pérez discussed below after the Willehalm Codex position.

A similarly hesitant position, where no major pieces have been developed and only the pawns of each player have been advanced one square, is seen in the game in progress between Queen Arabel and the nobleman Willehalm in the *Kassel Willehalm Codex* (1334). Here if red is orientated at the bottom like modern white: Willehalm playing red has moved his pawns of the b-, c-, e-, f- and h-files and Arabella has moved her black pawns of the a-, d-, e- and h-files. The fact that red has advanced five pawns while black has moved only four indicated that red, as does white in modern chess, has played first instead of black, the medieval preference according to Murray. This is doubly

<sup>197</sup> Diagrams based on fol. 5r and van der Linde 83. Van der Linde's *iuego forçado* inventory: ♖e1 ♜d1 ♘a1 ♘h1 ♙c1 ♙f1 ♞d2 ♞g1 ♚a3 ♛b2 ♛c3 ♛d4 ♛e3 ♛f2 ♛g3 ♛h4 (16); ♜e8 ♜d8 ♞a8 ♞h8 ♛c8 ♛f8 ♞d7 ♞g8 ♚a6 ♛b7 ♛c6 ♛d5 ♛e6 ♛f7 ♛g6 ♛h5 (16).

notable since the man is the inferior granted the advantage of playing first. Additionally and counter to Murray's observation in the preceding two problems, black is the only player here who has opted to move the queen's or d-file pawn.

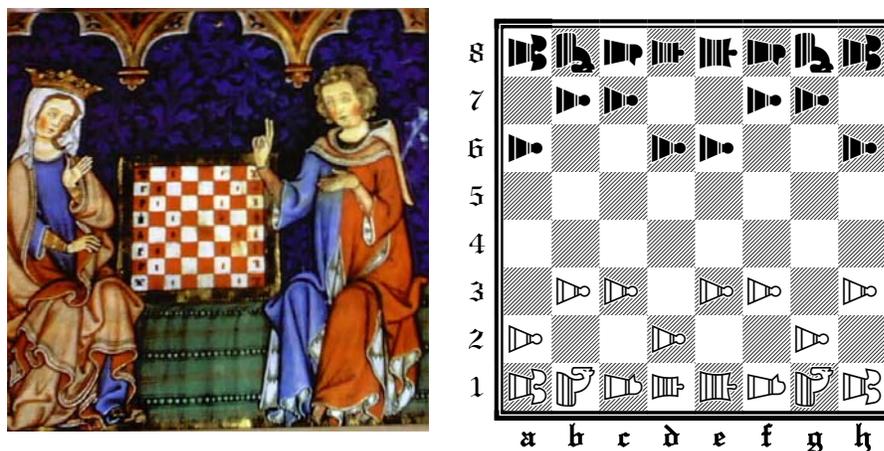


Fig. 18. A Chess Miniature from the Willehalm Codex and its Diagram.<sup>198</sup>

<sup>198</sup> Image from "February," *The Medieval Woman: An Illuminated Calendar 2000* (New York: Workman, 1999). Diagram rotated for modern player based on the original at left. Inventory: ♖e1 ♗d1 ♘a1 ♙h1 ♚c1 ♛f1 ♞b1 ♟g1 ♠a2 ♢b3 ♣c3 ♤d2 ♥e3 ♦f3 ♧g2 ♨h3 (16); ♜e8 ♝d8 ♞a8 ♟h8 ♠c8 ♡f8 ♢b8 ♣g8 ♤a6 ♢b7 ♣c7 ♤d6 ♥e6 ♦f7 ♧g7 ♨h6 (16)

The *Kassel Willehalm Codex* (1334) contains three illuminations<sup>199</sup> showing Queen Arabel and a nobleman, Willehalm for whom the manuscript is named, playing chess. According to Joan A. Holladay, author of *Illuminating the Epic: The Kassel "Willehalm" Codex and the Landgraves of Hesse in the Early Fourteenth Century*, Coll. Art Assn. Monograph Ser. 54 (Seattle, WA: U of Washington P, 1997) and Hohenberg Chair for Excellence in Art History 2003-2004 at the University of Memphis, it is a series of "three chess scenes, which follow one another without interruption in the manuscript. The caption from the calendar is not entirely correct as the image illustrates closely the nearby text passage describing the discussions between the pagan queen Arabel and her husband's captive, the noble (not royal) Willehalm. In these discussions over their chess games, Willehalm convinces Arabel of the advantages of Christianity."<sup>200</sup> The rubrics for

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<sup>199</sup> All three miniatures shows chess boards with realistic positions. *The Medieval Woman: An Illuminated Calendar 2000* (New York: Workman, 1999) for Feb. shows a "royal couple playing chess (detail), Willeham-Codex. Picture research by Sally Fox. Text by Teresa Leslie. New York: Workman, 1999. Feb. shows fol. 18r from the *LJ*, the chess image from the Willehalm Codex and several others. Of the Willehalm the caption reads, "Royal couple playing chess (detail). Willeham-Codex.[sic] Ms. Poet. et. Roman. I, fol. 25, German, 1334. Landesbibliothek, Kassel. Photo: Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz." *Ms. Poet. et. Roman. I, fol. 25, German, 1334. Landesbibliothek, Kassel. Photo: Bildarchiv Preusscher Kulturbesitz.*" Inset above the commentary to the left of the dates, is a detail of the miniature from the *LJ*'s fol. 18r with the citation "three Moorish women playing chess (detail). The Chessbook of Alfonso the Wise from Spain. *Codex Alfonso, B1, fol. 18, Spanish, 1283. Patromonio [sic] Nacional, Madrid. Photo: Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz.*" The commentary itself notes that, "The 13<sup>th</sup>-century chanson de geste *Huon de Bordeaux* includes an episode in which the hero Huon plays chess against the beautiful daughter of a Moslem general (an appropriate challenge, since it was the Moslems who introduced chess to Europe). The stakes are high: if he loses, he will be beheaded; but if he wins, he will win her favor and her fortune. Although she defeats him handily, the princess is so enamored of the French knight that she spares his life. [New paragraph:] While the stakes in this fictional game where unusual, real-life chess matches and other games frequently involved wagering. Although the fictional Huon escaped with his life, a real-life woman named Juliana Cordwaner was not as fortunate. London court records show that she was stabbed to death in the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century by an unidentified male in a fight over a chess game, and it seems likely that gambling was involved." Compton Reeves's *Pleasures and Pastimes in Medieval England* (Gloucestershire, Eng.: Sutton, 1995) shows four images of games from the Bodleian Library's early fifteenth-century Ms. Bodl. 264 "[t]wo women playing what appear to be draughts" from fol. 60 (76), "Chess being played in a walled garden" from fol. 258v (77) and "[t]wo medieval board games: chess (above) and merrills (below)" from fol. 11r, 60 (78).

<sup>200</sup> Private E-mail dated 23 Aug. 2003.

each of the miniatures are as follows: “Hi spilet der markis scachzabel mit Arabeln der kuninginnen”<sup>201</sup> (fol. 22va), “Hi cevgit de kuningin den markis scach” (fol. 24ra), and “Hi leret der markis Arablen der kuninginnen den kristenden loben” (fol. 25rb). The chess boards shown are 8x8 squares and presently vertically between the two players as in the *LJ*. On fol. 22v, the crowned and wimpled queen holds a small lapdog and Willehalm who wears parti-colored clothing holds in his left hand a rook;<sup>202</sup> their faces have either been rubbed away or were not completed. Next to the players who are seated on a bench covered with a patterned cloth and within a rectangular frame, a servant stands next to a double-leaf door to a small tower. He appears to be rattling a chain with a cuff or leg iron attached as though to remind Willehalm of his captivity. On fol. 24r, the two players are each seated beneath five-lobed arches and again upon a bench covered with a striped cloth. The queen wears a mesh snood under her crown and wimple, somewhat like the woman at the far left of the *LJ*'s fol. 24v, and her inner sleeves echo the pattern of the Willehalm's shoes. Here the contrived position shows Black pieces only a white squares and vice versa. On fol. 25r, the queen and Willehalm are again seated under an architectural framework, this time it is three tri-lobed arches.

Finally, I believe that the first game of chess shown in the *LJ* may be an important link in the evolution of checkers, a game first thought to have evolved in nearby southern France around 1000, “when it was called *Fierges*” after the chess piece the *fers* (Pennick

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<sup>201</sup> “Willeham and the queen play chess”, “Queen Arabel teaches Willehalm chess”, and “Willehalm teaches the queen about Christianity” respectively (Holladay 1999, 184-86).

<sup>202</sup> Curiously, four rooks appear on the board in this miniature and the rook in Willehalm's hand is white. Since the pieces on the board are black and red, rather than black and white, this perhaps indicates that two different artists painted the human figures and the chess board.

193-95). The *Chronique rimée* (1243) of Philippe Mousket<sup>203</sup> mentions it without the compulsory capture rule which Pennick says was not introduced until 1535 with the result that the non-huffing version was called the *jeu plaisant* and the compulsory-capture variant the *jeu forcé*. Given the similarity of both names of this type of game, *fierges/dames* and *donzellas* as well as *jeu forcé* and *iuego forçado*, and their similar rule requiring that all possible captures be made, I strongly suspect that the *LJ's iuego de donzellas* is in fact a checker-like chess variant.

### 1.1.2.3 English Translation of the Introduction to the “Libro del acedrex”

[Why Chess Comes First]

[fol. 2v] And because chess is a nobler and more honored game than dice or even tables, in this book it is spoken of first. And shows how the board is to be made and how many squares it has and what the pieces are and how many and what each one of them is called and in which squares they are to be and how they move them playing with them and capturing each other and what advantages some pieces have over the others. And how the players are to be perceptive to know how to play in order to win and not be beaten and how they give check to the king, which is the greatest piece of all the other, which is a manner of confronting the lord appropriately and of how they give him checkmate which is a type of great dishonor, as if they were conquering him or killing him.

And there are other games of many kinds but all were made to resemble the things that happened according to the times that were, are or could be showing how kings in time of wars when armies are made are to make war on their enemies fighting to conquer them, by capturing them and killing them or throwing them off the land. And also as in the time of peace they are to show their treasures and their riches and the noble and strange things that they have. And according to this they made games. Some with twelve squares (per side), others with ten, others with eight,

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<sup>203</sup> The *Chronique* of Philip Mouské, Bishop of Tournai, is cited in Murray (1913: 433n2 and 753) but his surname is variously spelled in every checkers reference I have found. The text is available online as: “Mouskes, Philippe [1243], *Chronique* (Corrected by P.F. Dembowski from the Bruxelles, 1830 edition (2 volumes, no page numbers)) [chronique\_de\_philippe\_mouskes].” at <<http://www.lib.uchicago.edu/efts/ARTFL/databases/new99/new99.bib.html>> 8 Nov. 2005. Speaking of the false Baldwin or “Le bon roi de France Felipe,” Mouskes describes his political invalidity as comparable to that of a king in checkers or chess: “Et si l’ ot fait emperéour (23615) par sa force et par sa valour, cis n’ estoit mie rois de gas, **ne rois de fierges**, ne d’ escas, ains iert à droit fins rois entirs, Rubins, esmeraude, et safirs” (emphasis mine).

others with six and others with four. And thus they continued descending down to just one square, which they divided into eight parts.<sup>204</sup> And all this they did because of the great similarities according to the ancient knowledge, which the wise men used.

But among all the other games, they chose as best and most in common the one with the eight squares because it is not so slow as the one with ten or more nor is it as hurried as the one of six or fewer. And therefore men commonly use it [fol. 3r] in all lands, more than the other games. [How Chess Is Made and Played] And the figure of the board is that it is to be square and it is to have eight horizontal ranks and in each flank eight squares which are in all sixty-four squares. And half of the squares are to be of one color and the other half of another and likewise the pieces

#### **Of how many colors all the chess pieces are to be**

There are to be thirty-two pieces. And the sixteen of one color should be arranged on the first two horizontal ranks of the board. And the other sixteen of the other color are to be arranged on the other end of the board in that same way, opposite the others.

And of these sixteen pieces eight are lesser, because they were made to resemble the common people who go in the army.

And of the other pieces which are greater one resembles the king, who is the lord of the army and he should be in one of the two middle squares.<sup>205</sup>

And next to him in the other middle square, is another piece which resembles the fers (*alferez*)<sup>206</sup> who carries the standard of the king's

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<sup>204</sup> This description of one square divided into eight parts describes the board used for *alquerque de tres*.

<sup>205</sup> While this textual description does not specify that, as in the modern rule, the king should be played on a square that is not his same color (i.e. the e-file), this rule appears to have been followed in all the *LJ*'s illuminations.

<sup>206</sup> "Ley .xvj. qual deve ser el alferes del rey. & que es lo que pertenece asu ofiçio[.] Griegos & romanos fueron onbres que vsaron mucho antigua mente fecho de guerra & mientra lo fizieron con seso & con ordenamiento vençieron & acabaron todo lo que quisieron. & ellos fueron los primeros que fizieron sennas porque fuesen conoçidos los grandes sennores en las huestes & en las batallas. otrosy porque las gentes & los pueblos se acabdellasen parando mientes aellos & guardandoles que era manera de guiar & de] ]cabdellamiento. & teniendolo por onrra muy sennalada llamaron alos que traen las sennas delos enperadores & delos reyes primipilarius: que quiere tanto dezir en latin commo ofiçial que lieua la primera senna del grand sennor: & le llamaron prefectus legionis. que quiere tanto dezir commo adelantado sobre las conpannas delas huestes. esto era porque ellos iugdauan los grandes pleitos que acaesçian enellas & en algunas tierras los llaman duques: que quiere tanto dezir commo cabdillos que aduzen las huestes. estos nonbres] ]vsaron en espanna fasta que se perdio & la ganaron los moros. ca desde que la cobraron los cristianos llaman al que este ofiçio faze alferes: & asi ha oy dia nonbre. E pues que en las leyes ante desta auemos mostrado delas dos maneras de ofiçiales que siruen al rey. de que aristotiles fizo semeiança alos sentidos & alos mienbros que son dentro enel cuerpo: agora queremos fablar delos ofiçiales que han de seruir aque el fizo semeiança alos mienbros que fueren de fuera. E destes el primero & el mas onrrado es el alferes que auemos mostrado. Ca ael pertenesçe de guiar las huestes quando el rey no va ay por su cuerpo: o quando non pudiese yr & enbiase su poder: & el mismo deve tener la senna cada que el rey ouiere batalla

colors. And there are some men who do not know the name and call him “fersa” (*alfferza*).<sup>207</sup> And these two pieces each one plays alone and does not have another in all the sixteen pieces that resembles them.

And in the two other squares beside these there are two other pieces which resemble each other and they call them *files* (*alffiles*) in Arabic which means the same thing in our language as elephants, which the kings used to bring into battle and each one brought at least two so if one of them died, that the other one would remain.

And in the other two squares next to these there are two other pieces which resemble each other and everyone commonly calls them horses but their proper names are knights, which are placed as captains by order of the king, for the purpose of leading the ranks of the army.

And in the other two squares on the end [fol. 3v] there are two other pieces which also resemble each other and they call them rooks and they are made wide and stretched because they resemble the ranks of the soldiers.

In the first rank are the major pieces that we said and in the second the pawns. And even though there are nine pieces in terms of squares, there are not more than six counting that they are doubled.

Because the *files* and the knights and the rooks which are six, become three and with the king and the fers and the pawns, which each count as one, they make six. And they put them thus doubled so that when one of them is captured, that another of that type remains to give check and mate to the king or to shelter him.

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canpal. E antigua mente el solia iustiçiar los onbres por mandado del rey quando fazian porque. E por esto trae la espada delante el: en sennal que es la mayor iustiçia dela corte. E bien assi commo pertenesçe asu ofiçio de anparar & de acresçentar el reyno. Otrosi si alguno fiziere perder heredamientos al rey villa o castillo sobre que deue se venir riepto el lo deue fazer & ser abogado para demandarlo. E esto mismo deue fazer enlos otros heredamientos o cosas que pertenesçen al sennorio del rey. si alguno quisiese menguar o encobrir el derecho que el rey ouiese enellos maguer fuesen atales que no ouiese riepto. & assi commo pertenesçe asu ofiçio de fazer iustiçia enlos onbres onrrados que fizieren porque. Otrosi ael pertenesçe de pedir merçed al rey por los que son sin culpa. & el deue dar por su mandado quien razone los pleitos que ouieren duennas biudas & huerfanos fijos dalgo quando no ouieren quien en razone por ellos ni quien tenga su razon. otrosi alos que fueron reptados sobre fechos dubdosos que no ouieren abogados. E por todos estos fechos tan granados que el alferes ha de fazer conuiene en todas guisas que sea onbre de noble lineaie: porque aya verguença de fazer cosa que le este mal. otrosi porque el ha de iustiçiar los onbres granados que fizieren porque. E leal deue ser por amar la pro del rey & del reyno. E de buen seso ha menester que sea: pues que por el se han de[ ]librar los pleitos granados que ouieren o acaesçen enlas huestes. E muy esforçado deue ser & sabidor de guerra: pues que el ha de ser commo cabdillos mayor sobre las gentes del rey enlas batallas. E quando el alferes tal fuere deuelo el rey amar & fiarse mucho enel & fazerle mucha onrra & bien. E sy por auentura acaesçiesse que errasse en algunas destas cosas sobre[+]dichas deue auer pena segund el yerro que fiziere” (John O’Neill, ed., “*Siete Partidas de Alfonso X* [Seville, Oct. 1491] New York: Hispanic Society. Transcribed by Ivy A. Corfis [text.spo],” *The Electronic Texts and Concordances Madison Corpus of Early Spanish MSS and Printings*, CD-ROM, [Madison, WI: HSMS, 1999] fol. 89v).

<sup>207</sup> While this passage attempts to fix the *castellano drecho* term for the fers, the so-called incorrect latter term is the one used throughout the rest of the manuscript.

Also they provided for the fers that when he should be lost, any one of the pawns managing to arrive at the furthest square on the opposite side of the board, where the major pieces begin, from then on they would be ferses and could play just like the former and move in that way. And this is because they rise from the status of the lesser pieces to that of the greater ones.

The king they made so that he could not be captured but that they could give him check in order that they could make him leave from that space which he held, as though dishonored. And if they cornered him so that he did not have anywhere to go, they named it checkmate which is the same as dead and this they did in order to shorten the game. Because it would become very lengthy if all the pieces were to be captured until only the two kings remained alone or the one of them.

#### **Chapter on the movement of the chess pieces**

The movement of the pieces was established also for this reason that we will tell you, because just as the king should not rush into battles but go very slowly and gaining always from the enemies and fighting so as to beat them, likewise the king of the chessmen is not to move more than one square straight or diagonally as one who looks all around him meditating on what he is to do.

The fers moves one square diagonally and this is in order to guard the king and not leave his side and to shield him from the checks and checkmates when they are given to him and in order to go forward helping him to win when the game is well advanced.<sup>208</sup>

But he can also on his first move jump to the second<sup>209</sup> straight or diagonal square and even if another piece is in between. And this is in the manner of a good captain who charges ahead in great feats and battles and rushes everywhere they need him. And in this movement he joins forces with his foot soldiers and becomes one with them as if forcing them not to leave his side and to be as one in order to do the best thing and thus he guards himself and them, having some before him and standing before the others. And therefore when the fers is thus joined with the pawns, they call it flanked.<sup>210</sup>

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<sup>208</sup> Scherer cites the phrasing “quando fuere el iuego bien parado” as an example of the passive formed with *ser* (1997: 293) but I do not see this passage as passive but rather a case of description of a resultant state of a later stage in the game where the medieval uses *ser* and modern Spanish would use *estar*.

<sup>209</sup> The original uses the word for third, which counts the square from which the piece begins as the first.

<sup>210</sup> *Alf(f)erzada* refers the triangular position of reciprocal protection created by a fers diagonally in front of two pawns. I have chosen to translate the *alf(f)erzada* position like the *alf(f)ilada* position as flank(ed) due to their resemblance to this type of military support.

The firs jump to the second<sup>211</sup> diagonal square like the elephants that the kings used to bring at that time because no one dared to stand in front of them and the ones who were on them made them move diagonally to wound the ranks of their enemies so that they were not able to guard themselves.

The knights jump three square counting one<sup>212</sup> straight and taking the third diagonally in any direction. And this is like the good captains who lead the ranks turning their horses to the right and to the left in order to guard their men and conquer the enemies.

The rooks play straight as far as they can move before them or behind or to the right or to the left. And this is like the ranks of the soldiers which go forward as far as they can or in whichever direction they understand will be best in order to more quickly be able to conquer those with whom they are fighting.

[fol. 4r] The pawns do not go more than one square straight ahead of them like the foot soldiers of the army, they cannot move very far because they go on foot and they carry their weapons and the other things that they need on their backs.

But there are also some that play the pawns to the second<sup>213</sup> square on their first move and this is until they capture because afterwards they cannot do it. And this is like when the common people steal some things, that they carry them on their backs.

#### **Chapter on how the chess pieces capture**

The pieces's capturing each other is in this manner.

The king captures in all the squares that we said he could go, any piece from the other side which is there unless there is some other piece from the other side of that piece which shelters it.

And the other major pieces do that same thing like the firs and the knights and the rooks but the fers cannot capture on the first move if it is played going to the second<sup>214</sup> square but after it is played it will capture in the second diagonal square according to its movement.

The pawns also, even though they can move to the second<sup>215</sup> square on the first move if they want, they cannot capture in it but rather they capture diagonally moving forward one square. And this is like the foot soldiers who cannot wound each other being faced off straight in front

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<sup>211</sup> As with the fers's leap, here the original again uses the word for third, which counts the square from which the piece begins as the first.

<sup>212</sup> The original uses the word for second. See previous notes on square counting in the "Libro del acedrex."

<sup>213</sup> The original uses the word for third, which counts the square from which the piece begins as the first.

<sup>214</sup> Again, the original uses the word for third, which counts the square from which the piece begins as the first.

<sup>215</sup> Once again, original uses the word for third, which counts the square from which the piece begins as the first.

each other, but he wounds the other who is to his diagonal because he does not guard against him as much.

### **Chapter on the ranking of the chess pieces**

The advantages which the chess pieces have over each other are great.

Because the king is protected in such a way that he can capture everyone and none can capture him. And this is like the king who can do justice on all those who deserve it but because of this none should place a hand on him in order to capture him nor wound him nor kill him even if he wounds or captures or kills. But rather they can shame him in three ways: by making him leave the square where he is or by blocking from him the square where he wishes to enter and by not letting him capture what he wants.

The fers<sup>216</sup> also has great advantage because it guards the king more closely than the other pieces and it is better than the fils because it has more squares in which it can move and capture than they. And also it guards and captures forwards and back, which the pawns cannot do even if a flank is made with them, as is described above.

The fils have an advantage over the pawns because they capture at a farther distance and they also make a flank<sup>217</sup> in this way: when the fil is on the board if any pawn is behind him by one diagonal square, according to its movement the pawn guards the fil. And if another pawn guards the first in the square where the fil can go, he guards the fil. And in this way all three guard each other and this is called a flank.

The knight has a greater advantage than all the chess men except the rook because he who knows how to play well with the knight by moving him from the first square on the edge of the board will capture as many pieces as there may be in all the squares of the board which are sixty-three without the square from where he began, because he never fails to capture according to his movement.

The rook has a greater advantage than all the other chess pieces because he can go in one move from one end of the board to the other straight ahead of him anywhere he wants if there is not another of his own pieces on the row which blocks him or an opponent's piece that he captures because he will have to remain in the square of that one which he captured.

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<sup>216</sup> Keller mistakenly translates this piece as the bishop (fil) rather than the forerunner of the queen (*Alfonso* 149).

<sup>217</sup> *Alf(f)ilada* refers the triangular position of reciprocal protection created by a fil diagonally in front of two pawns. I have chosen to translate the *alf(f)erzada* position like the *alf(f)ilada* position as flank(ed) due to their resemblance to this type of structural support. This position differs from *fianchetto*, Italian for little flank, where the bishop is between two pawns on the same rank.

**Chapter on how the king and all the chess pieces can move and capture, some in all the squares of the board and others in some of them**

The king can move and capture in all the squares of the board in sixty-four moves. [fol. 4v] and return to his square.

The fers can cover in thirty-two<sup>218</sup> moves all the squares of the board in which it should move and return to its square but not counting when it happens perforce to enter into the same square twice.

The fil can move and capture in six<sup>219</sup> squares of the board, counting its own, and no more.

The pawn can be made a fers in six moves,<sup>220</sup> because it moves one square at a time, and return to its square once it should be promoted to fers in as many moves as the regular fers moving in all the squares of the board in which it can move. And even though it enters twice in the same square, not being able to avoid it, that should not be counted more than once.

The movement of the rook cannot be counted because it moves far and near throughout all the board wherever it wants straight in any direction, according to its movement.

And these movements should be known by all those who wish to play chess well because without this they could not know how to do it nor understand the chess problems that men desire to know because of the annoyance given them from the lengthiness of the regular game when it is played out completely. Also they established for that reason the use of dice in chess so that it could be played more quickly.

And they assigned the six, which is the highest roll of the die, to the king, which is the most honored piece on the board. And the five to the fers. And the four to the rook. And the three to the knight. And the two, to the fil. And the one, which they call ace, to the pawn.

And because the games of chess are differentiated in many ways and problems are even made out of them, there are some in which take all the pieces are used and in others only some of them, we wish to talk to you here first of the game which is played with the all the pieces together and we will show how the board is made and the fashionings of the pieces.

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<sup>218</sup> The original uses the word for thirty-three, counting the initial square as one and then each of the total of thirty-two squares which the fers can enter despite the fact that this counts the initial square twice.

<sup>219</sup> This is an error in the *LJ*; the fil can move to eight squares counting its own starting square. For example, a fil at c1 can also move to a3, e3, g1, c5, a7, g5 and e7. See Figure 7's diagram of a Chessboard of Fil Possibilities.

<sup>220</sup> This count is correct if the initial double-step rule is not observed. If a pawn moves two square for its first move it can become a fers in five (Scherer 1997: 291).

However those which are made best and most completely<sup>221</sup> are to be made in this manner:

The King should be on his chair with his crown on his head and the sword in his hand as if he were judging or ordering justice to be done.

The fers should be made in the manner of the highest standard bearer of the King who carries the standard of the colors of the King when they are to enter into battles.

The fils are to be made in the manner of elephants with castles on top of them full of armed men, as if wanting to fight.

The knights are to be made in the manner of armed knights, like captains who are placed by order of the king to lead the ranks.

The rooks should be made like the ranks of armed soldiers which are very broad, holding on to one another.

The pawns are to be made in the manner of common people who are armed and outfitted when they want to fight.

But since in all the lands that play chess they would be very difficult to make, such pieces as these, men sought out a way in which they could be made more easily and with less cost, but that they should resemble in some small way those which we describe. And the figure of those which is the most used in all the lands, and especially in Spain, is that which is painted here.

[fol. 5r] Since we have finished with how the greater game of chess is played completely, we wish to tell of the problems that men invented with it, which are like things new and strange to hear and therefore they are enjoyable, and also because they are played more quickly because they are counted and known moves and one knows how many moves after beginning that they are to end. But we will speak first of the larger problems which are played with all the chess pieces without removing any of them and afterwards we will tell of how they go decreasing down to the smallest number that they can be.

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<sup>221</sup> Alfonso's *Estoria de España* mentions a beautiful chess set given to the Cid by the Sultan of Persia, along with myrrh like one of the three wise men gave to the baby Jesus and strange animals like those in *grant acedrex*. "Cuenta la estoria que oyendo el grand soldan de persia todos aquestos nobles fechos que el çid Ruy diaz auie acabados ouo tan grant sabor de auer su amor con el con tan noble omne enbio sus mandaderos & sus presentes muy nobles & de muchas nobles Joyas en oro & en plata & en piedras preciosas et en nobles pannos de seda et en otras muchas cosas assy commo en animalias estrannas delas que non ay en esta nuestra tierra & enbiol vna libra de Mirra & de balsamo que es vnguento con que balsama n & mirrauan los cuerpos delos omne s onrrados qua'ndo mueren. Et con este precioso vngue n to fue vngido & balsamado el noble cuerpo del çid Ruy diaz qua'ndo fue muerto assy commo la estoria uos lo contara adelante Otrossi le enbio vn aqedrex de los nobles que fueron en el mundo que aun oy en dia es en el monesterio de sant Pero de cardenna & con todas estas cosas que dichas son enbio el soldan de persia vn su pariente que las troxiesse al çid a valencia" (Lloyd August Kasten, John J. Nitti and Wilhelmina Jonxis-Henkemans, eds., "*Estoria de España*: Escorial: Monasterio [text.ee2]," by Alfonso X, *The Electronic Texts and Concordances of the Prose Works of Alfonso X, El Sabio*, CD-ROM, [Madison, WI: HSMS, 1997] fol. 245v).

And we wish next to tell of the game which they call forced. And this is because even though it may be played according to each player's will, in it there is also to be an element of force because a man goes against his will losing his best piece to his opponent's worst, willing or not by putting it on a square where the other is forced to capture it, according to the movement of the piece against which it is put. And this game is arranged just the same as the first and the pieces move and capture each other in that same way except that there is in addition the forced capture. And therefore those that play it are to be knowledgeable so that they do not put their best pieces in a position where they are to give them up to lesser and more lowly pieces. Because in this lies all the wisdom of this game and its play. And because of this force which we described, they call it the forced game. But because some tell that the damsels first invented it overseas, they call it the game of the damsels.<sup>222</sup> [fol. 5v]

### 1.1.3 Some Explanatory Notes on the 103 Chess Problems

First in the “Libro del acedrex,” there is a discussion and illustration of the pieces whose moves are somewhat different from the modern game. Next is an introduction to the orientation of the chess boards in the manuscript and how that differs from modern standard presentation of the same setup, with the opening position for a basic game of chess and a slightly advanced position of the one different version of chess played on the 8x8 board presented in the *LJ*, the *iuego de donzellas*. Finally, the bulk of the study of the “Libro del acedrex” is dedicated to the 103 chess problems or *mansubat* (sing. *mansuba*) presented therein.<sup>223</sup> The fascination of chess particularly coupled with the medieval

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<sup>222</sup> This forced game version of chess bears two similarities to modern checkers. First the name, *iuego de las donzellas* is similar to the modern (*juego de damas*). And second, the rule of mandatory capture is similar to checker's modern rule requiring the all possible captures must be made or the punitive loss of the piece which should have made the capture(s). The removal of the offending piece is known as huffing.

<sup>223</sup> The *LJ* refers to these checkmate problems as *juegos departidos*. The adjective *departidos* can be interpreted in at least three ways here. First, it can simply mean different or separate, as in divided, as in the prologue where the same word is used in this way on fol. 1v referring to all types of chess, dice and tables games being played in many different ways. Secondly, it may refer to the specific arrangement of pieces from which a problem is to begin as each miniature showing the problem's starting position is heralded with the phrase “E aqui es el departimiento de este iuego.” Thirdly, there is also a possible relation between the phrase *juego departido* and the word *jeopardy* (from the French *jeu parti*) as explained by

player's frustration with its slowness is one reason for the past and present popularity of endgame or checkmate problems. "Alfonso X's ms. *Libro del acedrex* (1283) explains the popularity of the problem as due to the fatigue that players found in playing the proper game through its great length, and then continues: 'For the same reason dice have been brought into chess, so that it can be played more quickly'" (Murray 1913: 410n46 refers to Murray's transcription on 488). "That this disappointment was a real one seems clear from a passage in the ms. Alf., in which the writer speaks of 'the weariness which players experience from the long duration of the game when played right through.' It is from this sense of weariness that he explains the existence of dice-chess, and the popularity of the chess-problem with many players" (Murray 1913: 454). The first known collection of *mansubat* from the eighth century is attributed to al-Adli. As with all fads, parodies can arise which humorously exploit the very features which make them enjoyable. For the chess problem, popular for its concise brevity, one parody came in the form of a chess puzzle created in 1822 by Joseph Ney Babson in which white is to mate in 1220 moves.<sup>224</sup>

For each *mansuba* a dual diagram will be given of the opening position. The left diagram will illustrate the position as oriented in the *LJ*, with one player on the left and the other on the right; in Alfonso's time there was no standard about always placing a

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Murray (1913: 566). Therefore whether or not a player could solve the problem as indicated by the text may have been something upon which people could take sides (*tomar partido*) and place bets. The sense of betting in the word (*de*)partir is seen in the "Libro de los dados": for example, "Todas las otras maneras de iuegos que a en ellos (los dados) son posturas que pusieron los omnes entressi que son iuegos departidos" (fol. 65v), "...non ganarie ninguno dellos por ella (la suerte) nin perderie fasta que se partiesse por las suertes..." (fol. 67r), "E iuegasse [marlota] por suerte partida desta guisa" (fol. 67v) and "E depues que las suertes fueren partidas ..." (fol. 67v). MacDonald defines the same term with reference to dice games as: "departido [*from the p. p. of 'departir'*] adj. 1. 'diferente', 'distinto' *T.III.(14)* juegan con dados comunales a juegos departidos" (360).

<sup>224</sup> Mike Fox and Richard James, *The Even More Complete Chess Addict* (London: Faber) 244-45.

certain color at a certain position in a diagram as there is today and in the “Libro del acedrex” the diagrams follow rather than precede the games they illustrate. The right-side diagram will present the identical position oriented for the modern player’s understanding with white always at the bottom. Armando H. Marroquín’s Alfonso fonts will be used throughout for ease of comparison with the original manuscript because of their undeniable aesthetic value. In the “Libro de acedrex”, the opposing players’ pieces appear inverted to one other so that the direction of their advance is obvious at a glance, except in the rare case of inversion by artist error. Following the diagrams, there will be a piece-by-piece description of the opening position of each problem giving first the square and then the piece occupying it. The purpose of this third manner of presenting the opening arrangement is to ensure correctness and allow discussion of the various errors that inevitably arise in the detail-intensive arena of *mansubat*. Promoted pawns will be distinguished as such from ferses. Variances in each of the studies will be detailed in footnotes beside the piece in question. Only in one case, that of problem 18, is Calvo’s presentation sufficiently different from the others to merit its own diagram (1987: 233). Brief comments related to the previous studies will be presented only as they arise. Next, the outcome and number of moves and, if given in the original, the condition of the win such as specific square or winning piece.

Finally, the solution to the problem will be given in full or expanded algebraic figurine notation. Full algebraic notation has been chosen for the purposes of clarity and precision. Because the moves of the pieces sometimes differ from modern rules and because alternate, but bad, moves are played out before returning to the “right” move,

being able to play moves in reverse is a necessity. Full notation allows the modern player to be reminded of the moves of each piece and easily play backwards to be able to return to a previous position before continuing along with the solution. I have decided to use the symbols of the pieces in the inventories as well as the figurine notation rather than the English abbreviation for them in order to supersede the language barrier inherent in Steiger's (1941) and Calvo's (1987) German and Spanish studies as well as to facilitate comparison with the miniatures in the original.

Since the text of the solutions is technical and dry, a full translation will not be given. Instead, the moves will be given in the long form of algebraic figural notation described above. Alternate moves or textual commentary in the original will be placed in parentheses where they appear within the solution. Information implicit but not explicit within the original text and editorial comments to aid comprehension for modern players will be supplied within square brackets. Additionally, PowerPoint presentations for each problem animate each move, including both discarded and chosen options. The ultimate goal of this study is to present for the scholar and modern chess player a definitive resource for this, the most studied, section of the *LJ* by first and foremost adhering faithfully to the original and secondly to unite and compare the valuable information contained within those works which examine it.

#### **1.1.3.1 Pareja Casañas and the Rich Manuscript**

Félix M. Pareja Casañas's two tomes contain a transcription of the Arabic chess treatise known as the Rich manuscript along with a Spanish textual translation, algebraic notations and study by Pareja Casañas. In the first tome, he presents his Spanish

translation of the work along with his Arabic transcription. In the second tome Pareja Casañas presents twenty-two *LJ* problems<sup>225</sup> in algebraic notation with Spanish abbreviations, discussing each *LJ* problem after its comparable problem from the Rich manuscript Pareja Casañas also gives a transcription of parts of the *LJ*<sup>226</sup> and these transcriptions are noted in my critical text.

The Rich manuscript is an Arabic text completed in 1257 and very comparable with the *LJ*. Pareja Casañas himself comments on the importance of the *LJ* and its similarities with the Rich manuscript, saying “Ruy López, Lucena, Alfonso el Sabio y Aben Ezra son pues, los hitos señeros que marcan las etapas visibles de la evolución del ajedrez en mirada retrospectiva, desde los tiempos modernos” (I: L) and “Redactado, además, el Códice Alfonsino cuando ya había empezado la evolución del ajedrez árabe en manos de los jugadores de la Europa cristiana, es un testimonio fidedigno de uno de los momentos más interesantes en la historia de su evolución” (I: CI).

Among the few differences between the two works are the different origin myth given for the games, the relative values of the pieces, a discussion of the different ranks of chess players and the organization of the problems. According to the Rich manuscript, chess was invented in India and sent by that king to the Persia king as a riddle. The Persian king’s wise man solved the riddle and created *nard* (tables) to send back as a response. Alfonso ranks the chessmen simply in order from most to least valuable: king, fers, rook, knight, fil, pawn; whereas the Rich manuscript ranks each piece in terms of its

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<sup>225</sup> Pareja Casañas presents the *LJ* Problems 1, 4, 7, 12, 14, 15, 18, 22, 23, 35, 38, 40, 47, 49, 59, 72, 88, 89, 93, 95, 96 and 99.

<sup>226</sup> II: LXIV-LXV part of fol. 1v through end of 2r, and LXIX-LXXI, part of fol. 3r through part of 4r.

monetary value in fractions of a dirham. Since Alfonso's focus is not the relative skill of different chess players but rather usually how to get the game over as quickly as possible, he would likely have wanted to avoid giving a ranking in which he would not have fared the best. The Rich manuscript discusses five ranks of players. Finally, the problems in the *LJ* are intended to be arranged in order of decreasing number of pieces involved, though this order is not strictly kept, as discussed below in section 1.1.5. However, the Rich manuscript organizes the problems by the following types: openings, problems with wins related to the king, openings mentioned by al-Adli, problems with wins not related to the king, games that are tied and have commentaries and beginning difficult problems.

The numerous similarities between the Rich manuscript and the *LJ*, presented below, hint at common sources and offer clues to some of the more puzzling aspects of the *LJ*. The Rich manuscript opens with a bismillah (I: 1) and the *LJ* "ends" with a bismillah on the top of the tent on fol. 64r, which would be the work's beginning from the perspective of an Arabic reader. The Arabic work is dedicated to a prince whose name has been obliterated from the original manuscript (I: 2n1, II: XLn1) as then-Prince Sancho's face has been obliterated from the *LJ*'s fols. 1r, 72r and 97v.

The Rich manuscript, as Pareja Casañas says, is fundamental in Arabic chess literature, opens with a *proëmium galeatum* or defense of the licitness of chess (I: 3-8, II: XLV-XLVIII). Many Muslim theologians and philosophers had condemned all games including chess for their promotion of idleness and gambling. While the Rich manuscript defends the intellectual game chess, it condemns the astrologically-based *nard* on the religious and moral lines of the free will (*libre albedrío/qadr*) versus predestination (*al*

*yabr*) argument. Alfonso follows this same moral debate, arguing in defense of tables that it is not entirely based on luck. So he in turn defends both chess and tables, condemning the entirely luck-based dice.<sup>227</sup> Indeed most game bans seem to hinge on the distinction of games for noble entertainment versus those for base gambling, the latter usually involving random elements associated with divination such as dice, or later, cards (Pennick 230 and 235).

The Rich manuscript presents nard's astrological and chess's battle analogy (I: 12-14, 14-16). Alfonso does not mention the symbolism of tablas, but one cannot help but imagine that it would have delighted him because he uses the same framework for his astrological checkers and tables. Alfonso also takes great pains to explain that each chess piece's move and capture is analogous to the piece's real-life counterpart's move and capture.

The Rich manuscript chess problems present the pieces as red and black. Although the majority of the *LJ*'s problems have white and black pieces, it does contain two miniatures on fols. 50r and 50v which show, and at least one of which is a variation on a famous Arabic problem, that are red and black. The text however, continues to refer to the pieces as white and black as in the rest of the manuscript.

Like the *LJ*, the Rich manuscript was compiled from a variety of source texts (II: XLIII) and completed in 1257. It contains a brief and contradictory account of a decimal chess variant which contains a piece called a *dabbaba* (Ar. war machine or, modernly, tank) whose value like that of the *LJ*'s *juyz* ranks between the rook and the knight. Two

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<sup>227</sup> Further discussion of this topic as relates to tables may be found in the section of this chapter which treats that game, 1.2.

moves are given: 1. that the *dabbaba* moves like the king but unlike the king it can be captured; 2. it moves like the knight but with the addition of one square. No specification is given for the direction of that extra square added to the knight's move and Pareja Casañas says in a footnote that the incoherence of the passage make him suspect scribal omissions or copying errors (248n3). Pareja Casañas makes this same comparison between the Rich manuscript's *dabbaba* and the *LJ*'s *juyz*, offering the translation *testudo* or *mantelete*.<sup>228</sup> Despite the incongruence of the Alfonsine translation of this piece's name, I believe that this is the same piece. The fact that two contemporary manuscripts both have similarly brief and somewhat incomplete accounts of a decimal chess argues against missing folios in the *LJ* because Alfonso's compilers may likely have been working from the same source text as those of the Rich manuscript, or even from the Rich manuscript itself. What Alfonso does that the Rich manuscript does not do is invent and describe dice following his tendency to desire to speed the game's play.<sup>229</sup> Having done the same for great chess and invented eight-sided dice, this variant even though sketchy in source texts allowed him to do the same to come up with dice with a number of sides equal to his favorite number, seven. That the move of the piece was debated or

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<sup>228</sup> Pareja Casañas defines this as “un instrumento bélico usado de antiguo en el asedio de ciudades y fortalezas, construido a modo de casa sin suelo, con techumbre muy reforzada y montado sobre ruedas, bajo el cual se resguardaban los soldados de los tiros arrojados del enemigo, cuando lo iban acercando hacia el muro, para combatirlo a mansalva con el ariete, o socavar con menos riesgo sus cimientos” (II: C-CI). Cf. van der Linde's tenth-century decimal chess variant called *Belagerungsschach* (113, fig. V).

<sup>229</sup> In fact, Alfonso complains seven times within the text of the *LJ* itself that chess, great chess and decimal chess just take too long to play. On fol. 2v he explains why the 8x8 chess board is the most popular saying that the larger ones are too slow. On fol. 3v he explains why in chess the king must not be captured like the other pieces, not only because it would be an affront to his rank but also because it would just plain take too long. On fol. 4v and fol. 5r he explains the popularity of chess problems, as opposed to playing the game completely, is due to the fact that players become so frustrated with the length of the game and with checkmate problems one knows in how many moves the frustrating thing is supposed to be over. He also explains on fol. 4v that dice were introduced to chess in order to speed its play. His two final complaints about the slowness of chess appear in this fourth treatise on large games.

unknown, or that the variant was unplayable from his description was unimportant to Alfonso who would not have enjoyed such a tediously slow game. He likely just wanted a pretty and convenient excuse for a methodical transition to the dice needed to play games based on his favorite number seven: base-seven tables, astrological checkers and astrological tables.

Also like the *LJ* the Rich manuscript uses a descriptive system of notation for the squares of the chess board which is very similar to that employed by the *LJ*. The board is divided into a half for each player and pieces are described as being in squares one through four of the master piece of that particular file (e.g. the white pawn on the fourth square of the white knight moves to the fourth square of the black knight). The similar styles of technical language offer further confirmation that the *LJ*'s sources were Arabic (I: XIV, II: XXXI).

#### **1.1.4 Scholarship in Game Studies**

The problem with most popular game books including works on their history is their failure to stand up to the modern philological standards of a dissertation due to their inaccuracies and lack of authoritative, verifiable or, even in some cases, any documentation. Sometimes a work, as cited by Murray or others, is either incorrect or does not exist. Far too often they merely cite other authors or works which have precisely the same faults because of an unfortunate tendency to assume that anything that sounds interesting must somehow be authentic. Though Murray's methods have been severely criticized for these reasons, it is universally recognized that despite these challenges a great deal of his groundbreaking work is useful even if the modern scholar must re-

investigate and document his sources. This has been my challenge: to document fully the assumptions and references of earlier game historians by making every effort to locate the works they cite in order to substantiate their claims with full bibliography and thus to make this dissertation a true reference work which other scholars can use profitably. Where I have attempted but have been unable to locate the document or publication without success, I have indicated this and include my only reference to an important detail while cautioning that this reference is therefore suspect.

#### **1.1.5 Analysis of the Technical Language of the “Libro del acedrex”**

Following Solalinde’s advice that future Alfonsine scholars perform detailed source and linguistic research,<sup>230</sup> I have made a close reading of morphology, word choice and style to find both first-person evidence of the Wise King’s direct and personal intervention in the *LJ* as a whole and to analyze the multiple styles of technical language of the “Libro del acedrex” in particular. Even though Solalinde’s suggestion seems to imply that a lack of uniformity in language style would indicate a lack of direct personal intervention on the part of the King, this may not be the case. Instead, Alfonso’s vigilant influence upon the selection, arrangement and translation of his sources for the chess problems shines through despite the effect of the different language of the source texts or their translators. There are four cases of royal first-person justification for the inclusion of

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<sup>230</sup> “Cuando sobre las obras del rey sabio vayan haciéndose estudios detallados, tanto de fuentes como lingüísticos, deben irse comprobando estas explícitas noticias, y así distinguir en cuáles de sus obras y hasta en qué partes fué mayor la intervención real, en vista de la unidad de criterio para la elección de fuentes, del modo de aprovecharlas e interpretarlas, de la manera de traducirlas, de las contradicciones cometidas, etc. Los estudios detallados de morfología, de léxico y de estilo nos darán luz también para determinar si existe una verdadera unidad en el lenguaje, debida también a la vigilancia del sabio rey” (Antonio G. Solalinde, “Intervención de Alfonso X en la redacción de sus obras” *Revista de filosofía española* II (1915) 288.

certain problems as well as physical evidence of proofreading in the corrections of passages where, presumably, moves were incorrectly described and graffiti penned within one miniature possibly even in Alfonso's own hand. What remains, then, is a new middle step of determining as far as possible what specific cases of lack of linguistic unity reveal about the sources from which they were translated.

In the *LJ* there is ample textual evidence to show that an initial plan for the whole manuscript was conceived at some point by Alfonso and followed by his collaborators in terms of source selection and the way these sources were utilized and arranged. The sources of the games and chess problems were not simply translated but rather particular games and problems were carefully chosen and arranged in order to reflect the king's unique vision for this work and the cosmovision of which it in turn is a reflection. The prologue's myth *exemplum* is perfectly fitted, and purposefully so, to the structure not only of the first three of the *LJ*'s seven treatises but also the internal structure of three of the final four treatises. The sixth treatise, which does not follow the *exemplum*'s scheme, takes pains to unite its content thematically with that of the first three and does indeed follow the hierarchical organization planned for the first treatise. Although the initial plan for the organization of the first treatise, the "Libro del acedrex," seems to have been abandoned after Problem 69 due to a shortage of material, a new plan of reaching the symbolic number of sixty-four folios, while not explicit, seems to have been decided upon and fulfilled.

The original plan for the organization of these problems, as stated in the text on fol. 5r, is that they be arranged hierarchically beginning with the problem containing the

greatest number of pieces and continuing down to the problem containing the fewest.<sup>231</sup>

The stated plan in the *LJ* is to go in descending order by number of pieces used in each problem. This order may have been inspired by the traditional organization of the chapters or *surahs* of the Koran, which appear not in chronological order of the revelations to Muhammed but rather from longest to shortest possibly resulting from memorization and the fact that the most learned would recite the longest chapters first.<sup>232</sup> However, this plan is only followed until Problem 69 on fol. 45v where, significantly, one of the abrupt changes in style occurs.<sup>233</sup> It seems at this point and/or some other points in the compilation of the “Libro del achedrex” additional problems from other sources were sought in order to extend the treatise’s length to the significant number of sixty-four folios. The common analysis from Murray (1913), Calvo (1987) and others is that the majority of the *LJ*’s problems are Arabic in origin. Therefore, it is notable both that the more European-style problems and some of the illuminations with the most personal connections to Alfonso are some of those which appear after the organizational breaking point of Problem 69, suggesting that the Arabic chess problem sources and

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<sup>231</sup> “Pero fablaremos primero delos mayores iuegos departidos que se fazen con todos los trebeios del achedrex; que non tuellen ende ninguno. & depues diremos de como uan minguardo fasta los menos que pueden seer” (fol. 5r).

<sup>232</sup> “The word *qur’an* is derived from the verb *qara’a* ‘to read,’ ‘to recite,’” “Qur’an.” *Encyclopædia Britannica*. 2005. Encyclopædia Britannica Online, 31 May 2005 <<http://search.eb.com/eb/article?tocId=9105854>>.

<sup>233</sup> Problem 70 is generally acknowledged to be the first one to break the planned order. However, Problems 9 and 14 also break this order to a lesser degree. Problem 9’s textual description announces 24 pieces, which is logical after Problem 8’s 25, but its diagram shows 25 pieces, which is one more than Problem 10’s 24. Problem 14’s textual description announces 23 pieces, which is one more than Problem 13’s 22, but its diagram only shows 22. These two discrepancies appear to be more likely mistakes between the copyist and the miniaturist rather than deviations from the plan. As far as the miniatures are concerned, the order is broken at Problem 39 which shows only eighteen chessmen rather than the nineteen specified by the problem’s solution.

models had been depleted.<sup>234</sup> Wollesen follows Murray (1913) in suggesting that “[s]omehow or other, the compiler of Alf. had lighted upon a small collection of problems [Problems 73-87], the work of a European composer, and he proceeded at once to add it to his collection of mansubat” (Wollesen citing Murray 1913: 570), however I tend to agree more with Calvo who suggests that these problems may have been composed in Alfonso’s circle or by the Learned King himself (1987: 215, 218 and 232).

Describing the contents of the “Libro del acedrex” as a whole, Murray says that it “is a European collection of problems, the compiler of which has in the main used Arabic sources” resulting in “an arranged work of 69 problems, followed by an appendix or supplement of 34 additional, but not always new, positions... from various sources with a small group of fifteen problems (Problems 73-87) which “stands out in sharp contrast to the rest of the ms.” in terms of their small number of pieces, special conditions and bishop’s occupying impossible squares (1913: 570-73). He feels that the original and fanciful plan of arrangement also serves to disguise his sources and results in the repetition of several problems.<sup>235</sup> Calvo believes that at first things went according to plan in the “Libro del acedrex” but that somewhere around Problem 50 the compilers ran into

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<sup>234</sup> Problem 73 shows Alfonso playing with Violante; Problem 74 shows Alfonso observing a game between his lover Mayor Guillén de Guzmán and their daughter Beatriz; Problem 77 shows Violante playing with a pilgrim; Problem 80 shows a man with a very distinctive profile playing against a defaced man, therefore probably someone known to the defacer; Problems 83 to 85 are all bordered in royal escutcheons; Problem 86 shows daughter Beatriz playing against another young noblewoman; Problem 87 shows Alfonso, Violante and two of their children; Problems 88 and 89 both contain escutcheons, the latter royal ones; Problem 90 shows a game between Violante in a low-cut gown and another woman; and it is possible if not likely that the majority of individuals portrayed in the remaining problems, especially the distinctive men of Problem 98, are real individuals known to Alfonso. Additionally, the majority of these problems contains pieces or solutions in multiples of seven.

<sup>235</sup> “As I might have suspected from the repetitions. 11 positions are given twice each, 1 three times, and 2 four times! (10=26; 16=20; 22=89; 25=27=101; 32=102; 38=95; 40=72; 46=92; 54=57=90=100; 58=63=64=97; 61=66; 69=91; 82=87; 88=96” (1913: 570n13). See Problem 100 for my analysis showing that it is not, in fact, a Dilaram problem.

problems either in finding material or in completing a desired 64 folios so they began deliberately to repeat positions in more or less new ways. However, this is still not enough and somewhere near Problem 69 they abandon their original plan altogether going back to Arabic problems with more pieces and then to European problems through fol. 54, perhaps of their own invention or from their own games. Finally, the rest of the treatise is filled with more repetitions of Arabic problems, some of them somewhat hastily composed (1987: 133-35). More recently, even Toledano notes how it seems that Alfonso strove to collect enough chess problems to arrive at the “cifra ‘mágica’” (7) of sixty-four for the “Libro del acedrex.”

The technical language used to give the precise coordinates for the solutions to the *LJ*'s chess problems reflects an older, wordier and therefore less efficient system of chess notation.<sup>236</sup> Whereas modern notation names the 64 squares algebraically from a1 to h8 all from the single perspective of white, medieval Spanish often personifies each piece with the power to move itself and names each vertical file by the piece which occupies it in the opening array and, when needed for clarity, whether that piece starts on a white or a black square. Each horizontal row is then identified with a number from one through four, counting upwards towards the board's center from the perspective of whichever player is closer. Within this older, wordier language there is substantial room for revealing variety.

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<sup>236</sup> Constable describes the language of the chess problems as “terse” (302) but this appears to be in regard to their lack of explication of the respective miniatures which illustrate them. Similarly, Chico Picaza describes the language similarly as concise, as noted above.

Both Scherer (1997) and Whyld address the evolution of chess notation with reference to the *LJ*.<sup>237</sup> Scherer sees the difference between the Alfonsine and modern methods of storing and conveying chess knowledge as evidence of the evolution of scientific technical language from one which uses a great deal of space and energy to one which seeks the most efficient usage of those two precious commodities; Scherer compares these two notations with letters, as used in algebraic equations, calling the longer method *yyy* and using *x* for the more precise and concise chess notation. Applying this notion to chess notation and textual analysis of the *LJ*, Scherer finds that modern algebraic pictograph or figurine notation, used in Munich's 1972 chess Olympics, is 94% more efficient than Alfonso's thirteenth-century dual-perspective descriptive method.<sup>238</sup> Whyld's online article examines the area of the chess diagram's development and evolution from medieval manuscripts including the *LJ* through early printing to modern computer fonts, piece orientation and conventions such as knights facing left.<sup>239</sup> He gives an excellent rationale for the use of figurine notation:

given the international nature of chess it is obvious that a universally recognised symbol is superior to the initial letter of a piece, when writing the notation for game scores. For example, the initial B represents a bishop in English, but a rook in Magyar, and a pawn in German. The Hungarians

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<sup>237</sup> Ken Whyld, "Chess Diagrams." 2 June 2003. *L'Italia Scacchistica: De Ludo Scaccorum*. 3 Sept. 2003. <[http://www.maskeret.com/italiascacchistica/a\\_whyld.htm](http://www.maskeret.com/italiascacchistica/a_whyld.htm)>.

<sup>238</sup> Scherer's example uses the first four moves of a modern problem used as an example, given in German to imitate the language style of the *LJ* and for the purpose of illustrating that our modern notation is vastly more efficient than Alfonso's (1995: 183-85). He affirms that the entire twelve moves of this solution require a communicative expenditure of 2,418 indications and that 700 years later it has been refined so that only 146 indications are necessary to convey the same quantity of information. Scherer's 1997 Spanish article uses an example of a queen's gambit declined which uses 138 signs compared to modern Spanish can give in 2233 signs: D 30/8, 1. d4 d5 2. c4 e6 3. Cf3 Cf6 4. e3 c6 5. Cbd2 c5 6. Ae2 Cc6 7. 0-0 cd4 8. ed4 Ae7 9. a3 0-0 10. c5 Ce4 11. Dc2 Af6 12. Td1 Cd4 (298-9).

<sup>239</sup> *Chess Diagrams* by Ken Whyld, *Italia Scacchistica: De Ludo Scaccorum* 3 Sept. 2003. Accessed 18 Feb. 2006, <[http://www.italiascacchistica.com/a\\_whyld.htm](http://www.italiascacchistica.com/a_whyld.htm)>.

were the first to use figurine notation in a chess journal (*Magyar Sakkújság* 1897).

Whyld also uses the image from fol. 32v as an example. For this reason and those already explained above, I have chosen in this dissertation to use figurine symbols in my notation of the *LJ*'s chess moves.

The continued evolution of notation method, even in the last two centuries, means that nearly every study of the *LJ*'s chess problems uses a different form of notation. To illustrate how confusingly different they can be and, thus, the need for a single notation style as independent of language as possible, I give the following comparison. In it, the first three moves of the *LJ*'s Problem 2 are given in each of the different types of notation used by Murray, Steiger and Calvo. Finally, I give those same moves in the style chosen for this dissertation which draws on the best elements of clarity, economy of space and adherence to modern standards from each. At the same time I have tried to improve upon their efforts by using a universal symbol for the pieces instead of a third set of letter abbreviations<sup>240</sup> as well as, for the first time, notating exactly that which is present in the manuscript by putting move information I supply as well as non-move commentary that appears in the manuscript in parentheses and my own commentary in square brackets.

Murray (1913: 326): 1 Rg1+; 2 Rg3+; 3 Rd7+

Steiger (33):	<i>Schwarz</i>	<i>Weiß</i>
	1. Th1-g1+	Kg2-f3
	2. Tg1-g3+	Kf3-e2
	3. Tg3-e3+	Ke2-d1

Calvo (1987: 171): 1 ...Tg1. 2. Rf3, Tg3. 3. Re2, Te3.

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<sup>240</sup> While my study could use the English letter abbreviations for the pieces and Murray's 1913 study uses English, even those have evolved and are now different from Murray's time.

Musser: 1. ..., ♁[h1]-g1+; 2. ♁[g2]-f3, ♁[g1]-g3+; 3. ♁[f3]-e2, ♁[g3]-e3+;

While Murray's notation occupies less space by omitting what he considers to be obvious moves, it also does not provide all the information that Alfonso's text does. Steiger's less efficient notation provides all the *LJ*'s information but also supplies what is tacit in the text, in this case beginning squares, without distinguishing which is original and which has been supplied by him. Calvo's notation, like Murray's, is compact but incomplete because it denotes neither beginning squares nor check. All three previous scholars are hampered by their language's letter designation for the pieces. My notation remedies these concerns.

In working through the technical language of the solutions to the problems one by one in order to translate them to figural algebraic notation, the consistent and formulaic nature of the vocabulary and phrases of the first forty-seven problems made the sudden appearance of the verb *iogar* in Problem 48 almost disruptively surprising. From that point of departure, I began an analysis of the technical language of the "Libro del acedrex" in order to categorize the different styles of language used to indicate the moves. I believe that these shifts in technical language style between one problem and the next may indicate either a change in scribe, translator, source text or even language of a source text since, not surprisingly, they coincide with other differences in the miniatures or problems themselves.<sup>241</sup> The studies of Murray (1913) and Calvo (1987), discussed

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<sup>241</sup> Keller describes how the translators of the science manuscripts worked in pairs: "In discussing the work of these translators, it should be noted that in most cases a Jew and a Christian collaborated. This practice was old in Spain, and the Learned King merely followed what had proved successful before his times. Two experts, it was believed, each a specialist in his own language, whether Arabic or Spanish, could produce a better translation than one scholar who was less well-versed in two tongues" (*Alfonso* 136-37). This method of producing texts in translation jives well with the techniques I have deduced for the *LJ*'s

below, into the origins of these problems reveal patterns of provenance that back up or are backed up by my analysis.

I have categorized the checkmate problems of the “Libro del acedrex” into four different styles based upon my analysis of each problem’s technical language, especially each problem’s principal verbs, i.e. those used for offensive (attacking) and defensive (retreating) moves. Each of the four styles, identified with a capital Roman numeral, is further subdivided into a small number of variants within that same style, indicated with a capital letter.

Table 1. Technical Language Styles in the “Libro del acedrex.”

Style	Subcategory	Problems	Subtotals	Totals
I	I	1-45, 55, 58, 60, 72, 89, 99	51	
	IA	46-47, 71, 90, 92-95	8	
	IB	54, 63-65	4	
	IC	66-67	2	
	ID	91, 97-98	3	
				68
II	II	87	1	
	IIA	48-51, 53, 56, 59, 61, 69-70	10	
	IIB	73-74, 80, 86	4	
	IIC	82, 83, 85	3	
	IID	88, 96, 101-103	5	
	IIE	100	1	
				24
III		75-79, 81, 84	7	
				7
IV		52, 57, 62, 68	4	
				4
				103

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chess problems, in my attempt to account for their shifting styles of technical language. This method also may support Keats’s conclusions about Jewish scribes in the *LJ* and other Alfonsine works better than the evidence he himself provides. In fact, Keller groups the *LJ* among the Alfonsine scientific treatises because both are translations from Arabic works. The *LJ*’s basis on Aristotelian and Ptolemaic works also argues for its inclusion in this category.

Both Murray's and Calvo's suppositions about the compilation of the "Libro del acedrex" find confirmation in my analysis of the styles of technical language in the 103 problem solutions. Calvo's "somewhere around Problem 50" (1987: 135) turns out to be Problem 45, evinced by the fact that Alfonso employs a single, uninterrupted style used for the first forty-five problems which is also, and not coincidentally, the end of the fourth gathering. I have decided to call this default style Style I and also have found that in addition to the main style there are also four subcategories of it with slight variations which I denominate Styles IA, IB, IC and ID. Problem 48's use of the verb *iogar* which so surprised me marks a second, entirely different style of expressing the moves and captures. This second style, or Style II, also has a main category and several subcategories of style: Styles IIA through IIE. A similarly surprising shift occurs with the sudden appearance of the verb *poner* in Problem 75; I called problems with this verb Style III. I do not believe it can be a coincidence that Murray's "small group" of Problems 73 to 87 is found according to my technical language analysis to belong to three distinct subcategories of styles not used by any other problems in the *LJ*: Styles II, IIB, IIC and III. Finally, I observed another style of problem which was very similar in most aspects to Style I but which all contained revealed checks using the subjunctive form of the verb; so these I separately term Style IV. Perhaps future study will clarify their classification as a true subcategory of Style I or their own particular style stemming from one source, perhaps a chapter of as-Suli's work dedicated to discovered checks.<sup>242</sup>

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<sup>242</sup> Bland hints at the possibility of such a source existing in his discussion of the concept called *Irá*, which comprises the senses of discovered check and double check (15 and 49)

As for the Arabic sources of these chess problems, my analysis of the miniature on fol. 17v showing an intended portrait of as-Suli and Ricardo Calvo's study of the origin of the chess problems (1987) supports both Murray's (1913) and Calvo's conclusion that as-Suli was a significant source of chess problems for the *LJ*. A spreadsheet listing my classification of each problem's writing style with Murray's comparison to problems from other manuscripts and Calvo's commentary on the provenance of each problem (see the Excel spreadsheet titled "*LJ* Manuscript Statistics," specifically columns labelled "Murray's groups" and "Calvo sources") reveals convincing evidence to argue that the problems in the *LJ*, like the Rich manuscript studied by Pareja Casañas, originated from more than one source. These comparative data also explain shifts in the styles of problems and their presentation in the miniatures and perhaps future study of the details of the *LJ*'s technical language may provide even further insights into Alfonso's source texts and the way in which the *LJ* was created.

#### **1.1.5.1 Style I**

Style I is the default style of the *LJ*; it is used without interruption for the first forty-five problems and seems either to have been developed for this purpose or created in imitation of a single source text, or a combination of both factors. Additionally, since its predominance parallels that of the Arabic-style problems in the *LJ* it may be suggested that this style was modeled on the Arabic collections from which these problems were drawn.

The vast majority of problems,<sup>243</sup> 75 out of 103 or 73%, fall into the Style I or one of its subcategories in which the key play features of giving or discovering check, moving a piece to a square or returning to a square, and blocking check are given descriptively and almost rigidly in the following manners:

Rubric: The rubric ends in the phrase “de esta guisa” (fol. 5v), the number of moves in which to checkmate is given with the word *ueces* for number of moves to mate when greater than one.

Offense: attacking moves are given with some variation of the infinitive phrase “dar la xaque,”<sup>244</sup> which Scherer notes is another method used in medieval Spanish to remove or avoid specifying the agent without using the true passive (1997: 294).

Giving check: The attacking side’s move is given in the following formula: the *n*th move is (to give) check with the [piece name] that is on the [#] square of the [piece name] by placing it on the [#] square of the [piece name]. The key feature here is the use of the infinitive *dar* for the attack where the other styles will differ, using other verbs and other verb forms. Variants include “xaque,” “la xaque,” “dar la xaque,” and “es dar la xaque” with alternation between the prepositions *con* and *de* for the piece which gives

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<sup>243</sup> Style I includes Problems 1-47, 54-55, 58, 60, 63-67, 71-72, 89-95 and 97-99.

<sup>244</sup> The *DPCRAX* lists the following variant forms all from *ACE* under *jaque* (1061-62): *xac*, *xaque*, *xaques* and *xaqve*. The entry also references the entry for *mate* (see below). The *TDMS* gives the following entries: “xaque (xac) [ár. shah] *f.* 1. jaque, *Aaj* 11d16 (xac); 20c2; ./ *dar la x.*, dar la jaque (ajedrez), *Aaj* 11d3. 2. jaque (dada en una contienda poética), *CBa* 137d21; /*dar x.*, dar jaque, *CBa* 137d21 (739)” and “xamate (xamat, xamathe) [ár. shahmat] *s.* jaque mate, *Aaj* 3c31 (xamat); 15d19; 16b7 (xamathe)” (739).

The *DPCRAX* lists the following variant forms all from *ACE* under *mate* (1196): *mat*, *mate*, *mates*, *math*, *mathe*; *dar mate*; and under *jaque mate*: *xamat*, *xamate* and *xamathe*. The *TDMS* gives the following entry: “mate (mat, math, mathe) [ár. mat] *m.* 1. lance que pone término al juego de ajedrez, *Aaj* 7c4 (mate); 7c38 (mat); 15r12 (math); 22b34 (mathe); /*dar m.*, *Aaj* 2c22 (mate). 2. lance que pone término a una contienda poética, *CBa* 137d32; /*dar m.*, *CBa* 137d32” (451). According to Keats the term *mate* possibly derives from the Spanish word for “dead,” ultimately derived from Arabic (2: 197).

check. For example, the first move from Problem 1: “El primero iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco que esta en la tercera casa del cauallo blanco. poniendol en la quarta casa del Roque prieto o en la quarta casa del alffil prieto” (fol. 5v).

Discovered check: When the check given is by discovered check, Style I says “dar la xaque ... en descubierto” (Problem 4, fol. 7v), or when one piece will take another thereby “descubriendo xaque” (Problem 7, fol. 9v), or speaking of a single piece’s move “El tercero iuego *que* descubra xaque” (Problem 17, fol. 16r), or speaking of the plural pieces of one color “El pri`mero iuego es *que* descubran los pri`etos xaque” (Problem 36, fol. 27v), or finally using the preposition *en* with the present participle as in “El segundo iuego dar la xaque con ell otro Roque prieto en descubriendo” (Problem 90, fol. 55v).

Capturing: The verb *tomar* is used for captures.

Defense: Retreating moves of a piece into a square for the first time are given with the verb *entrar* generally in the future tense, *tomarlo a ... por fuerça* for mandatory defensive captures.

Moving a piece to a square: This type of description is generally of the second or response move, most often that of the king moving out of check to safety. The verb is almost always *entrar* in the future tense. For example, “entrara el Rey prieto en la segunda casa de su Alferza” (Problem 1, fol. 5v).

Returning to a square: If a piece, often the king, re-enters a square, the verb *tornar* is used. It is either expressed in the future or as an obligation with a form of *auer*. For example, “tornarsa el Rey (blanco) [prieto] por fuerça; a la segunda casa de so cauallo. o fue entablado primero” (Problem 1, fol. 5v).

When a piece is interposed between the King and an attacking piece to escape check and prolong the game, the verb *encubrirse* or *encobrirse* is used. It can be expressed in the future as a reaction, in the future subjunctive as a conditional move, in the present subjunctive as a recommendation or as an obligation with a form of *auer*. For example, “pues lo mejor es por alongar el mathe que se encubra *con* su cauallo” (Problem 7, fol. 9v).

Conditional moves: Descriptions of these types of moves are played out in full to show why they are not valid options. The formula is to say, if a piece, generally the king, should enter into [#] square of [piece] it is checkmate in [#] moves, so therefore it is best that he enter into the [#] square of [piece]. The verb after the *if* is almost always *entrar* and given in the future subjunctive; the word for the number of moves until checkmate is *iuego* if it is mate in the first move or *ueces* if a higher number of moves is required. For example, “Si el Rey prieto entrare en la casa de so Roque; es mate al primero iuego. dandol xaque con el otro cauallo blanco en la tercera casa del cauallo pri`eto. Pues lo mejor es que entre en la casa de so alffil” (Problem 1, fol. 5v).

Threat and diagram: The solution’s ending contains when applicable the threat of mate if side to win errs and always ends with the final pair of phrases presenting the diagram, which always follows the textual solution, “e este es el departimiento de este iuego & esta es la figura del entablamiento.” Often the threatened mate is a back-rank one given with a pair of rooks.

Within Style I, there are five problems which present some unique linguistic characteristics in addition to those listed above but which are neither unique nor

numerous enough to merit their own category. In the case of Problem 15, it is a final phrase whose formula varies from all the other problems. In four other cases, the problems contain an additional ending note which explains their inclusion, something which is both unusual within the codex and which shows Alfonso's personal intervention in the collection. Both these variations are discussed below.

The closing statement at the end of each problem's solution in most styles is the almost rigidly formulaic "& este es el departamento deste iuego. E esta es la figura; del entablamiento" (Problem 1, fol. 5v). Problem 15 is unusual in that it is missing the final part of the above, ending with only "& este es el departamento deste iuego" (fol. 15r). The absence of the second part of the ending may owe to a shortage of space as the text has occupied all the space permitted by the L-shaped miniature.

#### **1.1.5.1.1 Subcategories of Style I**

There are, however, some problems which retain the majority of features seen in the problems I have categorized as Style I but which also deviate from it in such significant or numerous ways that I have deemed them as belonging to a subcategory of this same style. These subcategories contain several variations of the introductory rubric to the problem (Style IA), differing terminology either in its absence (Style IB) or its presence (Style IC), and different phrasings, especially of famous problems such as Dilaram, Abu Naam and bare king problems (Style ID).

The most common introductory rubric for each chess problem reads: "Este es otro iuego departido en que ha [#] trebeios que an seer entablados assi como estan en la figura del entablamiento & a sse de iugar desta guisa" (Problem 1, fol. 5v). Even Problem 1

says it is *another* problem although it is the first, indicating that this formulaic introduction is probably an imitation from a source text.

Style IA features variant rubrics plus one or more of the following: variations in the phrasing of giving check and rare or unique terms. Problem 46's rubric says "iueganse assi" (as do the problems of Style IID), the first move is given as "xaque con" (without the word *dar*, like Problems 70 and 72, Styles IIA and IA respectively). Problem 47's first move is given as "es xaque con." Problem 71's rubric, like that of Problem 46 says "iueganse assi." Problem 90's rubric says "iueganse assi" and contains the unusual phrase "no a otra casa en que entrar" explaining the first move. Problem 92's rubric says "iuegan assi," and its end is unusual because of lengthy explanation of the checkmate. Problem 93's rubric says "iuegansse assi" and its ending is unusual due to the rare, more Portuguese term *vençudos*, which also appears in Problem 78 with the also more Portuguese term *fincan*. Problem 94's rubric says "& assi iuegan" and also ends with the rare term *vençudos*. Problem 95's rubric says "iuegan assi" and the solution contains a discovered check given with the unique phrase *en descubriendo*.

Style IB features a variant rubric and/or the absence of (or possibility for) the use of the word *entrar* due to large number of captures, etc., and are generally special or notably famous problems. Problem 54's rubric says "desta manera" but there is no chance for use of *entrar*. This problem is special in that it is a smothered mate copied with praise by as-Suli from al-Adli. Problem 63 has no chance for use of *entrar* and it is the second Abu Naam problem contained in the *LJ*. Problem 64 has no chance for use of *entrar* and

it is the third Abu Naam problem contained in the *LJ*. Problem 65 has no chance for use of *entrar*.

Style IC is a group of problems which contain some unique term. Problem 66's rubric says "an se de iogar desta guisa." This problem has an unusual ending for two reasons. First, it says that if one side errs the other wins because they outnumber their opponent. Second, it is one of the problems which defends its own inclusion despite a very similar problem because, according to the *LJ*, this one is "mas fremoso." Problem 67 contains the unique term *uegadas* instead of *ueces* for number of moves until checkmate: as in "mate en tres uegadas." The word is also used in the introduction to explain one aspect of the attraction of chess problems, that one knows how many moves are to be made, as well as in the "Libro de los dados" and the "Libro del alquerque."

Style ID contains problems with unique phrases or special problems. Problem 91 contains the unusual introductory phrasing "si non quisieren atender el mate." Problem 97 is the final Abu Naam variation in the *LJ*; it is unusual among the representations of this problem in that unlike Problems 58, 63 and 64 it does not explain the threat to the winning side. Problem 98 is unique in that it is the only problem in the *LJ* with two solutions, whoever plays first wins.

Four problems defend their own inclusion, or rather King Alfonso does using the royal we, despite their similarities to other problems citing their beauty and, in one case, the subtlety. All three are written in Style I or one of its variants, even though they do not appear to come from a source text but rather to have been created using a source problem as a point of departure. Problem 20 ends, "& maguer auemos fecho otro iuego departido

que semeia con este;<sup>245</sup> mandamos fazer este por que es mas fremoso. & si los prietos erraren non se puede uencer en iuegos contados. E este es el departamento deste iuego. & esta es la figura dell entablamiento” (fol. 32r). Problem 60 explains, “& maguer que auemos fecho otro iuego departido que se semeia con este; mandamos fazer este otro por que es mas fremoso. E esta es la figura del entablamiento” (fol. 43v).

### 1.1.5.2 Style II

Style II with 25 out of 103 or one quarter of the problems, marks a major shift in the technical language of the *LJ*, beginning abruptly at Problem 48 with the appearance of forms of the verb *iogar* absent from Style I.<sup>246</sup> The verb *iogar* is found either instead of or in conjunction with the verb *entrar*. This usage is not found until after Problem 34 and includes problems that use *iuegos* instead of *ueces* for number of moves until mate, description of a player’s move (*iogaran los prietos del su Roque*) and personification of the King (*el Rey blanco iogara de su cauallo*).

#### 1.1.5.2.1 Subcategories of Style II

There are, however, some problems which contain or retain the majority of features seen in the problems I have categorized as Style II but which also deviate from it in such significant or numerous ways that I have deemed them as belonging to a subcategory of this same Style II. These subcategories contain usage of the verb *iogar* in retreating as well as attacking moves (Style IIA), the personification of the playing pieces and an additional ending phrase referencing the miniature (Style IIB), a variant rubric ending and the personification of the pieces (Style IIC), another variation on the rubric

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<sup>245</sup> The manuscript refers to an uncertain problem.

<sup>246</sup> Style II includes Problems 48-51, 53, 56, 59, 61, 69-70, 73-74, 79, 80, 82, 85-88, 96 and 100-103.

ending (Style IID) and the giving of the threat to the side to win at the beginning rather than at the end of the problem (Style IIE).

Style IIA uses the verb *iogar* for losing side's response move either instead of or in conjunction with *entrar* to describe moves. Problem 48 contains the phrases "aura a iogar el Rey" and "iogara el Rey en." Problem 49 does not contain the verb *iogar* but it is unusual in that the threat is explained only as occurring in "iuegos contados." Problem 50 uses both *entrar* and *iogar*, and its threat, like that of Problem 49, is said to occur in "iuegos contados." Problem 51 contains an unusual future subjunctive form of the verb *iogar* in the phrase "si el Rey iogare" along with "entrara el Rey" and the threat to occur in "iuegos contados." Problem 53 also uses the phrase "iuegos contados" in the threat to the winning side. Problem 56 says both "entrara el Rey" and "iogara el Rey blanco en." Problem 59 says both "iogara el Rey blanco en" and "entrara." Problem 61 uses the present subjunctive of the verb *iogar* "que iuegue el Rey blanco en" and the future of the verb *entrar* "entrara." Problem 69 contains both a past subjunctive and a simple future of the verb *iogar* in the phrases "si el Rey blanco iogare" and "iogara el Rey blanco." Problem 70 says "iogara el Rey prieto en."

Style IIB contains the additional ending phrase "que aqui esta pintada" as well as the personification of the chess king as the player of himself and sometimes the other pieces. Problem 73 says "El primer iuego es este que iogara el Rey ... en, iogara el Rey prieto en" and contains the additional ending phrase "que aqui esta pintada."<sup>247</sup> Problem 74 says the the king "aura a iogar por fuerza con el su Roque." Problem 79 personifies

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<sup>247</sup> This ending suggests common source with Problems 17, 20, 24, 41 and 49.

the verb *iogar* and its diagram is one of only two which contains red pieces instead of black. Problem 80 also personifies *iogar*, does not use the verb *entrar*, and has red pieces instead of black. The text for both Problems 79 and 80 refers to the pieces as white and black, not red. Problem 86 personifies the chess king with the phrase indicating that the “primero iuego iogara el Rey blanco de su alfil.” Problem 86 also does this with the phrase indicating that the “primero iuego iogara el Rey blanco de su alfil.”

Six problems from Style I add “que aqui esta pintada” to the aforementioned closing statement.<sup>248</sup> Their endings are similar to the description of the most commonly used chess pieces from fol. 4v, “E la figura dellos que es mas usada en todas` las tierras & sennaladamientre en espanna; es esta que aqui esta pintada.”

Style IIC contains the variant rubric ending: “an s(s)e de iogar assi” rather than “de esta guisa”, the personification of the chess king and/or color of the pieces (i.e. the whites, the blacks), and the use of *primer* (not *primero*). Problem 4 has the rubric “an se de iogar assi.” Problem 82 says that “el primer iuego iogaran los prietos” and uses both *iogar* and *entrar*. Problem 83 says “el primer iuego poner,” etc. for each move. Problem 85 personifies the chess king saying that the “el primer iuego iogara el Rey blanco con su cauallo.”

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<sup>248</sup> These six problems are Problem 17: “E este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura dell entablamiento. que aqui esta pintada” (fol. 16r); Problem 21: “E este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura dell entablamiento. que aqui esta pintada” (fol. 19r); Problem 25: “E este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura dell entablamiento. que aqui esta pintada” (fol. 21v); Problem 42 with the slightly shorter version: “& esta es la figura del entablamiento que aqui esta pintada” (fol. 31r); Problem “Et este es el departimiento deste iuego; Et esta es la figura dell entablamiento. que aqui esta pintada” (fol. 35r); and finally Problem 73: “E este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figvra dell entablamiento que aqui esta pintada” (fol. 47r).

Style IID contains the variant rubric ending seen in Style IA: “iueganse assi” rather than “an sse de iogar assi” or “de esta guisa” and tends to use *primer* over *primero*. Problem 88 says that “el primero iuego xaque con” and “el tercero iuego iogara con el cauallo.” Problem 96 says that “el primer (not primero) iogara el Rey prieto con.” Problem 100 is the only problem where the phrase *tomar lo a* is used to describe a regular move rather than a capture. Problem 101 says that “el primer iuego” and has an unusual ending of the threat of greater army or material advantage. Problem 102 says “el primer iuego” and has an unusually wordy ending. Problem 103 says “el primer iuego” and has an unusual ending with a detailed explanation of the winning checkmate.

Style IIE gives the threat to the winning side at the beginning rather than at the end of the solution and personifies both captures and king. In Problem 100 the threat is given first with “en descubierta” (not *descubierto*) and includes the personifying phrases “el tercer iuego tomarlo ha el Rey prieto con su Roque” and “iogara el Rey.”

### 1.1.5.3 Style III

Style III includes the seven or eight problems with language styles that use the infinitive *poner* as the principal movement verb instead of *dar* or *entrar*.<sup>249</sup> This use of the verb *poner* is absent from other styles except as the specific form *poniendo*. Only Problem 78 ends in the following manner “E esta es ell arteria<sup>250</sup> deste iuego” (fol. 49v). The style of writing in this problem is unusual in at least two other regards, first being a

<sup>249</sup> Style III includes Problems 75-78, 79, 81, (possibly 83) and 84

<sup>250</sup> This Gallego-Portuguese word is also found in *Cantiga* 9 “Por que nos ajamos” (Esta é como Santa Maria fez en Sardonay, preto de domas, que a ssa omagen, que era pintada en ha tavao, sse fezesse carne e manass’oyo.) “Ora retrayamos /quan grand’ arteria /fez per antollança” <http://www.pbm.com/~lindahl/cantigas/facsimiles/E/073small.html> and <http://www.pbm.com/~lindahl/cantigas/facsimiles/E/074small.html> ). *Lanço* is also a Portuguese word. Rather than as a synonym of *departimiento*, Steiger defines *arteria* as *astucia* from *Alexandre* P397c (390).

departure from Style I due to the use of *poner* and, second, even then being a departure from other examples of Style III in the use of the word *lanços* instead of *ueces* to indicate the number of moves to checkmate. The different writing style of this problem may help to solve the mystery of why this and the following miniatures' chessmen are the only ones in the *LJ* shown as red and white, as opposed to black and white. Only Problem 81 uses the compound form *desponer*. The use of this unique verb may also mark a shift in source text from the previous two red-pieced problems.

Problem 75 uses the infinitive of the verb *poner* in phrases like “El primer (not primero) iuego poner el peon” and “el segundo iuego poner el peon.” Problem 76 includes the rare use of *es* before the infinitive in the phrase “El primer iuego es poner el Roque” as well as the phrases “dar la xaque” and “entrara” typical of Style I. Problem 77 contains the unusual personified specification that the “Rey deue iogar de ssi mismo” as well as the infinitive form of *poner* in the phrase “El primer iuego poner.” Both Problems 83 and 84 have the rubric “an se de iogar” and both are difficult to call as to Style II(C) or III with the infinitive phrasing “El primer iuego poner.” While all Style III problems use the word “primer”, it is by no means exclusive to that style.<sup>251</sup>

#### 1.1.5.4 Style IV

Finally, Style IV shows the four problems where the present subjunctive is used rather than the infinitive and indicative forms to indicate a discovered check, usually as

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<sup>251</sup> Problems using the form “primer” also include, broken down by style, Problem 15, 20, 72, 89 and 99 of Style I; Problems 90, 93, 94 and 95 of Style IA, Problem 66 of Style IC and Problems 91 and 97 of Style ID; as well as Problem 69 of Style IIA, Problem 74 of Style IIB, Problem 85 of Style IIC, Problems 96, 101, 102 and 103 of Style IID and Problem 100 of Style IIE; Problem 68 of Style IV.

the first move, which is expressed differently in other problems.<sup>252</sup> Problem 17's third move is "que descubra xaque" (fol. 16r) and ends with Style IIB's "que aqui esta pintada" but which in all other ways is like Style I. Problem 29's (fol. 23v) first move is the same, as the second of two checks listed and is otherwise like Style I.<sup>253</sup> Problem 36's first move is "es que descubran xaque" (fol. 27v) in the personified plural and the rest is like Style I. Problem 52 which comes from an as-Suli source gives the move as "que descubra xaque" (fol. 36v) and is in the remainder like Style I. Problem 57 is a Dilaram problem from another source, with the phrase "que descubra xaque, que lo ponga" (fol. 39r) and is otherwise like Style I. Problem 62, whose rubric "iuegan assi" (fol. 41v) is like that of Problems 46, 58 and 71, and which Calvo (1987: 212) says has no known antecedents, contains the phrase "que descubra xaque, poniendolo" and is otherwise like Style I. Problem 68, which Calvo also says has no known antecedents (1987: 215), phrases the discovered check like Problem 36 in a personified plural "es que descubran xaque, poniendo" (fol. 44v) and is otherwise like Style I.

My best conjecture, given their similarities in terms of style and the fact that it seems Alfonso's team sourced Dilaram problems from multiple sources, is that perhaps Problems 52, 62 and 68 are from a common but now-lost as-Suli source that gave the Dilaram variation in Problem 57, which is different from the other Dilaram variations (Problems 54 and 90). Given the similar beginnings to the wording of their solutions, perhaps this source was even one devoted to the study of discovered checks.

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<sup>252</sup> Style IV includes Problems 52, 57, 62, 68

<sup>253</sup> It in fact may be yet another subcategory of Style I but is substantially different enough for me to classify it on its own at this time.

Other cases of discovered check express the move differently. Problem 20, Style I, uses the possibility of discovered check as a threat, “E si los blancos erraren de dar xaque cada uez al Rey prieto es el Rey blanco mathe al primero iuego descubriendo xac & mathe del Roque prieto con ell alfferza prieta. tomando con ella el cauallo blanco que esta en la segunda casa del alffil blanco” (fol. 18v). Problems 4, 38, 54 and 56 call it check “en descubierto” (fols. 7v, 28v, 37v and 38v and all Style I except for Problem 54 which is Style IIA); Problem 7, Style I, explains a capture “descubriendo” the check (fol. 9v); Problems 90 and 95, both Style IA, call it check “en descubriendo” (fol. 55v and 58v); Problem 100, Style IIE calls it check “en descubierta” (fol. 61v).

## 1.1.6 The 103 Chess Problems of the “Libro del acedrex”

### 1.1.6.1 Problem 1

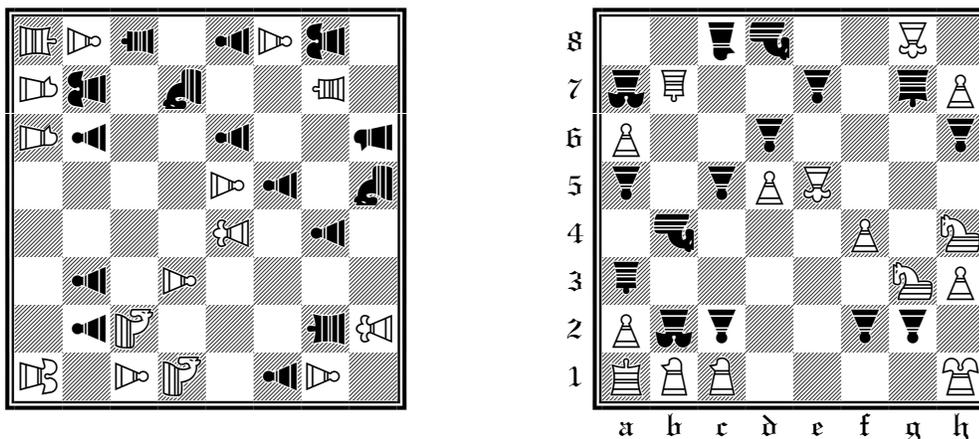


Fig. 19. Problem 1: fols. 5v and 6r (description on fol. 5v and diagram on fol. 6r); 30 pieces: white (at left) plays first and wins or draws<sup>254</sup> in sixteen, in a chase with his two knights that ends in square where the black king began.

<sup>254</sup> The *LJ* uses *maña* and all related words (*amannar*, *manera*, etc.) to refer to tie games in which there is neither a winner nor a loser. In all *LJ* games a tie win is considered better than a loss. Ties are mentioned as possible in chess on fols. 5v (Problem 1), 6r (Problem 2), 57v (Problem 93); in dice on fol. 68r (*riffa*); in *tablas* on fols. 72v (introduction), 75v and 76r (*emperador* and *medio emperador*), 85r (base-seven tables); and in *alquerque* on fols. 91r (introduction and *alquerque de doze*) and 93r (*alquerque de tres*). The *TDMS* confuses the very separate ideas of a tie or drawn game in chess and a smothered mate. A tie or drawn game in chess, now interestingly known in Spanish by the term *tablas*, can occur by repetition of position, stalemate or modernly by agreement of both players to a fifty-move limit. Repetition of position occurs when the same pieces with the same powers occupy the same squares; medieval rules do not specify how many instances of repetition must occur to tie the game while modern rules say the repetition must occur three times or be determined that such repetition will occur after a particular point. Stalemate, which the fifteenth-sixteenth-century chess master Lucena considered an inferior or lesser type of win, occurs when a player on their turn is neither in check nor has any legal move. In contrast, a smothered mate or *mate ahogado* is a beautiful type of victory in both medieval and modern chess which occurs when a king cannot escape check because he is hemmed in or smothered by his own pieces (see Problem 55 for the *LJ*'s uniquely lovely example of smothered mate). The *TDMS*'s definition of *maña* is incorrectly given as synonymous with *mate ahogado*, citing *LJ* fols. 6r [Problem 1, which is drawn by repetition of position as is Problem 2], 76r [tables and not chess at all], 85v [another variant of tables], and 91r [*alquerque* and not chess at all] (446) while not citing the one drawn game in the *LJ* Problem 93 on fols. 57v and 58r.

Inventory and solution:

♔a1 ♚b7 ♜e5 ♞g8 ♠h1 ♡b1<sup>255</sup> ♠c1 ♞g3 ♞h4 ♡a2 a6 d5 f4 h3 h7 (15)

♞g7 ♚a3 ♞a7 ♞b2 ♠c8 ♞b4 ♞d8 ♡a5 c2 c5 d6 e7 f2 g2 h6 (15)

1. ♞g3-h5+<sup>256</sup> or ♞g3-f5+<sup>257</sup> (if ♞[g7]-h8 then 2. ♞[h4]-g6++)<sup>258</sup> ♞[g7]-f8; 2. ♞[h4]-g6+, ♞[f8]-e8;<sup>259</sup> 3. ♞[h5]-g7+<sup>260</sup> or ♞[f5]-g7+<sup>261</sup> ♞[e8]-d7; 4. ♞[g6]-f8+, ♞[d7]-c7; 5. ♞[g7]-e8+; (if ♞[c7]-b8 then 6. ♞[f8]-d7++)<sup>262</sup> ♞[c7]-b6; 6. ♞[f8]-d7+, ♞[b6]-b5; 7. ♞[e8]-c7+, ♞[b5]-c4 (if ♞[b5]-a4 then ♞[d7]-b6<sup>263++</sup>);<sup>264</sup> 8. ♞[d7]-b6+, ♞[c4]-c3; 9. ♞[c7]-b5+, ♞[c3]-d2; 10. ♞[b6]-c4+, ♞[d2]-e2;<sup>265</sup> 11. ♞[b5]-c3+, ♞[e2]-f3; 12. ♞[c4]-d2+, ♞[f3]-g3; 13. ♞[c3]-e2<sup>266+</sup>, ♞[g3]-h4;<sup>267</sup> 14. ♞[d2]-f3+,

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<sup>255</sup> Although J. B. Sánchez Pérez takes greater pains than other scholars to show the pieces as they appear in the manuscript but oriented for the modern chess player with white at the bottom, actually drawing each one individually, he often shows files or knights oriented in a slightly incorrect fashion. These slight variations suggest that his method may have been to note the piece positions but then draw the boards away from the original. For example, in this problem he shows the two white files at b1 and c1 pointing to the right and inverts the white promoted pawn at e5.

<sup>256</sup> J. B. Sánchez Pérez offers only this first option. Murray (1913) does not list this first move and instead gives only its second option.

<sup>257</sup> Calvo (1987) does not list this alternate move.

<sup>258</sup> Murray (1913) does not give this conditional move.

<sup>259</sup> Murray (1913) does not specify this or any move for black unless conditional moves are given and rejected in the manuscript.

<sup>260</sup> Murray (1913) does not list this move and instead gives only the continuation, absent from but tacit in the manuscript, of the alternate first move.

<sup>261</sup> Neither Steiger nor Calvo (1987) offers the continuation of the alternate first move. They and the manuscript only specify the ending square which is the same for both.

<sup>262</sup> Murray (1913) does not give this conditional move.

<sup>263</sup> Textual error: the text's indication of the square b5 ("*cuarta casa del caballo prieto*," emphasis mine) is possible for the white knight on c7 but does not give check or mate. Steiger corrects this to b6 by changing "*cuarta*" to "*tercera*." Calvo (1987) gives the correct move (b6). Crombach does not note this error.

<sup>264</sup> Murray (1913) does not give this conditional move.

<sup>265</sup> Calvo (1987) notes that d3 and e3 are under threat by the white files.

<sup>266</sup> Murray (1913) states that ♞(f6)d5 [♞c3-e4+]. This is a valid play and one which gives the prescribed check with the prescribed piece. However, it is not the move as described in the manuscript, "El trezeno iuego dar la xaque con el caballo blanco; en la segunda casa del Rey blanco." Murray's move would be "...en la *cuarta* casa del Rey blanco."

<sup>267</sup> Pareja Casañas mysteriously notes "*Sánchez Pérez*, diagr. 1, p. 18" (II: 74). J. B. Sánchez Pérez does indeed give a correct diagram and solution for this problem on his page eighteen, but I see no particular reason to footnote this fact at move thirteen in the problem.

♖[h4]-h5; 15. ♗[e2]-g3+, ♚[h5]-g6; 16. ♗[f3]-h4+, ♚<sup>268</sup>[g6]-g7 (forced), (repetition of position = drawn game) (if either ♗ errs at any point then ♚[b2]x ♗b1++<sup>269</sup> or ♚[b2]x ♗a2++)<sup>270</sup>

The technical language of this problem belongs to Style I. Problem 1 features the usual rubric listing pieces as *trebeios* and ending “a sse de iugar desta guisa”, moves to mate given in *uezes*, the first move as *primero*, checks given as both *dar la xaque con* and *dar la xaque de*, responses given as *entrara el Rey*, conditional moves given as *Si el Rey ... entrare* and *ca si entrare* paired with *mate al primero iuego ... pues lo mejor es que entre*, an ending with a threat if side to win errs as *mate al primero iuego*, followed by the usual phrasing of “& este es el departimiento deste iuego. E esta es la figura; del entablamiento.” The phrase “onde salio (primero)” is used only in four problems: 1, 18, 90 and 94. Problem 12 also drives the doomed king in a counterclockwise circle; the two white knights driving a black king counterclockwise around the board is also seen in Problem 47.

Van der Linde, whose diagram does not distinguish between ferses and promoted pawns, presents this same position to mate in sixteen knight moves as his diagram 68 of the chapter “Das problemschach des Mittelalters.”

Murray inverts the board in his diagram, putting black at bottom and reversing his notation; otherwise it is the same (1913: 303, diagram 388). Also, he refers to white as

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<sup>268</sup> Textual error: the manuscript describes this as the white king’s move. HSMS corrects this error. Steiger does not correct the text but lists the move as white’s.

<sup>269</sup> J. B. Sánchez Pérez gives only this first threat to the white king while Calvo (1987) notes the second threat but not this first one.

<sup>270</sup> Murray (1913) does not list the threats to the white king.

Red here and throughout those problems he covers up to Problem 98. Thereafter he uses the traditional black and white.

Pareja Casañas presents this *LJ* problem, in comparison to a very similar knight's *noría* in the Rich manuscript in which black plays and wins in 34, exactly as I have with the exception of not giving the second options for white's moves one and three as well as offering a total of seventeen moves, the final one being a repetition of move one.<sup>271</sup> He carefully compares and contrasts the two problems and offers a beautiful chart showing the similarity of the problems' perfectly-symmetrical paths.

J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram.<sup>272</sup> Steiger gives the same solution and footnotes Pareja Casañas. Calvo gives the same solution with the omission of some information. Additionally, Calvo's notation never denotes when a king is given check but rather only mate as has been mentioned. Calvo underscores both the importance and beauty of the "perpetuum mobile" (1987: 169) of this first problem as well as the only apparent verisimilitude of its composition. Both Murray (1913) and Calvo (1987) compare this *ad-dulabiya* or knight's *noría* problem to the same more famous one which contains thirty-six moves and in which the king is chased through and finally checkmated at the end of three clockwise circuits of the board. Calvo compares Problem 1 to Problems 8, 15 and, to a lesser degree, 40. The more elaborate knight's *noría*-style problem he presents as found engraved on "una roca del tiempo de los

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<sup>271</sup> Pareja Casañas's diagram 50: Spanish translation (I: 75-76), Arabic transcription (I: Arabic numerals 60-61) and algebraic notation, discussion and diagram (II: 72-76).

<sup>272</sup> Since the studies of these three men assign their diagram and problem numbers based on the *LJ*, I do not repeat their numeration here.

griegos, y luego trasladada al árabe” (Calvo 1987: 169-70). This *noria* problem is a slight variation on the also clockwise one offered by Pareja Casañas.

The following are some curious observations about Problem 1 owing to its beautiful symmetry and circular nature. The solution uses 25% of the board or 16 squares, 8 white and 8 black. There are 16 moves in the solution, with two steps each (one for each white and black per turn). This makes a total of 32 steps (twice the number of squares used and half the number of squares on a chess board). If those 32 steps are numbered from 1 to 32, the following observations can be made. An analysis of those squares and steps shows that the numerical sequence from 1 to 32 if arranged in a circular fashion with 1 being the next counted number after 32 and/or vice versa, shows that each square used in the solution of this problem is hit exactly twice and exactly five steps apart. Finally, its counterclockwise direction may be significant as it mirrors the rotations of the planets in the *LJ*'s final *escaques* game, not from man's perspective but rather from a divine one.

To see this exceptionally beautiful problem played out move by move, please see the accompanying CD-rom for the PowerPoint presentation entitled “The *LJ*'s Problem 1—The Knight's *Noria*.”

## 1.1.6.2 Problem 2

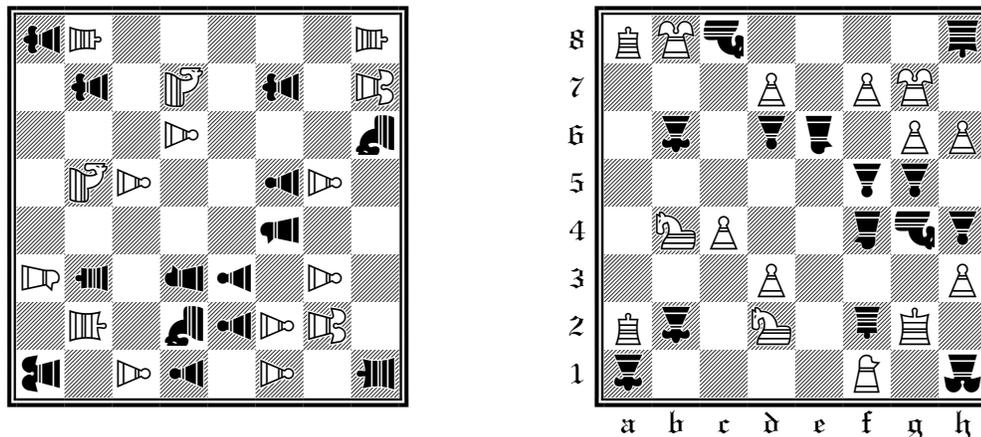


Fig. 20. Problem 2: fols. 6r<sup>273</sup> and 6v (description on fols. 6r and 6v, diagram on fol. 6v); 29 pieces: black (at right) plays and wins with a draw<sup>274</sup> in twelve, in chase with the black rook at h1.

Inventory and solution:

♖g2 ♜a2 ♜a8<sup>275</sup> ♞b8 ♞g7 ♠f1 ♞b4 ♞d2 ♠c4 d3 d7<sup>276</sup> f7 g6 h3 h6 (15)

♞h8 ♞f2 ♠a1 ♠b2 ♠b6 ♞h1 ♠e6 ♠f4 ♞c8 ♞g4 ♠d6 f5 g5 h4 (14)

1. ..., ♞[h1]-g1+; 2. ♜[g2]-f3,<sup>277</sup> ♞[g1]-g3+; 3. ♜[f3]-e2, ♞[g3]-e3+; 4. ♜[e2]-d1, ♞[e3]-e1+; 5. ♜[d1]-c2, ♞[e1]-c1+; 6. ♜[c2]-b3, ♞[c1]-c3+; 7. ♜[b3]-a4, ♞[c3]-a3+; 8. ♜[a4]-b5, ♞[a3]-a5+; 9. ♜[b5]-c6, ♞[a5]-c5+; 10. ♜[c6]-b7, ♞[c5]-

<sup>273</sup> Calvo (1987) does not note the page for Problem 2's description.

<sup>274</sup> Murray (1913) calls this game drawn only.

<sup>275</sup> This second white fers probably should have been painted as a promoted pawn, given its position and the presence of a white fers on a2. J. B. Sánchez Pérez shows it as a white promoted pawn without explanation.

<sup>276</sup> J. B. Sánchez Pérez and Steiger indicate that this white pawn has been promoted to a fers. Calvo (1987) also marks this piece as a fers. The white pieces in this illumination are painted with only white paint on the parchment, without the very helpful contrasting black lines that appear on white pieces later in the manuscript. This lack makes this particular piece so faint as to make its status as a pawn or a *peón alferzado* unclear. I myself can not make out the characteristic trefoil head of a promoted pawn, but rather only one knob. Additionally, the piece is oriented in the same direction as unpromoted white pawns which is usually not the case. Given these facts, I have indicated it as simply a white pawn.

<sup>277</sup> Murray (1913) does not specify this or any move for white.

c7+; 11. ♖[b7]-a6, ♜[c7]-a7+; 12. ♖[a6]-b5 (forced), ♜[a7]-a5+ 13. ♖[b5]-c6,<sup>278</sup>  
draw<sup>279</sup> (if ♜ errs g7-[h7])<sup>280</sup>

Problem 2, belonging to Style I, features the usual rubric listing pieces as *trebeios* and ending “han se de iugar desta guisa”, moves to mate given in *uezes*, the first move as *primero*, checks given as both *dar la xaque con* and *dar la xaque de*, responses given as *entrara el Rey*, returns to a particular square given as *tornarsa el Rey*, an ending with a threat if side to win errs as *mate al primero iuego*, followed by the usual phrasing of “E este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura del entablamiento.”

Van der Linde, whose diagram does not distinguish between ferses and promoted pawns, presents nearly this same position to mate in twelve moves as his diagram 64 of the chapter “Das problemschach des Mittelalters.” In error, the white pawn at d7 is shown instead as a fers. Murray, uninverted this time (1913: 303, diagram 389), and Calvo give the same diagram. J. B. Sánchez Pérez and Steiger’s variances are noted in the inventory. Murray and Steiger give the same solution. Calvo’s solution is almost exactly the same with minor variations noted in certain moves. Calvo offers no history for this problem but does note a thematic relationship between this *noria de roques* in Problem 2 and those in Problems 38 and 95 (1987: 170).

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<sup>278</sup> Manuscript: casa de so alffil; Grandese (1986-87: 78): casa del alffil prieto.

<sup>279</sup> Calvo (1987) gives a thirteenth move for black, ♜[a5]-c5, which does not appear in the text.

<sup>280</sup> Murray (1913) does not list the threats to the black king.

## 1.1.6.3 Problem 3

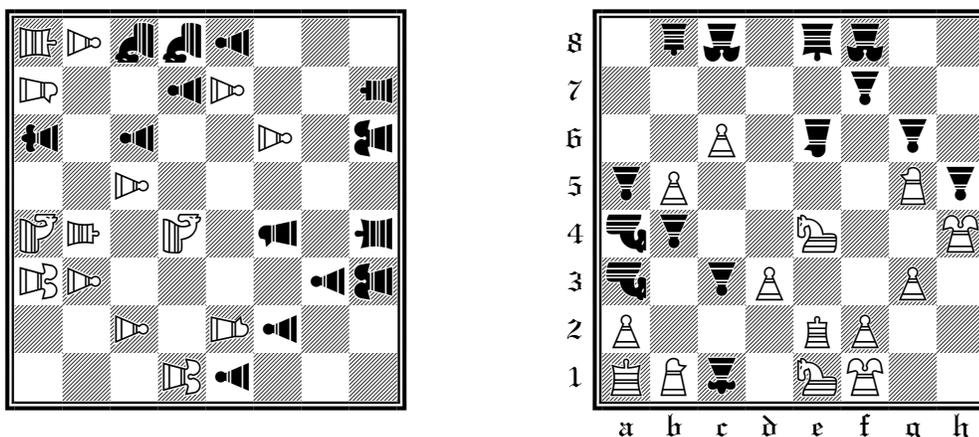


Fig. 21. Problem 3: fols. 6v and 7r<sup>281</sup> (description on fols. 6v and 7r, diagram on fol. 7r); 28 pieces: white (at left) plays and wins in eleven.

Inventory and solution:

♙a1 ♘e2 ♖f1 ♗h4 ♙b1 ♙g5 ♞e1 ♞e4 ♙a2 b5 c6 d3 f2 g3 (14)

♜e8 ♜b8 ♚c1 ♚c8 ♚f8 ♜e6 ♞a3 ♞a4 ♙a5 b4 c3 f7 g6 h5 (14)

1. ♞[e4]-f6+, ♜[e8]-d8;<sup>282</sup> 2. ♖[h4]-d4+, ♜[d8]-c7; 3. ♗[d4]-d7+, ♜[c7]-b6;
4. ♗[d7]-b7+ (guarded by ♙[c6]),<sup>283</sup> ♜[b6]-c5; 5. ♞[f6]-e4+, (if ♜[c5]-d4 then mate in two: 1. ♞[e1]-f3, ♜[d4]-d5 (forced); 2. ♖[b7]-d7++)<sup>284</sup> ♜[c5]-d5;<sup>285</sup> 6. ♖[b7]-d7+, ♜[d5]-e5; 7. ♞[e1]-f3+, ♜[e5]-f5; 8. ♗[d7]-d5+, ♜[f5]-g4; 9. ♞[e4]-f6+, ♜[g4]-h3;
10. ♗[f1]-h1+, ♜[h3]-g2; 11. ♗[h1]-h2++ (if white errs then ♚<sup>286</sup>[c1]-b2++)<sup>287</sup>

<sup>281</sup> Calvo (1987) indicates fols. 7r and 7v for Problem 3.

<sup>282</sup> Murray (1913) does not specify this or any move for black except for move 5 after the rejected conditional move.

<sup>283</sup> Murray (1913), Steiger and Calvo (1987) do not include this explanation explicit in the text.

<sup>284</sup> Murray (1913) does not give this conditional move.

<sup>285</sup> Calvo (1987) also says that d4 is also an option here.

<sup>286</sup> Rather than a fers, a promoted pawn (i.e. *peon alfferzado*, with the same powers as an *alfferza*) is shown at c1.

<sup>287</sup> This is a threat of smothered mate (see also Problem 55). Murray (1913) does not list the threats to the white king.

Problem 3 (Style I) features the usual rubric listing pieces as *trebeios* and ending “an se de iogar desta guisa”, moves to mate given in *uezes*, the first move as *primero*, checks given as both *(es) dar la xaque con* and *dar la xaque de*, responses given as *entrara el Rey*, conditional moves given as *Si el Rey ... entrare* paired with *mate en dos iuegos ... pues lo mejor es ... que entre*, an ending with a threat if side to win errs as *mate al primero iuego*, followed by the usual phrasing of “& este es el departimiento deste iuego. E esta es la figura del entablamiento.”

Murray (1913: 303, diagram 390), J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Murray, Steiger and Calvo give the almost the same solution, except as their variances are noted. Calvo gives no history for this problem and says that the contrived opening position could not have occurred in an actual game given that “los peones blancos y negros del ala izquierda solo pudieron entrecruzarse mediante capturas, que el cómputo de las piezas presentes hace imposible” (1987: 172).

## 1.1.6.4 Problem 4

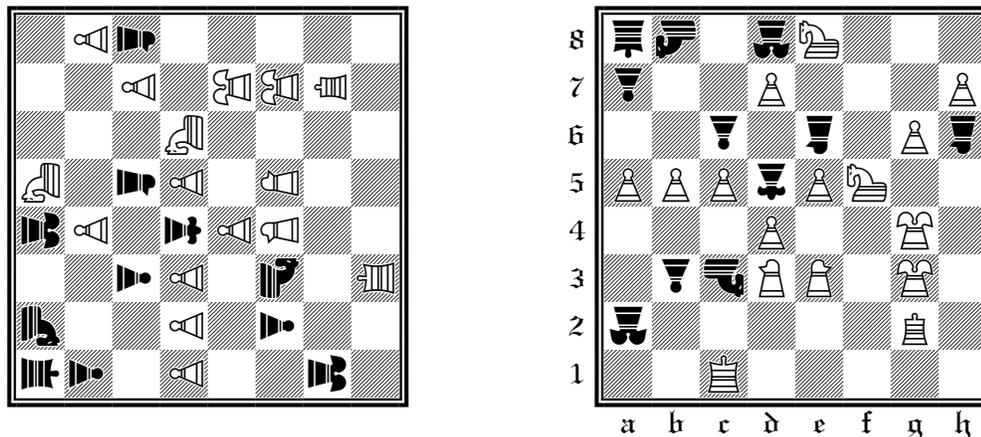


Fig. 22. Problem 4: fols. 7r,<sup>288</sup> 7v and 8r (description on fols. 7r and 7v, diagram on fol. 8r); 27 pieces: white (at right) plays and wins in twelve.

Inventory and solution:

♖c1 ♗g2<sup>289</sup> ♘g3 ♙g4<sup>290</sup> ♕d3 ♜e3 ♞e8 ♟f5 ♠a5 ♡b5 ♣c5 ♤d4 ♥e5 ♦g6 ♧h7 (16)

♞a8 ♚d5<sup>291</sup> ♛a2 ♜d8 ♝e6 ♞h6 ♟b8 ♠c3 ♡a7 ♣b3 ♤c6 (11)

1. ♞[e8]-c7+, ♞[a8]-b7; 2. ♟[f5]-d6+, ♞[b7]x♟c7 (forced),<sup>292</sup> 3. ♠[b5]-b6+, ♠[a7]x♠[b6] (to prolong); 4. ♠a5x♠b6+ or ♠c5x♠b6+,<sup>293</sup> ♞[c7]x♠d7; 5. ♜[d3]-f5+, ♞[d7]-e7; 6. ♜[e3]-g5+, ♞[e7]-f8; 7. ♠[g6]-g7+, ♞[f8]x♠[g7] (forced); 8. ♜[g5]-e3+ (discovered check by ♘[g4]+<sup>294</sup>), (if [option 8a: mate in 9 moves] 8a. ..., if ♞[g7]-h8; 9a. ♟[d6]-f7++, (if [option 8b: mate in 10] 8b. ..., if ♞[g7]-f8; 9b. then

<sup>288</sup> Calvo (1987) does not indicate that fol. 7r contains Problem 4's description.

<sup>289</sup> Calvo (1987) omits this white fers.

<sup>290</sup> Calvo (1987) omits this white rook.

<sup>291</sup> Calvo (1987) shows a black pawn instead of a promoted one.

<sup>292</sup> None of Murray (1913), Steiger or Calvo (1987) denotes which moves are described in the manuscript as forced.

<sup>293</sup> Pareja Casañas offers only the second option here. Calvo (1987) does not list this or any alternate move.

<sup>294</sup> None of Murray (1913), Steiger or Calvo (1987) denotes discovered checks explicated in the manuscript.

$\text{♞}[g4]-g8+$ , and if not  $\text{♜}[e6]x\text{♞}[g8]$ <sup>295</sup> then  $\text{♜}[f8]-e7$ ; 10b.  $\text{♞}[g3-g7]++$ , (if [option 8c: mate in 12]<sup>296</sup> 8c. ..., if  $\text{♜}[g7]-f8$ ; 9c.  $\text{♞}[g4]-g8+$ ,  $\text{♜}[e6]x\text{♞}[g8]$ ; 10c.  $\text{♞}[g3]x\text{♜}[g8]+$ ,  $\text{♜}[f8]-e7$ ; 11c.  $\text{♞}[e3]-g5+$ ,  $\text{♜}[e7]-e6$  (forced); 12c.  $\text{♞}[g8]-g6++$ ), [preferred option 8d: mate in 12] ...,  $\text{♜}[e6]$ <sup>297</sup> $x\text{♞}[g4]$ ; 9.  $\text{♞}[g3]x\text{♜}[g4]+$ , (if [option 9a: mate in 10 moves] 9a. ..., if  $\text{♜}[g7]-h8$ ; 10a. then  $\text{♞}[d6]-f7++$ ), [preferred option 9b: mate in 12] 9b. ...,  $\text{♜}[g7]-f8$ ; 10.  $\text{♞}[g4]-g8+$ ,  $\text{♜}[f8]-e7$ ; 11.  $\text{♞}[e3]-g5+$ ,  $\text{♜}[e7]-e6$  (forced); 12.  $\text{♞}[g8]-g6++$ , if white errs then  $\text{♜}[a2]-c2++$

Problem 4, written in Style I, is somewhat confusing since it offers four options for the eighth move followed by two options for the ninth move. It features a variant rubric listing pieces as *trebeios* but ending “han se de iogar assi”, moves to mate given in *uezes*, the first move as *primero*, checks given as both *dar la xaque con* and *dar la xaque de*, responses given as *entrara el Rey*, captures given as *tomara*, conditional moves given as *Si el rey entrare* and *E si entrare* paired with *sera mate al primero iuego ... pues lo mejor es ... que tome*, etc., an ending with a threat if side to win errs as *mate al primero iuego*, followed by the usual phrasing of “& este es el departamento deste iuego. & esta es la figura del entablamiento.” The threat in Problem 4 is a beautiful configuration with its trident-like line of attack, formed by a knight and rook of the same color in a straight

<sup>295</sup> Calvo (1987) does not give this portion of the conditional move.

<sup>296</sup> Although the stated goal is for white to win in twelve moves, for some reason the twelve-move solution that results here is not the preferred one despite being nearly identical to it: only four steps differ and, of those, two are identical moves which happen in a slightly different order; the other two slightly different moves both involve the captures of a white rook and a black fil; and the final three steps of the problem including the checkmate are identical. Most likely, the series of four unnumbered and sometimes overlapping “if statements” at black’s eighth move form such a dizzying labyrinth of *cajas chinas* that it is no surprise that this contradiction is not acknowledged within the manuscript or even by Steiger. This may have been the problem that caused some scholars such as Calvo (1987) to decide not to list alternate moves.

<sup>297</sup> J. B. Sánchez Pérez incorrectly gives “Aa6xTg4” instead of “Ae6xTg4” as acknowledged in his “Erratas” (N.P.).

line with an opponent's king against the edge of the board. This trident-style checkmate is seen with slight variations as to the supporting piece which guards the attacking rook in many other problems throughout the *LJ*'s including Problems 6, 9, 18, 23, 43 through 46, 48, 52, 58, 59, 67, 69, 90 and 91 (it is also the implicit threat in Problems 90 and 92). I suspect that this unique style checkmate may be a type of personal signature which may further help to identify the ultimate source of these problems. It may be significant that it appears as a discarded threat in Problem 18, where as-Suli is portrayed in the miniature.

Murray presents this problem with a slightly different diagram<sup>298</sup> (1913: 292, diagram 173). The different arrangement of this diagram requires a different enough solution that it need not be discussed here.

Pareja Casañas presents this *LJ* problem,<sup>299</sup> in comparison to a very similar one in the Rich manuscript with the same diagram and solution except as noted and without any of the confusing multiple-step discarded alternate moves. In order to explicate this exceptionally confusing problem I have created a PowerPoint titled "The *LJ*'s Confusing Problem 4" which offers a clear step-by-step explanation of each move of this problem, including all its alternate discarded moves. See the accompanying CD-rom.

J. B. Sánchez Pérez and Steiger, the latter noting Pareja Casañas, present the same diagram. Steiger presents almost exactly the same solution, variances noted.

Calvo does not show a large number of white pieces which are in the illumination (1987: 172), however these omissions are most likely due to the fact that the pieces,

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<sup>298</sup> A black rook is shown at f2 instead of a2. A black fers is shown at b3 instead of a pawn. A white fers is omitted from g2. Two black pawns are added at f3 and e4. This is also the same position in Pareja Casañas's study of the Rich manuscript Problem 52, discussed next.

<sup>299</sup> Pareja Casañas's diagram 52: Spanish translation (I: 78-79), Arabic transcription (I: Arabic numerals 63-64) and algebraic notation with discussion (II: 79-81).

painted plain white on the parchment without the helpful black lines in used after fol. 8v, are extremely faint when located on white squares. He says that this position of found in nearly all the extent Arabic collections, the one from the John Ryland of Manchester's library ascribing its authorship to as-Suli. Calvo's solution is the same except for the omissions noted. Calvo also ties the solution to the problem's miniature on fol. 8r,<sup>300</sup> noting that the male player's finger signals the knight at e8 across the board from himself which begins the solution.

### 1.1.6.5 Problem 5

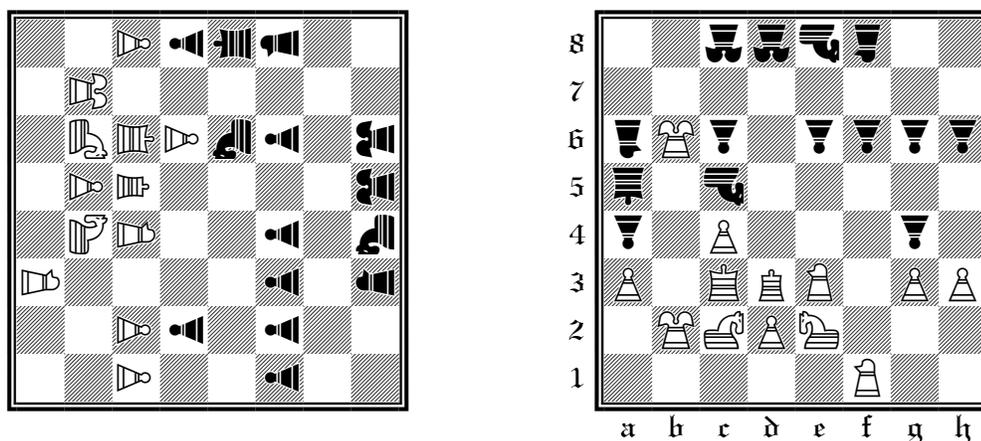


Fig. 23. Problem 5: fols. 8r and 8v (description on fol. 8r and diagram on fol. 8v); 27 pieces: black (at right) plays and wins in four at e4.

Inventory and solution:

$$\text{♖c3 } \text{♗d3}^{301} \text{ ♘b2 } \text{♙b6}^{302} \text{ ♚e3 } \text{♛f1 } \text{♜c2 } \text{♝e2 } \text{♞a3 } \text{c4 d2 g3 h3} \quad (13)$$

$$\text{♟a5 } \text{♞c8 } \text{♝d8 } \text{♜a6 } \text{♛f8 } \text{♚c5 } \text{♙e8 } \text{♘a4 } \text{c6 e6 f6 g4 g6 h6} \quad (14)$$

<sup>300</sup> Calvo gives this folio incorrectly as fol. 8v (1987: 172).

<sup>301</sup> Steiger notes that in the diagram on fol. 8v the fers at d3 is no longer recognizable (42). This is due to the fact that this white piece appears on a white square and the black lines added to the white pieces from this point forward in the manuscript are either very faint or missing on this piece.

<sup>302</sup> Calvo (1987) omits this white rook.

1. ..., ♖[d8]x♙<sup>303</sup>d3+;<sup>304</sup> 2. ♙[f1]x♖[d3] (forced), ♜[c5]-e4+; 3. ♜[c3]-d4, ♚[e6]-e5+;<sup>305</sup> 4. ♜[d4]x♜e4 (forced), ♜[e8]-d6++ (if black errs then mate in two:<sup>306</sup> 1. ♞[b2]-b5+<sup>307</sup> or ♞[b6]-b5+,<sup>308</sup> ♚[c6]x♞[b5] (forced); 2. ♞[b6]x♚[b5]++ or ♞[b2]x♚[b5]++<sup>309</sup>)

Problem 5 (written in Style I) features the usual rubric ending “an (han) se de iogar desta gui[sa]” but listing pieces as *iuegos*, moves to mate given in *uezes*, the first move as *primero*, checks given as both *dar la xaque con* and *dar la xaque de*, responses given as *entrara el Rey*, captures given as *tomara*, an ending with a threat if side to win errs as *mate a dos iuegos*, followed by the usual phrasing of “& este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura del entablamiento.” Murray inverts this board (1913: 303, diagram 391), otherwise it is the same. J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Calvo quotes the manuscript that states the black king mates the white in four moves “e [sic] la su quarta casa” (1987: 173) which would be e4, the white king’s fourth square. However, Calvo does not mention that the mate occurs in e5, the black king’s fourth square. Murray’s solution varies substantially from that given in the

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<sup>303</sup> In this and other captures, Steiger does not state which piece is being captured but rather only the square on which the capture takes place.

<sup>304</sup> Murray notes that “K x Q” (1913: 326) without specifying their squares. After this point, his solution varies substantially from the manuscript.

<sup>305</sup> After this point and up through the conditional ending in Problem 5, Steiger’s columns are reversed in error. The left column labeled “Weiß” gives black’s moves and the right column labeled “Schwarz” gives white’s.

<sup>306</sup> This threat to the side to win is only valid before the fourth move, ♜e8-d6.

<sup>307</sup> Calvo (1987) only specifies this first of the two moves for the checkmate threat to white.

<sup>308</sup> Steiger gives only this reverse order option, which is not explicit in the text, and not the first which is explicit.

<sup>309</sup> Again, Steiger gives only this reverse order option, which is not explicit in the text, and not the first which is explicit.

manuscript. His solution is: 1 R x Q +; 2 Ktd5+; 3 Pd4+; 4. Kte3 m.<sup>310</sup> Murray also compares this problem to his diagram 23 (1913: 326) of his collection (1913: 283, diagram 23), and thus to *LJ* Problem 99, which is among problems found in al-Adli's work but which as-Suli omitted. Calvo compares it to Problem 99 in the *LJ* and says that while similar problems appear in many Arabic treatises, the presentation of Problem 5 is unique (1987: 173).

### 1.1.6.6 Problem 6

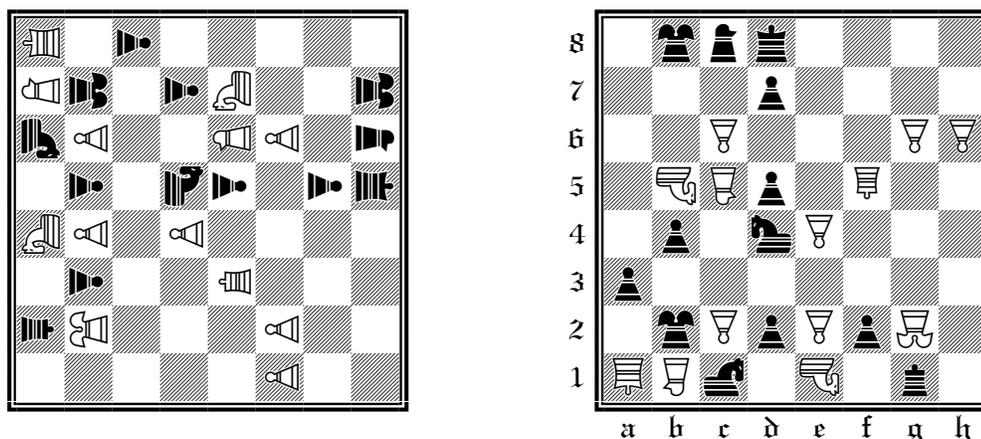


Fig. 24. Problem 6: fols. 8v and 9r (description on fols. 8v and 9r, diagram on fol. 9r); 26 pieces: white (at right) plays and wins in twelve.

Inventory and solution:

♖a1 ♜f5 ♘g2 ♙b1 ♚c5 ♞b5 ♛e1 ♗c2 c6 e2 e4 g6 h6 (13)

♞d8 ♟g1 ♡b2 ♣b8 ♠c8 ♢c1 ♣d4 ♡a3 b4 d2 d5 d7 f2 (13)

<sup>310</sup> 1...., ♞d8x ♟d3+; 2. no move given for white, ♛?-d5; 3. no move given for white, ♡?-d4+; 4. no move given for white, ♞e3++ (1913: 326).

1. ♖[c6]-c7+, ♜[d8]-e8; 2. ♞[b5]<sup>311</sup>-d6+, ♜[e8]-f8; 3. ♖[g6]-g7+, ♜[f8]-g8; 4. ♖[h6]-h7+, ♜[g8]x ♖[h7]<sup>312</sup> (forced); 5. ♖[g7]-g8=♔+, (if ♜[h7]-h8, 6. ♞[d6]-f7++) ♜[h7]-h6; 6. ♞[d6]-f7+, ♜[h6]-h5; 7. ♞[g2]-g5+, ♜[h5]-h4; 8. ♞[e1]-g2+, ♜[h4]-h3; 9. ♞[g2]-f4+, (if ♜[h3]-h4, 10. ♞[g5]-g4++ guarded by ♜[f5]) ♜[h3]-h2; 10. ♞[g5]-h5+, ♜[h2]-g3; 11. ♞[h5]-h3+, ♜[g3]x ♞f4 (forced); 12. ♖[e2]-e3<sup>313</sup>++ (if white errs ♜[b2]-a2++ or ♜[b2]x ♖b1++<sup>314</sup>)

Problem 6 (written in Style I) features the usual rubric listing pieces as *trebeios* and ending “han se de iogar desta guisa”, moves to mate given in *uezes*, the first move as *primero*, checks given as both (*es*) *dar la xaque de* and *dar la xaque con*, responses given as *entrara el Rey*, captures given as *tomara* and *tomarlo a ... por fuerça*, conditional moves given as & *si el rey ... entrare* paired with *es mate al primero iuego ... pues lo mejor es que entre*, an ending with a threat if side to win errs as *mate al primero iuego*, followed by the usual phrasing of “& este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura del entablamiento.” The optional ending given after the ninth move of this problem results in the trident-style checkmate also seen in Problems 4, 9, 18, 23, 43 through 46, 48, 52, 58, 59, 67, 69, 90, 91 and 92.

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<sup>311</sup> J. B. Sánchez Pérez incorrectly gives “Cd5-d6+” instead of “Cb5-d6+” as acknowledged in his “Erratas” (N.P.).

<sup>312</sup> Murray (1913) does not note this capture.

<sup>313</sup> Problem 6, move 12, white pawn to the “tercera casa del alferza prieta” (d6) should read “tercera casa del rey blanco” (e3). Steiger corrects this error. Crombach leaves the text as is but notes Steiger’s correction.

<sup>314</sup> Calvo (1987) does not note this second threat to white but rather only the first. Both are explicit in the manuscript though the second option does not seem to me to be checkmate unless the black pawn at b4 is removed, after the second move which relocates white’s knight, or unless the white pawn at c2 is changed to a black pawn.

Murray presents this board inverted (1913: 303, diagram 392). J. B. Sánchez Pérez presents the same diagram but with the piece orientations reversed, so that white points upward and black downward. Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Murray's, Steiger's and Calvo's solutions are the same with their customary omissions as previous noted. Calvo notes the artificial position of the problem but offers no history for it (1987: 173).

### 1.1.6.7 Problem 7

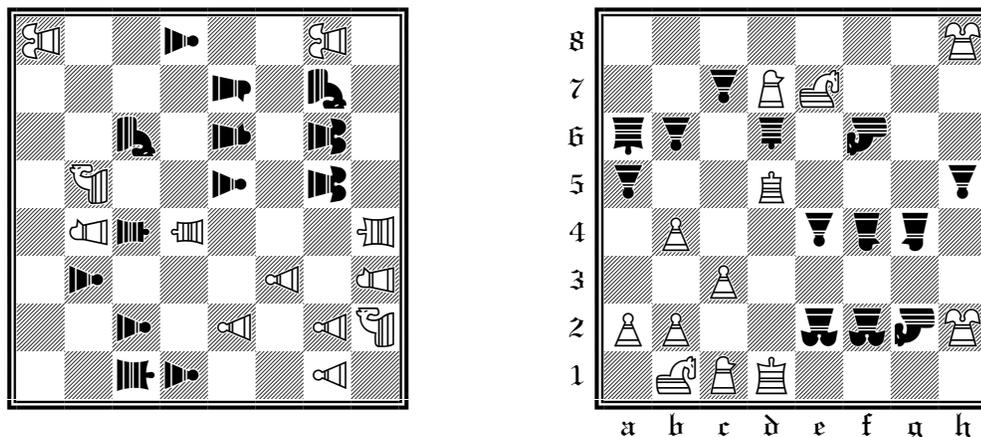


Fig. 25. Problem 7: fols. 9r, 9v and 10r (description on fols. 9r and 9v, diagram on 10r); 25 pieces: white (at right) plays and wins in twelve.

Inventory and solution:

♖d1 ♗d5 ♘h2 ♙h8 ♚c1 ♛d7 ♞b1 ♟e7 ♠a2 b2 b4 c3 (12)

♜a6 ♝d6 ♞e2 ♟f2 ♠f4 ♡g4 ♢f6 ♣g2 ♤a5 b6 c7 e4 h5 (13)

1. ♠[b4]-b5+, (if ♜[a6]-a7 then mate in two: 1. ♞[e7]-c6+, ♜[a7]-b7; 2. ♟[h8]-b8++) ♜[a6]-b7;<sup>315</sup> 2. ♗[d5]-c6+, ♜[b7]-a7; 3. ♞[e7]-c8+, ♜[a7]-a8 or ♜[a7]-

<sup>315</sup> Calvo (1987) praises the resourcefulness of this defense which prolongs mate. He then explains why it is good citing the conditional move given before it in the manuscript, but omitting black's second move ♜a7-b7.

b8;<sup>316</sup> 4. ♖[c8]x ♗b6 (discovering check by ♖[h8]+),<sup>317</sup> ♚[a8]-a7 or ♚[b8<sup>318</sup>]-a7 or better ♜[f6-e8]<sup>319</sup> or ♜[f6-g8]<sup>320</sup> (to cover); 5. ♖[h8]x ♜[e8]<sup>321+</sup> or ♖[h8]x ♜[g8]<sup>322+</sup>, ♚[a8]-a7 or ♚[b8]<sup>323</sup>-a7; 6. ♖[e8]-a8+ or ♖[g8]-a8+, ♚[a7]x ♗b6; 7. ♖[a8]-a6+, ♚[b6]-c5; 8. ♖[c1]-a3+, ♚[c5]-c4; 9. ♖[b2]-b3+, ♚[c4]-d3; 10. ♖[d7]-f5+, ♚[d3]-e3; 11. ♖[a3]-c1+, ♚[e3]-f3 (forced); 12. ♖[h2]-h3++ (If white errs ♜[e2]-e1++ or ♜[f2]-f1++)<sup>324</sup>

Problem 7 (written in Style I) features the usual rubric listing pieces as *trebeios* and ending “han se de iogar desta guisa”, moves to mate given in *uezes*, the first move as *primero*, checks given as both (*es*) *dar la xaque con* and *dar la xaque de*, responses given as *entrara el Rey*, captures given as *tomara*, conditional moves given as *E si el rey ... entrare* paired with *es mate a dos iuegos ... por end es lo mejor ... que entre*, an ending with a threat if side to win errs as *mate al primero iuego*, followed by the usual phrasing of “E este es el departimiento deste iuego; & esta es la figura del entablamiento.”

<sup>316</sup> Pareja Casañas offers only b8.

<sup>317</sup> Murray (1913) and Calvo (1987) uncharacteristically include this explanation of the discovered check.

<sup>318</sup> Steiger does not give the continuations of optional moves not explicit in the text.

<sup>319</sup> Steiger does not list this option throughout this problem. Neither option is explicit in the text here and the e-rank option is not explicit at all in the text.

<sup>320</sup> Pareja Casañas offers only ♜f6-g8. Calvo offers only option of ♜f6-e8 and notes that “[e]s curioso que esta posibilidad haya pasado desapercibida a todos los anteriores manuscritos, que dan mate en 11 jugadas. Ello habla muy alto de la exactitud del compilador alfonsino” (1987: 174).

<sup>321</sup> Again, Steiger does not list this option throughout this problem. Neither option is explicit in the text here and the e-rank option is not explicit at all in the text.

<sup>322</sup> Pareja Casañas and Calvo (1987) only notes the option of the capture happening at e8 and g8 respectively.

<sup>323</sup> Pareja Casañas gives only b8.

<sup>324</sup> Pareja Casañas mentions the threat to the winner in his discussion. Calvo (1987) notes the threat from the black rooks but does not specify the moves which are explicit in the manuscript.

Murray presents this problem with a slightly different arrangement<sup>325</sup> (1913: 285, diagram 56). Murray's solution is similar until move five, when the different diagram requires a different enough solution that the rest of it need not be discussed here.

J. B. Sánchez Pérez presents the same diagram. Pareja Casañas presents this *LJ* problem,<sup>326</sup> in comparison to a nearly mirror-image one in the Rich manuscript, with the same diagram and solution except as noted. He cites J. B. Sánchez Pérez's diagram 7 (24).

Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Steiger presents the same solution with his customary and the noted omissions, noting Pareja Casañas. Calvo notes that the problem's position is known in the majority of Arabic manuscripts and that it comes from as-Suli, perhaps even resulting from one of his own games due to the open and natural positions of the knight and the rook, and whom he suggests perhaps the miniaturist wished to portray (1987: 174).

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<sup>325</sup> Murray (1913) shows a white rook at h2 instead of h1, a black fil instead of a black pawn at f4 and adds a black pawn at h5.

<sup>326</sup> Pareja Casañas's diagram 40: Spanish translation (I: 63-65), Arabic transcription (I: Arabic numerals 62-63) and algebraic notation with discussion (II: 56-58).

## 1.1.6.8 Problem 8

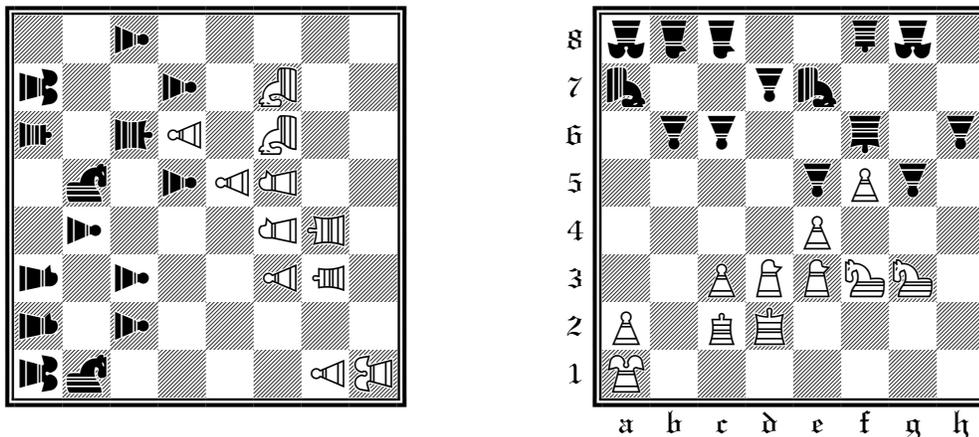


Fig. 26. Problem 8: fols. 10r and 10v (description on fols. 10r and 10v, diagram on 10v); 25 pieces: white (at right) plays and wins in eleven at b2.

Inventory and solution:

♖d2 ♜c2 ♔a1 ♞d3 ♠e3 ♝f3 ♞g3 ♚a2 c3 e4 f5 (11)

♞f6 ♟f8 ♛a8 ♜g8 ♡b8 ♠c8 ♞a7 ♝e7 ♚b6 c6 d7 e5 g5 h6 (14)

1. ♞[g3]-h5+, ♞[f6]-f7; 2. ♞[f3]x ♠e5+, ♞[f7]-e8; 3. ♞[h5]-f6+, ♞[e8]-d8; 4. ♞[e5]-f7+, ♞[d8]-c7; 5. ♞[f6]-e8+, ♞[c7]-b7; 6. ♞[f7]-d8+, ♞[b7]-a6; 7. ♞[e8]-c7+, ♞[a6]-a5; 8. ♞[d8]-b7+, ♞[a5]-a4; 9. ♜[c2]-b3+, ♞[a4]-a3; 10. ♞[e3]-c1+, ♞[a3]-b2 (forced); 11. ♔[a1]-b1++ (no other solution but to give mate in the indicated square)

Problem 8 (written in Style I) contains a beautiful series of checks by alternating white knights very similar to that seen in Problems 1 and 15. It features the usual rubric listing pieces as *trebeios* and ending “han se de iogar desta guisa”, moves to mate given in *uezes*, the first move as *primero*, checks given as both (*es*) *dar la xaque con* and *dar la xaque de*, responses given as *entrara el Rey*, no threat if side to win errs as an unusual ending specifying that for this problem there is no other possible solution than the mate in

the specified square, “E en este iuego non ha otro departamento; si non que se da el mate en casa sennalada & esta es la figura del entablamiento”

Van der Linde presents this same position to mate in eleven at b2 as his diagram number 62 of the chapter “Das problemschach des Mittelalters.” Murray presents this problem with a somewhat different arrangement.<sup>327</sup> Murray’s solution is similar until move seven, when the different diagram requires a different enough solution that the rest of it need not be discussed here. J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Steiger and Calvo present the same solution with their customary omissions as previously noted. Calvo gives the collection of as-Suli as the origin for this problem, noting that is also found with some modifications in other Arabic manuscripts Calvo believes that the lack of the customary threat to the winning king is evidence that this problem’s position evolved, at least in part, from a real game. He also compares the initial knight attacks to those of Problem 1 and Problem 15 (1987: 175).

See also Appendix D2 for a comparison of the non-iconographic *LJ* portraits of Alfonso, possibly playing against his *ayo*.

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<sup>327</sup> Murray’s inventory: a1 white rook, b1 white fil, c1 white fil, a2 white pawn, c2 white fers, d2 white king, g2 white pawn, h2 white pawn, c3 white pawn, d3 white knight, g3 white knight, e4 white pawn, e5 black pawn, f5 white pawn, g5 black pawn, a6 black pawn, b6 black pawn, [from this point the rest is identical] d6 black king, h6 black pawn, a7 black knight, d7 black pawn, e7 black knight, a8 black rook, b8 black fil, c8 black fil, f8 black fers, g8 black rook (1913: 285, diagram 58).

## 1.1.6.9 Problem 9

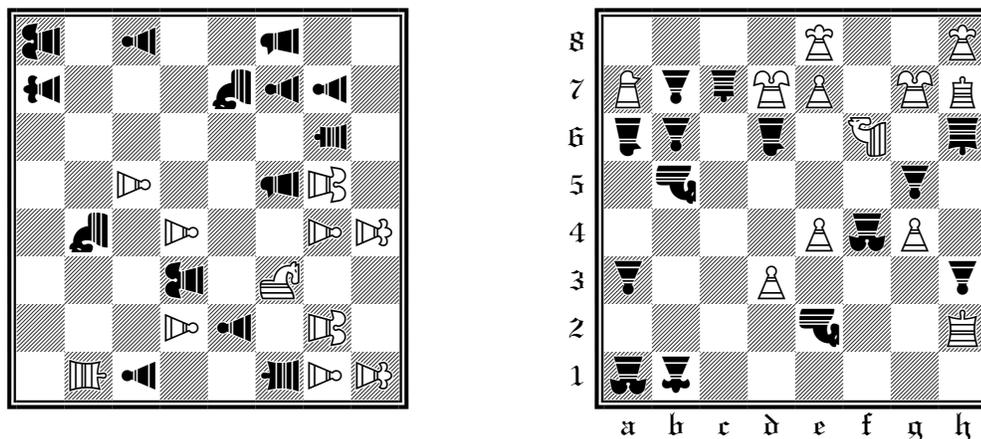


Fig. 27. Problem 9: fols. 10v, 11r and 11v (description on fols. 10v and 11r, diagram on 11v); 26 pieces (text specifies 24, miniature shows 25 and the solution refers to a white fil apparently erased from a7): black (at right) plays and wins in eighteen.<sup>328</sup>

Inventory and solution:

♖h2 ♖h7 ♜e8<sup>329</sup> ♜h8 ♞d7 ♞g7 [♞a7]<sup>330</sup> ♞f6<sup>331</sup> ♠d3 e4 e7 g4 (12)

♞h6 ♞c7 ♠b1 ♠a1 ♠f4 ♠a6 ♠d6 ♞b5 ♞e2 ♠a3 b6 b7 g5 h3 (14)

1. ..., ♠[f4]-f2+; 2. (if ♖[h2]-h1 then mate in two, ♞[e2]-g3+; 1.<sup>332</sup> ♖[h1]-g1, ♠[f2]-g2++)<sup>333</sup> ♖[h2]x ♠h3, ♞[e2]-f4+; 3. ♖[h3]-g3, ♠[f2]-g2+; 4. ♖[g3]-f3, ♞[b5]-d4+; 5. ♖[f3]-e3, ♞[d4]-c2+; 6. ♖[e3]-f3, ♞[c2]-e1+; 7. ♖[f3]-e3, ♠[g2]-e2+; 8. ♖[e3]-d4, ♞[e1]-f3+; 9. ♖[d4]-c3, ♠[e2]-c2+; 10. ♖[c3]-b3, ♞[f3]-d4+; 11. ♖[b3]-

<sup>328</sup> This is the first disruption of the planned order of problems in the “Libro del acedrex.”

<sup>329</sup> Steiger omits this promoted white pawn. Its lack of the usual black contrasting marks and its placement on a white square make it nearly invisible.

<sup>330</sup> Suggested by Steiger for the move described in move 16’s scribal deletion.

<sup>331</sup> Calvo omits this white knight (1987: 176).

<sup>332</sup> Steiger maintains the count from the main body of the problem rather than the conditional count used in the manuscript.

<sup>333</sup> Without another piece supported the attacking rook at g2 of the trident-shaped threat, this discarded series of moves does not truly end in checkmate because the white king at g1 can capture him.

a4, ♖[b6]-b5+; 12. ♖[a4]-a5, ♜[d4]-c6+; 13. ♖[a5]x ♖b5,<sup>334</sup> ♜[c2]-b2+; 14. ♖[b5]-c5 (because if ♖[b5]-a4, ♜[b2]-b4++), ♜[f4]-e6+; 15. ♖[c5]-d5, ♜[b2]-b5+; 16. ♖[d5]x ♜e6,<sup>335</sup> ♜[a6]-c8+; 17. ♖[e6]-f7, ♜[c6]-e5+; 18. ♖[f7]-g8, ♜[c8]-e6++ (if black errs, ♜[g7]-g6++)<sup>336</sup>

Problem 9 (written in Style I) is the first problem to deviate from the stated plan of descending-piece order for the chess problems in the “Libro del acedrex”, showing twenty-five pieces and referring to yet another not shown above and beyond the twenty-four in the problem’s description. Problem 14 is the second to break this order, Problem 39 the third and beginning with Problem 70 this order totally breaks down. The doomed white king is chased in a sharp crescent across the board, similar to that seen in Problems 38 and 95. The trident-style checkmate in the discarded option at move two is similar to that seen in Problems 4, 6, 18, 23, 43 through 46, 48, 52, 58, 59, 67, 69, 90, 91 and 92.

It features the usual rubric listing pieces as *trebeios* and ending “han se de iogar desta guisa”, moves to mate given in *uezes*, the first move as *primero*, checks given as *dar la xaque con* only, responses given as *entrara el Rey*, captures given as *tomara*, conditional moves given as *& si el rey ... entrare* paired with *sera mate a dos iuegos ... pues lo mejor es que tome* and *ca si entrasse ... serie mathe al primer iuego*, an ending

<sup>334</sup> Murray (1913) does not note this or any capture in this problem.

<sup>335</sup> Scribal deletion of the erroneous phrase “Ca sisse encubriesse con su alffil blanco; tomargelo ye con esse mismo Roque prieto; & serie a dizenuewe iuegos mathe” (because if covers with ♖ then ♜b5x ♖c5 mate in nineteen moves). No white fil is shown on the board, however for it to cover the white king it would have to come from a3 where there is a black pawn, a7, e7 where there is a white pawn, or e3. One fil appears to have been erased from a7. Steiger offers Ba7-c5, Rb5xc5 and white would be mate in nineteen moves. Nineteen moves is a longer game than the eighteen-move solution shown whether it is meant as additional moves from this point forward or as a total. Since this is the sixteenth of eighteen moves, it is most likely that seventeen is the intended number here making this a less desirable option since it does not prolong the checkmate quite as long as the eighteen moves specified in the problem’s introduction. Steiger does not mention this discrepancy in the move count.

<sup>336</sup> Calvo does not note the threat to white’s king (1987: 176).

with a threat if side to win errs as *mate al primero iuego*, followed by the usual phrasing of “E este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura del entablamiento.” Additionally, Problems 9, 10, 26 and 49 seem to contain more archaic forms than some of the other problems. For example in Problem 9, *serie mathe* in the older form of the imperfect, rather than *sera mate* or *es mate* as seen in other problems. The conditional move that is stricken from the text also shows features of older Style language. “Ca sisse encubriesse ...; tomargelo ye con esse mismo Roque prieto; & serie a dizenuewe iuegos mathe.” This passage uses a double *s* three times, the conjunction *ca*, the forms *sisse* and *tomargelo* as well as two more instances of the older imperfect *ye* and *serie*.

Van der Linde, whose diagram does not distinguish between ferses and promoted pawns, presents nearly this same position to mate in eighteen moves with board inverted and colors reversed as his diagram 69 of the chapter “Das problemschach des Mittelalters” and compares it to Problem 95. He omits a pawn at g4 (his b5 due to his inversion). Murray presents the same board (1913: 303, diagram 393). J. B. Sánchez Pérez presents the same diagram. Calvo and Steiger each lack a different piece as noted above in the inventory. Murray, Steiger and Calvo all present the same solution with their customary omissions and those noted above. Additionally, Calvo notes that several corrections have been made to the miniature’s board, especially at a7 and c8. He praises the problem, which he notes as unique to the *LJ*, as a masterpiece due to its use of all possible resources and sectors of the board together with the king’s long pilgrimage only to be checkmated by a lesser piece, per the Arabic aesthetic. He also notes that that while theoretically possible the position is clearly artificial (1987: 176).

## 1.1.6.10 Problem 10

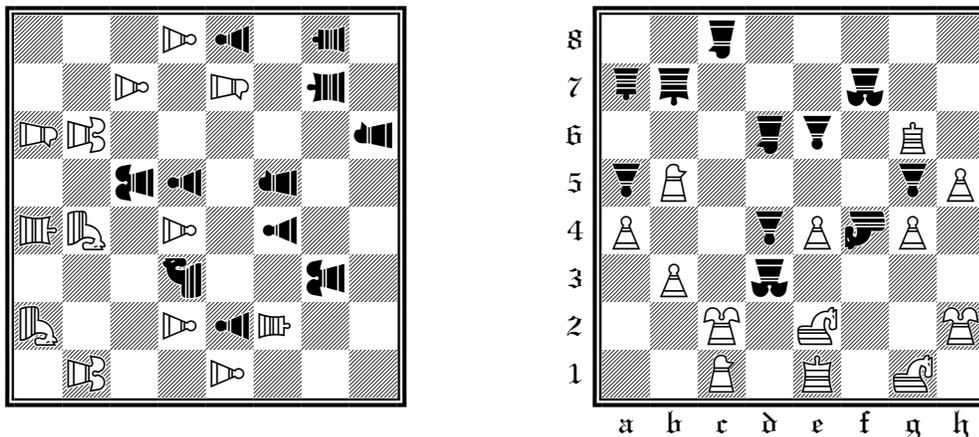


Fig. 28. Problem 10: fols. 11v and 12r (description on fol. 11v and diagram on 12r); 24 pieces: black (at right) plays and wins in eight at c5.

Inventory and solution:

♔e1 ♖g6 ♘c2 ♗h2 ♛b5 ♜c1<sup>337</sup> ♞e2 ♝g1 ♠a4 b3 e4<sup>338</sup> g4<sup>339</sup> h5 (13)

♚b7 ♛a7 ♞d3 ♞f7 ♜c8 ♜d6 ♞f4 ♠a5 d4 e6 g5 (11)

1. ..., ♞[f4]-g2+; 2. ♗[h2]x♞[g2] (forced), ♞[d3]-d1+; 3. ♔[e1]x♞[d1], ♞[f7]-f1+; 4. ♔[d1]-d2, ♜[d6]-b4; 5. ♔[d2]-d3, ♞[f1]-d1+; 6. ♔[d3]-c4<sup>340</sup> (or 6. ♗[c2]-d2] to cover, ♞[d1]x♗[d2]+; 7. ♔[d3]-c4,) ♜[c8]-a6+; 8. ♔[c4]-c5, ♛[a7]-b6++ (no other solution but to give mate in the square indicated)

Problem 10 (written in Style I) features the usual rubric listing pieces as *trebeios* and ending “an se de iogar desta (^g)-guisa”, moves to mate given in *uezes*, the first move as *primero*, checks given as both (*es*) *dar la xaque con* and *dar la xaque de*, responses given as *entrara el Rey*, captures given as *tomar lo ha el Rey ... con su Roque*,

<sup>337</sup> Calvo omits this white fil (1987: 177).

<sup>338</sup> Calvo omits this white pawn (1987: 177).

<sup>339</sup> Calvo omits this white pawn (1987: 177).

<sup>340</sup> Neither Steiger nor Calvo (1987) gives this option but rather only the second one.

returns to a particular square given as *en essa misma aurie de entrar sisse no encubriesse*, conditional moves given as *E si esto fiziere* paired with *es mate a dos iuegos ... por end es lo mejor ... que entre*, an ending with a threat if side to win errs as *mate al primero iuego*, followed by the usual phrasing of “E este es el departamento deste iuego; & esta es la figura del entablamiento.” Additionally, Problem 10 some more archaic language (*aurie*) and unusual phrasing (*si esto fiziere*) as well as the unusual ending specifying that for this problem there is no other possible solution than the mate in the specified square, “E en este iuego no ha otro departamento; si no que se da el mate en casa sennalada; & esta es la figura del entablamiento.” These forms are also seen in Problems 9, 26 and 49. The double-rook attack here is similar to those seen in Problem 39 and the Abu Naam Problems 58, 63, 64 and 97 as well as the double-knight attack of Problem 21.

Murray presents this problem with a slightly different arrangement<sup>341</sup> (1913: 286, diagram 73). Murray’s diagram requires a different enough solution that it need not be discussed here. J. B. Sánchez Pérez and Steiger display the same diagram while Calvo omits three pieces as noted in the above inventory. Steiger and Calvo both present the same solution with their customary omissions and those noted above. Calvo, like Murray, notes that this problem appears twice in the *LJ*, Problem 26 being a repetition of Problem 10, and that it appears with some variation in other Arabic manuscripts He says that the problem’s complete verisimilitude points to an origin from a real game, which he ascribes to as-Suli (1987: 177).

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<sup>341</sup> Murray’s diagram is inverted but otherwise nearly identical (1913). The Alfonsine manuscript adds a white pawn at b5 and a white fil at f8.

## 1.1.6.11 Problem 11

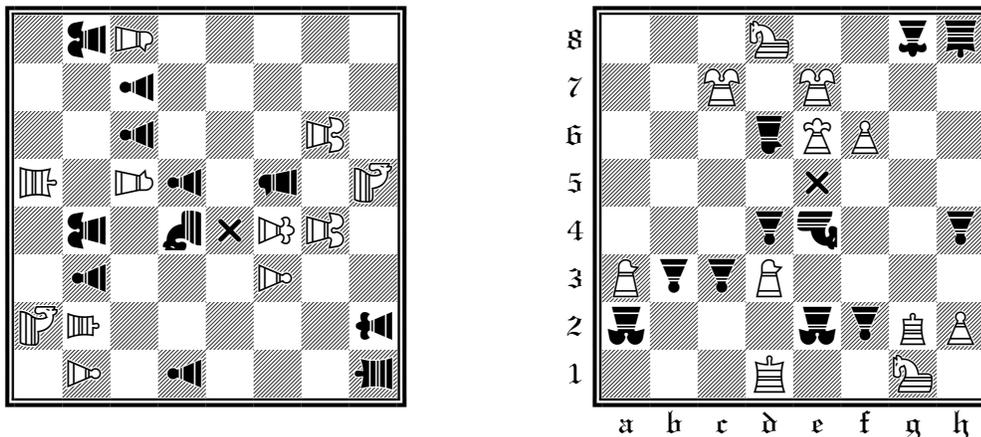


Fig. 29. Problem 11: fols. 12r and 12v (description on fols. 12r and 12v, diagram on fol. 12v); 23 pieces: white (at left) plays and wins in twelve.

Inventory and solution:

♖d1 ♜g2 ♘e6 ♙c7 ♚e7 ♛a3 ♜d3 ♞d8 ♟g1 ♠f6 h2 (11)

♞h8 [ ♞e5<sup>342</sup>] ♜g8 ♞a2 ♞e2 ♜d6 ♞e4 ♠b3 c3 d4 f2 h4 (12)

1. ♙[e7]-h7+, ♞<sup>343</sup>[g8]x♙[h7] (forced); 2. ♞[d8]-f7+, ♞[h8]-g8; 3. ♙[c7]-c8+, ♜[d6-f8] (forced, to cover); 4. ♞[f7]-h6+, ♞[g8]-h8; 5. ♙[c8]x♜f8+, ♞[h7-g8] (forced, to cover); 6. ♞[h6]-f7+, ♞[h8]-h7; 7. ♛[d3]-f5+, ♞[h7]-g6; 8. ♙[f8]x♜g8+,

<sup>342</sup> A correction to the miniature blurring an indeterminate piece is visible on e5; this piece is necessary to fulfill the count of twenty-three total pieces in the problem's description. J. B. Sánchez Pérez shows a black fers; Steiger says it is a black fers (i.e. a black promoted pawn) and Calvo calls it a white pawn saying, "El borón de e5 debe ser un peón blanco para que haya en total 23 piezas" (1987: 178). Both suggestions are possible. Options from the remaining unused pieces include: a black fil, a black knight, a black pawn or a white pawn. As Steiger notes, it could be a black promoted pawn; it could not be a promoted white pawn because black's move 14 would then be a move into check. It is probably not a black fil as e5 is a black square and there is already one black fil which moves on the black squares at d6. It is probably not a black knight because if it were, black's second move would likely be ♞e5x♞f7.

<sup>343</sup> The text refers to this piece as an *alfferza* throughout the problem while the diagram on fol. 12v shows this piece as a promoted pawn.

♖[g6]-h5; 9. ♖[g8]-h8+, (if ♗[h5]-g6; 10. ♖[h8]-h6++) ♗[h5]-g4; 10. ♖[g2]-f3+,<sup>344</sup>  
 ♗[g4]-f4; 11. ♖[h8]x♗h4+,<sup>345</sup> ♗[f4]-e3; 12. ♖[a3]-c1++ or ♖[h4]x♗e4++ (if white  
 errs then ♗[e2]-e1++)<sup>346</sup>

Problem 11, written in Style I, features the usual rubric listing pieces as *trebeios* and ending “an se de iogar desta guisa”, moves to mate given in *uezes*, the first move as *primero*, checks given as *dar la xaque con* only, responses given as *entrara el Rey*, *tornarsa*, *encobrirsas*, captures given as *tomarlo a*, conditional moves given as *Si el rey ... tornare* paired with *es mate al primero iuego ... por ende es lo mejor que entre*, an ending with a threat if side to win errs as *mate al primero iuego*, followed by the usual phrasing of “E este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura del entablamiento.”

This is another problem of a circular nature, similar to Problem 1. Murray presents this problem with a somewhat different mirror-image diagram.<sup>347</sup> Murray’s different diagram requires a different enough solution that it need not be discussed here. J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo present the same diagram with the exception of the unidentified piece at e5 as noted above. Calvo says that this problem was well known in the ancient Arabic texts, which attribute it to as-Suli. He notes the typically artificial

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<sup>344</sup> Calvo (1987) explains that because of this move he has added a white fers at g2, which he does not see as clearly present in the manuscript. Steiger saw it as a white fers in 1941. While somewhat blurry, the presence and identity of this piece are clear to me.

<sup>345</sup> Calvo confusingly gives this move as Tg4 (1987: 178) instead of the capture described on fol. 12v, “El onzeno iuego dar la xaque con el Roque blanco; tomando el peon prieto que esta en la quarta casa del Roque blanco.” This is most likely a simple error as h8-g4 not a legal move for a rook.

<sup>346</sup> Calvo (1987) mentions the existence but not the specifics of this threat. ♗a2-a1 also works.

<sup>347</sup> Murray’s inventory: b1 white fers, e1 white king, a2 white pawn, b2 white pawn, d2 black rook, g2 black rook, e3 white fil, f3 black pawn, g3 black pawn, h3 white fil, a4 black pawn, d4 black knight, e4 black pawn, h4 black pawn, d5 white pawn, c6 white pawn, d6 white fers, e6 black fil, h6 black fil, d7 white rook, h7 white rook, a8 black king, b8 black fers, e8 white knight (1913: 292, diagram 165).

construction of the Arabic style of problems, the threat to white and the corrections to the diagram including the change from a mere pawn at g2 in as-Suli's version to a fers. This alteration suggests to Calvo the desire of Alfonso's compiler to put his own mark on the problem (1987: 178).

### 1.1.6.12 Problem 12

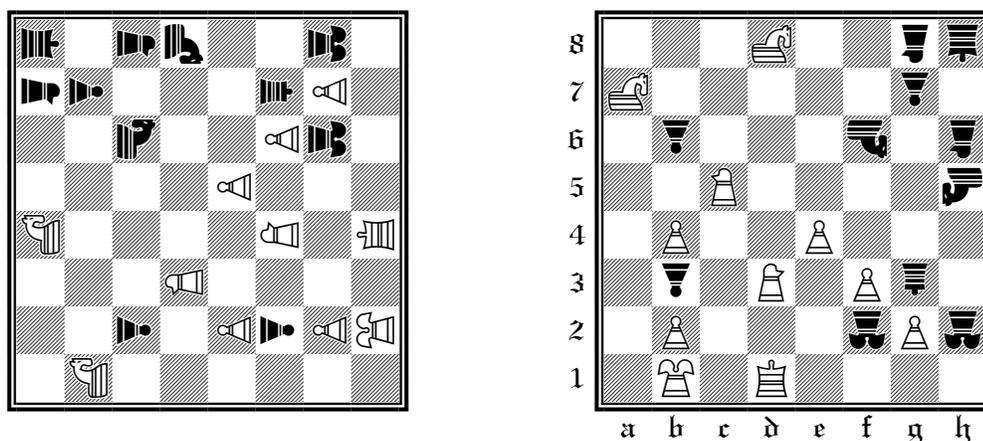


Fig. 30. Problem 12: fols. 12v, 13r and 13v (description on fols. 12v and 13r, diagram on 13v); 22 pieces: white (at right) plays and wins in fifteen.

This board is so heavily damaged by wetness that the exact orientations of some pieces are calculated guesswork. Inventory and solution:

♖d1 ♘b1 ♙c5 ♜d3 ♞a7 ♝d8 ♚b2 ♛b4 ♔e4 ♞f3 ♟g2 (11)

♞h8 ♜g3 ♞f2 ♞h2 ♜g8 ♜h6 ♞f6 ♞h5 ♚b3 ♛b6 ♟g7 (11)

1. ♞[d8]-f7+, ♞[h8]-h7; 2. ♙[d3]-f5+, ♞[h7]-g6; 3. ♞[f7]-h8+,<sup>348</sup> ♞[g6]-g5;
4. ♙[c5]-e7+, (if ♞[g5]-h4,<sup>349</sup> 5. ♞[h8]-g6++) ♞[g5]-f4; 5. ♞[h8]-g6+,<sup>350</sup> ♞[f4]-e3; 6.

<sup>348</sup> Calvo (1987) gives this move as Ce5 [♞f7-e5+]. This is indeed another legal move with gives check with the prescribed piece and permits subsequent moves to g6, however it is not the move as described on fols. 12v and 13r, "El tercero iuego darla xaque con el caualllo blanco; en la casa del Roque prieto."

<sup>349</sup> Textual error: in Problem 12, black's discarded move four, "E si el Rey prieto entrare en la quarta casa del rey blanco" (e4, impossible for a king at g5), "es mate ... con el caualllo blanco en la tercera

♖[e7]-g5+,<sup>351</sup> ♜[e3]-d4; 7. ♞[a7]-c6+, ♜[d4]-c4; 8. ♞[g6]<sup>352</sup>-e5+, ♜[c4]-b5; 9. ♖[f5]-d3+, (if ♜[b5]-a4; 10. ♞[b1]-a1++) ♜[b5]-a6; 10. ♞[b1]-a1+, ♜[a6]-b7; 11. ♞[a1]-a7+, ♜[b7]-c8; 12. ♞[c6]-e7+, (if ♜[c8]-b8; 13. ♞[e5]-c6++) ♜[c8]-d8; 13. ♞[e5]-f7+, ♜[d8]-e8; 14. ♞[f7]-d6+, (if ♜[e8]-f8; 15. ♞[e7]-g6++)<sup>353</sup> and (if ♜[e8]-d8; 15. ♞[e7]-c6++<sup>354</sup>) (if white errs then ♜[h2]-h1++ and if white covers by ♖[d3-f1]<sup>355</sup> then ♜[h1]x ♖[f1]++)<sup>356</sup>

Problem 12 is written in Style I. The solution's beauty lies in the doomed king's circular path similar to that seen in the *noria*-style Problem 1.

Murray presents this problem with a nearly mirror-image arrangement.<sup>357</sup> His different diagram requires a different enough solution that it need not be discussed here. J. B. Sánchez Pérez presents the same diagram. Pareja Casañas presents this *LJ* problem,<sup>358</sup> in comparison to a similar one in the Rich manuscript, with the same diagram

casa del cauallo prieto.” The only option where the king is mated by a knight at f6 would be h4. So the manuscript should read “la quarta casa del *Roque* blanco” (h4).

<sup>350</sup> Calvo (1987) gives Cd3 [♞e5-d3+]. Again, this is a legal move and one which gives the prescribed check with the prescribed piece but it does not follow the moves as described on fol. 13r, “El quinto iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco; en la tercera casa del cauallo prieto.” His incorrect interpretation of the third move enables this second error.

<sup>351</sup> Pareja Casañas: Ae7-c5+.

<sup>352</sup> Calvo (1987), again due to his original error in the third move, offers the valid but different play C(d3)e5 [♞d3-e5+] which while not as specified in the manuscript still gives the necessary check: “El ochauo iuego dar la xaque con ell otro cauallo blanco; en la quarta casa del Rey prieto” (fol. 13r).

<sup>353</sup> Steiger does not offer this first explanation of checkmate but only the second one.

<sup>354</sup> The manuscript includes the word “otro,” however, the squares specified for this make require the same knight to be used and so I correct it. For it to be the other white knight, the play would be ♞d6-b7 and it would read “dandol xaque con el otro cauallo blanco en la segunda casa del otro cauallo prieto.” Steiger and Crombach do not correct this error. Pareja Casañas does not offer this second checkmate.

<sup>355</sup> This stalling tactic is possible only before the second move or after the ninth.

<sup>356</sup> Calvo (1987) neither mentions nor describes this threat.

<sup>357</sup> Murray's diagram is a mirror image of Alfonso's, flipped horizontally, and with slight difference of the black rooks surrounding the white pawn on the second rank being b2 white pawn, c2 black rook, d2 black rook in Murray (1913: 285, diagram 60).

<sup>358</sup> Pareja Casañas's diagram 65: Spanish translation (I: 67-68), Arabic transcription (I: Arabic numerals 62-63) and algebraic notation with discussion (II: 62-65).

and solution except as noted. He cites J. B. Sánchez Pérez's diagram 7 (24). Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Steiger notes Pareja Casañas and offers the same solution except as noted below.

Calvo gives nearly the same solution, with different third, fifth and eighth moves for the white knight with those moves and their implications noted above. He attributes the problem to as-Suli, saying it appears in other Arabic manuscripts with the minor difference of the inversion of one flank's position and praises the originality of the compiler's mirror-image placement of some of the pieces. Calvo calls it a beautiful attack due to its use of all white's forces to drive the black king on a long death march back to near where he began (1987: 179).

### 1.1.6.13 Problem 13

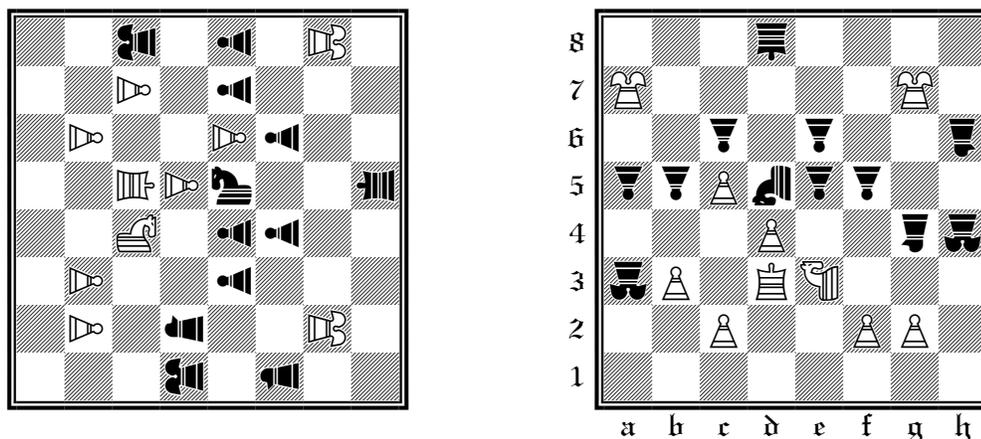


Fig. 31. Problem 13:<sup>359</sup> fols. 13v and 14r (description on fols. 13v and 14r, diagram on 14r); 22 pieces: black (at right) plays and wins in nine.

<sup>359</sup> J. B. Sánchez Pérez indicates in his "Erratas" that he omits this problem number but in fact he does not omit it.

Inventory and solution:

$$\text{♔d3 ♘a7 ♗g7 ♞e3 ♠b3 c2 c5 d4 f2 g2} \quad (10)$$

$$\text{♚d8}^{360} \text{ ♜a3 ♞h4 ♟g4 ♞h6 ♞d5 ♠a5 b5 c6 e5}^{361} \text{ e6 f5} \quad (12)$$

1. ..., ♠[e5]-e4+; 2. ♔[d3]-d2, ♞[h6]-f4+; 3. (if ♔[d2]-d1, ♞a3-a1++) (if ♔[d2]-e1, ♞h4-h1+; 2.<sup>362</sup> ♞[e3]-f1 to cover, ♞[a3]-a1++) ♔[d2]-c1, ♞h4-h1+; 4. (if ♞[e3]-f1, ♞[h1]x♞f1+)<sup>363</sup> ♞[e3]-d1, ♞[h1]x♞d1+; 5. (if ♔[c1]x♞[d1], ♞[a3]-a1++) ♔[c1]-b2 (to prolong), ♞[a3]-a2+; 6.<sup>364</sup> ♔[b2]x♞[a2] (forced), ♞[d5]-c3+; 7. (if ♔[a2]-a3, ♠[b5]-b4+; ♔[a3]-b2 (forced), ♞[d1]-b1++) ♔[a2]-b2 (to prolong), ♞[d1]-b1+; 8. (if ♔[b2]-a3, ♠[b5]-b4++) ♔[b2]x♞[c3], ♠[b5]-b4+; 9. ♔[c3]-c4 (forced), ♞[g4]-e2++ (if black errs ♗[a7]-a8++ or ♗[g7]-g8++)<sup>365</sup>

Problem 13 is written in Style I. “Al mas tarde” is a phrase unique to this problem. It also contains a relatively large number of discarded move options, five in total throughout the nine-move solution, which are given here before those moves eventually chosen.

Murray presents this problem with an inverted and only very slightly different diagram<sup>366</sup> (1913: 292, diagram 171). Murray’s different diagram requires a different

<sup>360</sup> Calvo (1987) shows this black king at e8; this error does not affect the solution or the threat to the winning side.

<sup>361</sup> Van der Linde shows a white pawn on e5, as Henri Serruys notes in a personal e-mail to me. Also as Serruys notes, this error does not matter.

<sup>362</sup> Steiger continues with the numbering of the problem’s moves, instead of specifying as the manuscript does that this is the second move of the two needed to give checkmate.

<sup>363</sup> Steiger omits this option which is given incorrectly in the manuscript as a move rather than one of two options for the white knight.

<sup>364</sup> J. B. Sánchez Pérez indicates in his “Erratas” that he omits this move number but in fact he does not omit it.

<sup>365</sup> Calvo (1987) neither mentions nor describes this threat.

<sup>366</sup> Murray’s comparison shows a white fers at d3 [e6] instead of a black pawn (1913).

enough solution that it need not be discussed here. J. B. Sánchez Pérez and Steiger display the same diagram. Calvo shows the black king at e8 instead of d8 without an explanation as to why. He names as-Suli as this problem's creator, suggesting that that he is the man portrayed consulting his book in the miniature, and says that it is reproduced in other Arabic manuscripts (1987: 180).

### 1.1.6.14 Problem 14

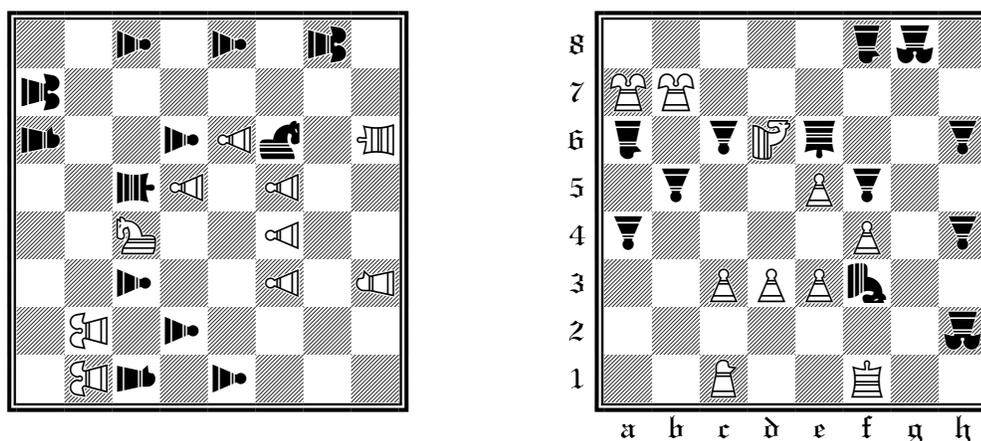


Fig. 32. Problem 14: fols. 14r and 14v (description on fols. 14r and 14v, diagram on fol. 14v); 23 pieces (22 shown<sup>367</sup>): white (at right) plays and wins in seven.

Inventory and solution:

$$\text{♔f1 } \text{♞a7 } \text{♞b7 } \text{♞c1 } \text{♞d6 } \text{♞c3 } \text{d3 } \text{e3 } \text{e5 } \text{f4} \quad (10)$$

$$\text{♚e6 } \text{♞g8}^{368} \text{ ♞h2 } \text{♞a6 } \text{♞f8 } \text{♞f3 } \text{♞a4 } \text{b5 } \text{c6 } \text{f5 } \text{h4 } \text{h6} \quad (12)$$

<sup>367</sup> Calvo explains that in the majority of the Arabic manuscripts, this problem has a white fil at h3 that does not intervene in the solution (1987: 181). He feels that it accounts for the missing piece from the total of 23 given in the problem's introduction and that Alfonso's miniaturist simply forgot to include it. A correction to this miniature is evident at f7 but what piece was here is unclear; its outline and orientation indicate that it was likely either a black pawn or a white promoted pawn.

<sup>368</sup> This miniature shows this black rook at g7 while the text describes it at g8; the text rather than the miniature must be correct because its placement as shown in the original interferes with the entire problem. J. B. Sánchez Pérez corrects this same problem by adding a black pawn at f7 (31). However, I follow Calvo's placement of this black rook at g8 because of the textual confirmation of this as a miniaturist's error (1987: 181).

1. ♖b7<sup>369</sup>-e7+, ♜[e6]-d5; 2. ♖e3-e4+, ♜[f5]x♖e4;<sup>370</sup> 3. ♖[d3]x♜[e4]+, ♜[d5]-c5 (forced); 4. ♜[c1]-a3+;<sup>371</sup> ♜[c5]-b6; 5. ♞[d6]-c8+, (if ♜[a6]x♞[c8]; 6. ♞e7-b7++)<sup>372</sup> ♜[b6]-a5 (to prolong); 6. ♞[a7]x♜a6+, ♜[a5]x♞[a6] (forced); 7. ♞[e7]-a7++ (if white errs ♞g7<sup>373</sup>-g1++)<sup>374</sup>

This Style I problem is the second to break the stated order of chess problems in the “Libro del acedrex” because even though its diagram shows twenty-two pieces its description calls for twenty-three while the problem following it uses only twenty-two. See also Problems 9, 39 and 70.

Murray presents this problem with a slightly different arrangement.<sup>375</sup> He also notes that for this problem al-Adli gives two solutions of which only the second is given in the *LJ* (Murray 1913: 307). Murray’s solution is the same minus his usual omissions and as noted below for move four.

J. B. Sánchez Pérez presents the same diagram with an additional black pawn at f7, presumably to arrive at the piece total specified in the problem’s introduction and thus

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<sup>369</sup> Textual error: in Problem 14, the rook’s beginning square in the first move described as “la segunda casa del alffil prieto” (c7 or f7) should read “la segunda casa del *cauallo* prieto” (b7) as both the piece inventory and the solution indicate. Steiger corrects this error. Calvo’s excellent explanation of this error is discussed in this problem’s commentary (1987: 181). Crombach leaves the text as is and notes Steiger’s correction.

<sup>370</sup> Pareja Casañas offers an alternate move here that does not appear in the *LJ*: “(Si [2. ...,] Rd5-c5 [; 3.] Ac1-a3, etc.” (II: 30).

<sup>371</sup> Murray gives this move as ♜c1-e3+, which also works but is not as specified in the manuscript (1913).

<sup>372</sup> Pareja Casañas does not give these alternate discarded moves.

<sup>373</sup> The manuscript omits the word *segunda*. Problem 14’s checkmate in “la casa del cauallo prieto” (g8), should read “la *segunda* casa del cauallo prieto” (g7). Steiger leaves the text as is but footnotes the correction “Genauer ‘... en la *segunda* casa” (73). Calvo also notes this error but Crombach does not.

<sup>374</sup> J. B. Sánchez Pérez acknowledges in his “Erratas” that he omits the final letter from “negras” in the threat to the side to win.

<sup>375</sup> Murray (1913: 282, diagram 7) shows a black rook at g7 instead of g8, a white rook at b7 instead of f7, removes the black pawn from h4 and adds a white pawn at a3, a white fil at h3 and a black fers at d1.

eliminating the possibility of black's first move being ♖g7x♗e7. A white pawn or a knight of either color could also serve that same purpose. Pareja Casañas presents this *LJ* problem, in comparison to a similar one in the Rich manuscript, with the same diagram and solution except as noted.<sup>376</sup> He cites J. B. Sánchez Pérez's diagram 14 (31).

Steiger presents the same diagram and solution, noting Pareja Casañas.

Calvo says that this problem was well-known in the Arab world because it is one of the problems from al-Adli's collection that as-Suli praised and included in his own. He notes, however, that the placement of the white rooks was somewhat different, being at a7 and f7, and which permitted a second solution.<sup>377</sup> He further explains that Alfonso's miniaturist, wishing to avoid this second solution, moves the white rook from f7 {where a correction is still visible} to b7 and this is why the problem's solution, which had already been written on the previous folio, indicates that it is in "la segunda casa del alffil prieto." This explanation gives us a glimpse into the process of the creation of the *LJ*. Calvo speculates that the motives for the change might have been either due to personal taste or to save space. The second error of putting the black rook at g7 instead of g8 is, according to Calvo, a sort of "typographical error" without real impact (1987: 181).

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<sup>376</sup> Pareja Casañas's diagram 21: Spanish translation (I: 44-45), Arabic transcription (I: Arabic numerals 39-40) and algebraic notation with discussion (II: 29-30).

<sup>377</sup> Calvo's solution: "1. Tf6, Rd5. 2. e4, Rc5. 3. Ae3, Rb6. 4. Tb7, Ra5. 5. Txb5, cxb5. 6. Cb7, mate" (1987: 181).

## 1.1.6.15 Problem 15

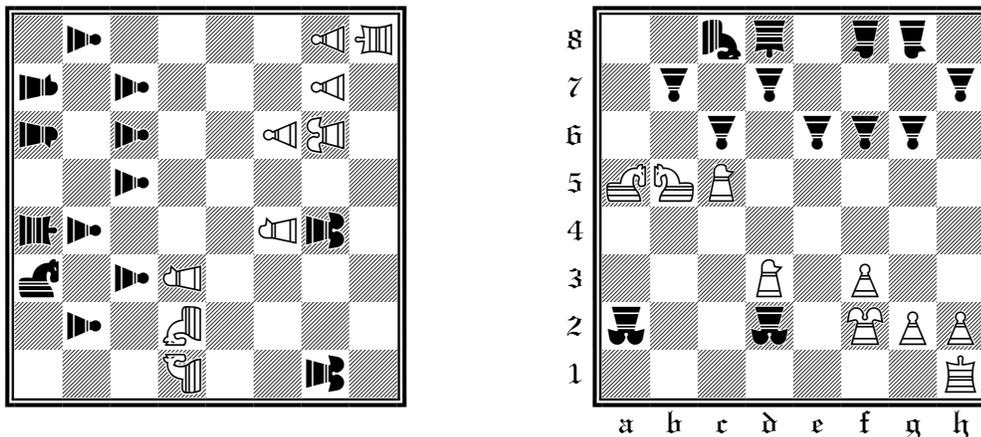


Fig. 33. Problem 15: fols. 14v and 15r (description on fols. 14v and 15r, diagram on fol. 15r); 22 pieces: white (at right) plays and wins in eight.

Inventory and solution:

♔h1 ♕f2 ♖c5 ♗d3 ♘a5 ♙b5 ♚f3 ♛g2 ♜h2 (9)

♞e8 ♟a2 ♠d2 ♡f8 ♢g8 ♣c8 ♤b7 ♥c6 ♦d7 ♧e6 ♨f6 ♩g6 ♪h7 (13)

1. ♘[a5]x ♡b7+, ♞[d8]-e8; 2. ♙[b5]-c7+, ♞[e8]-f7; 3. ♙[b7]-d8+, ♞[f7]-g7;  
 4. ♙[c7]-e8+, (if ♞[g7]-h8; 5. ♙[d8]-f7++)<sup>378</sup> ♞[g7]-h6; 5. ♙[d8]-f7+, ♞[h6]-h5; 6.  
 ♙[e8]-g7+, ♞[h5]-h4; 7. ♚[g2]-g3+, ♞[h4]-h3 (forced); 8. ♖[d3]-f1++ (if white errs  
 black wins)<sup>379</sup>

Problem 15 is written in Style I and contains a chase with alternating white rooks somewhat like Problems 1 and 8, however their being oriented to face each other results here in a particularly aesthetic presentation of separating and reuniting throughout the problem. The ending of this problem is unusual in the the threat to the side to win is not

<sup>378</sup> Pareja Casañas does not offer these alternate moves.

<sup>379</sup> The solution for this threat to white is not specified but most likely involves the two black rooks at a2 and d2. Neither Steiger nor Calvo offer specific moves for this possibility.

made explicit, but would involve the two black rooks on the second rank, and it is missing the phrase “e esta es la figura del entablamiento.”

Murray presents this with a somewhat different arrangement.<sup>380</sup> Murray’s solution is similar until move three, when the different diagram requires a different enough solution that the rest of it need not be discussed here.

J. B. Sánchez Pérez presents the same diagram. Pareja Casañas presents this *LJ* problem,<sup>381</sup> in comparison to two similar ones in the Rich manuscript, with the same diagram and solution except as noted. He cites J. B. Sánchez Pérez’s diagram 15 (32).

Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Steiger notes Pareja Casañas. Calvo says this problem represents one of the oldest and most popular of the Arabic chess problem tradition but that it is only represented in the *LJ* this once. He associates the beautiful combination attack by the knights with the *ad-dulabiya* problems, numbers 1 and 8. The first part of this problem is indeed very like Problem 1 in reverse. Calvo also notes that in the Arabic manuscripts the black rooks are normally found in their beginning positions, hinting that this problem originated from a real game but that the Alfonsine compiler placed them in a more active position after the European aesthetic. He ascribes the origin of this problem to al-Adli’s collection, from where it was recycled in the late as-Suli collection and in the AH manuscript of Murray it is attributed to al-Hadadi. In other manuscripts it is attributed to al-Mahdadi (1987: 182).

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<sup>380</sup> Murray’s inventory: g1 white king, g2 white pawn, h2 white pawn, d3 white fil, f3 white pawn, d4 white rook, a5 white knight, b5 white knight, c5 white fil, c6 black pawn, e6 black pawn, f6 black pawn, g6 black pawn, a7 black pawn, b7 black pawn, d7 black fers, h7 black pawn, b8 black knight, c8 black knight, d8 black king, f8 black fil, g8 black fil, h8 black rook (1913: 283, diagram 19).

<sup>381</sup> Pareja Casañas’s diagrams 17 and 18: Spanish translation (I: 40-41), Arabic transcription (I: Arabic numerals 35-36) and algebraic notation with discussion (II: 23-25).

See also Appendix D5 showing details of the miniatures which show children being taught to play a game, illustrating the *LJ* as a dial of princes and princesses.

### 1.1.6.16 Problem 16

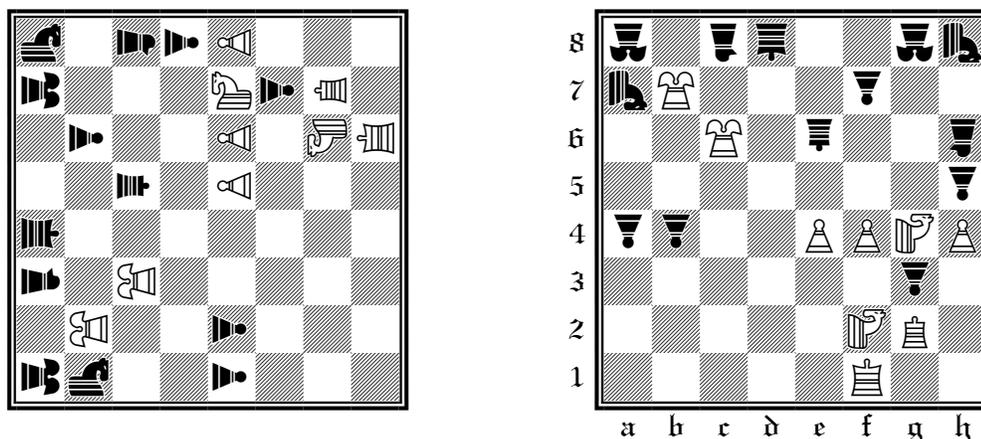


Fig. 34. Problem 16: fols. 15r, 15v and 16r (description on fols. 15r and 15v, diagram on fol. 16r); 22 pieces: white (at right) plays and wins at d1 in twelve<sup>382</sup> (or in less and on another square).

Inventory and solution:

$$\text{♔f1 } \text{♕g2}^{383} \text{ ♖b7}^{384} \text{ ♗c6 } \text{♘f2 } \text{♙g4 } \text{♚e4 } \text{f4 } \text{h4} \quad (9)$$

$$\text{♜d8 } \text{♞e6}^{385} \text{ ♠a8 } \text{♡g8 } \text{♣c8 } \text{♤h6 } \text{♢a7}^{386} \text{ ♣h8 } \text{♠a4 } \text{b4 } \text{f7 } \text{g3 } \text{h5} \quad (13)$$

<sup>382</sup> Calvo's solution (1987) includes thirteen moves due to several errors as noted within my solution.

<sup>383</sup> Calvo (1987) shows this white fers at h1.

<sup>384</sup> Although this problem's seventh move makes it clear that this piece at b7 must be a white rook, it seems that it is misread as a white knight in the discarded option at the first move. It is illogical that the black king at e8 does not capture the attacking white rook at d8 but instead then illegally moves into check from the white rook at b7. These inconsistencies would be explained if the compiler believed a white knight at b7 guarded the white rook at d8 and did not attack the black king's move to e7.

<sup>385</sup> This is an impossible position for a black fers since this is a white square. Either the position is contrived or the piece is a promoted pawn.

<sup>386</sup> Calvo (1987) shows this black knight at a5.

1. ♖c6-d6+, (if ♚[e6-d7] (to cover); 2. ♖[b7]x ♚[d7], ♚[d8]-e8; 3. ♖[d7]-d8+, ♚[e8]-e7<sup>387</sup>; 4. ♖[d8]-d7+, ♚[e7]-e6 (forced); 5. ♖[f4]-f5++) ♚[d8]-e8 (to prolong and for the sake of beauty); 2. ♖[g4]-f6+, ♚[e8]-f8; 3. ♖[d6]-d8+, ♚[f8]-g7; 4. ♖[d8]x ♚g8+, ♚[g7]x ♖f6; 5. ♖[e4]-e5+, ♚[f6]-f5; 6. ♖[g8]-g5+, ♚[f5]x ♖f4; 7. ♖[b7]x ♚b4+, ♚[f4]-e3;<sup>388</sup> 8. ♖[g5]x ♚g3+, ♚[e3]-d2;<sup>389</sup> 9. ♖[f2]-e4+, (if ♚[d2]-c1 or ♚[d2]-c2;<sup>390</sup> 10. ♖g3<sup>391</sup>-[c3]+, ♚[c1]-d1 (forced) or ♚[c2]-d1 (forced);<sup>392</sup> 11. ♖[b4]-b1++ or ♖[b4]-d4++) ♚[d2]-d1; 10. ♖[g3]-d3+, ♚[d1]-c1 or ♚[d1]-c2; 11. ♖[d3]-c3+, ♚[c1]-d1 or ♚[c2]-d1; 12. ♖[b4]-b1++ or ♖[b4]-d4++ (goal is to move ♚ from d8 to d1 for mate)

The unusual terms and organization of this Style I problem support Calvo's conclusion about two different sources for these similar problems (1987: 183). This organization of this problem is unusual and somewhat confusing in that the length conditional moves are played out before discarding them as poor options. The problem

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<sup>387</sup> From this point on, the white rook at b7 makes this discarded series of moves problematic (see also note in this problem's piece inventory). Once the white rook moves 3. ♖[d7]-d8+, then the black king is free to capture him (♚e8x ♖d8). Instead, however, the black king then makes an illegal move (♚[e8]-e7) into check from the other white rook at b7.

<sup>388</sup> Calvo (1987) gives the black king's move as "Rf3" [♚f4-f3] but the manuscript on fol. 15v indicates that "entrara el Rey prieto en la tercera casa del Rey blanco." (The king's file is the e-file and not the f-file, which belongs to the fers.)

<sup>389</sup> Calvo (1987) gives this moves as "8. Dg2, Re3" [♚h1-g2, ♚f3-e3]. Fol. 15v, however, indicates otherwise: "El ochauo iuego dar la xaque con el Roque blanco que esta en la quarta casa del cauallo prieto. tomando el peon prieto que esta en la tercera casa del cauallo blanco. & entrara el Rey prieto; en la segunda casa del alfferza blanca." It appears this is an extra move inserted in error because the rest of Calvo's moves are as given in the manuscript but they are one number higher than they should be. His ninth move is what the manuscript prescribed for the eighth, etc. He offers only one option, the latter, for all cases where two are given.

<sup>390</sup> Steiger reverses the order of these two options from what is given in the manuscript on fol. 15v, "Et el Rey prieto entrara en la casa del alffil blanco; o en la su segunda casa."

<sup>391</sup> Textual error: in Problem 16's tenth move, the white rook's description as coming from "la tercera casa del alffil blanco" (f3) should read "la tercera casa del *cauallo* blanco" (g3). Steiger corrects this error. Crombach leaves the text as is but notes Steiger's correction.

<sup>392</sup> Steiger gives only this second move option.

also uses the rare term *xamate*. This term is found in the introduction to the “Libro del acedrex” and Problems 16 and 17. The ending of the problem is unusual in its description of the *departimiento* and the splitting of the two phrases normally found together at the end.

Van der Linde compares this position to that of Problem 20 in his diagram 65 of the chapter “Das problemschach des Mittelalters.”

Murray presents this problem with an only very slightly different diagram<sup>393</sup> (1913: 291, diagram 164). Murray’s solution is similar until move two, when the different diagram requires a different enough solution that the rest of it need not be discussed here.

J. B. Sánchez Pérez and Steiger display the same diagram.

Calvo’s board differs as noted in the inventory. He describes this problem as a repetition of the same theme as Problem 20, though it is found only once in Murray’s manuscripts AH, C, S, H and V.<sup>394</sup> The repetition in the *LJ* suggests to Calvo that different Alfonsine compilers used different source Arabic manuscripts. The verisimilitude of the open position suggests to Calvo that this problem was based on a real game. He, like van der Linde and Murray, compares Problem 16 to Problem 20 (1987: 183).

See also the Appendices D5 and D3 for a comparison of miniatures of children being taught to play a game and a comparison of the *LJ* portraits of Queen Violante.

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<sup>393</sup> Murray shows the white fers at h1 instead of g2 and a black knight at a5 instead of a 7.

<sup>394</sup> See Murray 1913: 171-79 for descriptions of these manuscripts.

## 1.1.6.17 Problem 17

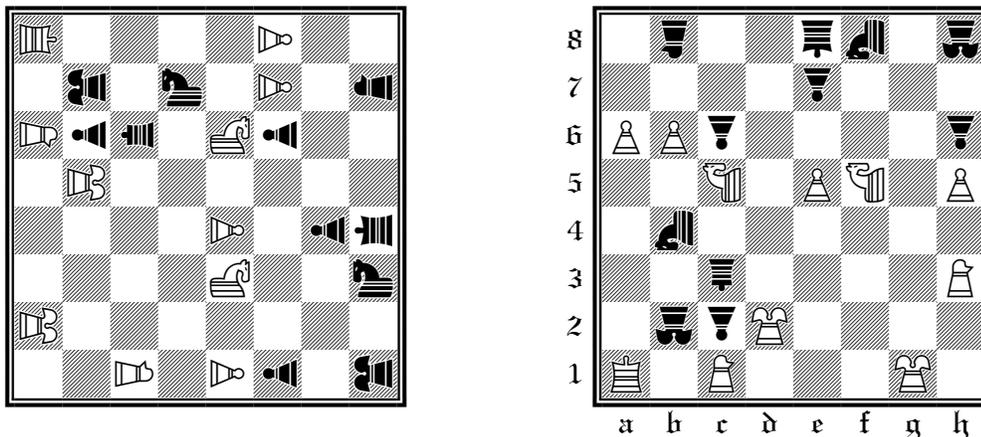


Fig. 35. Problem 17: fols. 16r and 16v (description on fol. 16r and diagram on fol. 16v); 22 pieces: white (at left) plays and wins in five.<sup>395</sup>

Inventory and solution:

♖a1 ♗d2 ♘g1 ♙c1 ♚h3 ♛c5 ♜f5 ♠a6 ♡b6 ♣e5 ♤h5 (11)

♞e8 ♟c3 ♠b2 ♡h8 ♢b8 ♣b4 ♤f8 ♥c2 ♦c6 ♧e7 ♨h6 (11)

1. ♜[f5]-g7+, ♞[e8]-f7; 2. ♘[d2]-f2+,<sup>396</sup> ♟[f7]-g8;<sup>397</sup> 3. discover check from ♘[g1]+<sup>398</sup> by ♜[g7]-e6+, if ♠[f8-g6] (to cover); 4. ♘[g1]x♠[g6]+, ♞[g8]-h7; 5. ♘[f2]-f7++ or ♙[h3]-f5++ (if white errs then ♠[b2]-a2++ or ♠[b2]-b1++)<sup>399</sup>

This Style I problem uses the rare term *xamathe* and the present subjunctive for the move that discovers check. It is also the first of six problems to add the extra phrase

<sup>395</sup> Calvo (1987) says mate in 10 and gives a vastly different solution that in the manuscript.

<sup>396</sup> Calvo (1987) gives this move as “2. Tf1” [2. ♘g1-f1+], a legal move which gives the prescribed check with the prescribed sort of piece but which is not the move described in the manuscript on fol. 16r as “El segundo iuego dar la xaque con el Roque blanco; en la segunda casa del alfil blanco.” Calvo is probably following Murray’s solution (1913).

<sup>397</sup> Calvo (1987) describes this as a good move. After this point Calvo’s solution bears no resemblance to that given in the manuscript, giving instead “3. Txf3, Rxf8. 4. C(g7)e6, Rg8. 5. Tg2, Rf7. 6. Tg7, Re8. 7. Cc7, Rd8. 8. C(c5)e6, Rc8. 9. b7, Rd7. 10. Af5, mate” (183).

<sup>398</sup> Steiger does not indicate this or any discovered check.

<sup>399</sup> Steiger reverses the order of these two threats to white.

“que aqui esta pintada” after the two usual ending phrases. Finally, this is one of six problems that ending with the additional phrase “que aqui esta pintada”; this category also includes Problems 21, 25, 42, 50 and 73. Murray presents this problem with an only very slightly different diagram<sup>400</sup> (1913: 292, diagram 170). Murray’s solution is similar until move three, when the different diagram requires a different enough solution that the rest of it need not be discussed here. J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Steiger gives the same solution except as noted. Calvo’s solution has twice as many moves as specified in the manuscript, and therefore delays the checkmate twice as long, but he does so without explanation. His solution, like Murray’s, varies as noted above from move three until the checkmate, which he gives only as the second of the two options due to his different solution. Calvo attributes this problem to as-Suli and says that it is found in many Arabic manuscripts. He notes its realistic position but that it has all the characteristics of an artificial problem (1987: 183). Perhaps the solution Calvo gives is from another Arabic manuscript, but he does not state this or explain his different solution in any way.

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<sup>400</sup> Murray shows the white rook at e1 instead of g1.

## 1.1.6.18 Problem 18

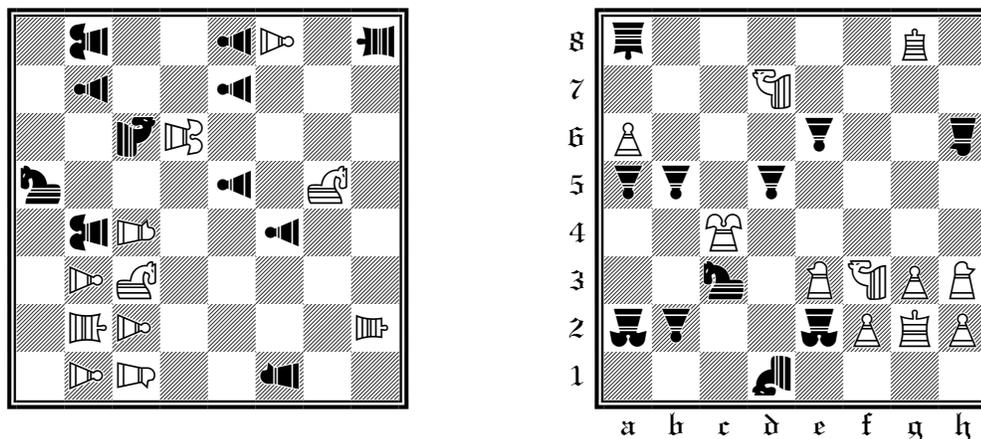


Fig. 36. Problem 18: fols. 16v, 17r and 17v (description on fols. 16v and 17r, diagram on fol. 17v); 22 pieces:<sup>401</sup> white (at left) plays and wins in nineteen<sup>402</sup> at a1.

Inventory and solution:

$\text{♖g2}$   $\text{♗g8}$   $\text{♘c4}$ <sup>403</sup>  $\text{♙e3}$   $\text{♚h3}$   $\text{♞d7}$ <sup>404</sup>  $\text{♟f3}$ <sup>405</sup>  $\text{♜a6}$   $\text{♝f2}$   $\text{♞g3}$   $\text{♟h2}$ <sup>406</sup> (11)

$\text{♞a8}$ <sup>407</sup>  $\text{♟a2}$   $\text{♝e2}$   $\text{♞h6}$ <sup>408</sup>  $\text{♞c3}$ <sup>409</sup>  $\text{♟d1}$   $\text{♜a5}$   $\text{♝b2}$   $\text{♞b5}$   $\text{♟d5}$   $\text{♜e6}$  (11)

1.  $\text{♞[c4]-c8+}$ ,  $\text{♞[a8]-a7}$ ; 2.  $\text{♞[c8]-c7+}$ , (if  $\text{♞[a7]-a8}$ ; 3.  $\text{♞[d7]-b6+}$ ,  $\text{♞[a8]-b8}$ ;
4.  $\text{♞[c7]-b7++}$ )<sup>410</sup>  $\text{♞[a7]x♜[a6]}$ ; 3.  $\text{♞[d7]-c5+}$ ,  $\text{♞[a6]-b6}$ ; 4.  $\text{♞[c7]-b7+}$ ,  $\text{♞[b6]-c6}$ ; 5.
- $\text{♞[f3]-d4+}$ ,  $\text{♞[c6]-d6}$ ; 6.  $\text{♞[b7]-d7+}$ ,  $\text{♞[d6]-e5}$ ; 7.  $\text{♞[d4]-c6+}$ ,  $\text{♞[e5]-f6}$ ; 8.  $\text{♞[d7]-f7+}$
- (guarded by  $\text{♞[g8]}$ ),<sup>411</sup>  $\text{♞[f6]-g6}$ ; 9.  $\text{♞[c6]-e5+}$ ,  $\text{♞[g6]-h5}$ ; 10.  $\text{♜[g3]-g4+}$ ,  $\text{♞[h5]-h4}$ ;

<sup>401</sup> Calvo (1987) gives twenty-one pieces instead of twenty-two and his arrangement is substantially different as shown below.

<sup>402</sup> Calvo (1987) gives twenty-one moves instead of nineteen.

<sup>403</sup> Calvo (1987) shows this white rook at d5.

<sup>404</sup> Calvo (1987) shows this white knight at e6.

<sup>405</sup> Calvo (1987) shows this white knight at g4.

<sup>406</sup> Calvo (1987) omits this white pawn.

<sup>407</sup> Calvo (1987) shows the black king at b8.

<sup>408</sup> Calvo (1987) omits this black fil.

<sup>409</sup> Calvo (1987) shows a black pawn at c3 instead of a black knight.

<sup>410</sup> Pareja Casañas does not offer these discarded alternate moves.

<sup>411</sup> Neither Pareja Casañas, Steiger nor Calvo (1987) offers this explanation present in the manuscript.

11. ♖[e5]-f3+, ♜[h4]x ♘g4; 12. ♗[f7]-g7+, (if ♜[g4]-h5; 13. ♗[g7]-g5++)<sup>412</sup> ♜[g4]-f4; 13. ♖[c5]x ♘e6+, ♜[f4]-e4; 14. ♗[g7]-g4+, ♜[h6-f4] (covers to prolong mate);<sup>413</sup> 15. ♗[g4]x ♘[f4]+, ♜[e4]-d3; 16. ♗[h3]-f1+, ♜[d3]-c2; 17. ♖e6-d4+, ♜[c2]-b1; 18. ♗[f1]-d3+, ♜[b1]-a1 (forced); 19. ♖[d4]-b3++ (if white errs before white plays his fil or the pawn that is in front of the white king [g3; i.e. move 16] then mate by ♜[d1]x ♗e3+, [2.] ♜[g2]-g1 or ♜[g2]-h1, the latter is better to prolong checkmate,<sup>414</sup> and from there ♜[a2]-a1+, [3.] and if ♗[h3-f1] to cover, ♜[a1]x ♗[f1]+; [4.] ♖[f3-g1],<sup>415</sup> ♜[f1]x ♖[g1]+; [5.] ♜[h1]x ♜[g1], ♜[e2]-e1++)<sup>416</sup>

Problem 18, an especially important problem owing to its miniature's portrayal of as-Suli, is written in Style I. Like Problem 28, it contains an almost-smothered mate. The phrase "onde salio (primero)" is used only in four problems: 1, 18, 90 and 94. This problem and Problem 61 are the only ones to contain the very rare term *desent*. The trident-style checkmate in the discarded option at move two is similar to that seen in Problems 4, 6, 9, 23, 43 through 46, 48, 52, 58, 59, 67, 69, 90, 91 and 92. The length of the explanation is unusual for the five-move threat to the winning side should it err.

Van der Linde, whose diagram does not distinguish between ferses and promoted pawns, presents nearly this same position to mate in nineteen moves as his diagram 70 of the chapter "Das problemschach des Mittelalters." In error, both kings are shown as white

<sup>412</sup> Pareja Casañas does not offer these discarded alternate moves.

<sup>413</sup> Pareja Casañas expands "[Ab6-f4; 15. Tg4xAf4+]" (II: 15). Neither Steiger nor Calvo (1987) offers this explanation present in the manuscript.

<sup>414</sup> Steiger does not give this explanation or the first discarded option which makes it necessary.

<sup>415</sup> This second stalling option is available only before move five or after move eleven when there is a white knight available at f3 to cover the white king on the first rank.

<sup>416</sup> Pareja Casañas does not give any of these threats.

instead of a8 having a black king. Additionally, van der Linde omits the black pawn at a5.

Murray presents this problem with an inverted and somewhat different diagram.<sup>417</sup> Murray's different diagram requires a different enough solution that it need not be discussed here but it is similar enough to Calvo's that it will be presented below for comparison to his.

J. B. Sánchez Pérez presents the same diagram. Pareja Casañas presents this *LJ* problem,<sup>418</sup> in comparison to a similar one in the Rich manuscript, with the same diagram and solution except as noted. He cites J. B. Sánchez Pérez's diagram and solution (35-36).

Steiger gives the same diagram and solution except for the minor omissions noted above. He also footnotes Pareja Casañas II 13-15.

Calvo adds a white pawn at b4 and his diagram departs substantially enough, as noted below, from both the *LJ* and the comparable problem from Pareja Casaña's study of the Rich ms to merit copying his presentation of the problem (1987: 184). Calvo's solution also therefore necessarily differs substantially and is presented following his diagram. He gives twenty-one moves instead of the nineteen listed in the manuscript and calls it a very important problem of Arabic chess which is found in other Arabic manuscripts including that of as-Suli who attributes it to al-Mahdi "el padre del califa

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<sup>417</sup> Murray's inventory: b1 white fers, g1 black king, a3 black fil, e3 white pawn, f3 white pawn, h3 white pawn, f4 white fil, a5 black pawn, b5 black pawn, c5 black knight, c7 black rook, d7 black rook, e7 black pawn, g7 white knight, a8 white king, g8 white rook (1913: 293, diagram 181).

<sup>418</sup> Pareja Casañas's diagram 12: Spanish translation (I: 35), Arabic transcription (I: Arabic numeral 30) and algebraic notation with discussion (II: 13-15).

Harun Ar-Raschid, y no sucedió en ninguna partida.”<sup>419</sup> Calvo also gives the best clues towards the identification of the throned and haloed figure in this problem’s miniature, though ultimately his guess is wrong. See Chapter 2’s discussion of fol. 17v. Calvo’s diagram and solution may vary from the *LJ* because he was working from one of the other Arabic manuscripts cited, however he does not give an explanation.

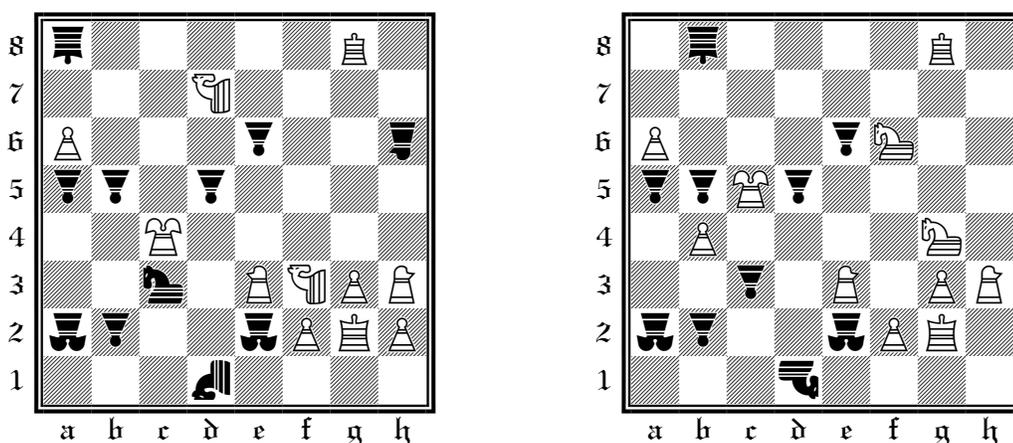


Fig. 36.1. Problem 18: Original (left) and Calvo’s Presentation (right): Calvo gives 21 pieces, where white plays and wins in twenty-one.<sup>420</sup>

Calvo’s inventory and solution:

♖g2 ♜g8 ♘c5 ♙e3 ♚h3 ♞f6 ♟g4 ♠a6 ♡b4 ♢f2 ♣g3 (11)

♜b8 ♞a2 ♟e2 ♞d1 ♠a5 ♡b2 ♢d5 ♣e6 (10)

1. ♞f6-d7+, ♜b8-a8; 2. ♘c5-c8+, ♜a8-a7; 3. ♘c8-c7+, ♜a7x ♠a6! (if ...
- ♜a7-a8, ♞d7-b6+; 5. ♘c7-b7++); 4. ♞d7-c5+, ♜a6-b6; 5. ♘c7-b7+, ♜b6-c6; 6.
- ♟g4-e5+, ♜c6-d6; 7. ♞e5-f7+, ♜d6-c6; 8. ♞f7-d8+, ♜c6-d6; 9. ♘b7-d7+, ♜d6-e5;

<sup>419</sup> Calvo (1987: 184) appears to be citing Murray, “‘Al-Mahdi (the father of Harun ar-Rashid) made this; it did not occur in a game,’” (1913: 318). See also Problem 38.

<sup>420</sup> Cf. Calvo 1987: 184. With the exception of a black fil missing from h6 and a black pawn added to a5, this is the same diagram that Murray gives inverted as Number 181 of the game of Shatranj (1913). Murray says that it appears in AE 180, V 10, BM 13 (text only), Alf. 18 (in XX [not 19]) and H 48 (in XIX).

10. ♖d8-c6+, ♜e5-f6; 11. ♜d7-f7+, ♜f6-g6;<sup>421</sup> 12. ♖c6-e5+, ♜g6-h5; 13. ♖g3-g4+, ♜h5-h4; 14. ♖e5-f3+, ♜h4x ♖g4; 15. ♜f7-g7+, ♜g4-f4; 16. ♖c5x ♜e6+, ♜f4-e4; 17. ♜g7-g4+, ♜e4-d3; 18. ♖h3-f1+, ♜d3-c2; 19. ♖e6-d4+, ♜c2-b1; 20. ♖f1-d3+, ♜b1-a1; 21. ♖d4-b3++<sup>422</sup>

### 1.1.6.19 Problem 19

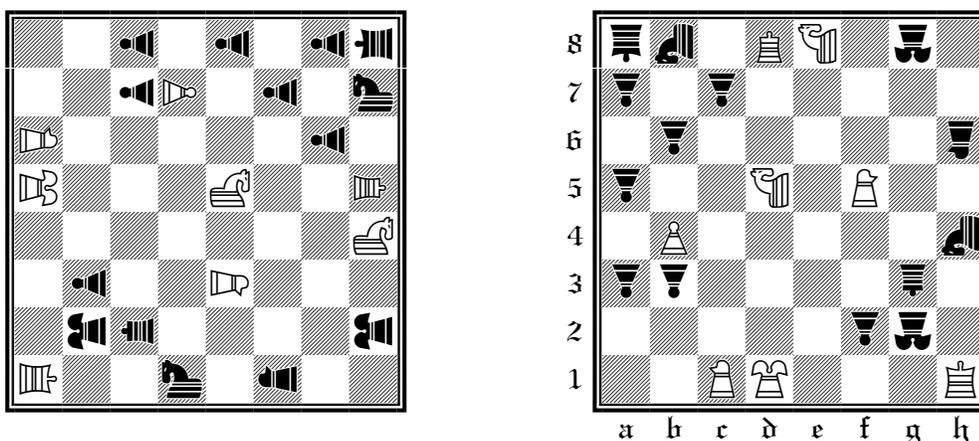


Fig. 37. Problem 19: fols. 17v and 18r (description on fol. 17v and diagram on fol. 18r); 22 pieces: white (at left) plays and wins in six at a4.<sup>423</sup>

<sup>421</sup> This move shows that the white fers shown at g8 is must be a white fers (as shown) and not a promoted pawn (as also possible) because otherwise this would not be legal move because it would a move into check from the promoted pawn at g8, who may leap two squares in any direction as its first move now as a fers.

<sup>422</sup> “1. Cd7, Ra8. 2. Tc8, Ra7. 3. Tc7, Rxa6! (si ...Ra8, 4. Cb6 y 5. Tb7, mate). 4. Cc5, Rb6. 5. Tb7, Rc6. 6. Ce5, Rd6. 7. Cf7, Rc6. 8. Cd8, Rd6. 9. Td7, Re5. 10. Cc6, Rf6. 11. Tf7, Rg6. 12. Ce5, Rh5. 13. g4, Rh4. 14. Cf3, Rxc4. 15. Tg7, Rf4. 16. Cxe6, Re4. 17. Tg4, Rd3. 18. Af1, Rc2. 19. Cd4, Rb1. 20. Ad3, Ra1. 21. Cb3, mate” (184). Murray’s solution (1913), inverted and different from Calvo’s beginning with the third move, is “181. 1 Kte2+, Kh1; 2 Rf1+; 3 Rf2+, KxP; 4 Ktf4+; 5 Rg2+; 6 Ktd4+; 7 Ktc2+; 8 Kte1+; 9 Re2+; 10 Ktf3+; 11 Rc2+; 12 Ktd4+; 13 Pb5+; 14 Ktc6; 15 Rb2+, Kc5; 16 KtxP; 17 Rb5+; 18 Bc8+; 19 Kt(d3)e5+; 20 Be6+; 21 Ktg6 m. From as-Suli, H. ‘Al-Mahdi (the father of Harun ar-Rashid) made this; it did not occur in any game,’ V” (Murray 1913: 317-318). [21 pieces “Red” [white] plays and wins in 21. 1. ♖f6-d7+, ♜b8-a8; 2. ♜c5-c8+, [♜a8-a7]; 3. ♜c8-c7+, ♜a7x ♖a6; 4. ♖d7-c5+, [♜a7-b6]; 5. ♜c7-b7+, [♜b6-c6]; 6. ♖g4-e5+, [♜c6-d6]; 7. ♖e5-f7+, [♜d6-c6]; 8. ♖f7-d8+, [♜c6-d6]; 9. ♜b7-d7+, [♜d6-e5]; 10. ♖d8-c6+, [♜e5-f6]; 11. ♜d7-f7+, [♜f6-g6]; 12. ♖c6-e5+, [♜g6-h5]; 13. ♖g3-g4+ [♜h5-h4]; 14. ♖e5-f3+, [♜h4x ♖g4]; 15. ♜f7-g7+, ♜g4-f4; 16. ♖c5x ♜e6, [♜f4-e4]; 17. ♜g7-g4+, [♜e4-d3]; 18. ♖h3-f1+, [♜d3-c2]; 19. ♖e6-d4+, [♜c2-b1]; 20. ♖f1-d3+, [♜b1-a1]; 21. ♖d4-b3++].

<sup>423</sup> Steiger does not give this or any specified checkmate squares except when noted.

Inventory and solution:

♔h1 ♚d8<sup>424</sup> ♖d1 ♜c1 ♞f5 ♞d5 ♞e8 ♠b4 (8)

♚a8 ♚g3 ♞g2 ♞g8 ♠h6 ♞b8 ♞h4 ♠a3 a5 a7 b3 b6 c7 f2 (14)

1. ♞[d5x♠]c7+,<sup>425</sup> ♚[a8]-b7; 2. ♞[e8]-d6+, ♚[b7]-c6; 3. ♠[b4]-b5+, ♚[c6]-c5; 4. ♞[c1]-e3+, ♚[c5]-b4; 5. ♞[c7]-d5+, ♚[b4]-a4 (forced); 6. ♖[d1]-d4++ (if white errs then ♞[g2]-h2++)

This problem is special because of the woman shown in its miniature: Beatriz, Mayor<sup>426</sup> and Violante. Also unusual is the beginning point of each of the two kings, at opposite corners of the board: h1 and a8; often the kings of *LJ* problems begin in opposition, i.e. with only one square separating them.

Van der Linde presents the same position and mate conditions as his diagram 52 of the chapter “Das Problemschach des Mittelalters.” Murray (1913: 303, diagram 394), J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Calvo notes that this problem with an artificial and impossible opening position is original to the *LJ* (1987: 185).

See also the Appendices D3 and D4 for a comparison of the *LJ* portraits of Queen Violante and of Mayor Guillén de Guzmán and her daughter Beatriz.

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<sup>424</sup> This is an impossible position for a white fers since this is a black square. Either the position is contrived or, more likely, the piece is a promoted pawn.

<sup>425</sup> The text does not indicate that this move is a capture, saying only that the white knight is to be placed in the second house of the black fil. However in the diagram there is a black pawn in this c7 square.

<sup>426</sup> At the upper left within the miniature the words “esta mulher esta fremosa et sabia” are written in the blue background above the winner of this problem, whom I argue is Mayor Guillén de Guzmán in this dissertation’s second chapter.

## 1.1.6.20 Problem 20

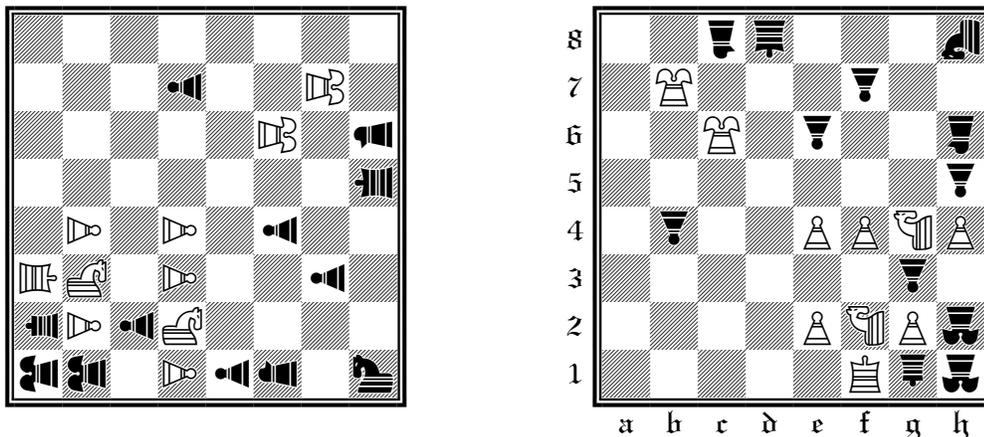


Fig. 38. Problem 20: fols. 18r, 18v and 19r (description on fols. 18r and 18v, diagram on fol. 19r); 22 pieces (21 shown, g3 lacks black pawn in the miniature): white (at left) plays and wins in twelve at d1.

Inventory and solution:

$$\text{♔ f1 } \text{♕ b7 } \text{♖ c6 } \text{♗ f2 } \text{♘ g4 } \text{♙ e2 e4 f4 g2 h4}^{427} \quad (10)$$

$$\text{♚ d8 } \text{♛ g1 } \text{♜ h1 } \text{♝ h2 } \text{♞ c8 } \text{♟ h6 } \text{♠ h8 } \text{♡ b4 e6 f7 [g3]}^{428} \text{ h5} \quad (12)$$

1. ♖c6-d6+, ♚[d8]-e8; 2. ♗[g4]-f6+, ♛[e8]-f8; 3. ♕[d6]-d8+, ♛[f8]-g7; 4. ♖[d8]-g8+, ♛[g7]x♗f6; 5. ♙[e4]-e5+, ♛[f6]-f5; 6. ♖[g8]-g5+, ♛[f5]x♙f4; 7. ♖b7x♡b4+, ♛[f4]-e3; 8. ♖g5x♙g3,<sup>429</sup> ♛[e3]-d2; 9. ♗[f2]-e4,<sup>430</sup> (if ♛[d2]-c1 or ♛[d2]-c2,<sup>431</sup> 10. ♖[g3]-c3+, ♛[c1]-d1 or ♛[c2]-d1 (forced); 11. ♖[b4]-b1<sup>432++</sup>)

<sup>427</sup> Calvo (1987) has a white pawn here but leaves the square white instead of black.

<sup>428</sup> This black pawn is not shown, however its capture is specified in move eight. Steiger and Calvo (1987) both show it. This is the missing twenty-second piece that fulfills the number specified in this problem's introduction.

<sup>429</sup> See note above for g3 in the inventory for this problem.

<sup>430</sup> Problem 20, move 9, in white's check, the manuscript says "El noueno iuego dar la xaque con el caualllo blanco en la quarta casa del Rey prieto" (e5). However, this is an impossible move for the white knight coming from his original position of f2 and it is not a move that would give check to the black king at d2. Therefore, the manuscript should read "...en la quarta casa del Rey blanco" (e4). Steiger corrects this error. Crombach leaves the text as is and notes Steiger's correction.

<sup>431</sup> Textual error: in Problem 20, move 9, for black's discarded alternate move, the manuscript says "si el Rey prieto entrare en la casa de so alffil. o en la su segunda casa" appears to mean black's fil's first or

♖[d2]-d1; 10. ♖[g3]-d3+, ♜[d1]-c1 or ♜[d1]-c2; 11. ♖[d3]-c3+, ♜[c1]-d1 or ♜[c2]-d1; 12. ♖[b4]-b1++ or ♖[b4]-d4++ (if white errs then ♜[h1]++ is discovered check by ♜[g1]x♗f2<sup>433</sup>) (We already ordered to be done another problem similar<sup>434</sup> to this one but we made this one to be written because it is more beautiful—*ya mandamos fazer otro iuego departido que se semeia con este. Pero fiziemos escreuir este otrosi por que es mas fremoso.*)<sup>435</sup>

This Style I problem is one of four whose inclusion despite similarity to other problems is defended in the text with the verb in the royal we; this category includes Problems 20, 44, 60 and 65. The unusual terms and organization of Problem 16 support Calvo's conclusion about two different sources for these similar problems (1987: 183).

Van der Linde presents this same position to mate in twelve moves as his diagram 65 of the chapter “Das problemschach des Mittelalters” and compares it to Problem 16. Murray presents this problem with a somewhat different diagram.<sup>436</sup> J. B. Sánchez Pérez

second squares (c8 or c7) but in fact refers to *white's* fil's first and second squares. The word *his* (“so”) is, if not a mistake, at least confusing. The manuscript should read “si el Rey prieto entrare en la casa *del* alffil *blanco*. o en la su segunda casa” (c1 or c2).

<sup>432</sup> Textual error: in Problem 20, move 9, for white's checkmate to the discarded move, the manuscript says “El segundo iuego dar la xaque & mate con ell otro Roque blanco; en la casa del Roque blanco” (a1). However, this is an impossible move for the white rook coming from b4. The manuscript should read “... en la casa del *cauallo* blanco” (b1). Steiger corrects this error. Crombach leaves the text as is and notes Steiger's correction.

<sup>433</sup> This threat to the winning side is accurate only until move nine when the white knight moves out of the square f2; once the white knight is moved then the threat is checkmate by ♜g1-f2 without the capture. Another option not given in the text is that white can discover checkmate by leaping ♜g1-e3 whether or not the white knight is at f2.

<sup>434</sup> Van der Linde, Murray (1913) and Calvo (1987) compare Problem 20 to Problem 16.

<sup>435</sup> This editorial commentary which uses the royal we is proof not only of Alfonso's personal participation in the composition of the *LJ* but also his familiarity with the subtlety and beauty of the chess problems it contains and the collaborative nature of the process of producing a manuscript such as this one. His defensive tone seems to be a reaction to the assertion that a very similar problem has already been included or the anticipation of such an assertion. Similar notes appear at the end of Problems 44, 60 and 66.

<sup>436</sup> Murray's inventory: f1 white king, h1 white fers, f2 white knight, a4 black pawn, b4 black pawn, e4 white pawn, f4 white pawn, g4 white knight, h4 white pawn, a5 black knight, h5 black pawn, c6

and Steiger display the same diagram. Calvo displays the same diagram and, like van der Linde and Murray, compares it to Problem 16 (1987: 183).

See also Appendix D2 for a comparison of the non-iconographic *LJ* portraits of Alfonso, possibly playing against his *ayo*.

### 1.1.6.21 Problem 21

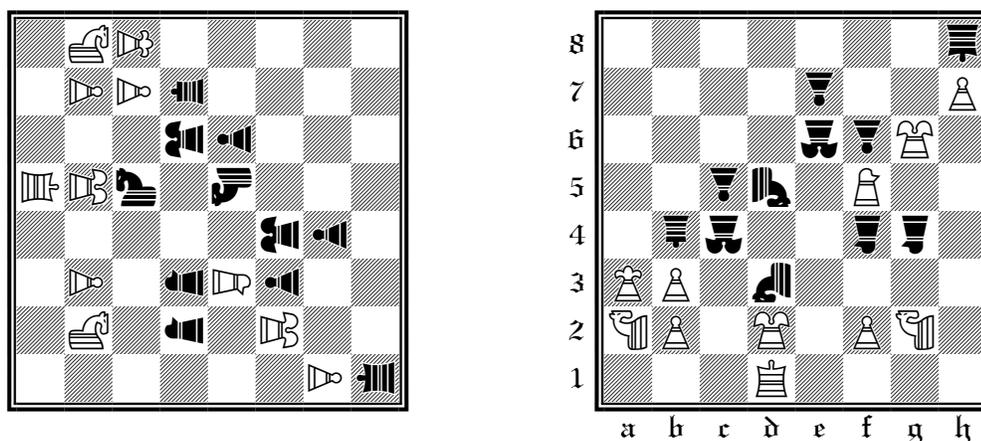


Fig. 39. Problem 21: fols. 19r and 19v (description on fol. 19r and diagram on fol. 19v); 22 pieces: black (at right) plays and wins in four at d1, sacrificing two rooks and a knight.

Inventory and solution:

♖d1 ♘a3 ♙d2 ♚g6 ♗f5 ♞a2 ♝g2 ♠b2 b3 f2 h7 (11)

♜h8 ♞b4 ♛c4 ♜e6 ♠f4 ♜g4 ♞d3 ♝d5 ♠c5 e7 f6 (11)

1. ..., ♛c4-c1+; 2. ♞[a2]x♛[c1] (forced), ♛[e6]-e1+; 3. ♞[g2]x♛[e1] (forced), ♞[d3]x♠<sup>437</sup>f2+; 4. ♙[d2]x♜[f2] (forced), ♜[d5]-e3++ (if black errs ♙[g6]-g8++)

This Style I problem is one of six that end with the additional phrase “que aqui esta pintada”; this category also includes Problems 17, 25, 42, 49 and 73. Interestingly

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white rook, e6 black fers, h6 black fil, b7 white rook, f7 black pawn, a8 black rook, c8 black fil, d8 black king, g8 black rook, h8 black knight (1913: 291, diagram 164).

<sup>437</sup> The manuscript calls this a black pawn in error. Steiger and HSMS correct this error. Crombach leaves the text as is and notes Steiger’s correction.

and as with Problems 58, 63, 64, 75 through 77, 94, the second solution of 98, as well as 99 and 101 through 103, all the losing king's moves are forced in this problem. The double-knight attack here is similar to the double-rook attacks of Problems 10, 39, and the Abu Naam Problems 58, 63, 64 and 97.

Murray (1913: 304, diagram 395), J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Calvo notes that the problem is original, though of lesser quality than the Arabic problems because of the first move described being entirely superfluous in the checkmate and the added stipulation of a specific square in which checkmate must occur, as per Medieval European canon (1987: 186).

#### 1.1.6.22 Problem 22

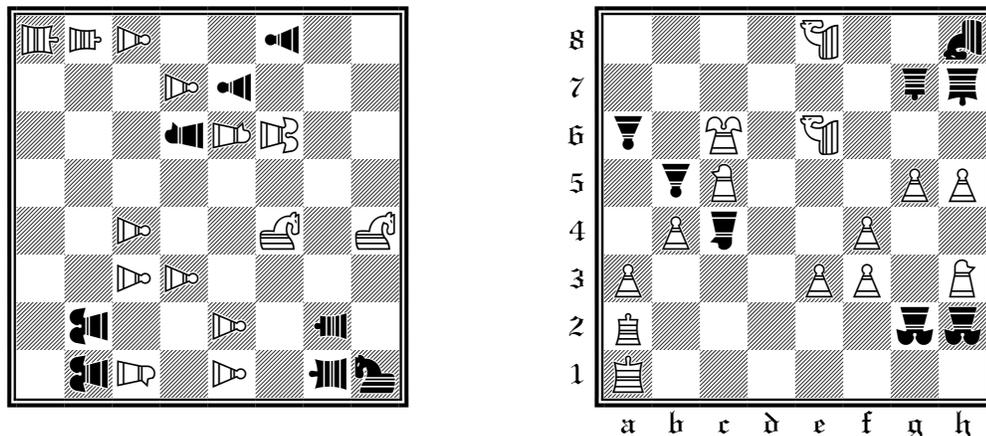


Fig. 40. Problem 22: fols. 19v and 20r (description on fols. 19v and 20r, diagram on fol. 20r); 22 pieces: white (at left) plays and wins in ten at c1.

Inventory and solution:

$$\text{♖a1 } \text{♗a2 } \text{♘c6 } \text{♙c5}^{438} \text{ } \text{♚h3 } \text{♛e6 } \text{♜e8 } \text{♝a3 } \text{b4 } \text{e3 } \text{f3 } \text{f4 } \text{g5 } \text{h5} \quad (14)$$

$$\text{♞h7 } \text{♟g7 } \text{♠g2 } \text{♡h2 } \text{♢c4 } \text{♣h8 } \text{♤a6 } \text{b5} \quad (8)$$

<sup>438</sup> Calvo (1987) shows a white pawn here instead of a white fil.

1. ♖[e8]-f6+, ♜[g7]x♗f6 (forced); 2. ♙[h3]-f5+, ♜[h7]-g8; 3. ♘[c6]-c8+, ♜[g8]-f7; 4. ♘[c8]-f8+, ♜[f7]x♗[e6]; 5. ♘[f8]x♜f6+, ♜[e6]-d5;<sup>439</sup> 6. ♙[e3]-e4+, ♜[d5]-d4; 7. ♘[f6]-d6+, ♜[d4]-c3; 8. ♘[d6]-d3+, ♜[c3]-c2; 9. ♙[a2]-b1+, ♜[c2]-c1; 10. ♙[c5]-e3++ (if white errs<sup>440</sup> 1. ..., ♜[h2]-h1+ or ♜[g2]-g1+; 2. and if covers with ♙[h3]-f1, ♜[g1 or ♜[h1]x♙[f1]++; 3. ♙[a2]-b1 (to cover), ♜[g2]-a2 or ♜[h2]-a2++ guarded by ♜c4)<sup>441</sup>

Problem 22, like Problem 89, marches the losing king through the clear path in the center of the board before delivering checkmate.

Van der Linde's presentation of this position and mate in ten moves at c1 is the same.

Murray presents this problem with an inverted and rather different arrangement with the colors reversed so that black wins.<sup>442</sup>

J. B. Sánchez Pérez presents the same diagram. Pareja Casañas presents this *LJ* problem,<sup>443</sup> in comparison to a similar one in the Rich manuscript, with the same diagram and solution except as noted. He cites J. B. Sánchez Pérez's diagram 22 (40) and mentions the relationship between this problem and Problem 89 (Pareja Casañas II: 18) but does not present them together.

<sup>439</sup> Problem 22's fifth move for black is given as to "la quarta casa del alferza *blanca*" (d4) but it should read "la quarta casa del alferza *prieta*" (d5). Steiger corrects this error. Crombach leaves the text as is and notes Steiger's correction.

<sup>440</sup> This threat is only valid before ninth move; if white errs on the ninth move the threat is simply ♜h2-h1++ and if white errs on the tenth move the threat is ♜g2-a2++.

<sup>441</sup> Pareja Casañas does not offer any threat information for this problem.

<sup>442</sup> Murray's inventory: a1 black king, g2 white rook, h2 white rook, a3 black pawn, e3 black pawn, f3 black pawn, h3 black fil, a4 black fers, b4 black pawn, c4 white fil, b5 white pawn, c5 black fil, e5 white pawn, g5 black pawn, h5 black pawn, a6 white pawn, d6 black rook, e6 black knight, f6 white pawn, g7 white pawn, h7 white king, e8 black knight, h8 white knight (1913: 287, diagram 87).

<sup>443</sup> Pareja Casañas's diagram 96: Spanish translation (I: 32-33), Arabic transcription (I: Arabic numeral 27) and algebraic notation with discussion (II: 9-10).

Steiger displays the same diagram, noting Pareja Casañas.

Calvo believes that the colors are reversed, pawns added and checkmate square specified for the purpose of disguising problem's origin. He, like Pareja Casañas and Murray, compares this problem to Problem 89 (1987: 187).

### 1.1.6.23 Problem 23

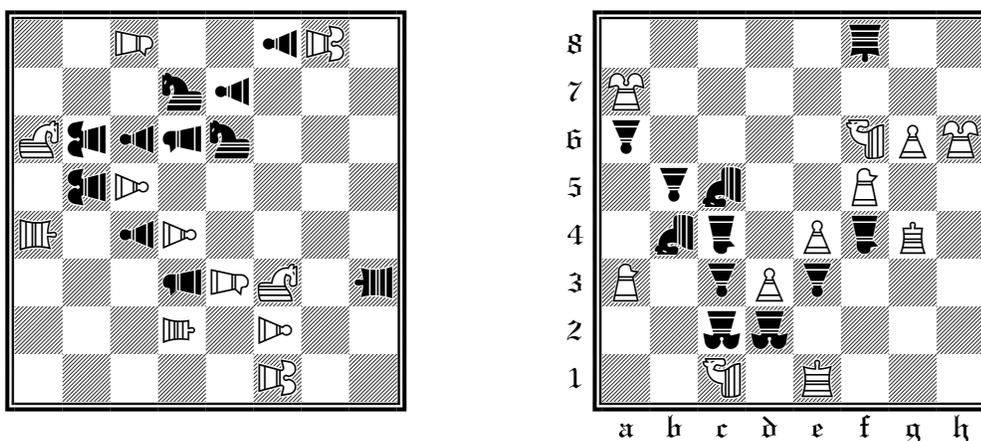


Fig. 41. Problem 23: fols. 20r and 20v (description on fols. 20r and 20v, diagram on fol. 20v); 22 pieces: black (at right) plays and wins in five at e1.

Inventory and solution:

♖e1 ♜g4 ♘a7 ♙h6 ♟a3 ♞f5 ♗c1<sup>444</sup> ♞f6 ♠d3 e4 g6 (11)

♚f8 ♛c2 ♜d2 ♜c4 ♜f4 ♞b4 ♞c5 ♠a6 b5 c3 e3 (11)

1. ..., ♜[c2]x♞c1+; 2. ♟[a3]x♜[c1], ♜[d2]-d1+; 3. ♖[e1]x♜[d1] (forced), ♠[e3]-e2+; 4. ♖[d1]-e1 (forced), ♞[b4]x♠d3+ or ♞[c5]<sup>445</sup>x♠d3+; 5. ♟[f5]x♞d3,

<sup>444</sup> This white knight is held by the player's hand but this does not affect its position as in Problems 24, 31, 36, and 59. See similar position of white king in Problem 26 and of the black knight in Problem 27.

<sup>445</sup> Pareja Casañas offers only the second knight for this capture.

♖[c5x ♘ d3++] or ♜[b4]x ♘ d3++ (if black errs then ♞a7-f7+ or ♞[h6]-h8+ or ♘[g6]-g7<sup>446</sup>++)

This problem begins with an initial Dilaram-like sacrifice of both of the winning side's black rooks. Its first threat results in the trident-style checkmate also seen in Problems 4, 6, 9, 18, 43 through 46, 48, 52, 58, 59, 67, 69, 90, 91 and 92. Murray presents this problem with a rather different arrangement.<sup>447</sup>

J. B. Sánchez Pérez presents the same diagram. Pareja Casañas presents this *LJ* problem, in comparison to a similar one in the Rich manuscript, with the same diagram and solution except as noted.<sup>448</sup> He cites J. B. Sánchez Pérez's diagram 23 (41).

Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Steiger notes Pareja Casañas.

Calvo attributes this problem to al-Adli, noting that as-Suli also included it in his work as did many other Arabic compilers. He compares this problem to Problem 41 but notes that this problem is interesting due to the fact that the king is checkmated in his beginning square (1987: 188).

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<sup>446</sup> Textual error: In Problem 23's threat to the winner by the white pawn at g6, the checkmating move given as in "la segunda casa del alfil prieto" (f7) should read "la segunda casa del *cauallo* prieto" (g7). Steiger corrects this error. Crombach leaves the text as is and notes Steiger's correction. Pareja Casañas does not offer any threat information for this problem.

<sup>447</sup> Murray inverts both the miniature and the colors of the pieces (1913: 283, diagram 18). He shows the rook at h7 instead of h6; h3 omits a pawn from a6 and a fers from g4, and has had a rook from c2 capture a pawn at c3.

<sup>448</sup> Pareja Casañas's diagram 22: Spanish translation (I: 45), Arabic transcription (I: Arabic numeral 40) and algebraic notation with discussion (II: 31-32).

## 1.1.6.24 Problem 24

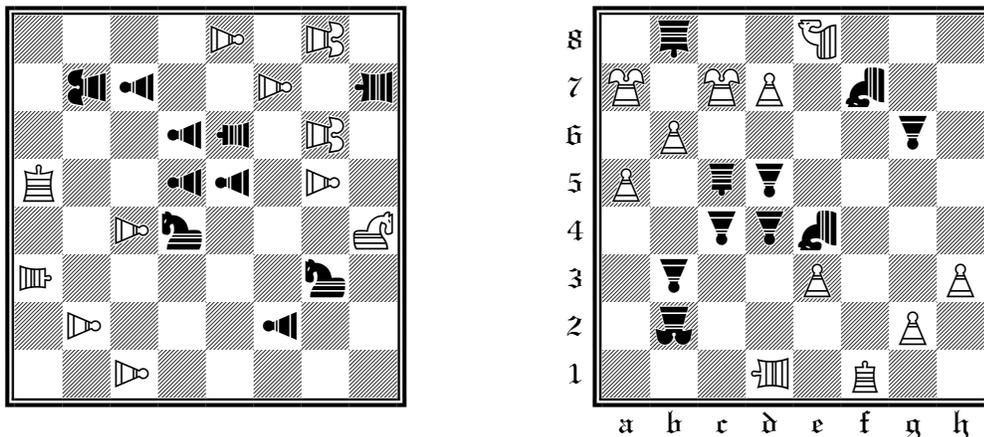


Fig. 42. Problem 24: fols. 20v, 21r and 21v (description on fols. 20v and 21r, diagram on 21v); 21 pieces: black (at right) plays and wins in eight at d8.

Inventory and solution:

$\text{♔d1}^{449}$   $\text{♖f1}$   $\text{♗a7}$   $\text{♘c7}$   $\text{♙e8}$   $\text{♜a5 b6 d7 e3 g2 h3}$  (11)

$\text{♞b8}$   $\text{♝c5}$   $\text{♞b2}$   $\text{♞e4}$   $\text{♞f7}$   $\text{♟b3 c4 d4 d5 g6}$  (10)

1. ...,  $\text{♞[b2]-b1+}$ ; 2.  $\text{♔[d1]-e2}$ ,  $\text{♞[d4]-d3+}$ ; 3.  $\text{♗[e2]-f3}$ ,  $\text{♞[f7]-e5+}$ ; 4.  $\text{♗[f3]-f4}$ ,  $\text{♞[b1]x♜f1+}$ ; 5.  $\text{♗[f4]x♞e5}$ ,  $\text{♞[f1]-f5+}$ ; 6.  $\text{♗[e5]-e6}$ ,  $\text{♞[e4]-g5+}$ ; 7.  $\text{♗[e6]-e7}$ ,  $\text{♞[f5]-f7+}$ ; 8.  $\text{♗[e7]-d8}$  (forced),  $\text{♞[g5]-e6++}$  (if black errs  $\text{♗c7-b7++}$ )

The threat to the winning side results in an unusual parallel rook position like that which also occurs in the threat in Problems 37, and the opening positions of Problems 70 and 87.

<sup>449</sup> The unusual position of this white king is owing to the fact that it is held in the hand of the player of white in the miniature. See similarly oriented held pieces in Problems 30, 31, 36 and 59.

Murray presents this problem with an inverted and somewhat different diagram.<sup>450</sup> J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Calvo calls this an elegant Arabic problem and says that it is unusual in that the attacking king plays an active role in the victory. He also notes that according to the Royal Asiatic Society, the inventor of this problem was Yalaladdin Najiavani (1987: 188). Constable's analysis of fol. 21v's miniature of Problem 24 is accurate in terms of both the textual solution and the image's details (312-13).

### 1.1.6.25 Problem 25

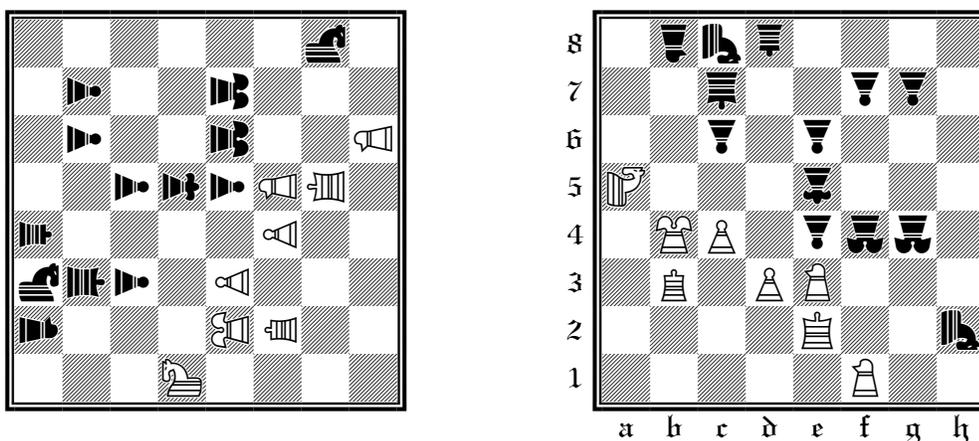


Fig. 43. Problem 25: fols. 21v and 22r (description on fol. 21v and diagram on fol. 22r); 21 pieces: white (at right) plays and wins in six at c2.

Inventory and solution:

♖e2 ♜b3 ♞b4 ♙e3 ♘f1 ♚a5 ♗c4 d3 (8)

♜c7 ♜d8 ♚e5 ♞f4 ♞g4 ♜b8 ♞c8 ♞h2 ♙c6 e4 e6 f7 g7 (13)

<sup>450</sup> Murray's inventory: d1 white knight, g1 black king, c2 black knight, f2 white rook, h2 white rook, b3 black pawn, f3 white fers, g3 white pawn, e4 black pawn, f4 black fers, h4 white pawn, d5 black knight, e5 black pawn, f5 black pawn, a6 white pawn, b6 white pawn, d6 white pawn, g6 black rook, b8 white fil, d8 white king (1913: 291, diagram 161).

1. ♖[b4]-b7+, ♜[c7]-d6; 2. ♙[c4]-c5+, ♜[d6]-d5; 3. ♙[b3]-c4+, ♜[d5]-d4; 4. ♗[a5]x ♙c6+, ♜[d4]-c3; 5. ♖[b7]-b3+, ♜[c3]-c2 (forced); 6. ♗[c6]-b4++ (if white errs then 1. ..., ♜[g4]-g2+; 2. ♙[e2]-e1 or [♜e2]-d1, ♜[f4]x ♖f1++)

This Style I problem is one of six that end with the additional phrase “que aqui esta pintada”; this category also includes Problems 17, 21, 42, 49 and 73.

Van der Linde, whose diagram does not distinguish between ferses and promoted pawns, presents this same position to mate in six moves at c2 as his diagram 55 of his chapter “Das Problemschach des Mittelalters.” He also compares this position to Problems 27 and 101 as do Murray and Calvo after him. Murray presents this with a rather different arrangement.<sup>451</sup> J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Calvos attributes this problem to as-Suli per the Ryland manuscript as-Suli per Ryland. He also believes illumination might be portraits of Said ben Yubair (also Jubair), a black player who was noted for his blindfold play, and his mulatto servant Ataa (1987: 189). According to *The Oxford Companion to Chess*, Jubair (665-714) took up the game of chess in order “to make himself ineligible for an appointment as a judge ... [because under Muslim law chess was] regarded as incompatible with judgeship” (187). This makes Alfonso’s name of *juyz* for the additional piece in decimal chess even more significant.

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<sup>451</sup> Murray’s inventory: f1 white fil, g1 white knight, e2 white king, b3 white fers, d3 white pawn, e3 white fil, b4 white rook, c4 white pawn, a5 white knight, e5 black fers, c6 black pawn, e6 black pawn, f6 black knight, c7 black king, f7 black pawn, g7 black pawn, h7 black pawn, b8 black knight, c8 black fil, d8 black rook, e8 black rook (1913: 286, diagram 77).

## 1.1.6.26 Problem 26

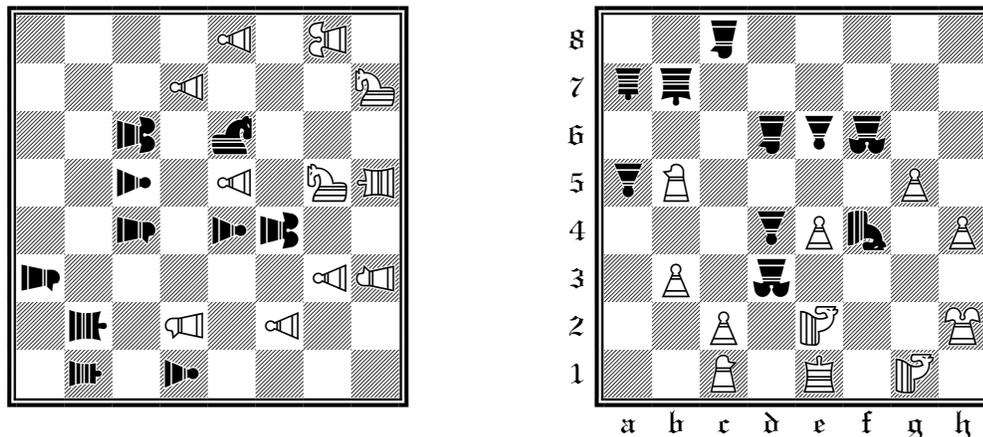


Fig. 44. Problem 26: fols. 22r and 22v (description on fol. 22r and diagram on fol. 22v); 21 pieces: black (at left) plays and wins in seven at c5.

Inventory and solution:

$\text{♔e1}^{452}$   $\text{♞h2}$   $\text{♜b5}$   $\text{♞c1}$   $\text{♞e2}$   $\text{♞g1}$   $\text{♞b3}$   $\text{c2}$   $\text{e4}$   $\text{g5}$   $\text{h4}$  (11)

$\text{♞b7}$   $\text{♞a7}$   $\text{♞d3}$   $\text{♞f6}$   $\text{♞c8}$   $\text{♞d6}$   $\text{♞f4}$   $\text{♞a5}$   $\text{d4}$   $\text{e6}$  (10)

1. ...,  $\text{♞[f4]-g2+}$ ; 2.  $\text{♞[h2]x♞[g2]}$  (forced),  $\text{♞d3-d1+}$ ; 3.  $\text{♞[e1]x♞[d1]}$  (forced),  $\text{♞[f6]-f1+}$ ; 4.  $\text{♞[d1]-d2}$ ,  $\text{♞[d6]-b4+}$ ; 5.  $\text{♞[d2]-d3}$ ,  $\text{♞[f1]-d1+}$ ; 6.  $\text{♞[d3]-c4}$ , (scribal deletion<sup>453</sup>)  $\text{♞[c8]-a6+}$ ; 7.  $\text{♞[c4]-c5}$ ,  $\text{♞[a7]-b6++}$  (There is no other way to mate the  $\text{♞}$  at c5)

The stricken conditional move of this Style I problem contains some more archaic language similar to that used in Problems 9, 10 and 49. The ending of this problem and that of the following Problem 27 are similar in that there is no alternative or threat given.

<sup>452</sup> This white king is held by the player's hand but this does not affect its position as in Problems 24, 31, 36, and 59. See similar position of white knight in Problem 23 and of the black knight in Problem 27.

<sup>453</sup> Scribal deletion of "ca sisse encubriesse con su Roque blanco; tomargelo ya con esse mismo Roque & darlie xaque & alongarsie un iuego del mathe" (because if covers with  $\text{♞[g2-d2?]}$ ,  $\text{♞[d1]x♞[d2]+}$ ). HSMS notes this error in Problem 26's sixth move correctly. White cannot use his rook at g2 to block check from the black rook at d1 because white's own knight is in the way at e2.

Murray presents this problem with a somewhat different arrangement<sup>454</sup> (1913: 286, diagram 73). J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Calvo, following Murray, says that this is the same problem as number 10 but with significant changes (1987: 190).

### 1.1.6.27 Problem 27

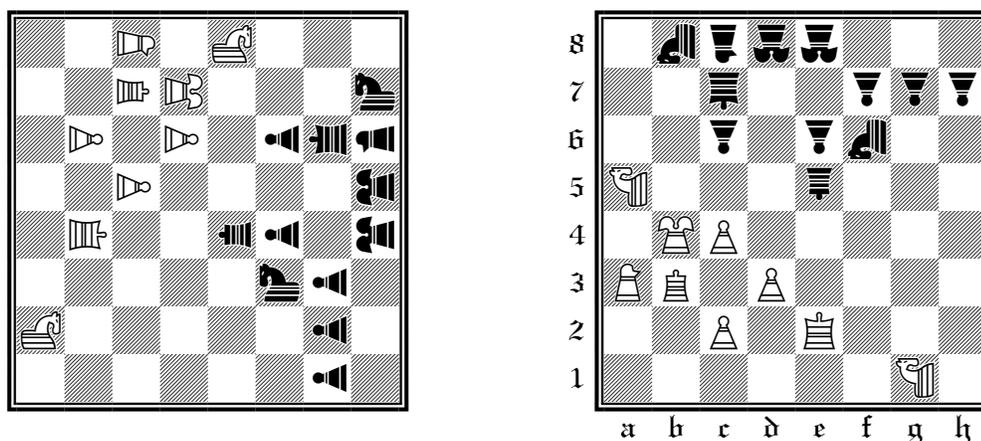


Fig. 45. Problem 27: fols. 22v and 23r (description on fol. 22v and diagram on fol. 23r); 21 pieces: white (at left) plays and wins in six at c2.

#### Inventory and solution

♖e2 ♜b3 ♘b4 ♙a3 ♞a5 ♞g1 ♙c2 c4 d3 (9)

♞c7 ♞e5 ♜d8 ♞e8 ♜c8 ♞b8<sup>455</sup> ♞f6 ♙c6 e6 f7 g7 h7 (12)

1. ♘[b4]-b7+, ♞[c7]-d6; 2. ♙[c4]-c5+ guarded by ♙[a3], ♞[d6]-d5; 3. ♞[b3]-c4+, ♞[d5]-d4; 4. ♞[g1]-f3+, ♞[d4]-c3; 5. ♘[b7]-b3+, ♞[c3]x ♙c2; 6. ♞[f3]-e1++

(There is no other way to mate the ♞ at c2)

<sup>454</sup> Murray's diagram (1913) is inverted and shows the following arrangement: f1 black fil, c2 black rook, g2 black king, h2 black fers, b3 white fers, d3 black pawn, e3 black fil, a4 white pawn, b4 black pawn, g4 white fil, h4 black pawn, c5 black knight, d5 white pawn, e5 black pawn, h5 white pawn, e6 black rook, g6 white pawn, a7 white rook, d7 white knight, f7 white rook, b8 white knight, d8 white king.

<sup>455</sup> This black knight is held by the player's hand but this does not affect its position as in Problems 24, 31, 36, and 59. See similar position of a white knight in Problem 23 and the white king in Problem 26.

The ending of this problem and that of the preceding Problem 26, both Style I, are similar in that there is no alternative or threat given.

Van der Linde compares this problem to the positions of Problems 25 and 101 in his diagram 55 of chapter “Das Problemschach des Mittelalters.” Murray presents this problem with a slightly different arrangement and, like van der Linde, compares it to Problem 25 and 101.<sup>456</sup> J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Calvo notes the natural opening position, and says this is possibly an older version of the as-Suli Problem 25 and to Problem 101 (1987: 190).

See also Appendix D2 for a comparison of the non-iconographic *LJ* portraits of Alfonso, possibly playing against his *ayo*.

#### 1.1.6.28 Problem 28

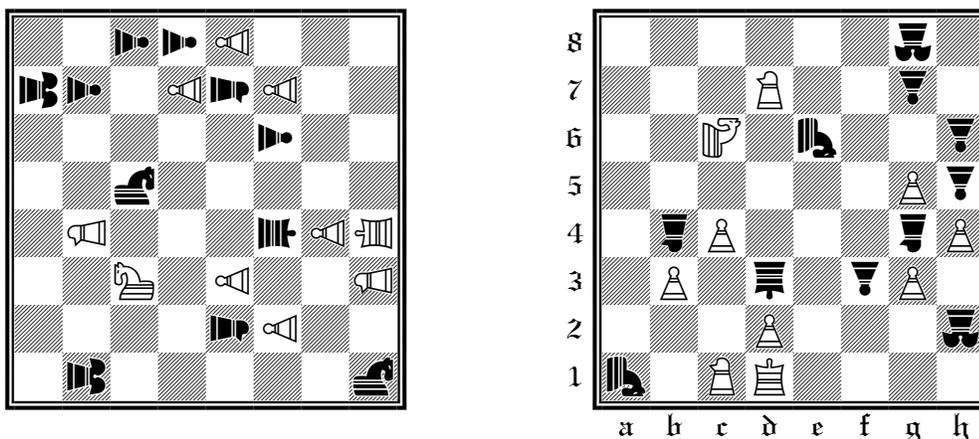


Fig. 46. Problem 28: fols. 23r and 23v (description on fol. 23r and diagram on fol. 23v); 21 pieces (20 shown clearly): white (at right) plays and wins in six at h8.

<sup>456</sup> Murray’s inventory: f1 white fil, g1 white knight, e2 white king, b3 white fers, d3 white pawn, e3 white fil, b4 white rook, c4 white pawn, a5 white knight, e5 black fers, c6 black pawn, e6 black pawn, f6 black knight, c7 black king, f7 black pawn, g7 black pawn, h7 black pawn, b8 black knight, c8 black fil, d8 black rook, e8 black rook (1913: 286, diagram 77).

Inventory and solution:

♔d1 ♚c1 ♚d7 ♜c6 ♚b3 c4 d2 g3 g5 h4 (10)

♚d3 ♜g8 [♜h2]<sup>457</sup> ♚b4 ♚g4 ♜a1 ♜e6 ♚f3 g7 h5 h6 (11)

1. ♚[d7]-b5+, ♜[d3]-e4; 2. ♚[d2]-d3+, ♜[e4]-f5; 3. ♚[b5]-d7+, ♜[f5]-g6; 4. ♜[c6]-e5+, ♜[g6]-h7; 5. ♚[d7]-f5+, ♜[h7]-h8 (forced); 6. ♜[e5]-f7++ or ♜[e5]-g6++ (if white errs ♜[h2]-h1++)

This Style I problem's phrasing of checkmate is unusual in two instances: first, in that it lacks the conjunction and, as in check and mate, and secondly, in the threatened checkmate to the winning side the words check and mate are inverted and separated by an entire phrase. It is also an unusual problem in its use of all four weak files, both in the attack leading to the almost-smothered checkmate and in the threat of checkmate to the winner. See also Problem 18 for another almost-smothered mate.

Murray presents this problem with a somewhat different arrangement (1913: 291, diagram 162). Murray's different diagram requires a different enough solution that it need not be discussed here. J. B. Sánchez Pérez and Calvo display the same diagram. Calvo attributes this problem to as-Suli, saying that while this problem does appear in other Arabic treatises, the requirement of the checkmate square is unique to the *LJ* (1987: 191).

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<sup>457</sup> The black rook at h2 is almost completely erased from the manuscript and many other corrections to the miniature are evident. However its inclusion gives the correct total of pieces as specified in the problem's introduction and makes possible the threat described to white's king.

## 1.1.6.29 Problem 29

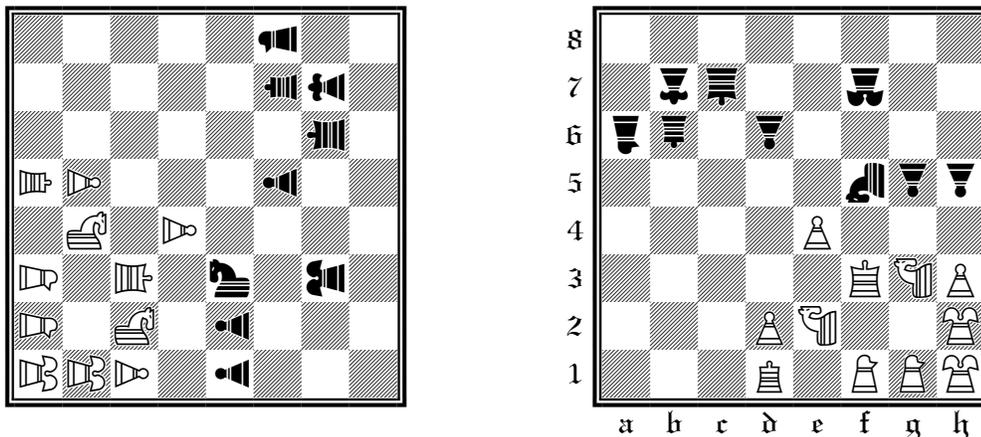


Fig. 47. Problem 29: fols. 23v and 24r (description on fol. 23v and diagram on fol. 24r); 20 pieces: black (at right) plays and wins in seven at e8.

Inventory and solution:

♔f3 ♕d1 ♖h1 ♗h2 ♘f1 ♙g1 ♚e2 ♛g3 ♜d2 e4 h3 (11)

♞c7 ♝b6 ♞b7 ♟f7 ♠a6 ♡f5 ♣d6 ♢g5 h5 (9)

1. ..., ♞[f5]-h4+ (also discovers ♟[f7]+); 2. ♜[f3]-e3 (because he cannot cover with ♞[g3]-f5 or e2-f4) because of the other check from ♟[h4]), ♟[f7]-f3+; 3. ♜[e3]-d4, ♝[b6]-c5+; 4. ♜[d4]-d5, ♞[b7]-c6+; 5. ♜[d5]-e6, ♠[a6]-c8+ or ♠[a6]-c4+; 6. ♜[e6]-e7,<sup>458</sup> ♞[h4]-g6+; 7. ♜[e7]-e8 (forced), ♟[f3]-f8++ (if black errs white cannot mate him in a fixed number of moves but black will be defeated because white outnumbered him)

The ending to this Style I problem is unusual in that there is no immediate threat to the side to win should it err; instead the text says that they cannot be defeated in

<sup>458</sup> The manuscript contains a scribal deletion of the repetition of entire fifth move: “El quinto iuego dar la xaque con el alfil prieto misma en su casa misma. o en la quarta casa del alfil blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco en la segunda casa del Rey prieto” (fol. 23v).

“iuegos contados” as also seen in Problems 44, 45, 49-51, 53 and 69. Additionally, the phrase “e este es el departamento de este iuego” is absent.

Murray presents this problem with an inverted and somewhat different diagram.<sup>459</sup> J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Calvo attributes this problem to as-Suli and says that it appears with modifications in other Arabic manuscripts (1987: 191).

### 1.1.6.30 Problem 30

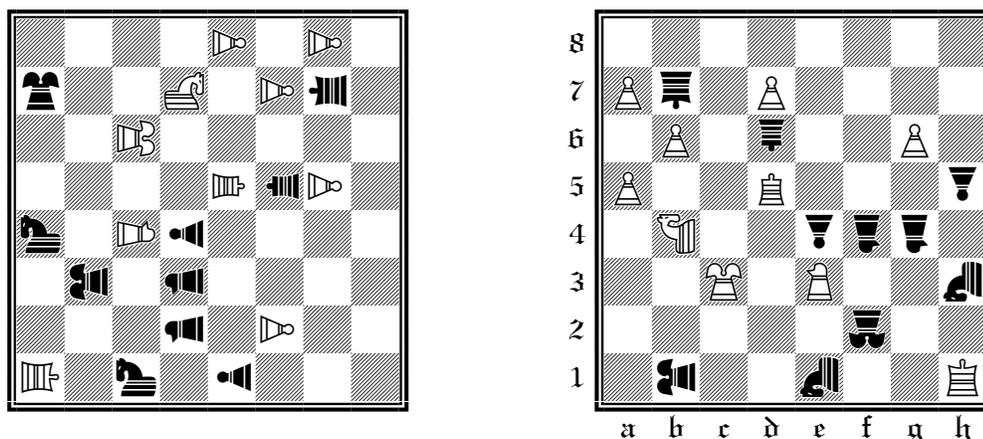


Fig. 48. Problem 30: fols. 24r and 24v (description on fol. 24r and diagram on fol. 24v); 20 pieces: white (at left) plays and wins in five.

Inventory and solution:

♖a1 ♜d5 ♘c3 ♙e3 ♞b4 ♙a5 a7 b6 d7 g6 (10)

♞b7 ♚d6 ♠b1<sup>460</sup> ♞f2 ♜f4 ♞g4 ♞e1 ♞h3 ♙e4 h5 (10)

<sup>459</sup> Murray’s inventory: c2 black rook, e2 black fers, f2 black king, e3 black pawn, f3 black pawn, h3 black fil, a4 black pawn, b4 black pawn, c4 black knight, d5 white pawn, a6 white pawn, c6 white king, f6 white pawn, e7 white pawn, a8 white rook, b8 white fil, c8 white fil, e8 white fers, g8 white fers (1913: 292, diagram 172).

<sup>460</sup> The unusual position of this black rook is owing to the fact that it is held in the hand of the player of white in the miniature. See similarly oriented held pieces in Problems 24, 31, 36 and 59.

1. ♖[c3]-c7+, (if ♜[b7]-a8; 1. ♖[c7]-c8+, ♜[a8]-b7; 2. ♖[c8]-b8++)  
 ♜[d6]x♖[c7]; 2. ♜[d5]-c6+, ♜[b7]-a8; 3. ♖[b6]-b7+, ♜[a8]x♖a7; 4. ♖[e3]-c5+,  
 ♜[a7]-b8; 5. ♖[b4]-a6++ (if white errs ♜[f2]-h2 [or ♜f2-f1 or ♜e1-anywhere to  
 discover checkmate from ♜b1])

Van der Linde presents the same position to win in five moves as his diagram 48 in the chapter “Das Problemschach des Mittelalters.” Murray presents this problem with a rather different arrangement.<sup>461</sup> J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Calvo attributes this problem to al-Adli and says that while it sometime even appears twice in other Arabic treatises, as-Suli omitted it from his collection because he believed it to be lacking in esthetic value (1987: 192).

### 1.1.6.31 Problem 31

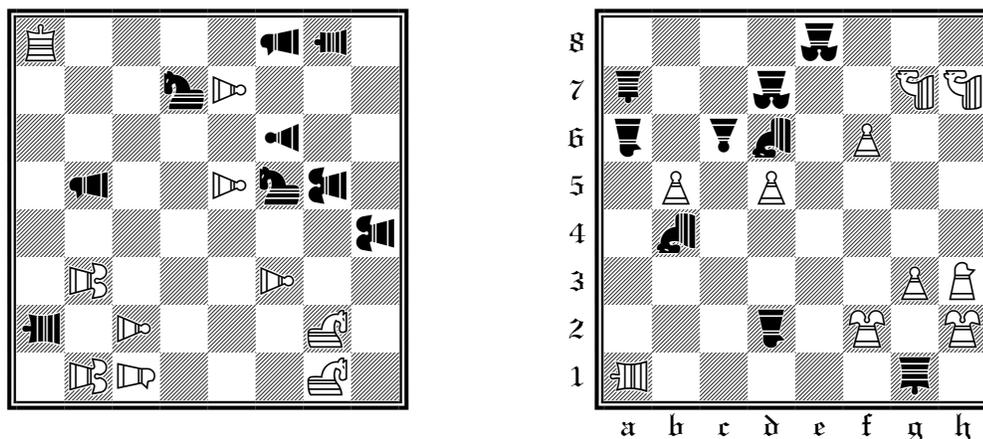


Fig. 49. Problem 31: fols. 24v and 25r (description on fol. 24v and diagram on fol. 25r); 19 pieces: black (at right) plays and wins in six.

<sup>461</sup> Murray's inventory: c1 white rook, e2 black knight, f4 black fil, g4 black fil, b5 white king, e5 black pawn, f5 black pawn, h5 black pawn, b6 white pawn, d6 black fers, g6 black pawn, a7 white pawn, b7 black king, d7 white fers, d8 black rook (1913: 283, diagram 22).

Inventory and solution:

♔a1<sup>462</sup> ♘f2 ♘h2 ♖h3 ♜g7 ♞h7 ♠b5 d5 f6 g3 (10)

♞g1 ♞a7 ♞d7 ♞e8 ♞a6 ♞d2 ♞b4 ♞d6 ♞c6 (9)

1. ..., ♞[e8]-e1+; 2. ♞[a1]-b2, ♞[d6]-c4+; 3. (if ♞[b2]-b3, 1. ♞[e1]<sup>463</sup>-e3+; ♞[b3]-a4 (forced), 2. ♞[e3]-a3++) ♞[b2]-c3, ♞[e1]-e3+; 4. ♞[c3]-d4, ♞[b4]-c2+; 5. ♞[d4]-c5, ♞[a7]-b6<sup>464</sup>+; 6. ♞[c5]x ♞[c6]<sup>465</sup> (forced), ♞[d7]-c7++ (if black errs ♘f2-g2++ [or ♘f2-f1++])

Problem 31 is written in Style I although there is very limited use of *iogar* in conditional move, as also in Problems 34-35, 45, 46, 51 and 61. Also, *dar* ceases to be used for checks midway through the problem, as will also be seen in Problem 36.

Murray (1913: 304, diagram 396), J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Calvo says that this is an original problem to the *LJ* but in the Arabic style (1987: 192).

<sup>462</sup> The unusual position of this white king is owing to the fact that it is held in the hand of the player of white in the miniature (Calvo 1987: 192). Perhaps he has foreseen the impending attack upon his king by black's first move and is preparing to flee. See similarly oriented held pieces in Problems 24, 30, 36 and 59.

<sup>463</sup> J. B. Sánchez Pérez incorrectly gives "Tc1-e3+" instead of "Te1-e3+" as he acknowledges in his "Erratas" (N.P.).

<sup>464</sup> Textual error: in Problem 31, fifth move, for black's check with the fers, the manuscript says "El .vo. iuego xaque del alfferza prieta; en la tercera casa. del alffil prieto" (c6) but the black fers is coming from a7 and c6 does not give check, so b6 must be meant. Therefore, the manuscript should read "El .vo. iuego xaque del alfferza prieta; en la tercera casa. del **cauallo** prieto."

<sup>465</sup> Textual error: in Problem 31, fifth move, for white's capture of the pawn, the manuscript says "tomara el Rey blanco por fuerça al peon prieto que esta en la tercera casa del cauallo prieto" (b6) but there is no black pawn at b6. The only pawn the white king can capture from c5 is at c6. Therefore, the manuscript should read "peon prieto que esta en la tercera casa del *alffil* prieto."

## 1.1.6.32 Problem 32

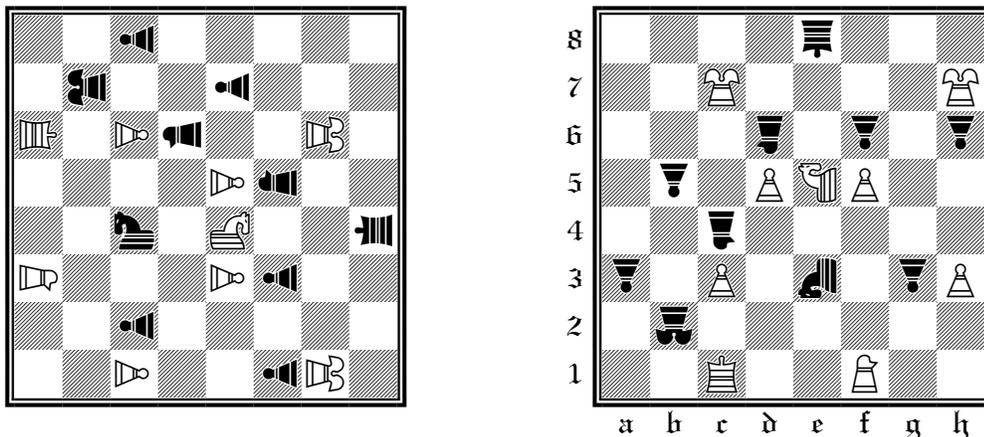


Fig. 50. Problem 32: fols. 25r and 25v (description on fol. 25r and diagram on fol. 25); 19 pieces: black (at right) plays and wins in five at a3.

Inventory and solution:

$\text{♖c1 } \text{♗c7 } \text{♘h7 } \text{♙f1 } \text{♚e5 } \text{♛c3 d5 f5 h3}$  (9)

$\text{♜e8 } \text{♞b2 } \text{♝c4 } \text{♞d6 } \text{♟e3 } \text{♠a3 b5 f6 g3 h6}$  (10)

1. ...,  $\text{♞[b2]-c2+}$ ; 2.  $\text{♖[c1]-b1}$ ,  $\text{♠[a3]-a2+}$ ; 3.  $\text{♖[b1]-a1}$ ,  $\text{♞[c2]-c1+}$ ; 4.  $\text{♖[a1]-b2}$ ,  $\text{♞[c1]-b1+}$ ; 5.  $\text{♖[b2]-a3}$  (forced),  $\text{♟[e3]-c2++}$  (if black errs  $\text{♗[c7]-c8}$ )

As with Problem 102, checkmate is given just when the king finally flees from the corner where he has been trapped.

For this Style I problem, Van der Linde presents the position for Problem 102 to which he compares it and which is also to win in five at h6 in his diagram 49 of the chapter "Das Problemschach des Mittelalters." Murray presents this problem with an inverted and somewhat different diagram and, following van der Linde, also compares it

to Problem 102.<sup>466</sup> J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram and Calvo says that it originated in a real game of as-Suli's, showing how problems were composed. Calvo, like van der Linde and Murray, also compares this to Problem 102 which has the colors reversed (1987: 193).

### 1.1.6.33 Problem 33

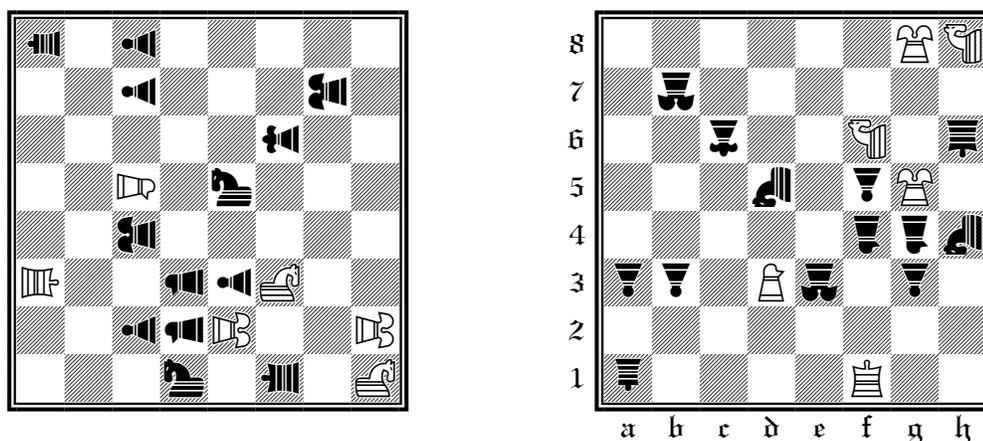


Fig. 51. Problem 33: fols. 25v, 26r and 26v (description on fols. 25v and 26r, diagram on fol. 26v); 19 pieces: black (at right) plays and wins in eleven.

Inventory and solution:

♔ f1 ♖ g5 ♜ g8 ♙ d3 ♟ f6 ♞ h8 (6)

♞ h6 ♚ a1 ♜ c6 ♟ b7 ♞ e3 ♟ f4 ♞ g4 ♜ d5 ♟ h4 ♙ a3 ♟ b3 ♙ f5 ♟ g3 (13)

1. ..., ♞[e3]-e1+; 2. ♔[f1]x♞[e1] (forced), ♟[h4]-f3+; 3. (if ♔[e1]-f1, ♞[d5]-e3++) ♔[e1]-d1, ♟[d5]-e3+; 4. ♔[d1]-c1, ♙[b3]-b2+; 5. ♔[c1]-b1, ♟[f3]-d2; 6. ♔[b1]-a2, ♙[b2]-b1=♙+; 7. (if ♔[a2]x♙[a1], ♟[e3]-c2++) (if ♖[d3]x♙[b1], ♞[b7]-b2+, and if [8.] ♔[a2]x♙[a1], ♟[e3]-c2++ [or ♟[d2]-b3++]) (if ♔[a2]x♙[a3], ♟[e3]-

<sup>466</sup> Murray's inventory: c1 black king, e2 white rook, a3 black pawn, c3 black pawn, e3 black fil, h3 black fil, a4 white knight, c4 white pawn, e4 black fers, e5 white pawn, a6 white pawn, d6 black knight, f6 white pawn, h6 black pawn, g7 black rook, d8 white fers, f8 white king (1913: 289, diagram 115).

c2+; 8. ♖[a3]-a4, ♜[b7]-a7++) ♙[d3]x ♚[b1], ♜[b7]-b2+; 8. ♖[a2]x ♚ a3 (to prolong), ♜[d2]x ♙[b1]+; 9. ♖[a3]-a4, ♜[b1]-c3+; 10.<sup>467</sup> ♖a4-a5 (to prolong), ♜e3-c4+; 11. ♖[a5]-a6, ♜[b2]-a2++ (if black errs ♙[g5]-h5)

Problem 33 is written in Style I although there is very limited use of *iogar* in a conditional move as in Problem 31, 34, 45 and 46.

Murray (1913: 304, diagram 397), J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Calvo says that this is an original problem that shows a link between the Arabic and European problem styles because the complexity of the solution is Arabic in style while the disproportionate armies are more European (1987: 194).

#### 1.1.6.34 Problem 34

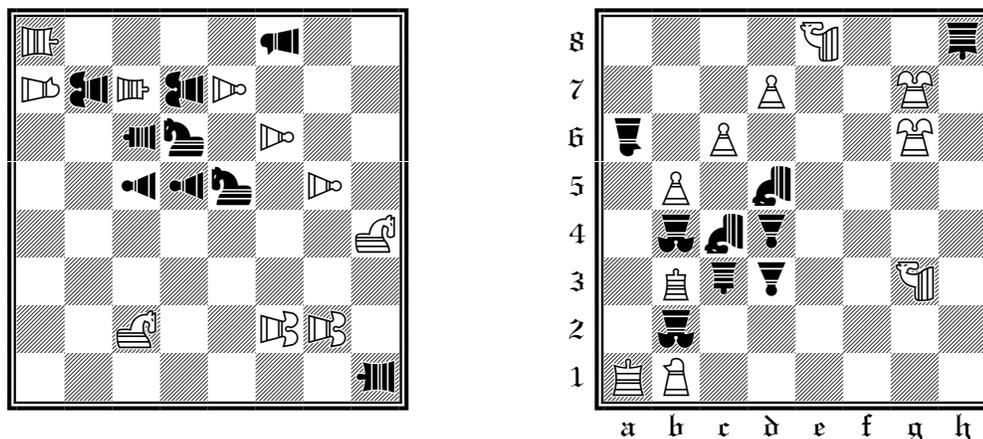


Fig. 52. Problem 34: fols. 26v and 27r (description on fol. 26v and diagram on fol. 27r); 19 pieces: black (at right) plays and wins in six.

Inventory and solution:

$$\text{♖a1 } \text{♜b3 } \text{♙g6 } \text{♚g7 } \text{♙b1 } \text{♜e8 } \text{♜g3}^{467} \text{ ♜b5 c6 d7} \quad (10)$$

$$\text{♜h8 } \text{♜c3 } \text{♜b2 } \text{♜b4 } \text{♜a6 } \text{♜c4 } \text{♜d5 } \text{♜d3 d4} \quad (9)$$

<sup>467</sup> HSMS offers a reading of *dozeno*. Perhaps this was a rapid scribal correction from an *o* to an *e*.

<sup>468</sup> Calvo (1987) omits this white knight.

1. ..., ♖[b4]-a4+; 2. ♜[b3]x♞[a4] (forced), ♞[b2]-a2+; 3. ♜[a1]x♞[a2] (forced), ♜[d5]-b4+; 4. (if ♜[a2]-a1, ♞[c3]-b2++) ♜[a2]-b3, ♜[c4]-d2+; 5. ♜[b3]-a3, ♜[b4]-c2+; 6. ♜[a3]-a2 (forced), ♞[a6]-c4++ (if black errs ♜[g6]-h6++)

Problem 34 is written in Style I although there is very limited use of *iogar* in conditional move, as also in Problems 31, 35, 45, 46, 51 and 61. Here there is an initial sacrifice of two rooks by the winning side, as in the Dilaram problems, but the subsequent check by the knight is not fatal as in those problems.

Murray presents this problem with an inverted and slightly different mirror-image diagram.<sup>469</sup> The main but slight difference between the *LJ* and the problem of Murray's comparison is the position of the white rooks. J. B. Sánchez Pérez and Steiger display the same diagram. Calvo attributes this problem to as-Suli and notes that the *LJ* shows some of the pieces in mirror-image locations of those found in variations of this problem in other Arabic works (1987: 195).

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<sup>469</sup> Murray's inventory: e1 white knight, g1 white rook, d2 white pawn, h2 black king, a3 black fil, c3 white pawn, g3 white rook, b4 white pawn, d4 black knight, b5 black rook, c5 black knight, d5 black pawn, b6 white fers, c6 black fers, d6 black pawn, g6 white knight, b7 black rook, a8 white king, b8 white fil (1913: 291, diagram 157).

## 1.1.6.35 Problem 35

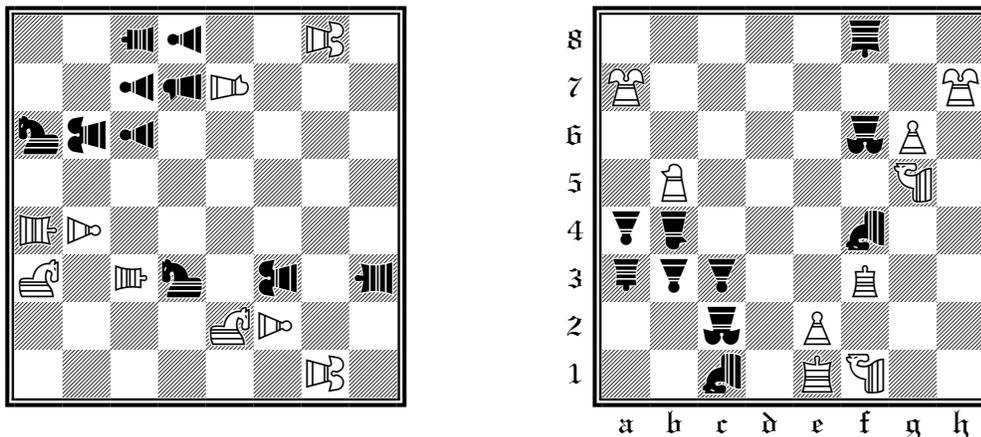


Fig. 53. Problem 35: fols. 27r and 27v (description on fols. 27r and 27v, diagram on fol. 27v); 19 pieces: black (at right) plays and wins in eight.

Inventory and solution:

$\text{♚e1}$   $\text{♜f3}$   $\text{♖a7}$   $\text{♞h7}$   $\text{♝b5}$   $\text{♟f1}$   $\text{♞g5}$   $\text{♔e2}$   $\text{♟g6}$  (9)

$\text{♞f8}$   $\text{♟a3}$   $\text{♞c2}$   $\text{♞f6}$   $\text{♝b4}$   $\text{♟c1}$   $\text{♞f4}$   $\text{♟a4}$   $\text{♟b3}$   $\text{♟c3}$  (10)

1. ...,  $\text{♞c1-d3+}$ ; 2. (if  $\text{♚[e1]-d1}$ ,  $\text{♞[c2]-c1++}$ )  $\text{♜[b5]} \times \text{♞[d3]}$  or  $\text{♔[e2]}^{470} \times \text{♞[d3]}$ ,  $\text{♞[c2]-e2+}$  [or  $\text{♞c2} \times \text{♔e2+}$ ]; 3. (if  $\text{♚[f3]}$  does not  $\times \text{♞[e2]}$  then  $\text{♚[e1]-d1}$ ,  $\text{♟[c3]-c2+}$ ; 4.  $\text{♚[d1]-c1}$ ,  $\text{♞[e2]-e1++}$ )  $\text{♚[f3]} \times \text{♞[e2]}$  (to prolong),  $\text{♞[f4]-g2+}$ ; 4.  $\text{♚[e1]-d1}$ ,  $\text{♟[c3]-c2+}$ ; 5.  $\text{♚[d1]-c1}$ ,  $\text{♟[b3]-b2+}$ ; 6.  $\text{♚[c1]} \times \text{♟c2}$  (forced),  $\text{♞[f6]-c6+}$ ; 7. (if  $\text{♚[c2]-d1}$ ,  $\text{♞[c6]-c1++}$ )  $\text{♚[c2]-b1}$ ,  $\text{♞[c6]-c1+}$ ; 8.  $\text{♚[b1]-a2}$  (forced),  $\text{♞[c1]-a1}^{471++}$  (if black errs  $\text{♖a7-a8++}$  or  $\text{♞h7-h8++}$ )<sup>472</sup>

<sup>470</sup> Pareja Casañas offers only the pawn option for this capture.

<sup>471</sup> Textual error: in Problem 35, eighth move, for black's checkmate, the manuscript says "xaque & mathe con el Roque prieto en la segunda casa del Roque blanco" (a2) but the king is in a2 and  $\text{♞c1-a2}$  is an impossible move. Therefore, the manuscript should read "...en la (primera) casa del Roque blanco" (a1). Steiger corrects this error. Crombach leaves the text as is and notes Steiger's correction.

<sup>472</sup> Pareja Casañas does not offer any threat information for this problem.

Problem 35 is written in Style I. In this problem, as with Problem 16, conditional moves are played out before being discarded. *Dar* is not used. There is very limited use of *iogar* in conditional move, as also in Problems 31, 35, 45, 46, 51 and 61.

Murray presents this problem with the same diagram but inverted (1913: 282, diagram 6).

J. B. Sánchez Pérez presents the same diagram. Pareja Casañas presents this *LJ* problem,<sup>473</sup> in comparison to a similar one in the Rich manuscript, with the same diagram and solution except as noted. He cites J. B. Sánchez Pérez's diagram 35 (53).

Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Steiger notes Pareja Casañas.

Calvo attributes this problem to al-Adli, noting that it is also to be found in as-Suli's and another collection (1987: 195).

### 1.1.6.36 Problem 36

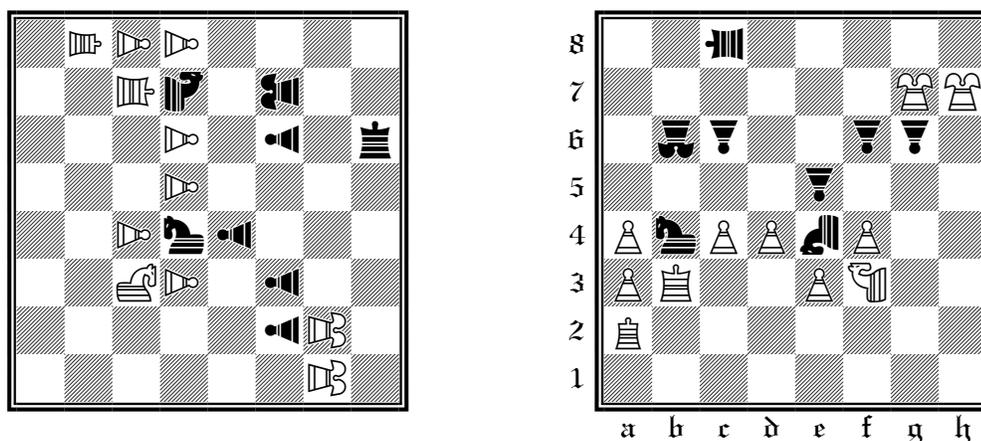


Fig. 54. Problem 36: fols. 27v and 28r (description on fols. 27v and 28r, diagram on fol. 28r); 19 pieces: black (at right) plays and wins in six.

<sup>473</sup> Pareja Casañas's diagram 10: Spanish translation (I: 42), Arabic transcription (I: Arabic numeral 37) and algebraic notation with discussion (II: 26-27).

Inventory and solution:

♔b3 ♕a2 ♖g7 ♗h7 ♘f3 ♙a3 a4 c4 d4 e3 f4 (11)

♚c8<sup>474</sup> ♜b6 ♞b4 ♝e4 ♞c6 e5 f6 g6 (8)

1. ..., discover check from ♜[b6+] by ♞[b4]-d3+; 2. ♔[b3]-c2, ♚[b6]-b2+; 3. (if ♔[c2]-d1, ♝e4-f2++<sup>475</sup>) ♔[c2]x♞d3, ♞[e4]-f2+; 4. ♔[d3]-c3, ♞[f2]-d1+; 5. ♔[c3]-d3, ♞[e5]-e4+; 6. ♔[d3]x♞[e4] (forced), ♞[d1]-f2++ (if black errs ♗[h7]-h8++ or ♖[g7]-g8++)

In this Style I problem, the verb *dar* ceases to be used towards the end of the problem, similar to Problem 31.

Murray presents this problem with a somewhat different diagram.<sup>476</sup> J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Calvo attributes this problem to as-Suli and says that it is found in other Arabic treatises also (1987: 196).

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<sup>474</sup> The unusual position of this black king is owing to the fact that it is held in the hand of the player of black in the miniature. See similarly oriented held pieces in Problems 24, 30, 31 and 59.

<sup>475</sup> J. B. Sánchez Pérez incorrectly gives “Cc4-f2++” instead of “Ce4-f2++” as he acknowledges in his “Erratas” (N.P.).

<sup>476</sup> Murray’s inventory: f1 black king, g1 black rook, c3 black pawn, d3 black pawn, f3 black pawn, d4 black pawn, c5 white pawn, d5 black knight, e5 white pawn, f5 white pawn, g5 black knight, a6 white fil, b6 white pawn, c6 white knight, d6 white fil, g6 white king, h6 white pawn, a7 white pawn, g8 white fers, h8 white rook (1913: 292, diagram 177).

## 1.1.6.37 Problem 37

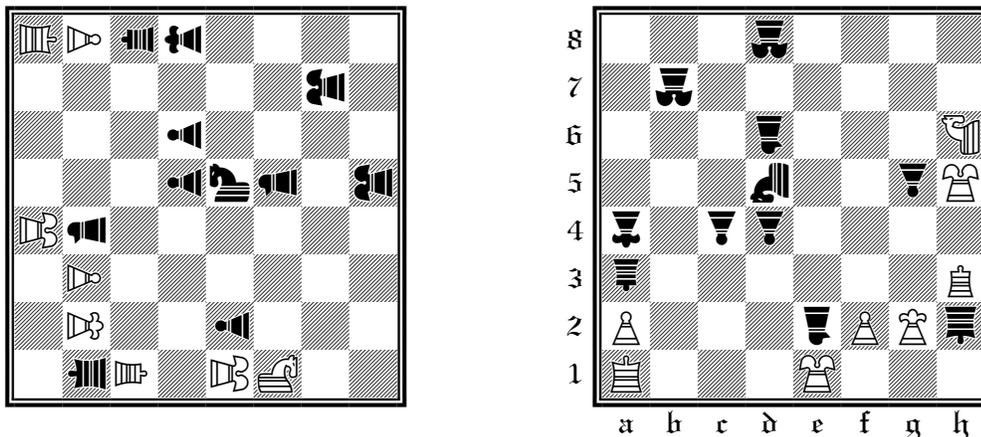


Fig. 55. Problem 37: fols. 28r and 28v (description on fol. 28r and diagram on fol. 28v);  
19 pieces: black (at right) plays and wins in seven at f3.

Inventory and solution:

$$\text{♜a1 } \text{♜h3 } \text{♝g2 } \text{♞e1 } \text{♞h5 } \text{♞h6 } \text{♠a2 f2} \quad (8)$$

$$\text{♞h2 } \text{♞a3 } \text{♞a4}^{477} \text{ ♞b7 } \text{♞d8 } \text{♞d6 } \text{♞e2 } \text{♞d5 } \text{♠c4 d4 g5} \quad (11)$$

1. ..., ♞[a3]-b2+; 2. ♞[a1]-b1, ♞[d5]-c3+; 3. ♞[b1]-c2, ♠[d4]-d3+; 4. ♞[c2]-d2, ♞[d6]-b4+; 5. ♞[d2]-e3, ♞b7-e7+; 6. ♞[e3]-f3, ♞[d8]-f8+; 7. ♞h6[-f5 or ♞h6-f7], ♞f8x♞[f5 or ♞f8x♞f7]++ (if black errs ♞[e1]-h1++)

If 7. ♞h6-f7 then both black rooks end up next to each other or parallel on the seventh rank as in Problem 24.

<sup>477</sup> Calvo (1987) shows this black promoted pawn as simply a black pawn.

Murray presents this problem with a rather different arrangement.<sup>478</sup> J. B. Sánchez Pérez and Steiger display the same diagram. Calvo attributes this problem to as-Suli and says that it is found in other Arabic treatises also (1987: 196).

### 1.1.6.38 Problem 38

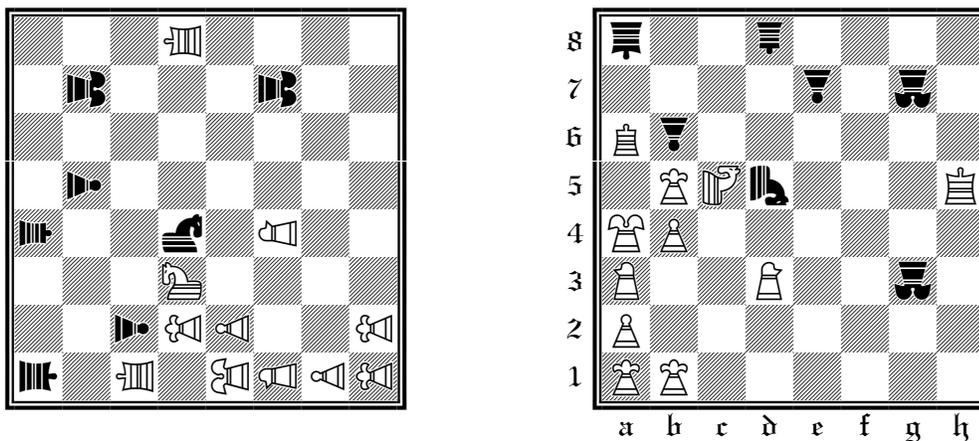


Fig. 56. Problem 38: fols. 28v, 29r and 29v (description on fols. 28v and 29r, diagram on fol. 29v); 19 pieces (18 shown<sup>479</sup>): white (at right) plays and wins in fifteen.

Inventory and solution:

♖h5 ♜a6 ♘a1 ♙b1 ♚b5 ♛a4 [♞f8?] ♠a3 ♡d3 ♣c5 ♢a2 b4 (12)

♞a8 ♞d8 ♜g3 ♜g7 ♞d5 ♠b6 e7 (7)

1. ♞[a6]-b7+<sup>480</sup> which also discovers check by ♞[a4]+,<sup>481</sup> ♞[a8]-b8; 2. ♞a4-a8+, ♞[b8]-c7; 3. ♞[a8]-c8+, ♞[c7]-d6; 4. ♞[c8]-c6+, ♞[d6]-e5; 5. ♞[c6]-e6+,

<sup>478</sup> Murray inverts this diagram and shows the following arrangement: e1 black rook, b2 black rook, d3 black fil, h3 white knight, d4 black knight, f4 black pawn, g4 black pawn, h4 white rook, d5 black pawn, e5 black pawn, a6 black fers, h6 white fers, a7 white pawn, e7 black fil, f7 white fers, g7 white fers, h7 black king, a8 white king, e8 white rook (1913: 285, diagram 55).

<sup>479</sup> The diagram for this problem on fol. 29v shows only eighteen pieces; Pareja Casañas, Steiger and Calvo (1987) suggest a white rook along the empty f-file to correct the shortage and various faults in the solution. This same white rook is alluded to in black's discarded conditional eighth move, as a threat of checkmate if moved to f1. Other moves preclude the white rook's being on f6, f5, f4, f2 or f1; I believe the best suggestion is a white rook at f8, given the black fers at d8 and the black rooks at g7 and g3. J. B. Sánchez Pérez suggests a black pawn at f4, which conflicts with the absent rook's necessary movement.

<sup>480</sup> This is a very similar opening move to the previous problem.

<sup>481</sup> Pareja Casañas does not list this second check by discovery.

♞[e5]-d4; 6. ♞[e6]-e4+, ♞[d4]-c3; 7. ♞[e4]-c4+, ♞[c3]-d2; 8. ♞[c4]-c2+, (if ♞[d2]-d1 or ♞[d2]-e1, ♞[f8?]<sup>482</sup>-f1)<sup>483</sup> ♞[d2]-e3; 9. ♞[a3]-c1+, ♞[e3]-d4; 10. ♞[c2]-c4+, ♞[d4]-e5; 11. ♞[c4]-e4+, ♞[e5]-d6; 12.<sup>484</sup> ♞[e4]-e6+, ♞[d6]-c7; 13. ♞[e6]-c6+, ♞[c7]-b8; 14. ♞[c6]-c8+, ♞[b8]-a7 (forced); 15. ♞[c8]-a8++ (if white errs then ♞[g7]-h7++ or ♞[g3]-h3++)<sup>485</sup>

Problem 38 is the third problem to break the stated order in the “Libro del acedrex” due to its miniature showing only eighteen pieces, rather than the nineteen named in the problem’s description. While Problem 39 also lists nineteen pieces and shows only eighteen, Problem 40 does indeed have nineteen pieces (see also Problems 9, 14, 39 and 70.) Although the black king begins on a white square, he then only moves to black squares for the remainder of his half-moon trek in the solution. This is the inverse of the situation in Problem 95.

Van der Linde, whose diagram does not distinguish between ferses and promoted pawns, presents this same position to mate in fifteen moves as his diagram 67 of the chapter “Das problemschach des Mittelalters” and compares it to Problem 95.

Murray presents this problem with a rather different arrangement with the colors reversed so that black wins and compares it to Problem 95.<sup>486</sup>

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<sup>482</sup> See note on the piece count of this problem.

<sup>483</sup> Pareja Casañas does not give these discarded alternate moves.

<sup>484</sup> In error, the scribe has named two consecutive moves as eleventh; there is no missing step in the solution between the moves described as the second eleven and thirteen. HSMS does not note this error; Steiger and Crombach correct it.

<sup>485</sup> Pareja Casañas does not offer any threat information for this problem.

<sup>486</sup> Murray’s inventory: a1 black rook, e1 white knight, g1 black king, b2 white rook, c2 white rook, a3 black fil, c3 white pawn, g3 black pawn, h3 black fil, b4 black fers, g4 black pawn, h4 black rook, a5 black knight, e5 white knight, f5 black knight, c6 white pawn, g6 white pawn, h6 black fers, d7 white pawn, h7 white king (1913: 287, diagram 86).

J. B. Sánchez Pérez presents the same diagram but with an additional black pawn at f4 to make the correct piece count, but this addition conflicts with the white rook needed in the contingency threat at the eighth move. Pareja Casañas presents this *LJ* problem and Problem 95,<sup>487</sup> in comparison to a similar one in the Rich manuscript, with nearly the same diagram<sup>488</sup> and solution up through the eleventh move for white, except as noted. He cites J. B. Sánchez Pérez's diagrams 38 and 95 (56 and 113).

Steiger includes a white rook at f8 and notes Pareja Casañas.

Calvo displays the same diagram, calling this one of the most perfect Arabic compositions, comparable in its rook theme to Problems 2 and 95, and also somewhat like Problem 56. Noting the missing nineteenth piece and the fact that the black king can escape to some squares not given in the text, he suggests the addition of a white rook along the empty f-file. He attributes this problem to as-Suli noting that other early works attribute it variously to Rabrab of ninth century, one of the first *aliyat* or grandmasters, and Muhammad ben Azzayyat, visir of the caliph al-Mutasim, son of Harun ar Raschid, *ca.* 800 (Calvo 1987: 197-98). See also Problem 18.

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<sup>487</sup> Pareja Casañas's diagram 19: Spanish translation (I: 31-32), Arabic transcription (I: Arabic numerals 26-27) and algebraic notation with discussion (II: 5-8).

<sup>488</sup> Pareja Casañas adds a black pawn at f4.

## 1.1.6.39 Problem 39

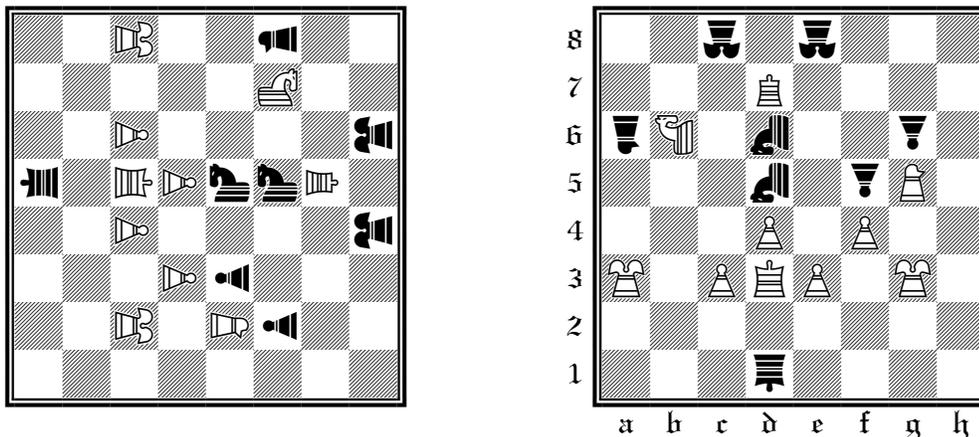


Fig. 57. Problem 39: fols. 29v and 30r (description on fol. 29v and diagram on fol. 30r); 19 pieces<sup>489</sup> (18 shown): black (at right) plays and wins in two at d3.

Inventory and solution:

$\text{♞d3}$   $\text{♞d7}$   $\text{♙a3}$   $\text{♞g3}$   $\text{♞g5}$   $\text{♞b6}$   $\text{♙c3}$   $\text{♙d4}$   $\text{♙e3}$   $\text{♙f4}$  (10)

$\text{♞d1}$   $\text{♞c8}$   $\text{♞e8}$   $\text{♞a6}$   $\text{♞d5}$   $\text{♞d6}$   $\text{♙f5}$   $\text{♞g6}$  (8)

1. ...,  $\text{♞c8x} \text{♙c3+}$ ; 2.  $\text{♞a3x} \text{♞c3}$  (forced),  $\text{♞d5-b4++}$

black can win another way in two

1. ...,  $\text{♞e8x} \text{♙e3+}$ ; 2.  $\text{♞g3x} \text{♞e3}$  or  $\text{♞g5x} \text{♞e3}$ ,  $\text{♞d5x} \text{♙f4++}$  (if black errs

$\text{♞g3-g1++}$  or  $\text{♞a3-a1++}$ )

<sup>489</sup> The remaining pieces include a white knight, a white fil, four white pawns, two black fils, a black fers and five black pawns. The descriptions of the moves preclude the presence of any piece on c4, c5, c6, c7, b3, b4, e4, e5, e6, e7 or f3. After eliminating the squares which could not be occupied and comparing the *LJ* position with Murray's position (1913), I suggest the following possibilities for the nineteenth piece:  $\text{♞b2}$ ,  $\text{♞h3}$ ,  $\text{♙h4}$  or  $\text{♞h5}$ .

This Style I problem is unusual in several ways. First, Problem 39 is the fourth problem to break the stated order in the “Libro del acedrex” due to its miniature showing only eighteen pieces, rather than the nineteen named in the problem’s description and due to the fact that the following problem does indeed have nineteen pieces.<sup>490</sup> It is also unusual in that there are two solutions given, both as ways for black to win in two moves. Problem 98 offers two solutions also, but in that problem the winner depends on which color plays first. Finally, it is unusual in that the text specifies the square that mate is to occur in the same square in which the king beings; in other words, the king never moves in either solution. The double-rook attack here is similar to that of Problem 10 and the Abu Naam Problems 58, 63, 64 and 97 as well as the double-knight attack of Problem 21.

Van der Linde presents the same mate conditions and nearly the same diagram but with colors reversed and missing the fil at a6 as his diagram 36 of the chapter “Das Problemschach des Mittelalters.”

Murray presents this problem with a somewhat different arrangement with a total of twenty pieces.<sup>491</sup> When Murray says that he assumes Problems 57 and 58 have been transposed by accident (1913: 570n12), I think perhaps he may have mean to refer to Problems 39 and 40 which break the proposed order by having 18 and 19 pieces shown in the miniature respectively, though Problem 39’s description says it should also have nineteen.

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<sup>490</sup> See also Problems 9, 14, 38 and 70.

<sup>491</sup> Murray’s inventory: d1 black king, d2 white knight, a3 white fers, b3 white rook, d3 white king, f3 white rook, h3 white fil, a4 black knight, d4 white pawn, f4 white pawn, h4 white pawn, c5 white fil, d5 black knight, f5 black pawn, g5 white pawn, h5 black pawn, a6 black fil, g6 black pawn, c8 black rook, e8 black rook(1913: 284, diagram 30).

J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Calvo says that this is one of al-Adli's problems that as-Suli did not copy, noting that while it is absent from as-Suli's it is found in other Arabic works and sometimes twice (1987: 199). Problems 40, 59, 60 and 72 also fall into this category.

#### 1.1.6.40 Problem 40

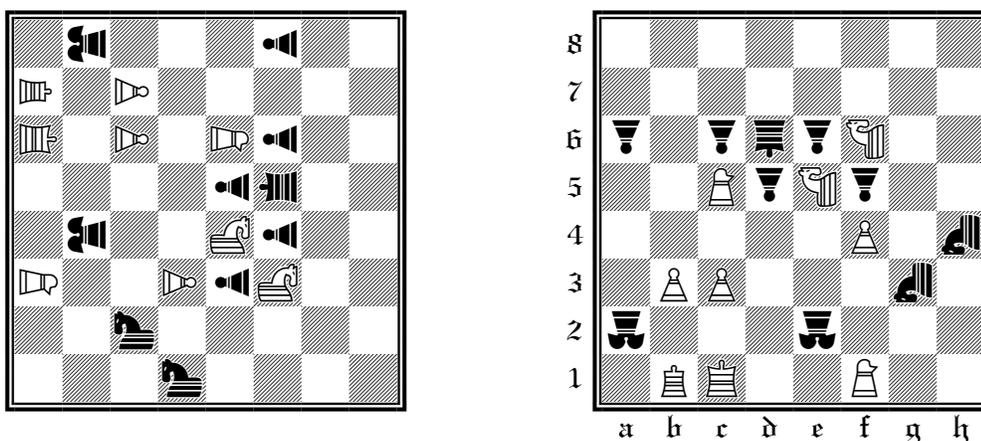


Fig. 58. Problem 40: fols. 30r and 30v (description on fol. 30r and diagram on fol. 30v); 19 pieces: white (at left) plays and wins in five at b5.

Inventory and solution:

♖c1 ♜b1 ♘f6 ♙c5 ♚f1 ♞e5 ♟f6 ♠b3 c3 f4 (9)

♞d6 ♡a2 ♣e2 ♢g3 ♣h4 ♣a6 c6 d5 e6 f5 (10)

1. ♟f6-e8+, ♞[d6]x ♙c5; 2. ♞[e5]-d7+, ♞[c5]-b5; 3. ♟[e8]-d6+, ♞[b5]-a5; 4.

♟[d6]-b7+, ♞[a5]-b5 (forced); 5. ♚[f1]-d3++ (if white errs ♡e2-e1++)<sup>492</sup>

<sup>492</sup> Pareja Casañas does not give threat information for this problem.

Murray presents this problem with a somewhat different arrangement and also compares it to Problem 72.<sup>493</sup> J. B. Sánchez Pérez displays the same diagram. Pareja Casañas presents this *LJ* problem and Problem 72,<sup>494</sup> in comparison to a similar one in the Rich manuscript, with the same diagram and solution, except as noted. He cites J. B. Sánchez Pérez's diagrams 40 and 72 (58 and 90). Steiger gives the same diagram and solution, noting Pareja Casañas. Calvo displays the same diagram and attributes this problem to al-Adli's collection, noting its absent from that of as-Suli. He also compares this to Problem 72 (1987: 199).

#### 1.1.6.41 Problem 41

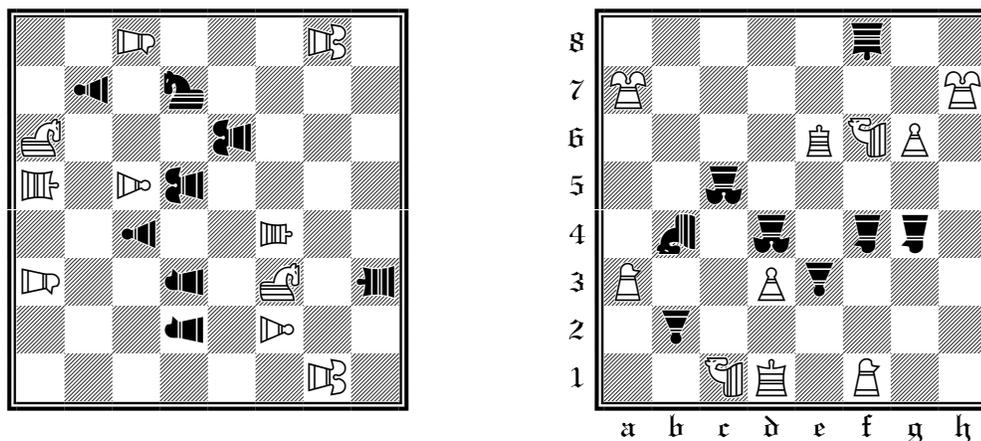


Fig. 59. Problem 41: fols. 30v and 31r (description on fol. 30v and diagram on fol. 31r); 18 pieces: black (at right) plays and wins in four.

Inventory and solution:

$$\text{♖d1} \text{ ♜e6} \text{ ♞a7} \text{ ♞h7} \text{ ♙a3} \text{ ♙f1} \text{ ♞c1} \text{ ♞f6} \text{ ♙d3} \text{ ♙g6} \quad (10)$$

$$\text{♜f8} \text{ ♞c5} \text{ ♞d4} \text{ ♙f4} \text{ ♙g4} \text{ ♞b4} \text{ ♙b2} \text{ e3} \quad (8)$$

<sup>493</sup> Murray's inventory: f1 white fil, a2 black rook, e2 black knight, b3 white pawn, c3 white fers, e3 white king, f3 white pawn, h3 white pawn, c5 white fil, d5 black pawn, e5 white knight, f5 black pawn, a6 black fil, c6 black pawn, d6 black king, e6 black pawn, g7 white knight (1913: 283, diagram 20).

<sup>494</sup> Pareja Casañas's diagram 24: Spanish translation (I: 47), Arabic transcription (I: Arabic numeral 42) and algebraic notation with discussion (II: 34-36).

1. ..., ♖[c5]x♗c1+; 2. ♜[a3]x♞[c1] forced, ♞[d4]x♜d3+; 3. (if ♜[f1] does not x♞[d3] then ♜[d1]-e1,<sup>495</sup> ♞[b4]-c2++) ♜[f1]x♞[d3], ♜[e3]-e2+; 4. ♜[d1]-e1, ♞[b4]x♜d3++ (If black errs ♜[a7]-a8++ or ♜[h7]-h8++ or ♜[a7]-f7++ or ♜[h7]-f7++ or ♜[g6]-g7++)

This Style I problem is unique in the strength of its threat to the side to win, with five possible single moves resulting in checkmate. Murray presents this problem with a slightly different arrangement<sup>496</sup> (1913: 283, diagram 28). J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Calvo says that this position, which is found in many other Arabic works, is the same as Problem 23 with the colors reversed (1987: 200).

#### 1.1.6.42 Problem 42

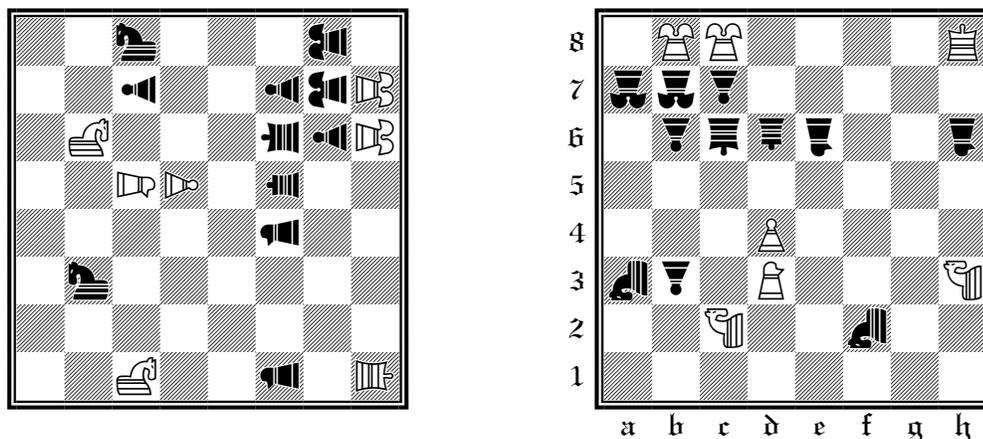


Fig. 60. Problem 42: fols. 31r and 31v (description on fol. 31r and diagram on fol. 31v); 18 pieces: white (at left) plays and wins in nine at h3.

<sup>495</sup> J. B. Sánchez Pérez clarifies the imperfectly-printed “e” in his “Erratas” (N.P.).

<sup>496</sup> Murray (1913) omits a white rook from a7 and shows a black rook at c6 instead of c5.

Inventory and solution:

$$\text{♔ h8 ♖ b8 ♗ c8 ♙ d3 ♘ c2 ♚ h3 ♜ d4} \quad (7)$$

$$\text{♚ c6 ♜ d6 ♞ a7 ♞ b7 ♜ e6 ♜ h6 ♞ a3 ♞ f2 ♜ b3 b6 c7} \quad (11)$$

1. ♘[c2]-b4+, ♜[c6]-d7; 2. ♗[c8]-d8+, ♜[d7]-e7; 3. ♚[b4]-d5+, ♜[e7]-f7; 4. ♚[h3]-g5+, ♜[f7]-g6; 5. ♗[d8]-g8+, ♜[e6]x♗[g8] (to prolong mate); 6. ♗[b8]x♜[g8]+, ♜[g6]-h5 (whether ♜[e6]x♗[g8] or not); 7. ♚[d5]-f6+, ♜[h5]-h4; 8. ♚[g5]-f3+, ♜[h4]-h3; 9. ♙[d3]-f1++ or ♙[d3]-f5++ (No other solution for h3)

This Style I problem is one of six that end with the additional phrase “que aqui esta pintada”; this category also includes Problems 17, 21, 25, 49 and 73.

Murray presents this problem with a slightly different diagram.<sup>497</sup> J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Calvo attributes this problem to as-Suli, noting both its inclusion in other Arabic treatises and that the *LJ* is unique in its condition of the specified checkmate square (1987: 200).

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<sup>497</sup> Murray’s inventory: c2 white knight, f2 black knight, b3 black knight, d3 white fil, h3 white knight, d4 white pawn, b6 black pawn, c6 black king, d6 black fers, e6 black fil, h6 black fil, c7 black rook, a8 white rook, b8 white rook, h8 white king (1913: 289, diagram 124).

## 1.1.6.43 Problem 43

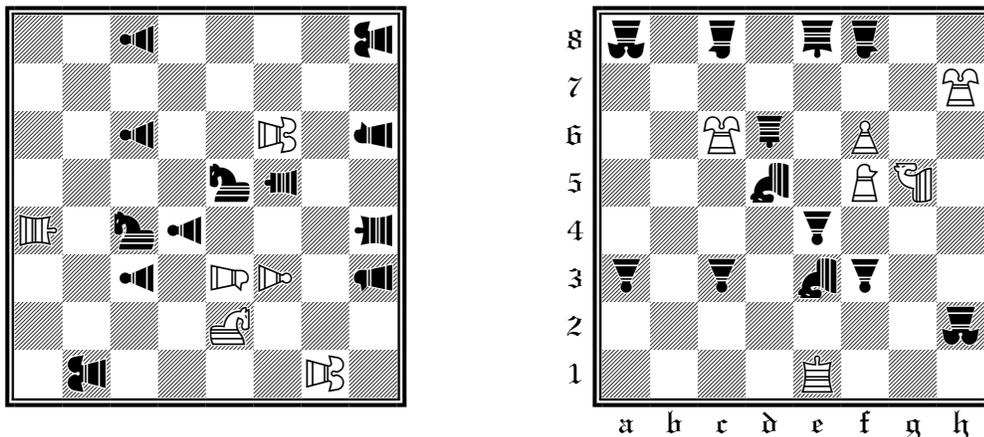


Fig. 61. Problem 43: fols. 31v and 32r (description on fol. 31v and diagram on fol. 32r); 18 pieces: white (at left) plays and wins in four.

Inventory and solution:

♔e1 ♖c6 ♗h7 ♜f5 ♞g5 ♙f6 (6)

♚e8 ♚d6 ♛a8 ♜h2 ♜c8 ♜f8 ♞d5 ♞e3 ♙a3 c3 e4 f3 (12)

1. ♖c6x♜c8+, ♛a8x♖c8 (forced); 2. ♗h7-e7+, (if ♚e8-d8; 3. ♞g5-f7++ or ♞g5-e6++) ♚d6x♗e7 or ♞d5x♗e7; 3. ♙f6-f7+, ♚e8-d8; 4. ♞g5-e6++ (if white errs ♜h2-e2++)

Problem 43 is written in Style I. Its threat results in the trident-style checkmate also seen in Problems 4, 6, 9, 18, 23, 43 through 46, 48, 52, 58, 59, 67, 69, 90, 91 and 92.

Murray presents this problem with a somewhat different diagram.<sup>498</sup>

J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram.

Calvo attributes this problem to al-Adli and says that it is only found in the Man.

<sup>498</sup> Murray's inventory: e1 white king, a2 black rook, e3 black knight, f3 black pawn, e4 black pawn, b4 white fil, g5 white knight, c6 white rook, d6 black fers, f6 white pawn, h7 white rook, a8 black rook, c8 black fil, e8 black king, f8 black fil (1913: 293, diagram 199).

manuscript. He also compares it to Problem 48 which appears to come from a different source given its exclusive use of *iogar* over *entrar*. Calvo notes that this problem from al-Adli's appears only in the chess manuscript from the John Ryland Library (1987: 201).

Keats presents this problem as an example of the *LJ* problems which conform to the Arabic aesthetic (1: 189-91). Although his diagram is missing a black knight at e5 and two black pawns at a2 (where he has a black rook instead) and c2, his solution is correct. Keats omits any discarded alternate moves and uses the modern English abbreviations for the piece names. Keats also shows the miniature for the previous problem, Problem 42 from fol. 31v, and does not indicate that the miniature does not belong to the problem described on that same folio. He presents the diagram for Problem 76 under the miniature for Problem 103 without explanation (1: 192) and presents Problem 79 under the correct miniature, declaring it to be unrelated (1: 193-95).

#### 1.1.6.44 Problem 44

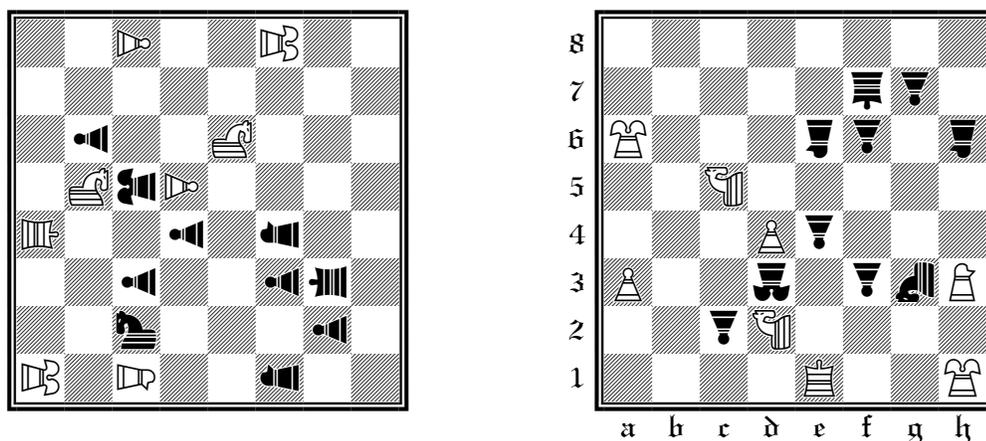


Fig. 62. Problem 44: fols. 32r and 32v (description on fol. 32r and diagram on fol. 32v); 18 pieces: black (at right) plays and wins in six.

Inventory and solution:

$$\text{♔e1 ♖a6 ♗h1 ♜h3 ♞c5 ♝d2 ♚a3 d4} \quad (8)$$

$$\text{♞f7 ♟d3 ♡e6 ♣h6 ♢g3 ♠c2 e4 f3 f6 g7} \quad (10)$$

1. ..., ♞[d3]-e3+; 2. ♚[e1]-f2, ♟[e3]-e2+; 3. (if ♚[f2]-g1, ♟[e2]-g2++) ♚[f2]x♞g3, ♟[e2]-g2+; 4. ♚[g3]-h4, ♟[g2]-g4+; 5. ♚[h4]-h5, ♠[g7]-g6+; 6. ♚[h5]x♣h6, ♟[g4]-h4++ (and even though we have done another similar problem<sup>499</sup> we ordered this one done because it is more beautiful)<sup>500</sup> (if black errs they cannot be beaten in counted moves)

This Style I problem is one of only four that defend their own inclusion despite its similarity to another problem; this category includes Problems 20, 44, 60 and 65. Exactly which problem is referred to is not clear. The checkmate in the discarded third move results in the trident-style checkmate similar to that seen in Problems 4, 6, 9, 23, 43 through 46, 48, 52, 58, 59, 67, 69, 90, 91 and 92. The ending to this problem is unusual in that there is no immediate threat to the side to win should it err; instead the text says that they cannot be defeated in “iuegos contados” as seen in Problems 29, 44, 45, 49-51, 53 and 69.

Murray (1913: 304, diagram 398), J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Calvo describes this as an original problem in the Arabic style (1987: 201).

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<sup>499</sup> Neither Murray (1913) nor Steiger compares it to another problem. Calvo says it is unique to this collection and does not compare it with another in the *LJ* (1987: 201). I have not been able to determine which problem is meant.

<sup>500</sup> This is Alfonso's second such editorial commentary included in defense of his problem selection. Similar explanations are found at the end of Problems 20, 60 and 66.

## 1.1.6.45 Problem 45

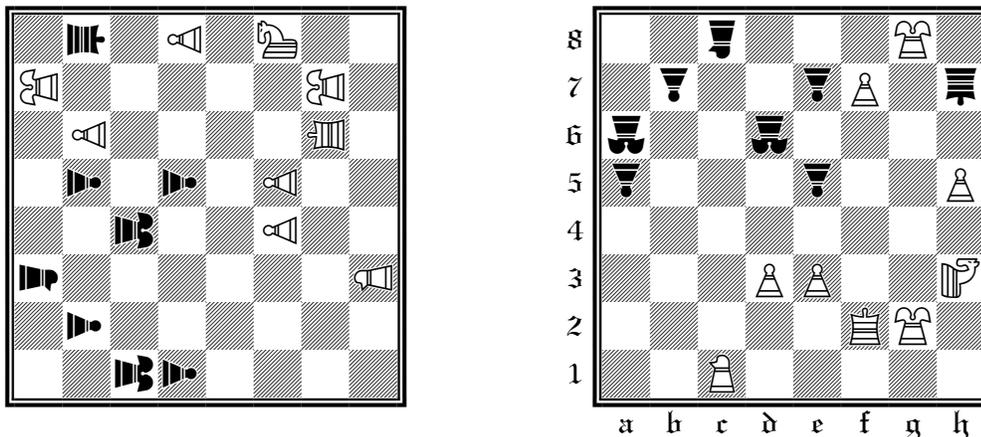


Fig. 63. Problem 45: fols. 32v and 33r (description on fol. 32v and diagram on fol. 33r); 17 pieces: white (at right) plays and wins in six.

Inventory and solution:

♔ f2 ♕ g2 ♖ g8 ♗ c1 ♘ h3 ♙ d3 e3 f7 h5 (9)

♚ h7 ♜ a6 ♞ d6 ♟ c8 ♠ a5 b7 e5 e7 (8)

1. ♘[h3]-g5+, ♚[h7]-h6; 2. ♕[g8]-h8+, ♜[h6]-g7; 3. ♙[f7]-f8=♚+, (if ♜[g7]x♕[h8]); 4. ♘[g5]-f7+, ♞[h8]-h7; 5. ♖[g2]-g7++ ♜[g7]-f6 (to prolong mate); 4. ♕[h8]-h6+, ♞[f6]-f5; 5. ♙[e3]-e4+, ♞[f5]-f4; 6. ♘[g5]-h3++ (if white errs they cannot be beaten in counted moves)

This problem, the final one in the initial block of forty-five written in Style I, is unusual in that there is no immediate threat to the side to win should it err; instead the text says that they cannot be defeated in “iuegos contados” as seen in Problems 29, 44,

45, 49-51, 53 and 69. There is very limited use of *iogar* in conditional move, as also in Problems 31, 34-35, 46, 51 and 61. The checkmate in the discarded option at move three results in the trident-style checkmate similar to that seen in Problems 4, 6, 9, 23, 43 through 46, 48, 52, 58, 59, 67, 69, 90, 91 and 92.

Van der Linde presents this same position to win in six moves as his diagram 53 of the chapter “Das Problemschach des Mittelalters.” Murray presents this problem with a somewhat different arrangement.<sup>501</sup> J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Calvo says that this is an original problem to the *LJ* and, incorrectly, one that Murray omits (1987: 202).

See also Appendix D5 showing details of the miniatures which show children being taught to play a game, illustrating the *LJ* as a dial of princes and princesses.

#### 1.1.6.46 Problem 46

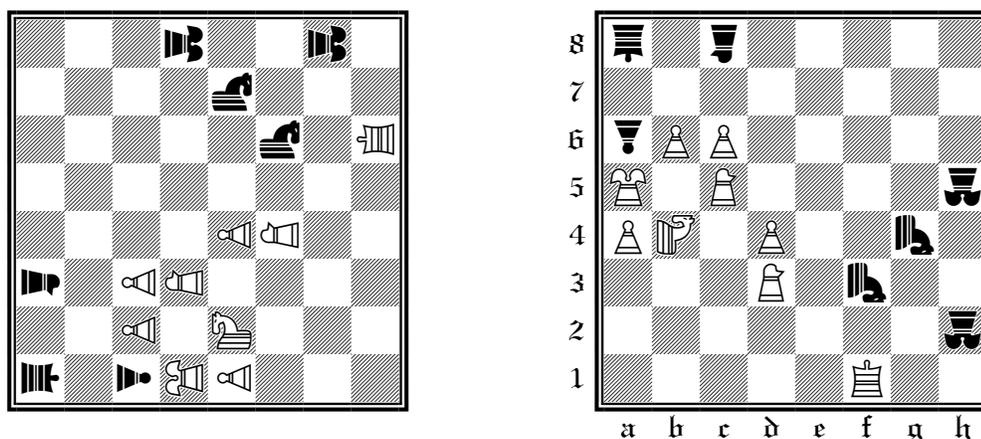


Fig. 64. Problem 46: fols. 33r and 33v (description on fol. 33r and diagram on fol. 33v); 16 pieces: white (at right) plays and wins in four.

<sup>501</sup> Murray's inventory: c1 white fil, f2 white king, g2 white rook, d3 white pawn, e3 white pawn, h3 white knight, h4 white pawn, a5 black pawn, b5 black pawn, e5 black pawn, a6 black rook, d6 black rook, g6 black knight, b7 black fers, f7 white pawn, h7 black king, c8 black fil, g8 white rook (1913: 285, diagram 70).

Inventory and solution:

♖f1 ♗a5 ♜c5 ♜d3 ♞b4 ♠a4 ♞b6 ♞c6 ♞d4 (9)

♜a8 ♞h2 ♞h5 ♜c8<sup>502</sup> ♞f3 ♞g4 ♠a6 (7)

1. ♗[a5]x ♠a6+, (if ♜[c8]x ♗[a6]); 2. ♠[b6]-b7+, ♜[a8]-b8 (forced); 3. ♞[b4]x ♠a6++) ♜[a8]-b8 (to prolong mate); 2. ♠[c6]-c7+, ♜[b8]-b7; 3. ♗[a6]-a7+, ♜[b7]x ♠b6; 4. ♠[a4]-a5++ (if white errs ♞[h2]-f2++)

Problem 46 is written in Style IA. There is very limited use of *iogar* in conditional move, as also in Problems 31, 34-35, 45, 51 and 61. This problem's threat results in the trident-style checkmate also seen in Problems 4, 9, 18, 23, 43 through 46, 48, 52, 58, 59, 67, 69, 90, 91 and 92.

Van der Linde presents the same position to win in four moves but with a fers rather than a fil at c8 as his diagram 44 of the chapter "Das Problemschach des Mittelalters." However, the piece at c8 is distinctly a fil and neither a fers nor a promoted pawn. Murray (1913: 304, diagram 399), J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Murray says that Problem 46 is very similar to Problem 92. Calvo also compares this problem with 92 and he, along with Wollesen (290n30), says that this one is an original elaboration of the Dilaram theme owing to the mate given in the discarded option (1987: 202). I note that while similar to Dilaram in that the king is chased into danger with an opposing rook, no rook is sacrificed and that the checkmate is made with

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<sup>502</sup> Van der Linde incorrectly shows a black fers at c8. This error does not affect the play or the solution of this problem.

a pawn rather than a knight, as in Dilaram. Problems 54, 57 and 90 present a more faithful interpretation of the Dilaram theme.

To see a move-by-move comparison of these problems, please see the accompanying CD-rom for the PowerPoint presentation entitled “The *LJ*’s Dilaram Problems.” See also Appendix D5 showing details of the miniatures which show children being taught to play a game, illustrating the *LJ* as a dial of princes and princesses.

#### 1.1.6.47 Problem 47

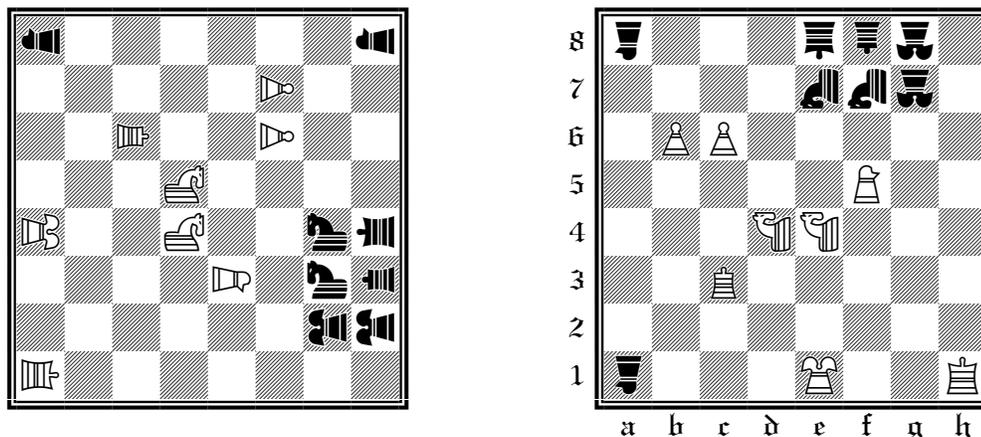


Fig. 65. Problem 47: fols. 33v, 34r and 34v (description on fols. 33v and 34r, diagram on fol. 34v); 16 pieces: white (at left) plays and wins in fifteen at f1 by that square’s ♖.

Inventory and solution:

$$\text{♙h1 } \text{♜c3}^{503} \text{ ♚e1 } \text{♞f5 } \text{♞d4 } \text{♞e4 } \text{♞b6 } \text{c6} \quad (8)$$

$$\text{♞e8 } \text{♞f8 } \text{♞g7 } \text{♞g8 } \text{♞a1}^{504} \text{ ♞a8}^{505} \text{ ♞e7 } \text{♞f7} \quad (8)$$

1. ♞e4-f6+, ♞[e8]-d8; 2. ♞[d4]-e6+, ♞[d8]-c8; 3. ♞[b6]-b7+, ♞[c8]-b8; 4.

♞[f6]-d7+, ♞[b8]-a7; 5. ♞[b7]-b8=♞+, ♞[a7]-a6; 6. ♞[e6]-c7+, ♞[a6]-a5; 7. ♞[b8]-

<sup>503</sup> This is an impossible position for a white fers since this is a black square. Either the position is contrived or the piece is a promoted pawn.

<sup>504</sup> A1 is an impossible position for a black fil.

<sup>505</sup> A8 is an impossible position for a black fil. Given this situation and those commented in the previous two notes, perhaps Alfonso’s compiler’s inverted the board.

b6+, ♖[a5]-a4; 8. ♜[d7]-c5+, ♜[a4]-a3; 9. ♜[c7]-b5+, ♜[a3]-a2; 10. ♜[e1]-e2+, ♜[a2]-b1; 11. ♜[b5]-a3+, ♜[b1]-c1; 12. ♜[c5]-b3+, ♜[c1]-d1; 13. ♜[e2]-d2+, ♜[d1]-e1; 14. ♜[a3]-c2+, ♜[e1]-f1 (forced); 15. ♜[f5]-d3++ or ♜[f5]-h3++ (if white errs ♜g8-h8++,<sup>506</sup> if ♜[f5]-h7 or ♜[f5]-h3 (to cover); ♜[h8]x ♜[h7]++ or ♜[h8]x ♜[h3]++)<sup>507</sup>

The beauty of this Style IA problem lies in the crescent-shaped path of the fleeing black king who slinks along all four edges of the board: first left across the eighth rank, then down the a-file, then right across the first rank and finally up the h-file. While a combination a pieces is used to drive the black king around the board, the principal players are two white knights as in Problem 1's beautiful *noria*. It uses the present subjunctive to indicate the promotion of a pawn and the resultant check. It also uses *iogar* rather infrequently. The threat to checkmate on move should the side to win err, is instead more accurately a mate in two since there is a possible covering move explained.

Murray presents this problem with a rather different diagram.<sup>508</sup>

J. B. Sánchez Pérez displays the same diagram. Pareja Casañas presents this *LJ* problem,<sup>509</sup> in comparison to a similar one in the Rich manuscript, with the same diagram and solution except as noted. He cites J. B. Sánchez Pérez's diagram 47 (65).

Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Steiger notes Pareja Casañas.

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<sup>506</sup> Since white has at least one covering option in the file and after the tenth move white has a second in the rook, this is not checkmate but rather only check.

<sup>507</sup> Pareja Casañas does not offer any threat information for this problem.

<sup>508</sup> Murray's inventory: b1 black rook, d3 white rook, f3 white fers, g3 white pawn, c5 white fil, e5 white knight, f5 white knight, f6 white pawn, g6 white pawn, a7 white king, c7 black knight, d7 black knight, b8 black rook, c8 black fers, d8 black king (1913: 294, diagram 214).

<sup>509</sup> Pareja Casañas's diagram 35: Spanish translation (I: 58-59), Arabic transcription (I: Arabic numerals 53-54) and algebraic notation with discussion (II: 49-51).

Calvo cites Murray in naming the author of this problem as Nizam Shirazi. Calvo also notes that the Arabic rules would have rejected this problem due to the impossible positions of the bishops.<sup>510</sup> I note that this unusual problem is the one of only two in the *LJ* to use the verb *desponer* to indicate the movement of the pieces. Here it is used only once in a correction. The other problem to use *desponer* is Problem 81 which uses it multiple times throughout the problem. Interestingly, both are among the problems that Pareja Casañas compares to those in the Rich manuscript.

#### 1.1.6.48 Problem 48

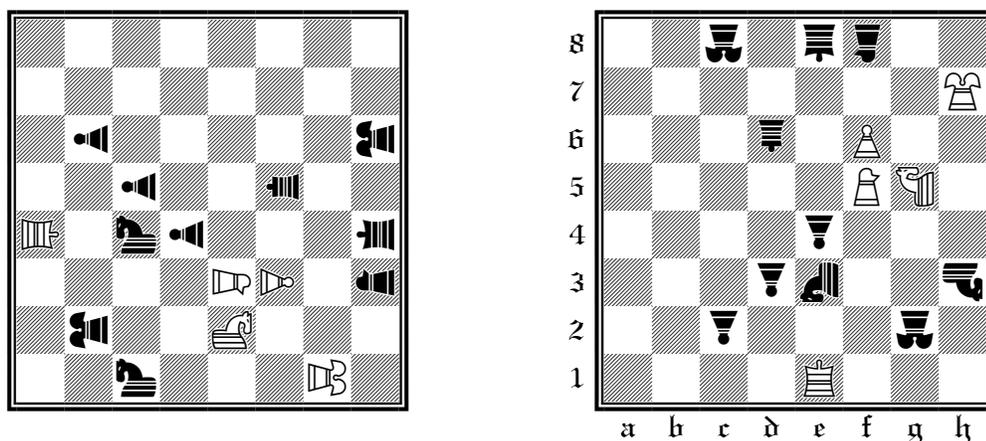


Fig. 66. Problem 48: fols. 34v and 35r (description on fol. 34v and diagram on fol. 35r); 15 pieces: white (at left) plays and wins in three.

Inventory and solution:

♔e1 ♚h7 ♗f5 ♞g5 ♖f6 (5)

♚e8 ♞d6 ♞c8 ♗g2 ♙f8 ♞e3 ♞h3 ♙c2 d3 e4 (10)

<sup>510</sup> Calvo 1987: 203. See also See fig. 7's diagram of a Chessboard of Fil Possibilities.

1. ♖[h7]-e7+, (if ♜[d6] does not x♖[e7] then ♜[e8]-d8; 2. ♗[g5]-f7++) ♜[d6]x♖[e7]; 2. ♖[f6]-f7+, ♜[e8]-d8; 3. ♗[g5]-e6++ (if white errs ♜[g2]-e2++ or ♜[d3]-d2++)

This Style IIA problem uses *iogar* exclusively instead of *entrar*. Its first threat is the trident-style checkmate also seen in Problems 4, 6, 9, 18, 23, 43 through 46, 52, 58, 59, 67, 69, 90, 91 and 92.

Murray, J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Murray presents the same diagram and solution for this problem (1913: 304, diagram 400), with a note after the solution about a fictitious legend associated with it (1913: 327). Calvo compares this problem to the *LJ*'s Problem 43 which appears to come from a different source given its use of *entrar* and the absence of *iogar*; notes its impossible position and says, like Murray, that the legend attributing it to Mahmud Fadil Pacha and Uzun Hasan is false (1987: 204).

## 1.1.6.49 Problem 49

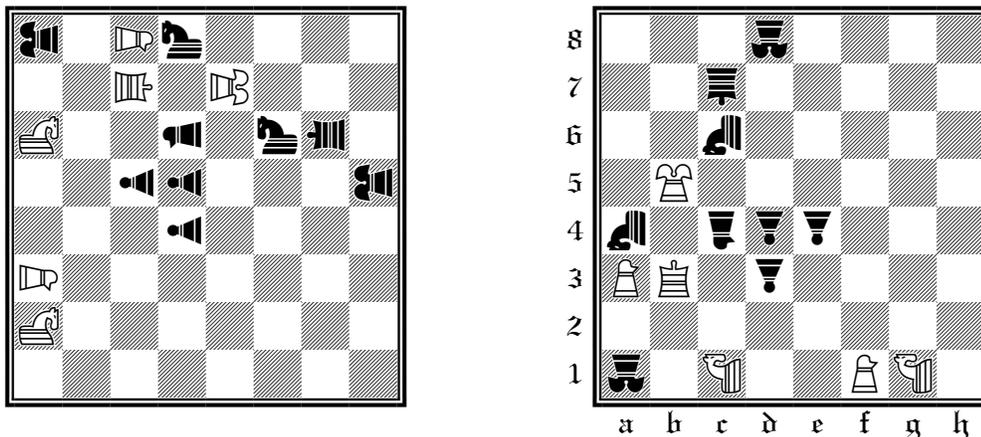


Fig. 67. Problem 49: fols. 35r and 35v<sup>511</sup> (description on fol. 35r and diagram on fol. 35v); 15 pieces: black (at right) plays and wins in four.

Inventory and solution:

$\text{♙b3}$   $\text{♜b5}$   $\text{♚a3}$   $\text{♞f1}$   $\text{♞c1}$   $\text{♞g1}$  (6)

$\text{♜c7}$   $\text{♞a1}$   $\text{♞d8}$   $\text{♞c4}$   $\text{♞a4}$   $\text{♞c6}$   $\text{♙d3}$   $\text{d4}$   $\text{e4}$  (9)

1. ...,  $\text{♞[a1]-b1+}$ ; 2.  $\text{♜[b3]x♞c4}$  (because if  $\text{♜[b3]x♞[a4]}$ ,  $\text{♞[d8]-a8++}$ <sup>512</sup> or if  $\text{♞[b5]-a5}$  (to cover),  $\text{♞[a8]x♞[a5]++}$  guarded by  $\text{♞[c6]}$ ,  $\text{♞c6-a5+}$ ; 3.  $\text{♞[b5]x♞[a5]}$  (forced),  $\text{♞a4-b6+}$ ; 4.  $\text{♜[c4]-c5}$  (forced),  $\text{♞[d8]-d5++}$  (if black errs neither can win in counted moves)<sup>513</sup>

This Style IIA problem contains some of the more archaic forms as seen in Problems 9, 10 and 26. The ending to this problem is unusual in that there is no immediate threat to the side to win should it err; instead the text says that they cannot be defeated in “iuegos contados” as seen in Problems 29, 44, 45, 49-51, 53 and 69. This is

<sup>511</sup> Calvo (1987) indicates fols. 37v and 38r for Problem 49.

<sup>512</sup> Technically, given the covering move explicated next, this is not checkmate but rather only check.

<sup>513</sup> Pareja Casañas, as usual, gives none of the parenthetical information for this problem.

one of six problems that ending with the additional phrase “que aqui esta pintada”; this category also includes Problems 17, 21, 25, 42 and 73.

Murray presents this problem with an inverted and slightly different mirror-image diagram.<sup>514</sup>

J. B. Sánchez Pérez displays the same diagram. Pareja Casañas presents this *LJ* problem,<sup>515</sup> in comparison to a similar one in the Rich manuscript, with the same diagram and solution except as noted. He cites J. B. Sánchez Pérez’s diagram 49 (67).

Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Steiger notes Pareja Casañas.

Calvo notes that this problem in appears in the collection of as-Suli and in many other Arabic treatises, including that of the Royal Asiatic society which identifies the author of the problem as Jalil Misri (1987: 204).

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<sup>514</sup> Murray’s inventory: e1 black rook, f2 black king, f3 black knight, g4 white rook, c5 white pawn, f5 black fil, h5 black knight, a6 white fers, c6 white knight, g6 white king, h6 white fil, b7 white pawn, c8 white rook, f8 white knight, h8 black rook (1913: 290, diagram 142).

<sup>515</sup> Pareja Casañas’s diagram 71: Spanish translation (I: 96), Arabic transcription (I: Arabic numeral 91) and algebraic notation with discussion (II: 96-97).

## 1.1.6.50 Problem 50

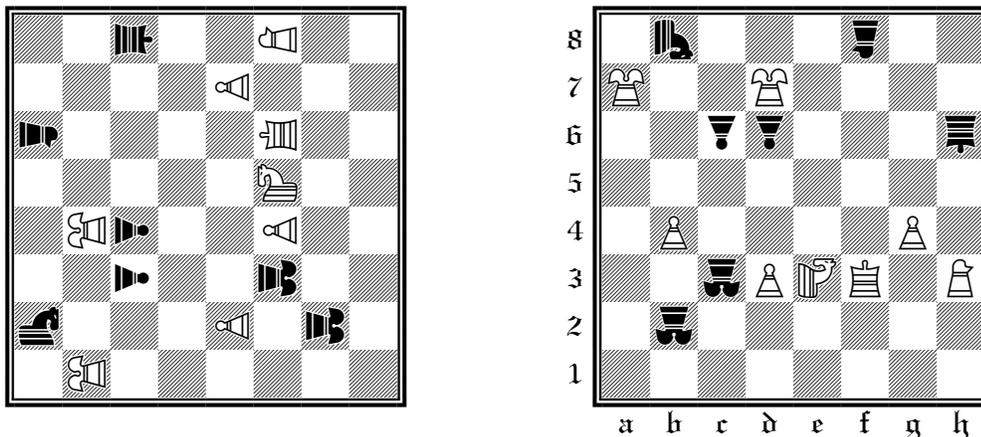


Fig. 68. Problem 50: fols. 35v and 36r (description on fol. 35v and diagram on fol. 36r); 15 pieces: white (at right) plays and wins in ten at e1 or c1.<sup>516</sup>

Inventory and solution:

$$\text{♜f3 } \text{♞b7 } \text{♝d7}^{517} \text{ } \text{♠h3 } \text{♞e3 } \text{♙b4 } \text{d3 } \text{g4} \quad (8)$$

$$\text{♞h6 } \text{♞b2 } \text{♞c3 } \text{♠f8 } \text{♞b8 } \text{♠c6 } \text{d6} \quad (7)$$

1. ♞[e3]-f5+, ♞[h6]-g6 or ♞[h6]-g5; 2. ♝[d7]-g7+, ♞[g6]-f6 or ♞[g5]-f6; 3. ♠[g4]-g5+, ♞[f6]-e6 or ♞[f6]-e5; 4. ♞[a7]-e7+, ♞[e6]-d5 or ♞[e5]-d5; 5. ♞[f5]-e3+ (back to where it was), ♞[d5]-d4; 6. ♞[e7]-e4+, ♞[d4]x ♠d3; 7. ♠[h3]-f1+ or ♠[h3]-f5+, ♞[d3]-d2; 8. ♞[e4]-d4+, (if ♞[c3]-d3) (to cover); 9. ♞[d4]x ♞[d3]+, ♞[d2]-e1 or ♞[d2]-c1 (whether he covers himself [with his rook] or not) 10. ♞[d3]-d1++ (guarded by the ♞[e3])) (if white errs then neither can win in counted moves)

The ending to this Style IIA problem is unusual in that there is no immediate threat to the side to win should it err; instead the text says that they cannot be defeated in “iuegos contados” as seen in Problems 29, 44, 45, 49-51, 53 and 69. Finally, this is one of

<sup>516</sup> Steiger gives the mate square specification.

<sup>517</sup> Calvo (1987) shows this white rook at e7.

six problems that ending with the additional phrase “que aqui esta pintada”; this category also includes Problems 17, 21, 25, 42 and 73.

Van der Linde presents this same position to win in ten moves as his diagram 61 of the chapter “Das problemschach des Mittelalters.” Murray presents this problem with a somewhat different diagram.<sup>518</sup> J. B. Sánchez Pérez and Steiger display the same diagram. Calvo notes that this problem also appears in as-Suli’s collection and other Arabic treatises (1987: 205).

### 1.1.6.51 Problem 51

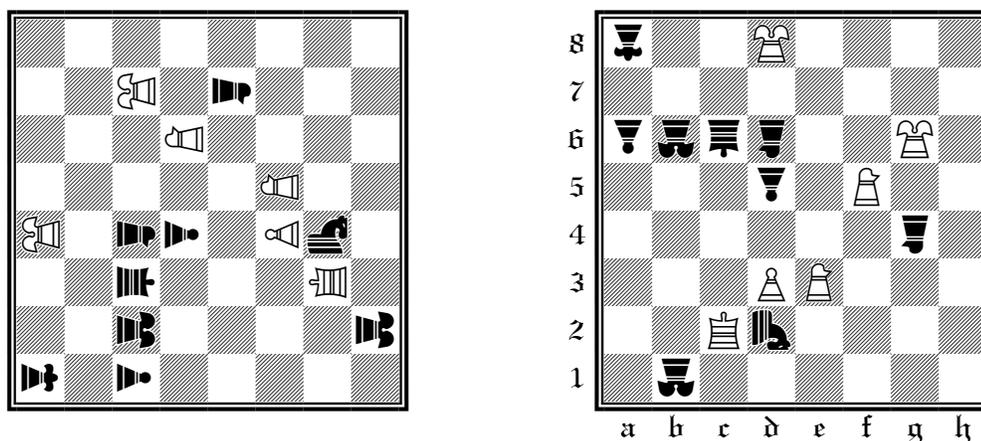


Fig. 69. Problem 51: fols. 36r and 36v (description on fol. 36r and diagram on fol. 36v); 15 pieces: white (at right) plays and wins in four.

Inventory and solution:

♖c2 ♗d8 ♘g6 ♙e3 ♚f5 ♜d3 (6)

♞c6 ♠a8 ♡b1 ♣b6 ♢d6 ♣g4 ♞d2 ♟a6 d5 (9)

1. ♗d8x ♢d6+, (if ♞[c6]-b7 or ♞[c6]-c7; 1. ♘[d6]-d7+, ♞[b7]-b8 or ♞[c7]-b8

<sup>518</sup> Murray’s inventory: g1 black fers, b2 black rook, c3 black rook, d3 white pawn, e3 white knight, f3 white king, h3 white fil, g4 white pawn, c6 black pawn, d6 black pawn, h6 black king, a7 white fil, c8 white rook, f8 black fil (1913: 292, diagram 176).

or ♖[b7]-c8 or ♖[c7]-c8 (forced); 2. ♖[g6]-g8++ ♗[c6]-b5 (to prolong mate); 2. ♖[d6]x♗b6+, ♗[b5]-a5 or ♗[b5]-a4; 3. ♖[b6]x♗a6+, ♗[a5]-b5 or ♗[a4]-b5 or ♗[a5]-b4 or ♗[a4]-b4 (forced); 4. ♖[g6]-b6++ (if white<sup>519</sup> errs then he cannot win in counted moves)

Problem 51 is written in Style IIA. There is very limited use of *iogar* in conditional move, as also in Problems 31, 34-35, 45, 46 and 61. The ending to this problem is unusual in that there is no immediate threat to the side to win should it err; instead the text says that they cannot be defeated in “iuegos contados” as seen in Problems 29, 44, 45, 49-51, 53 and 69.

Murray presents this problem with a somewhat different arrangement.<sup>520</sup> J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Calvo notes that this problem also appears in as-Suli’s collection and other Arabic treatises (1987: 205).

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<sup>519</sup> Textual error: the manuscript offers this threat if black errs, rather than white. Grandese (1986-87: 78) corrects this error.

<sup>520</sup> Murray’s inventory: b2 black rook, c3 white king, e3 white fil, e4 black pawn, d5 black pawn, f5 white fil, a6 black pawn, b6 black rook, c6 black king, d6 black fil, e6 white rook, g6 white rook (1913: 288, diagram 111).

## 1.1.6.52 Problem 52

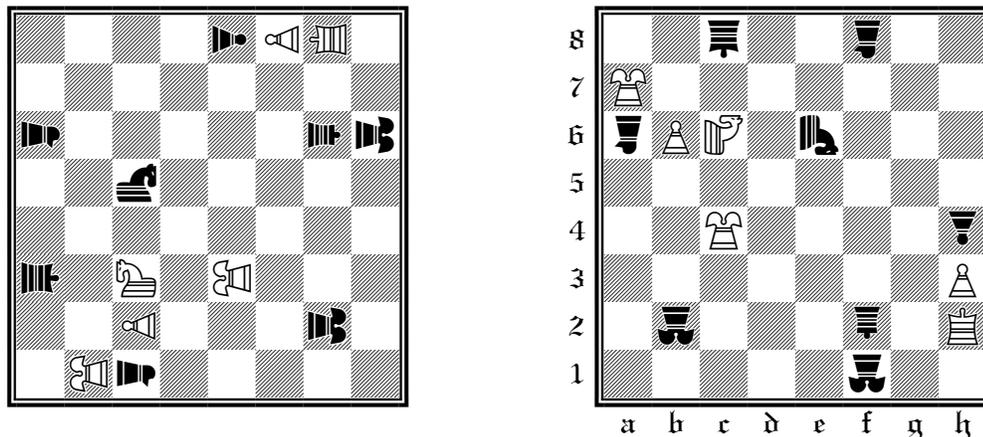


Fig. 70. Problem 52: fols. 36v and 37r (description on fol. 36v and diagram on fol. 37r); 14 pieces: white (at right) plays and wins in four.

Inventory and solution:

$\text{♖h2}$   $\text{♗a7}$   $\text{♘c4}$   $\text{♙c6}$   $\text{♚b6}$   $\text{♛h3}$  (6)

$\text{♜c8}$   $\text{♞f2}$ <sup>521</sup>  $\text{♝b2}$   $\text{♞f1}$   $\text{♟a6}$   $\text{♠f8}$   $\text{♡e6}$   $\text{♢h4}$  (8)

1. discover  $\text{♗[c4]+}$  by  $\text{♙[c6]-e7(+)}$  and, (if  $\text{♜[c8]-b8}$ , 2.  $\text{♗[c4]-c8+}$ ,  $\text{♟[a6]x♗[c8]}$  (forced); 3.  $\text{♙[e7]-c6++}$ )  $\text{♜[c8]-d8}$  (to prolong mate); 2.  $\text{♗[c4]-c8+}$ ,  $\text{♟[a6]x♗[c8]}$ ; 3.  $\text{♙[e7]-c6+}$ ,  $\text{♜[d8]-e8}$  (forced); 4.  $\text{♗[a7]-e7++}$  (if white errs  $\text{♞[f2]-g3++}$ )

This Style IV problem uses the present subjunctive for the first move of discovered check, as do Problems 57, 62 and 68. The discarded series described in the first move results in the trident-style checkmate also seen in Problems 4, 6, 9, 18, 23, 43 through 46, 48, 58, 59, 67, 69, 90, 91 and 92. The final threat is an especially pretty piece

<sup>521</sup> Calvo (1987) shows this black fers as another black king in addition to the one at c8.

of choreography, offering the traditional checkmate with two rooks via discovery by the fers.

Murray presents this problem with slightly different and mirror-image diagram.<sup>522</sup>

J. B. Sánchez Pérez and Steiger display the same diagram. Calvo notes that this problem also appears in as-Suli's collection and other Arabic treatises (1987: 206).

### 1.1.6.53 Problem 53

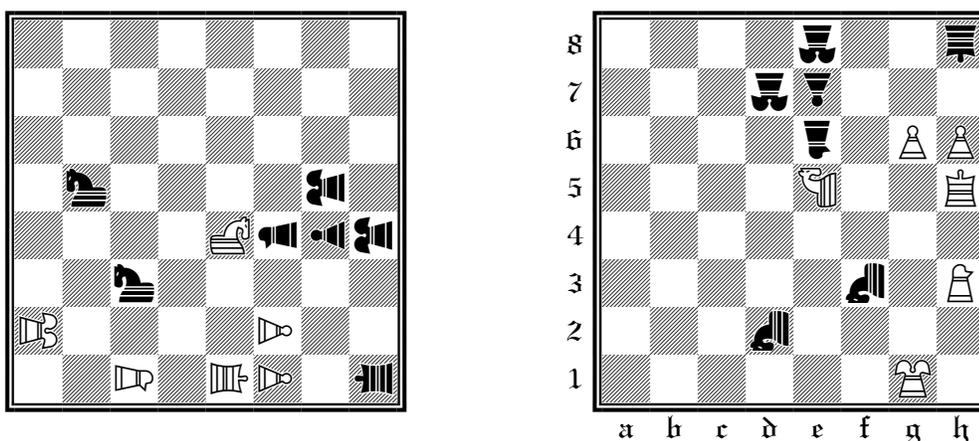


Fig. 71. Problem 53: fols. 37r and 37v (description on fol. 37r and diagram on fol. 37v); 13 pieces: white (at left) plays and wins in five.

Inventory and solution:

♖h5 ♜g1 ♗h3 ♘e5 ♙g6 h6 (6)

♜h8 ♞d7 ♝e8 ♚e6 ♛d2 ♞f3 ♟e7 (7)

<sup>522</sup> Murray's inventory: c1 black rook, a2 white king, c2 black fers, f2 white rook, a4 black pawn, c4 black knight, d6 black fil, f6 white knight, h6 black pawn, h7 white rook, c8 black fil, f8 black king (1913: 289, diagram 120).

1. ♖[g6]-g7+, (if ♜[h8]-h7; ♙[h3]-f5<sup>523</sup>+, ♜[h7]-g8; ♖[h6]-h7++)<sup>524</sup> ♜[h8]-g8 (to prolong); 2. ♖[h6]-h7+, ♜[g8]x♖[h7] (forced); 3. ♖[g7]-g8[=♙]+, (if ♜[h7]-h8; ♙[e5]-f7++) ♜[e8]x♙[g8] or ♜[e6]x♙[g8] (to prolong); 4. ♙[h3]-f5+, ♜[h7]-h8 (forced); 5. ♙[e5]-f7++ (if white errs then neither can win in counted moves)

The ending to this Style IIA problem is unusual in that there is no immediate threat to the side to win should it err; instead the text says that they cannot be defeated in “juegos contados” as seen in Problems 29, 44, 45, 49-51, 53 and 69. Calvo says this, like Problem 35, is one of al-Adli’s problems that as-Suli copied and praised.

Murray presents this problem with a somewhat different arrangement.<sup>525</sup> J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Calvo notes that this problem also appears in collections of al-Adli, as-Suli and other Arabic compilers (1987: 206).

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<sup>523</sup> Textual error: in Problem 53, for black’s discarded alternate first move: “la quarta casa del cauallo blanco” (g4) should read “la quarta casa del *alfil prieto*” (f5). Steiger corrects this error. Crombach leaves the text as is and notes Steiger’s correction. The square is correctly identified in move four.

<sup>524</sup> Textual error: in Problem 53, “el peon prieto” refers back to the white’s first move and should therefore read “el peon *blanco*.” Steiger transcribes the incorrect phrase as is. Crombach notes the error in her text referencing endnote 14. I believe this is meant to refer to the endnote mistakenly left without a number between endnotes 13 and 14.

<sup>525</sup> Murray’s inventory: g1 white rook, f3 black knight, h3 white fil, a4 black pawn, e4 black rook, b5 black pawn, d5 black fers, e5 white knight, h5 white king, c6 black pawn, d6 black fil, e6 black fil, g6 white pawn, h6 white pawn, e8 black rook, h8 black king (1913: 282, diagram 16).

## 1.1.6.54 Problem 54

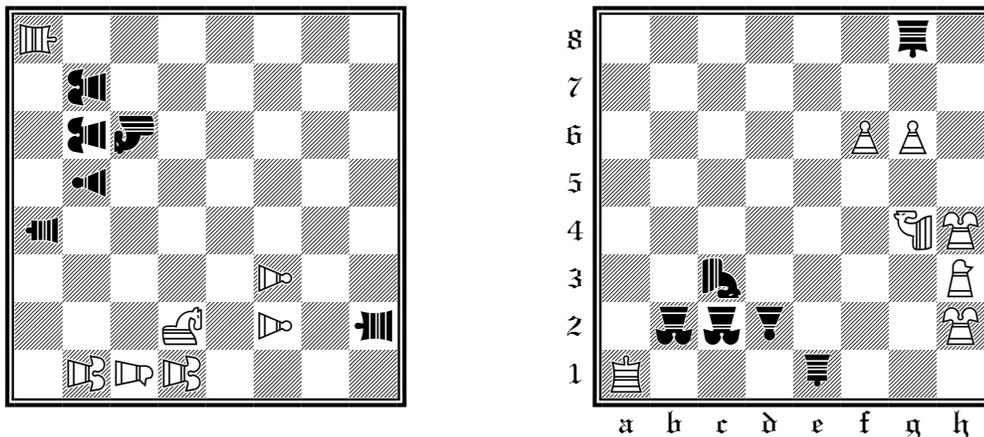


Fig. 72. Problem 54: fols. 37v and 38r<sup>526</sup> (description on fol. 37v and diagram on fol. 38r); 13 pieces: white (at left) plays and wins in five at g8.

Inventory and solution:

♔a1 ♕h2 ♖h4 ♗h3 ♘g4 ♙f6 g6 (7)

♚g8 ♜e1 ♞b2 ♝c2 ♞c3 ♟d2 (6)

1. ♖[h4]-h8+, ♚[g8]x♖[h8] (forced); 2. discover [♕h2]+ by ♗[h3]-f5, ♚[h8]-g8; 3. ♖[h2]-h8+, ♚[g8]x♖[h8] (forced); 4. ♙[g6]-g7+, ♚[h8]-g8; 5. ♘[g4]-h6++ (if white errs ♞[b2]-b1++ or ♞[b2]-a2++)

Problem 54 is written in Style IB. It is the first of three Dilaram variations in the *LJ*; both Murray and Calvo compare this problem to the *LJ*'s Problems 57, 90 and

<sup>526</sup> Calvo (1987) indicates “Folio 38a, modificado; 37v y 38r” for Problem 54. He does not explain what he means by fol. 38a modified.

(incorrectly) 100.<sup>527</sup> The red six-pointed star seen in the miniature's piece bag hints at the special nature and importance of this problem.

Murray presents this problem with a somewhat different arrangement.<sup>528</sup> J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Calvo says that this problem appears on "Folio 38a, modificado; 37v and 38r" (1987: 207) but I have not been able to determine what he means by 38a, modified. He, along with Wollesen (290n30), says that this is the most famous of Arabic chess problems, the legendary theme of checkmate by sacrificing both rooks of the *mansuba al-yariya*, or problem of the young lady, i.e. Dilaram.<sup>529</sup>

Keats repeatedly shows the piece bag from this problem's miniature (1: once on his page 179 and twice on 180) as questionable evidence of a signature by a Jewish scribe.

To see a move-by-move comparison of these problems, please see the accompanying CD-rom for the PowerPoint presentation entitled "The *LJ*'s Dilaram Problems."

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<sup>527</sup> The tale of love, sacrifice and chess known as the Dilaram problem is found time and again in ancient Arabic *mansubat* manuscripts as well as the *LJ*. In this typically Arabic *mansuba*, the winner's king faces an imminent threat & rooks and knights predominate in giving checks. The story goes that a nobleman with many wives had a favorite, Dilaram, whose name means "heart's ease." Playing a high stakes game of chess against a strong player, the nobleman wagered Dilaram but the game went badly and he looked sure to lose until the wise Dilaram saw how the game and her life could be saved and shouted to her lord: "Sacrifice your two rooks but not me!" The nobleman saw what Dilaram meant and sacrificed both rooks to checkmate with his knight, winning the game and saving his wife (Murray 1913: 311-312). Three variations on Dilaram's problem appear in the "Libro de acedrex," Problems 54, 57 and 90. Calvo also notes two similar problems which are variations on the Dilaram theme: Problem 46 and 92. Calvo says that Problem 100 is also, and he offers a Dilaram checkmate solution for it, but this is not the solution given in the *LJ*.

<sup>528</sup> Murray's inventory: h1 white rook, b2 black rook, h3 white fil, a4 white king, c4 black knight, g4 white knight, h4 white rook, f6 white pawn, g6 white pawn, b8 black rook, g8 black king (1913: 286, diagram 83).

<sup>529</sup> Calvo 1987: 207. Not to be confused with the *LJ* chess variant called *el iuego de las donzellas* of fol. 5r.



modern bishop from Lucena's *Repetición de Amores y Arte de Axedres* (1497).<sup>530</sup> J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Calvo says that appears only in the *LJ* and one other manuscript, the Ryland, and that the beauty of its smothered mate by knight, appreciable even today, is the pretext for this problem (1987: 209).

The particular kind of smothered mate which originates from a position in Luis Ramírez Lucena's *Repetición de amores y arte de ajedrez* (1497) is known as Philidor's legacy.<sup>531</sup> However, according to *The Oxford Companion to Chess*, smothered mates "are not especially connected with Philidor. In Alfonso X's Problem 55, at least one smothered mate appears even centuries earlier than any of these works and may prefigure another artistic interpretation of a smothered mate by a twentieth-century artist.

The continuing popularity of the idea of the smothered mate is seen in the similar position shown in the woodcut *Metamorphose II* (1938-40) by Dutch graphic artist Maurits Cornelis Escher (1898-1972). The work consists of a series of largely black and white transformations moving from left to right, a chess game emerges beginning with a tower of a town that juts out into the sea as a White Rook on the chess board. The town appears to be Atrani, a town on the Amalfi Coast of Italy which Escher also used in *Metamorphose I* (1937) and also in the work called *Atrani, Coast of Amalfi* (1931); and the pieces are in the classic Staunton style. As the game is shown, the White King at h1 is in check at the farthest lower right extreme of the board. Charles Milton's brief article

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<sup>530</sup> Luis Ramírez de Lucena, *Repetición de amores e arte de axedrez con CL [#150] juegos de partido* (Salamanca: Hutz, 1496; Madrid: Joyas Bibliográficas, 1953).

<sup>531</sup> French composer and chess player "François André Danican Philidor (1726-1795), author of *Analyse du Jeu des Echecs* (1749), popularized an opening also traceable to Lucena, Philidor's Defense (1. P-K4, P-K4; 2. N-KB3, P-Q3), as well as a type of smothered mate, called Philidor's Legacy" (*Dictionary of Modern Chess* 153-55).

compares its philosophical significance to that of several of Escher's other works. Citing the contribution of David Fleischer, Milton identifies this position as the "smothered mate," also commonly known as Philidor's legacy.<sup>532</sup> Fleischer says that the problem "goes back as far as 1496, being first published by one Lucena. Usually the white rook is at K1, there is no black bishop, and the queen is somewhere on the the KN1-QR7 diagonal. The Black plays 1 N-B7ch; 2K-N1, N-R6 db1 ch; 3K-R1 (if K-B1, Q-B7 mate), Q-N8ch: 4 RXQ, N-B7 mate" (316).

In both Lucena and Philidor's smothered mates, the king is trapped in a corner behind two of his own pawns, the checks are given by the queen and finally the knight and the very Arabic-style threat of instant death to the attacking king is absent. In Alfonso's smothered mate, while the king is trapped in a corner by several different pieces rather than a wall of two pawns and the checks are given by the then-stronger rook and finally the knight, the general smothering principal of a king cornered by his own men and checkmated by a knight remains the same.

In Escher's presentation, it is as though the white king is about to be crowded off the edge of the precipice by his own pieces which imprison him and the check given to him by the black queen at g1.<sup>533</sup> Due to their shading it is somewhat difficult to determine the colors of the pieces in the upper left quadrant but they are most likely black due to their position - white is now traditionally presented at the bottom and black at the top. The top portion of the black king itself at a8 is not visible but it must be a black king

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<sup>532</sup> Charles Milton, "Note on a drawing by M. C. Escher," *Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences* 63 (1973) 315-16.

<sup>533</sup> Escher shows twelve pieces, six of each color, in the following arrangement: ♖g1 ♜d1 ♞a3 ♞f1 ♜g2 h2 (6); ♚a8 ♜g1 ♚b6 ♞g4 ♜a7 b7 (6).

because there is no other on the board. The bishop at b6 is likely black because this eliminates the possibility of white  $\text{Kh1xQg1}$ . The white king cannot capture the black queen ( $\text{Kh1xQg1}$ ) because this would be moving into check by the black bishop at b6. White has only one move left to him, capturing the black queen with his rook ( $\text{Rf1xQg1}$ ), and once he does so black will respond by giving checkmate with his knight ( $\text{Ng4-f2++}$ ). Other modern artistic representations of the smothered mate include the very similar ones shown in Romania's four stamp series<sup>534</sup> in 1984 (Scott 3181)<sup>535</sup> and the opening animated sequence to *Chessmaster 9000*.<sup>536</sup> The latter shows the same endgame played on an eternal chessboard by various peoples throughout history, each with their own styles of chessmen. While perhaps somewhat historically inaccurate since the queen moves as she does today even for Vikings playing with the Isle of Lewis chessmen, it is a pretty example.

Alfonso's artistic presentation is even more sophisticated in its clue to the solution by its repetition of the motif of covered things, just as the losing king is covered and smothered by his own men. The two players, whose gender is debated but whom I feel are women due to the delicacy of their presentation, are fully covered by robes, turbans and veils leaving only their eyes visible. Even the bag for the pieces is tucked up underneath the chess board, trapped behind it and hidden from view.

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<sup>534</sup> The first stamp shows the following inventory and solution: e6 white queen, h6 white knight, g7 black pawn, h7 black pawn, g8 black rook, h8 black king. White to move and win in two: (second stamp:) 1.  $\text{Qe6-g8+}$ , (third stamp:)  $\text{Rf8xQg8}$ ; (fourth stamp:) 2.  $\text{Nh6-f7++}$ .

<sup>535</sup> "Chess Stamps," ed. Bill Wall, accessed 28 Jan. 2005, <<http://www.geocities.com/siliconvalley/lab/7378/stamps.htm>>. The Scott number refers to the *Scott 2006 Standard Postage Catalogue. 162<sup>nd</sup> ed.*, VI vols. James E. Kloetzel, ed. Sidney, OH: Scott, 2005.

<sup>536</sup> Ubisoft 2002. White to move and mate in three the following arrangement: e1 white king, a2 white queen, f7 white knight, g7 black pawn, h7 black pawn, f8 black rook, g8 black king. Solution: 1.  $\text{Nf7-h6+}$ ,  $\text{Kg8-h8}$ ; 2.  $\text{Qa2-g8+}$ ,  $\text{Rf8xQg8}$ ; 3.  $\text{Nh6-f7++}$

To see this fundamental problem played out move by move, please see the accompanying CD-rom for the PowerPoint presentation entitled “The *LJ*’s Problem 55—Smothered Mate.”

### 1.1.6.56 Problem 56

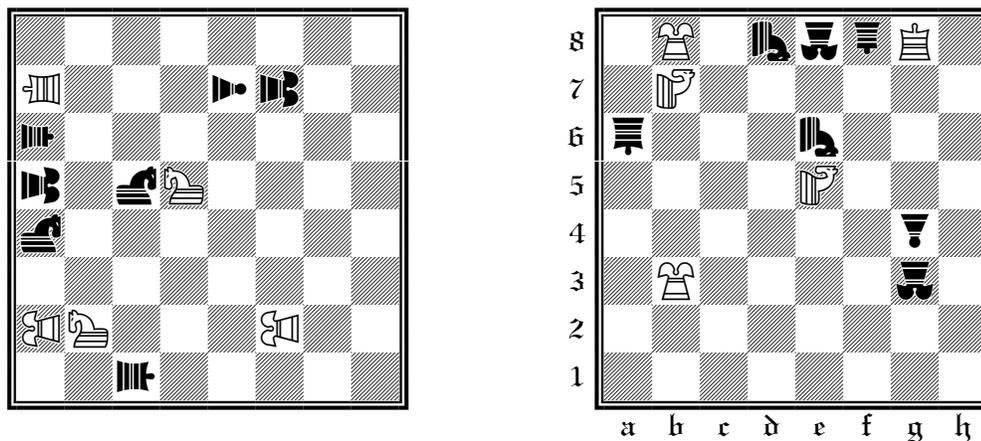


Fig. 74. Problem 56: fols. 38v and 39r (description on fol. 38v and diagram on fol. 39r); 12 pieces: black (at left) plays and wins in six at d5.

Inventory and solution:

♖g8 ♗b3 ♖b8 ♞b7 ♞e5 (5)

♜a6 ♞f8 ♙e8 ♞g3 ♞d8 ♞e6 ♙g4 (7)

1. ..., discover ♙e8+ by ♜[f8]-g7;<sup>537</sup> 2. ♜[g8]-h7, ♙[e8]-h8+; 3. ♜[h7]-g6, ♙[h8]-h6+; 4. ♜[g6]-f5, ♙[h6]-f6+; 5. ♜[f5]-e4, ♙[f6]-f4+; 6. ♜[e4]-d5 (forced), ♙[f4]-d4++ (if black errs ♖b8-a8++)

<sup>537</sup> The manuscript indicates that this is also check from the black fers when moved to g7 but it is not. “El primero iuego dar la xaque en descubierto con el Roque prieto o con el alfferza prieta poniendola en la segunda casa del cauallo prieto” (fol. 38v).

Problem 56 is written in Style IIA. This problem, which begins with a discovered check, does not phrase the move in the present subjunctive as do Problems 52, 57, 62 and 68 of Style IV.

This is the first of the eight *LJ* problems that Murray does not present. J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Calvo says that this is in an original problem with some similarity to Problem 38 (1987: 209).

See also Appendix D2 for a comparison of the non-iconographic *LJ* portraits of Alfonso, possibly playing against his *ayo*.

#### 1.1.6.57 Problem 57

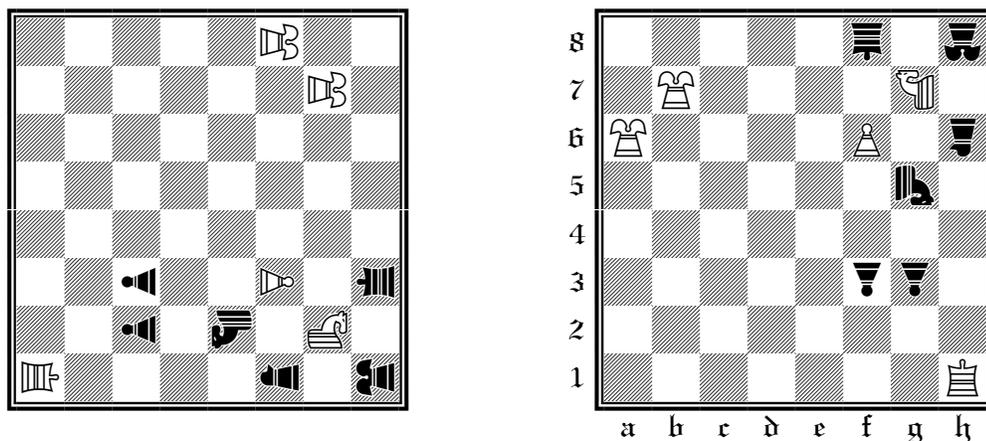


Fig. 75. Problem 57: fols. 39r and 39v (description on fol. 39r and diagram on fol. 39v); 11 pieces: black (at right) plays and wins in five.

Inventory and solution:

♔h1 ♖a6 ♗b7 ♞g7 ♙f6 (5)

♚f8 ♜h8 ♞h6 ♞g5 ♟f3 ♟g3 (6)

1. ..., discover ♖h8+ by ♜[h6]-f4; 2. ♞[g7-h5] (to prolong mate), ♜[h8]x♞[h5]+; 3. ♜[h1]-g1, ♜[h5]-h1+; 4. ♜[g1]x♜[h1] (forced), ♜[g3]-g2+; 5. ♜[h1]-g1 (forced), ♞[g5]-h3++ (if black errs ♞a6-a8++)

This Style IV problem, the second presentation of the Dilaram theme, uses the present subjunctive for the first move of discovered check, as do Problems 52, 62 and 68. It is unique among the *LJ*'s Dilaram problems in that one black knight has already been sacrificed.

Murray presents this problem with a rather different arrangement.<sup>538</sup> Murray's assumption that Problems 57 and 58 have been transposed by accident (1913: 570n12) is puzzling. I think perhaps he may mean Problems 39 and 40 which break the proposed order by having 18 and 19 pieces shown in the miniature respectively, though Problem 39's description says it should also have nineteen.

J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram, Calvo like Murray and Wollesen (290n30) noting that this, like Problems 54, 90 and (incorrectly) 100, are variations on the Dilaram theme (1987: 209).

To see a move-by-move comparison of these problems, please see the accompanying CD-rom for the PowerPoint presentation entitled "The *LJ*'s Dilaram Problems."

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<sup>538</sup> Murray's inventory: h1 white rook, b2 black rook, h3 white fil, a4 white king, c4 black knight, g4 white knight, h4 white rook, f6 white pawn, g6 white pawn, b8 black rook, g8 black king (1913: 286, diagram 83).

## 1.1.6.58 Problem 58

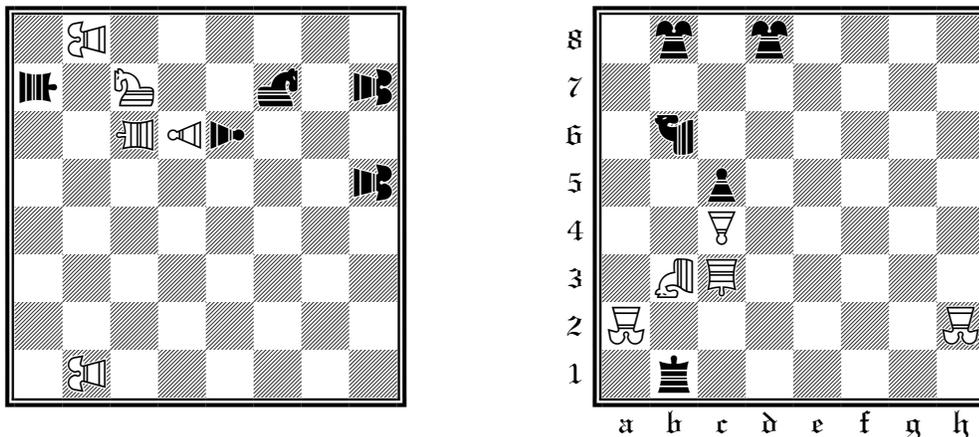


Fig. 76. Problem 58: fols. 39v and 40r (description on fol. 39v and diagram on fol. 40r); 10 pieces: black (at left) plays and wins in three at b3.

Inventory and solution:

♖c3 ♗a2 ♘h2 ♞b3 ♙c4 (5)

♜b1 ♞b8 ♝d8 ♞b6 ♙c5 (5)

1. ..., ♞[b6]-a4+; 2. ♗[a2]x♞[a4] (forced), ♞[b8]x♞b3+; 3. ♖[c3]x♞[b3] (forced), ♝[d8]-d3++ (if black errs before [his second move, i.e.] ♞[b8]x♞b3+ then ♗[a2]-a1++ or ♗[a2]-b2++) (if black errs after that then ♘h2-[h1<sup>539</sup>]++, if ♝[d8]-d1 or from wherever it moved in error to the first rank; ♗[h1]x♞[d1 or similar]++)

<sup>539</sup> Textual error: in Problem 58's threat to the winner (black), in his second move: "el la su segunda casa" (h2) should read "en la su (*primera*) casa" (h1). Steiger corrects it to "en su casa." Crombach leaves the text as is but notes Steiger's correction.

Problem 58 is an Abu Naam Problem written in Style I.<sup>540</sup> In Problems 58 through 60, the order of the words in phrases like “el Rey blanco tomar lo a por fuerça” is unusual in that most problems invert the subject and verb in this case. Interestingly and as with Problems 21, 63, 64, 75 through 77, 94, the second solution of 98, as well as 99 and 101 through 103, all the losing king’s moves are forced in this problem. The double-rook attack in this problem is similar to that seen in Problems 10 and 39, the other Abu Naam Problems 63, 64 and 97, as well as the double-knight attack of Problem 21. This Abu Naam presentation is distinguished by its orientation towards the left edge of the board, with the mate occurring on the b-file rather than as on the c-file (or reciprocal f-file) as in the other three *LJ* presentations in Problems 63, 64 and 97. The threat to the winning side is also unusual among Abu Naam problems in that it is different at different phases of the game. The first threat’s second options results in the trident-style checkmate also seen in Problems 4, 6, 9, 18, 23, 43 through 46, 48, 52, 59, 67, 69, 90, 91 and 92.

Murray presents this problem with a slightly different arrangement.<sup>541</sup> For some reason I have not been able to discern, Murray believes that Problems 57 and 58 have been transposed by accident (1913: 570n12). He also compares it to Problems 63, 64 and 97.

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<sup>540</sup> Abu Naam, also Abu’n-Na’am, was a ninth-century Arabic chess master, described by as-Suli as an *aliya*, i.e. belonging to the highest of his five classes of players. As-Suli notes that Abu Naam supposedly won this position in a real game and used to brag about it. However, Murray qualifies this claim because the “position has clearly been edited to satisfy the artistic canon of Muslim chess, for Red’s [=Black’s] attack is so strong that he must have had a mating attack the preceding move” (1913: 309). This problem is found time and again in ancient Arabic *mansubat* manuscripts, both al-Adli’s and as-Suli’s. Black’s brilliant knight move results in a flurry of forced exchanges, moving the kings into opposition and giving a beautiful checkmate. This famous and popular problem is seen no less than four times in the *LJ*: Problems 58, 63, 64 and 97.

<sup>541</sup> Murray (1913: 284, diagram 53) inverts this diagram and shows a white rook at his d7 (literally, e2) instead of a7 (h2). Otherwise Murray’s diagram is identical to that shown in the *LJ* for Problem 58. His diagrams from Problems 63, 64 and 97 also very slightly as noted in their turn.

J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram.

Calvo, who presents this problem both in his 1984 German article<sup>542</sup> and the 1987 companion to the Edilán facsimile, notes in the latter that this problem first appears in the collection of al-Adli but is also found in all subsequent Arabic treatises. According to Calvo, citing Murray's manuscript called AH, it is called the "game of Abun-Naam" because he went on and on about it. He compares it Problems 58, 63, 64 and 67 (Calvo 1987: 210).

To see a move-by-move comparison of these problems, please see the accompanying CD-rom for the PowerPoint presentation entitled "The *LJ*'s Abu Naam Problems."

#### 1.1.6.59 Problem 59

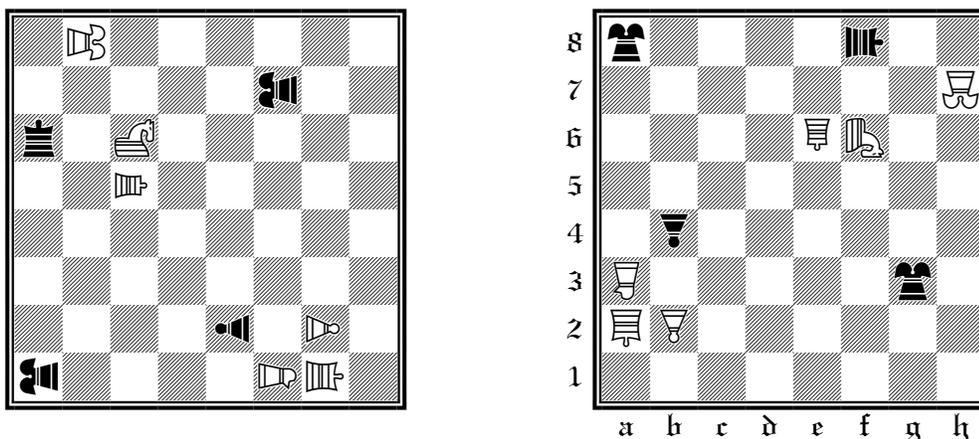


Fig. 77. Problem 59: fols. 40r and 40v (description on fol. 40r and diagram on fol. 40v); 10 pieces: black (at right) plays and wins in four.

<sup>542</sup> Calvo says "Eines der berühmtesten arabischen Probleme ist im unten abgebildeten Diagramm dargestellt. Schwarz setzt folgendermassen matt: 1. ... Sa4+ 2. Txa4 Txb3+ 3. Kxb3 Td3 matt. Das Problem stammt aus dem Buch von al-Adli, einem schon erwähnten arabischen Spieler des 9. Jahrhunderts. In einem islamischen Manuskript heisst es, sein wahrer Ursprung liege in einer Partie des Spielers Abu-Naam welche sich fortwährend damit brüstete (Siehe Farbtafeltiel)" ("Zur Geschichte des Schachspiels" *Schach*, eds. H. Pflieger and H. Metzger [Hamburg, 1984, 16-27] 24).

Inventory and solution:

♔a2 ♖e6 ♘h7 ♙a3 ♞f6 ♚b2 (6)

♜f8<sup>543</sup> ♞a8 ♝g3 ♚b4 (4)

1. ..., ♚[b4]-b3+; 2. ♔[a2]-b1 (because if ♔[a2]-a1, ♞[g3]-g1++), ♞[g3]-g1+;
3. ♙[a3]-c1, ♞a8-a1+; 4. ♔[b1]x♞[a1] (forced), ♞[g1]-x♙c1++ (if black errs ♘[h7]-f7++)<sup>544</sup>

Problem 59 is written in Style IIA. In Problems 58 through 60, the order of the words in phrases like “el Rey blanco tomar lo a por fuerça” is unusual in that most problems invert the subject and verb in this case. The language of this problem is also unusual in that it contains some of the more archaic forms such as *serie* as well as use of the phrase “a la primera uez” rather than “al primer iuego” in conditional moves. The threat results in the trident-style checkmate also seen in Problems 4, 6, 9, 18, 23, 43 through 46, 48, 52, 58, 67, 69, 90, 91 and 92.

Murray presents this problem with a slightly different arrangement<sup>545</sup> (1913: 284, diagram 29).

J. B. Sánchez Pérez displays the same diagram. Pareja Casañas presents this *LJ* problem,<sup>546</sup> in comparison to a similar one in the Rich manuscript, with the same diagram and solution except as noted. He cites J. B. Sánchez Pérez’s diagram 59 (77).

Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Steiger notes Pareja Casañas. Calvo

<sup>543</sup> The unusual position of this black king is owing to the fact that it is held in the hand of the player of black in the miniature. See similarly oriented held pieces in Problems 24, 30, 31 and 36.

<sup>544</sup> Pareja Casañas mentions the threat to the winner in his discussion.

<sup>545</sup> Murray (1913) adds a white pawn at f5, a white fil at g6 and a white rook at d7.

<sup>546</sup> Pareja Casañas’s diagram 28: Spanish translation (I: 51), Arabic transcription (I: Arabic numeral 46) and algebraic notation with discussion (II: 41-42).

notes that this problem is present in the collection of al-Adli but not that of as-Suli (1987: 210).

See also the Appendix D4 for a comparison of the *LJ* portraits of Mayor Guillén de Guzmán and her daughter Beatriz.

### 1.1.6.60 Problem 60

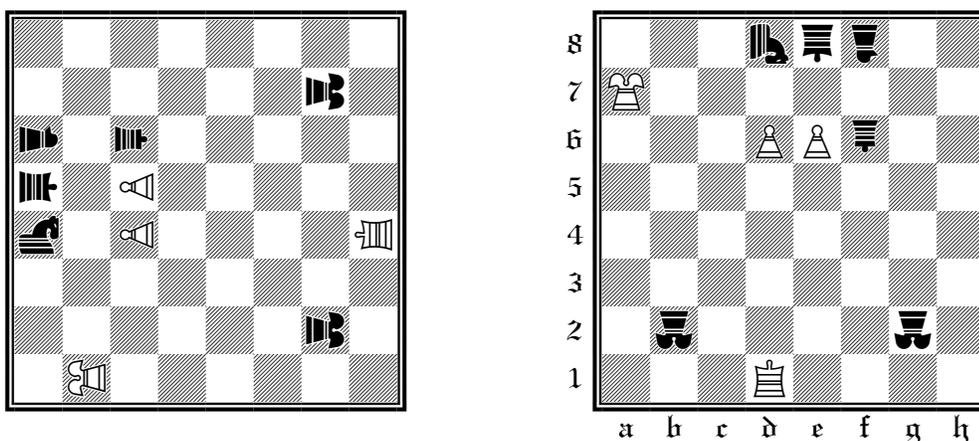


Fig. 78. Problem 60: fols. 40v and 41r (description on fol. 40v and diagram on fol. 41r); 10 pieces: white (at right) plays and wins in two at e8.

Inventory and solution:

♔d1 ♖a7 ♙d6 e6 (4)

♚e8 ♜f6 ♞b2 ♞g2 ♠f8 ♞d8 (6)

1. ♖[a7]-e7+, ♜[f6]x♖[e7]; 2. ♙[d6]-d7++ (if white errs ♞[b2]-b1++ or

♞[g2]-g1++) (Even though similar we included this one because it is more beautiful and subtle)<sup>547</sup>

<sup>547</sup> Steiger does not compare it to another problem. Calvo (1987) says that this is the sole time in the collection that a commentary not strictly related to the moves of the solution appears in the text however similar commentaries appear for Problems 20, 44 and 66. Calvo suggests Problem 43 or 48 could be the similar problems referenced since both contain a similar sacrifice of a rook. Interestingly, Calvo also adds that "...el comentario apreciativo del rey revela un gusto elaborado y un criterio propio, tal vez en desacuerdo con el de alguno de sus recopiladores" (1987: 211).

Problem 60 is written in Style I. This is one of only four problems that defend their own inclusion despite its similarity to another problem; this category includes Problems 20, 44, 60 and 65. In Problems 58 through 60, the order of the words in phrases like “el Rey blanco tomar lo a por fuerça” is unusual in that most problems invert the subject and verb in this case. Calvo says that as-Suli criticized this problem but the *LJ* includes in with the *mas fremoso & sutil* defense (1987: 211).

Murray presents this problem with a slightly different arrangement<sup>548</sup> (1913: 282, diagram 4). J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo (1987) display the same diagram. Calvo presents the same solution. Calvo notes that this problem is one from the collection of al-Adli that as-Suli criticized and did not include in his collection. Perhaps this is due to the fact that Calvo notes, that al-Adli claims that this artificial position was the result of a real-life game. Calvo incorrectly states that this is the only problem containing a defense of its inclusion despite resembling another, unspecified, problem in the *LJ*. In fact, this problem is one of four such problems along with Problems 20, 44 and 65. Calvo suggests that perhaps the other problem referred to in this case is either 43 or 48 with their similar rook sacrifices. I suggest that perhaps this reference is to a combination of elements in the discarded move and threat of Problem 55. Finally, this problem is given personal praise by Alfonso, who calls it *fremoso*.

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<sup>548</sup> Murray (1913) shows the white rook at h7 instead of a7, the black fers at c6 instead of f6 and adds a black knight at d3.

## 1.1.6.61 Problem 61

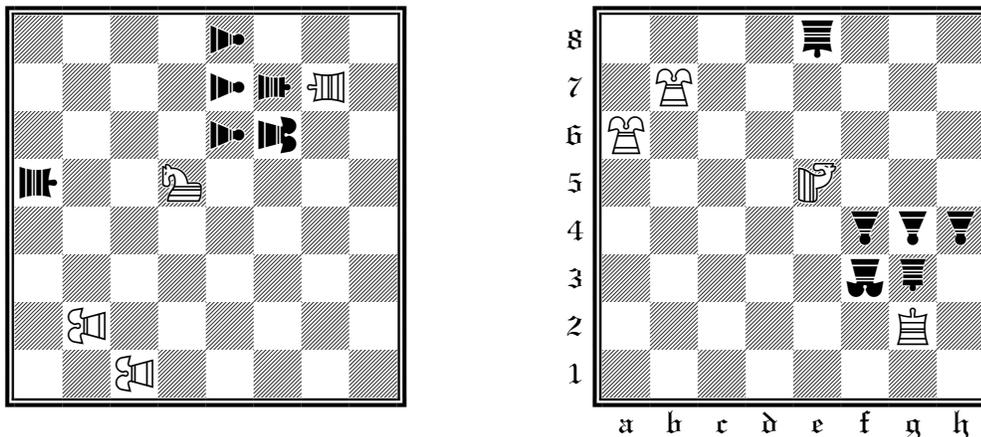


Fig. 79. Problem 61: fols. 41r and 41v (description on fol. 41r and diagram on fol. 41v); 10 pieces: black (at left) plays and win in five.

Inventory and solution:

$\text{♖g2}$   $\text{♗a6}$   $\text{♘b7}$   $\text{♙e5}$  (4)

$\text{♚e8}$   $\text{♜g3}$   $\text{♞f3}$   $\text{♞f4}$   $\text{g4 h4}$  (6)

1. ...,  $\text{♞[h4]-h3+}$ ; 2. (if  $\text{♖[g2]-h1}$ ,  $\text{♞[f3]-f1++}$ )  $\text{♖[g2]-g1}$ ,  $\text{♞[h3]-h2+}$ ; 3. (if  $\text{♖[g1]-h1}$ ,  $\text{♞[f3]-f1+}$ ; 4.  $\text{♖}^{549}\text{[h1]-g2}$  (by force),  $\text{♞[f1]-g1++}$ )  $\text{♖[g1]-g2}$  (to prolong),  $\text{♞[f3]-f2+}$ ; 4.  $\text{♖[g2]-h1}$ ,  $\text{♞[f2]-f1+}$ ; 5.  $\text{♖[h1]-g2}$  (by force),  $\text{♞[f1]-g1++}$  (if black errs  $\text{♗a6-a8++}$ )

Problem 61 is written in Style IIA and contains the only instance of the spelling *Roc* for the rook. This problem and Problem 18 (Style I) are the only ones to contain the very rare term *desent*. There is very limited use of *iogar* in conditional move, as also in Problems 34-35, 45, 46, 51 and 61.

<sup>549</sup> J. B. Sánchez Pérez omits the letter “R” to indicate the king piece for this move, as acknowledged in his “Erratas” (N.P.).

This is the second of the eight *LJ* problems that Murray does not present. J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Calvo notes that this is an original problem comparable to Problem 66 (1987: 212).

### 1.1.6.62 Problem 62

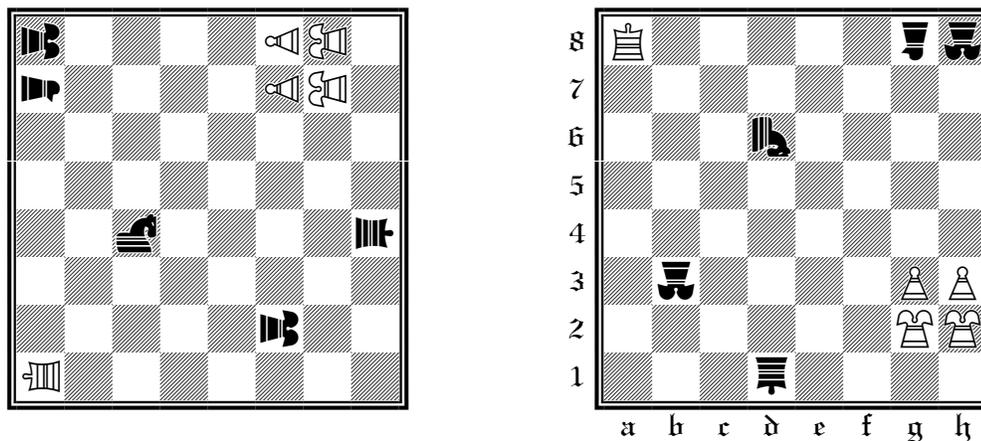


Fig. 80. Problem 62: fols. 41v and 42r (description on fol. 41v and diagram on fol. 42r); 10 pieces: black (at left) plays and wins in three at a6.

Inventory and solution:

♞a8 ♟g2 ♞h2 ♠g3 ♡h3 (5)

♞d1 ♟b3 ♞h8 ♠g8 ♡d6 (5)

1. ..., discover ♟[h8]+ by ♠[g8]-e6; 2. ♞[a8]-a7, ♟[b3]-b7+; 3. ♞[a7]-a6, ♟[h8]-a8++ (if black errs ♞[h2]-h1++ or ♞[g2]-g1++)

This Style IV problem uses the present subjunctive for the first move of discovered check, as do Problems 52, 57 and 68.

This is the third of the eight *LJ* problems that Murray does not present. J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Calvo notes that this problem is original to the *LJ* (1987: 212).

## 1.1.6.63 Problem 63

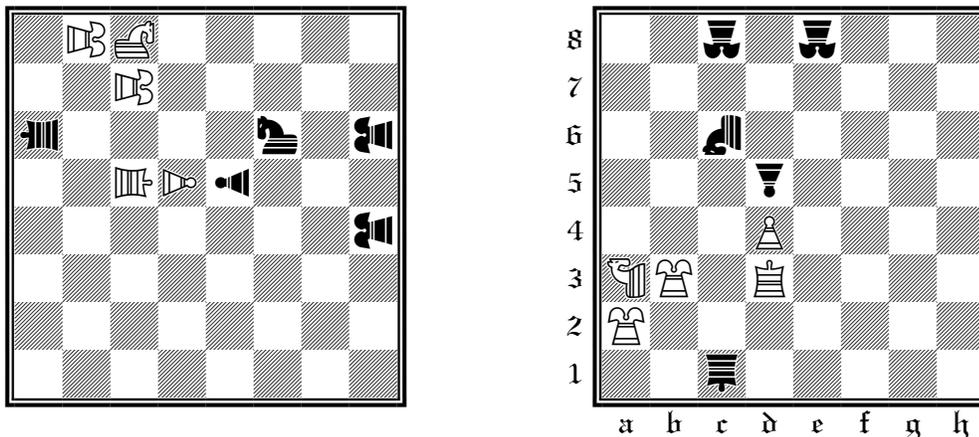


Fig. 81. Problem 63: fols. 42r and 42v (description on fol. 42r and diagram on fol. 42v); 10 pieces: black (at right) plays and wins in three at c3.<sup>550</sup>

Inventory and solution:

♖d3 ♜a2 ♞b3 ♝a3 ♙d4 (5)

♞c1 ♜c8 ♞e8 ♝c6 ♙d5 (5)

1. ..., ♞[c6]-b4+; 2. ♞[b3]x♞[b4] (forced), ♞c8-c3+; 3. ♖[d3]x♞[c3] (forced), ♞[e8]-e3<sup>551</sup>++ (if black errs ♜a2-a1++ or ♞[b3 or b4<sup>552</sup>]-b1++<sup>553</sup>)

Problem 63 is an Abu Naam problem written in Style IB. Unlike Problem 58, also an Abu Naam problem, Problem 63 is like the majority of problems in that it inverts the order of the subject and verb even for captures and its threat to the side to win remains

<sup>550</sup> Nordenfalk does not specify the square in which mate is to occur.

<sup>551</sup> Textual error: from this point on in Problem 63, the text refers to the squares as though the board has been inverted. The third move, black's checkmate: "la tercera casa del Alfferza prieta" (d6) should read "la tercera casa del *Rey blanco*" (e3). Steiger gives the correct square in his solution but transcribes the incorrect phrase as is. Crombach does not note this error.

<sup>552</sup> Nordenfalk offers only the first beginning square of b3 and not b4 for this second threat to black.

<sup>553</sup> Textual error: the manuscript describes the two checkmate options as occurring with the "Roque blanco que esta en la segunda casa del Roque prieto poniendol en la casa del Roque prieto; o con ell otro Roque blanco poniendol en la casa del cauallo prieto" (fol. 42r). However, the text should read: "Roque blanco que esta en la segunda casa del Roque blanco poniendol en la casa del Roque *blanco*; o con ell otro Roque blanco poniendol en la casa del cauallo *blanco*." See also the note at checkmate.

the same throughout the game. Interestingly and as with Problems 21, 58, 64, 75 through 77, 94, the second solution of 98, as well as 99 and 101 through 103, all the losing side's moves are forced in this problem. The double-rook attack here is similar to those in Problems 10 and 39, the other Abu Naam Problems 58, 64 and 97 as well as the double-knight attack of Problem 21. It is the black pawn at d5, covering c4, which distinguishes this Abu Naam presentation from the other three in the *LJ*, particularly Problem 64 which uses a black fil to cover that square.

Murray presents this problem with a slightly different arrangement<sup>554</sup> (1913: 284, diagram 53). J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Murray (1913) and Calvo (1987: 213) compare this problem with the other Abu Naam Problems 58, 64 and 97. Nordenfalk gives the correction solution and threat to mate in his endnotes (170). I note that the younger man in the illumination is the one with the book, so he would know this and thus is the winner.

To see a move-by-move comparison of these problems, please see the accompanying CD-rom for the PowerPoint presentation entitled “The *LJ*'s Abu Naam Problems.”

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<sup>554</sup> Murray (1913) inverts this diagram and shows the following arrangement: e1 black rook, g1 black rook, g3 black knight, f4 black pawn, f5 white pawn, f6 white fers, g6 white knight, d7 white rook, h7 white rook, g8 black king.

## 1.1.6.64 Problem 64

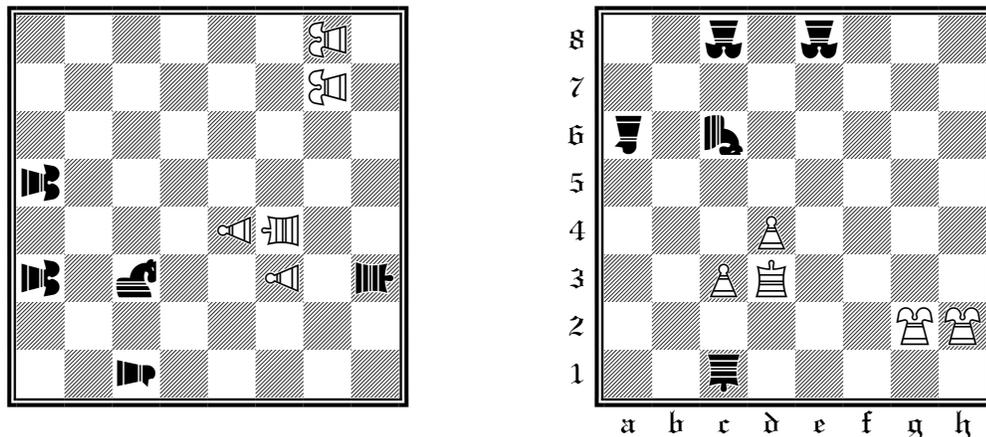


Fig. 82. Problem 64: fols. 42v and 43r (description on fol. 42v and diagram on fol. 43r); 10 pieces: black (at left) plays and wins in three at c3.

Inventory and solution:

$\text{♖d3}$   $\text{♗g2}$   $\text{♘h2}$   $\text{♙c3 d4}$  (5)

$\text{♚c1}$   $\text{♞c8}$   $\text{♝e8}$   $\text{♜a6}$   $\text{♞c6}$  (5)

1. ...,  $\text{♞[c6]-b4+}$ ; 2.  $\text{♙[c3]x♞[b4]}$  (forced),  $\text{♞c8-c3+}$ ; 3.  $\text{♖[d3]x♞[c3]}$  (forced),  $\text{♞[e8]-e3++}$  (if black errs  $\text{♗[h2]-h1++}$  or  $\text{♗[g2]-g1++}$ )

Problem 64 is an Abu Naam Problem written in Style IB. Unlike Problem 58 (Style I), also an Abu Naam problem, Problem 64 is like the majority of problems in that it inverts the order of the subject and verb even for captures and its threat to the side to win remains the same throughout the game. The double-rook attack here is similar to those in Problems 10 and 39, the other Abu Naam Problems 58, 63 and 97 as well as the double-knight attack of Problem 21. It is the black fil at a6, covering a4, which distinguishes this Abu Naam presentation from the other three in the *LJ*, particularly Problem 63. Interestingly and as with Problems 21, 58, 63, 75 through 77, 94, the second

solution of 98, as well as 99 and 101 through 103, all the losing side's moves are forced in this problem.

Van der Linde presents the same diagram but with colors reversed and the same win conditions as his diagram 39 of the chapter "Das Problemschach des Mittelalters."

Murray presents this problem with a slightly different arrangement<sup>555</sup> (1913: 284, diagram 53). J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Murray and Calvo (1987: 213) both compare with problem with the other Abu Naam Problems 58, 63 and 97.

To see a move-by-move comparison of these problems, please see the accompanying CD-rom for the PowerPoint presentation entitled "The *LJ*'s Abu Naam Problems."

#### 1.1.6.65 Problem 65

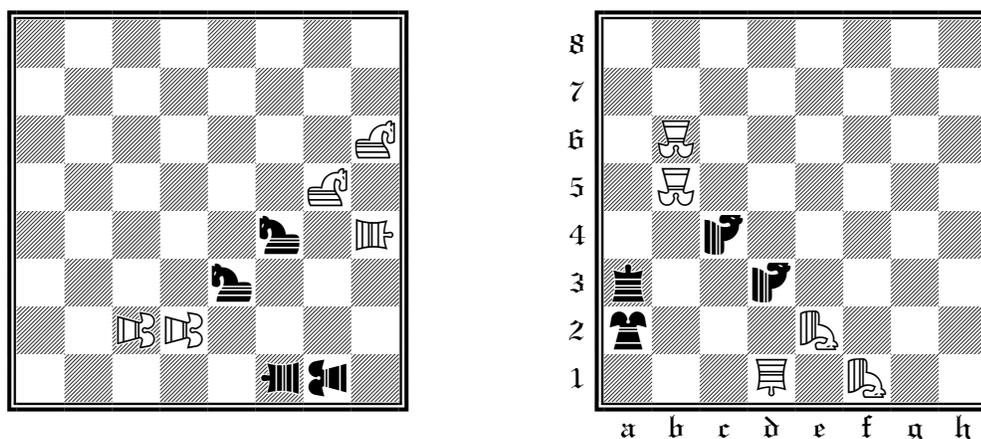


Fig. 83. Problem 65: fols. 43r and 43v (description on fol. 43r and diagram on fol. 43v); 9 pieces: black (at left, piece orientations flipped in the diagram) plays and wins in two at d1.

<sup>555</sup> Murray (1913) inverts this diagram and shows the following arrangement: e1 black rook, g1 black rook, g3 black knight, f4 black pawn, f5 white pawn, f6 white fers, g6 white knight, d7 white rook, h7 white rook, g8 black king.

Inventory and solution:

♔d1 ♕b5 ♖b6 ♗e2 ♘f1 (5)

♚a3 ♛a2 ♜c4 ♝d3 (4)

1. ..., ♞[a2]-d2+; 2. ♞[f1]x♞[d2] (forced), ♞[c4]-e3++ (if black errs ♖b6-[a6]++, if ♞[c4]-a5;<sup>556</sup> ♖[a6]x♞[a5]++)

Problem 65 is written in Style IB. As in Problem 97, the losing side's sole move in this problem is forced. This problem contains a lovely symmetry in which the four knights begin in a diagonal row and are rearranged into a square. This is one of only four problems that defends its own inclusion despite its similarity to another problem; this category includes Problems 20, 44, 60 and 65. I have not been able to determine which other problem is meant to be the similar one, although Problem 81 performs a similar dance of realignment with promoted pawns.

Van der Linde presents the same diagram but with colors reversed and the board inverted, doubtless due to the inversion of the piece orientations in the original, as well as the same mate conditions as his diagram 38 of the chapter "Das Problemschach des Mittelalters." Murray presents this problem with the colors reversed and an inverted, somewhat different diagram.<sup>557</sup> J. B. Sánchez Pérez inverts this same diagram. Steiger displays the same diagram. Calvo inverts this diagram because the pieces are oriented incorrectly in the miniature. He also notes that this is an important problem that also appears in *Civis Bononiæ* and Lucena, among other manuscripts (1987: 214).

<sup>556</sup> Black only has the option of covering with his knight before his own second move in this problem.

<sup>557</sup> Murray's inventory: a1 white king, c2 black rook, g2 black rook, b3 black pawn, d5 white knight, g5 white knight, c6 black knight, e6 white pawn, c7 white rook, d8 black knight, h8 black king (1913: 297, diagram 300).

## 1.1.6.66 Problem 66

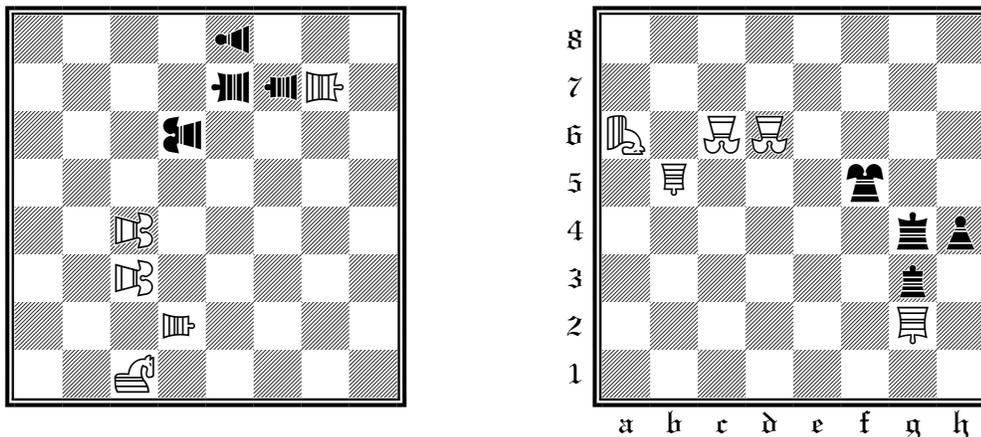


Fig. 84. Problem 66: fols. 43v and 44r (description on fol. 43v and diagram on fol. 44r); 9 pieces: black (at right) plays and wins in five.

Inventory and solution:

$$\text{♖g2} \text{ ♗b5} \text{ ♘c6} \text{ ♙d6} \text{ ♚a6} \quad (5)$$

$$\text{♜g4} \text{ ♞g3} \text{ ♟f5} \text{ ♠h4} \quad (4)$$

1. ..., ♠[h4]-h3+; 2. ♖[g2]-g1 (because if ♖[g2]-h1, ♟[f5]-f1++), ♠[h3]-h2+; 3. (if ♖[g1]-h1, ♟[f5]-f1+; 4. ♖[h1]-g2, ♟[f1]-g1++) ♖[g1]-g2, ♟[f5]-f2+; 4. ♖[g2]-h1, ♟[f2]-f1+; 5. ♖[h1]-g2, ♟[f1]-g1++ (if black errs white wins because it outnumbers black and even though similar we include this because it is more beautiful)

Problem 66 is written in Style IC. Black wins despite a serious material disadvantage.

This is the fourth of the eight *LJ* problems that Murray does not present. J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Steiger does not compare this problem to any other. Calvo does not note this textual commentary but does say that this problem is simple transformation of Problem 61 (1987: 215).

## 1.1.6.67 Problem 67

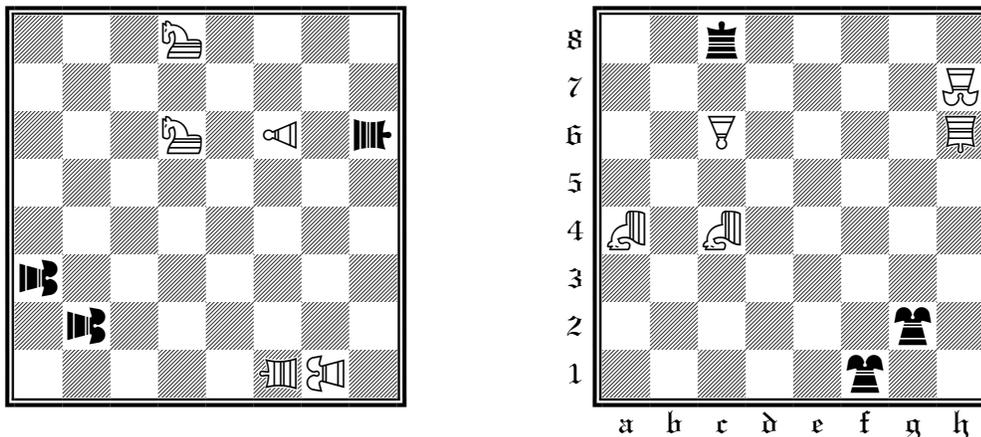


Fig. 85. Problem 67: fols. 44r and 44v (description on fol. 44r and diagram on fol. 44v); 8 pieces: white (at right) plays and wins in three.

Inventory and solution:

♖h6 ♗h7 ♘a4 ♙c4 ♚c6 (5)

♜c8 ♞f1 ♝g2 (3)

1. ♙c4-d6+, (if ♜[c8]-d8; ♗[h7]-d7++ or ♚[c6]-c7++) ♜[c8]-b8; 2. ♗[h7]-b7<sup>558</sup>+, ♜[b8]-a8 (forced); 3. ♘[a4]-b6++ (if white errs ♞f1-h1++)

Problem 67 is written in Style IC. The rare term *uegadas* appears only in fol. 5r's *iuego de donzellas* and this problem. The first optional ending given in the first move of this problem results in the trident-style checkmate also seen in Problems 4, 9, 18, 23, 43 through 46, 48, 52, 58, 59, 69, 90, 91 and 92.

This is the fifth of the eight *LJ* problems that Murray does not present. J. B. Sánchez Pérez presents this same diagram but reverses the piece orientations. Steiger and

<sup>558</sup> Textual error: in Problem 67, move two states "...segunda casa del cauallo blanco" (b2) but should read "segunda casa del cauallo prieto" (b7). HSMS does not correct this error but Steiger does. Crombach leaves the text as is but notes Steiger's correction.

Calvo display the same diagram. According to Calvo, this problem and the following one are original but very simplistic and probably of compiler's own invention (1987: 215).

### 1.1.6.68 Problem 68

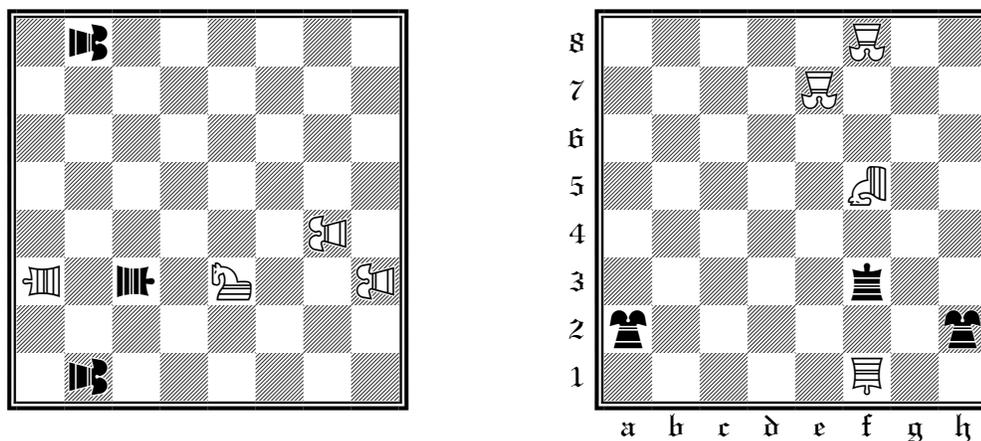


Fig. 86. Problem 68: fols. 44v and 45r (description on fol. 44v and diagram on fol. 45r); 7 pieces (6 shown clearly and one smear): white (at left, piece orientations flipped in the diagram) plays and wins in three.

Inventory and solution:

♔f1 ♕e7 ♖f8 ♞f5 (4)

♜f3 ♜a2 ♜h2<sup>559</sup> (3)

<sup>559</sup> This piece is nearly obliterated in the miniature. None of Gilberg, J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger or Calvo (1987) offers this piece essential to the solution as written.

1. discover ♖[f8]+ by ♜[f5]-anywhere but -h6, -h4 or -g7,<sup>560</sup> ♜[f3]-g3 or ♜[f3]-g4;<sup>561</sup> 2. ♜e7-g7+, ♜[g3]-h3 or ♜[g4]-h3 or ♜[g3]-h4 or ♜[g4]-h4;<sup>562</sup> 3. ♜[f8]-h8++ (if white errs ♜[a2]-a1++<sup>563</sup> [or ♜h2-h1++]

This Style IV problem uses the present subjunctive for the first move of discovered check, as do Problems 52, 57 and 62.

This is the sixth of the eight *LJ* problems that Murray does not present. J. B. Sánchez Pérez inverts this diagram with the omission as noted. Steiger displays the same diagram. Calvo inverts this diagram, believing white to be at right due to the directions of the pieces in the manuscript's illumination. According to Calvo, this problem and the preceding one are original but very simplistic and probably of compiler's own invention (1987: 215).

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<sup>560</sup> These three squares are not options because they would block the development of white's winning attack. White's remaining options are -g3, -e3, -d4 or -d6. ♜[f5]-g3 results in ♜f3x♜g3 on black's next turn if he chooses the first option given. However, the loss of the white knight will not affect white's win.

<sup>561</sup> Unless ♜[f5]-e3 was played in the first move.

<sup>562</sup> If there is no prohibitive piece on h2, then ♜[g3]-h2 is also a possibility. The absence of this option indicates to me the presence of a piece there.

<sup>563</sup> This threat is not checkmate without the other (nearly obliterated) black rook being on h2 or the black king's being in opposition on f3. To me, this is the conclusive proof that h2 should have the second black rook.

## 1.1.6.69 Problem 69

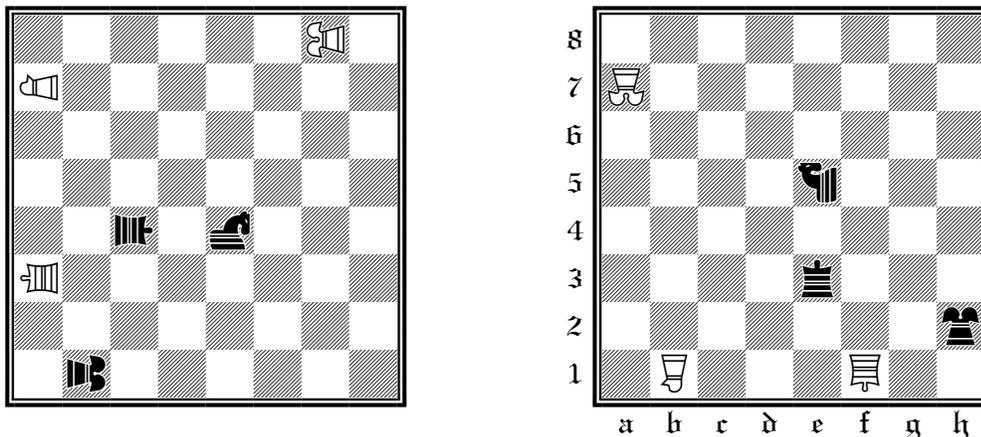


Fig. 87. Problem 69: fols. 45r and 45v (description on fols. 45r and 45v, diagram on fol. 45v); 6 pieces: black (at right, piece orientations flipped in the diagram) plays and wins in nine or more.

Inventory and solution:

$\text{♔ f1}$   $\text{♗ a7}$   $\text{♞ b1}$  (3)

$\text{♜ e3}$   $\text{♞ h2}$   $\text{♝ e5}$  (3)

1. ...,  $\text{♞ [h2]-f2+}$ ; 2. (if  $\text{♔ [f1]-g1}$ ,  $\text{♝ [e5]-f3+}$ ; 2.  $\text{♜ [g1]-h1}$ ,  $\text{♞ [f2]-h2++}$ )  $\text{♔ [f1]-e1}$  (to prolong mate),  $\text{♝ [e5]-f3+}$ ; 3.  $\text{♜ [e1]-d1}$ ,  $\text{♞ [f2]-f1+}$ ; 4.  $\text{♜ [d1]-c2}$ ,  $\text{♝ [f3]-d4+}$ ; 5. (if  $\text{♜ [c2]-c3}$ ,  $\text{♝ [d4]-b5+}$  (forking the  $\text{♗ [a7]}$  and white will be defeated))  $\text{♜ [c2]-b2}$  (to prolong mate),  $\text{♞ [f1]-f2+}$ ; 6. (if  $\text{♜ [b2]-a1}$ ,  $\text{♝ [d4]-b3++}$ ) and (if  $\text{♜ [b2]-a3}$  or  $\text{♜ [b2]-c3}$ ,  $\text{♝ [d4]-b5+}$  (forking the  $\text{♗ [a7]}$  and [white] will be defeated))  $\text{♜ [b2]-c1}$  (to prolong),  $\text{♞ [f2]-c2+}$ ; 7.  $\text{♜ [c1]-d1}$ ,  $\text{♞ [c2]-d2+}$ ; 8. (if  $\text{♜ [d1]-c1}$ ,  $\text{♝ [d4]-e2++}$  or  $\text{♝ [d4]-b3++}$ )  $\text{♜ [d1]-e1}$ ,  $\text{♝ [d4]-f3+}$ ; 9.  $\text{♜ [e1]-f1}$  (forced),  $\text{♞ [d2]-f2++}$

This Style IIA problem contains two very unusual phrases “xaque por”, “seran los blancos vencudos” and the unusual term *alongamiento* rather than “por alongar el mate”

for the explanation of a conditional mate. The discarded series described at the eighth move results in its first threat is the trident-style checkmate also seen in Problems 4, 6, 9, 18, 23, 43 through 46, 48, 52, 58, 59, 67, 90, 91 and 92. The ending to this problem is unusual in that there is no immediate threat to the side to win should it err; instead the text says that they cannot be defeated in “*iuegos contados*” as seen in Problems 29, 44, 45, 49-51, 53 and 69.

Van der Linde presents the same position to win in eight moves, plus the black pawn on b4 (his g5 due to his inversion of the board) that is needed for the correct solution, as his diagram 59 of the chapter “*Das Problemschach des Mittelalters.*” Murray presents this with a slightly different and inverted arrangement.<sup>564</sup> J. B. Sánchez Pérez, who reversed the piece orientations, and Steiger display the same diagram. Calvo inverts this diagram, believing white to be at right due to the directions of the pieces in the manuscript’s illumination. He also compares it to Problem 91, saying that the position resulted from a blindfold game played by as-Suli (1987: 216).

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<sup>564</sup> Murray’s inventory: e2 black fers, d3 black rook, d5 white knight, e6 white king, h7 white rook, b8 black fil, f8 black king (1913: 286, diagram 84).

## 1.1.6.70 Problem 70

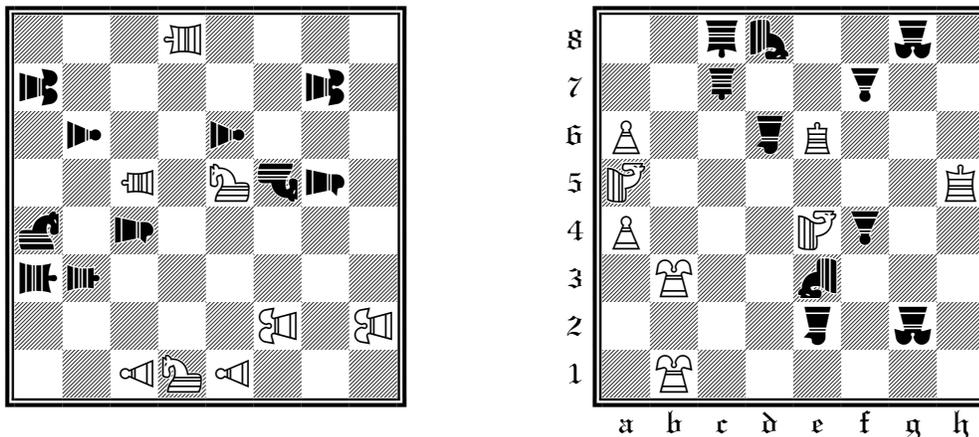


Fig. 88. Problem 70: fols. 45v and 46r (description on fols. 45v and 46r, diagram on fol. 46r); 18 pieces: white (at right) plays and wins in six.

Inventory and solution:

$$\text{♖h5 } \text{♗e6 } \text{♜b1 } \text{♞b3 } \text{♝a5 } \text{♞e4 } \text{♙a4}^{565} \text{ a6} \quad (8)$$

$$\text{♞c8 } \text{♞c7 } \text{♞g2 } \text{♞g8 } \text{♙d6 } \text{♙e2 } \text{♞d8 } \text{♞e3 } \text{♙f4 f7} \quad (10)$$

1. ♞[e4]x♙d6+, ♞[c7]x♞[d6]; 2. ♞[b3]-b8+, ♞[c8]-c7; 3. ♞[b1]-b7+, ♞[d8]x♞[b7]; 4. ♞[b8]x♞b7+, (if ♞[c7]-c8; 5. ♙[e6]-d7+, ♞[c8]-d8; 6. ♞[a5]-c6++) and ((if ♞[c7]-d8; 5. ♞[a5]-c6+, if ♞[d8]-e8; 6. ♞[b7]-b8++) and (if ♞[d8]-c8; [6.] ♙[e6]-d7++)) (if white errs ♞g2-h2++ or ♞[g8]-h8++)

Problem 70 is written in Style IIA. Both rooks from both sides begin in an unusual parallel position, here on the same b- and g-files, like Problem 87 and the threat to the winning side in Problems 24 and 37. Three solutions for the prescribed win in six moves are offered, all identical up through white's first four moves. It is with this problem that the intended plan of descending piece order of the problems of the "Libro

<sup>565</sup> Calvo (1987) omits this white pawn.

del acedrex” is broken for the fifth time and finally abandoned completely. See also Problems 9, 14, 38 and 39.

Murray presents this problem with a somewhat different arrangement.<sup>566</sup> J. B. Sánchez Pérez and Steiger display the same diagram. Calvo describes this as the first out of order in terms of the original plan for descending number of pieces, without reference to Problems 9 and 14 which also do. Calvo as says this Problem 70 appears in as-Suli’s and other Arabic treatises (1987: 216).

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<sup>566</sup> Murray’s inventory: b1 white rook, e2 black fil, g2 black rook, b3 white rook, e3 black knight, e4 white knight, f4 black pawn, a5 white knight, h5 white king, a6 white pawn, d6 black fil, e6 white fers, f6 black pawn, c7 black fers, c8 black king, d8 black knight, g8 black rook (1913: 286, diagram 74).

## 1.1.6.71 Problem 71

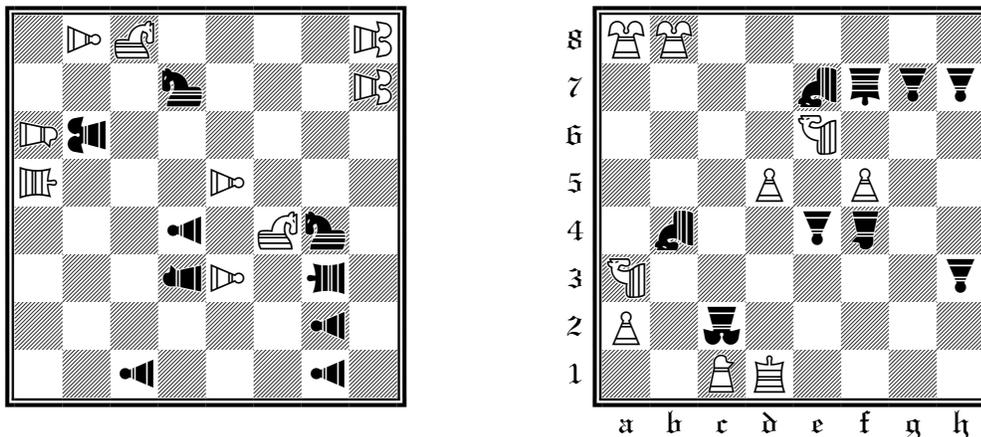


Fig. 89. Problem 71: fols. 46r and 46v (description on fol. 46r and diagram on fol. 46v); 18 pieces: black (at right) plays and wins in ten at h5.

Inventory and solution:

♙d1 ♖a8 ♘b8 ♜c1 ♞a3 ♝e6 ♠a2 d5 f5 (9)

♞f7 ♚c2 ♛f4 ♜b4 ♞e7 ♠e4 g7 h3 h7 (9)

1. ..., ♚[c2]-d2+; 2. ♙[d1]-e1, ♜[b4]-d3+; 3. ♙[e1]-f1, ♚[d2]-f2+; 4. ♙[f1]-g1, ♠[h3]-h2+; 5. ♙[g1]-h1, ♚[f2]-f1+; 6. ♙[h1]-g2, ♚[f1]-g1+; 7. ♙[g2]-h3, ♜[d3]-f2+; 8. ♙[h3]-h4, ♚[g1]-g4+; 9. ♙[h4]-h5 (forced), ♠[g7]-g6+; 10. ♠[f5]x♠[g6]+, ♠[h7]x♠[g6]++ (if black errs ♘[b8]-f8++)

Problem 71 is written in Style IA.

Murray presents this problem with an inverted and rather different diagram.<sup>567</sup> J.

B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Calvo notes that this problem appears in as-Suli's and other Arabic treatises (1987: 217).

<sup>567</sup> Murray's inventory: b2 black pawn, c2 black king, d2 black knight, f2 black pawn, h2 white rook, f3 white knight, e4 white pawn, c5 black fil, g5 black knight, a6 black pawn, c6 white pawn, h6 white knight, f7 black rook, h7 white pawn, e8 white king, f8 white fil, h8 white rook (1913: 289, diagram 113).

## 1.1.6.72 Problem 72

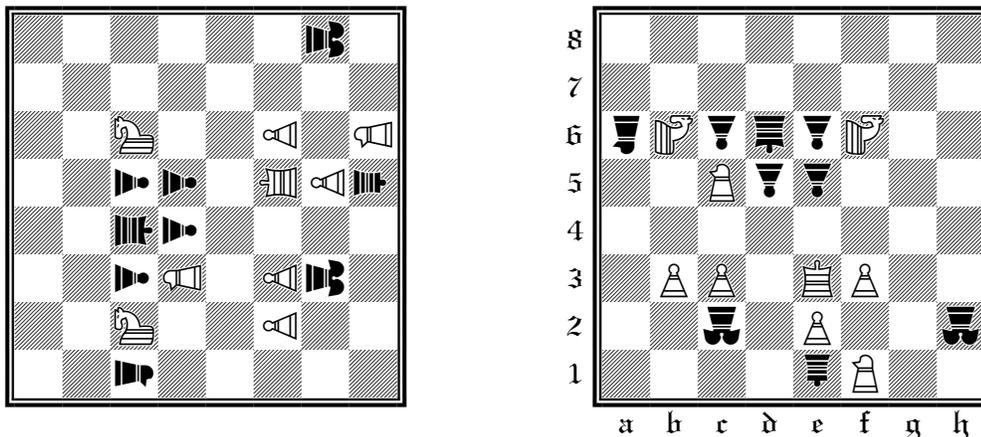


Fig. 90. Problem 72: fols. 46v and 47r (description on fol. 46v and diagram on fol. 47r); 18 pieces: white (at right) plays and wins in five at b5.

Inventory and solution:

♔e3 ♕c5 ♖f1 ♗b6 ♘f6 ♙b3 c3 e2 f3 (9)

♚d6 ♛e1 ♜c2 ♝h2 ♞a6 ♟c6 d5 e5 e6 (9)

1. ♗[f6]-e8+, ♚[d6]x ♕c5; 2. ♗[b6]-d7+, ♜[c5]-b5; 3. ♗[e8]-d6+, ♜[b5]-a5;
4. ♗[d6]-b7+, ♜[a5]-b5; 5. ♖[f1]-d3++ (if white errs 1. ♜hx ♙e2+, ♕[e3]-d3;<sup>568</sup> 2. ♜[c2]-d2++)<sup>569</sup>

Problem 72 is written in Style I.

Murray presents this problem with a somewhat different arrangement.<sup>570</sup>

<sup>568</sup> J. B. Sánchez Pérez incorrectly gives “Re3-d2” instead of “Re3-d3” as he acknowledges in his “Erratas” (N.P.).

<sup>569</sup> Pareja Casañas does not offer threat information for this problem.

<sup>570</sup> Murray’s inventory: f1 white fil, a2 black rook, e2 black knight, b3 white pawn, c3 white fers, e3 white king, f3 white pawn, h3 white pawn, c5 white fil, d5 black pawn, e5 white knight, f5 black pawn, a6 black fil, c6 black pawn, d6 black king, e6 black pawn, g7 white knight (1913: 283, diagram 20).

J. B. Sánchez Pérez displays the same diagram. Pareja Casañas presents this *LJ* problem and Problem 40,<sup>571</sup> in comparison to a similar one in the Rich manuscript, with the same diagram and solution, except as noted. He cites J. B. Sánchez Pérez's diagrams 40 and 72 (58 and 90).

Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Steiger notes Pareja Casañas.

Calvo notes that this problem appears in al-Adli's collection. He also compares this problem with Problem 40 (1987: 217).

### 1.1.6.73 Problem 73

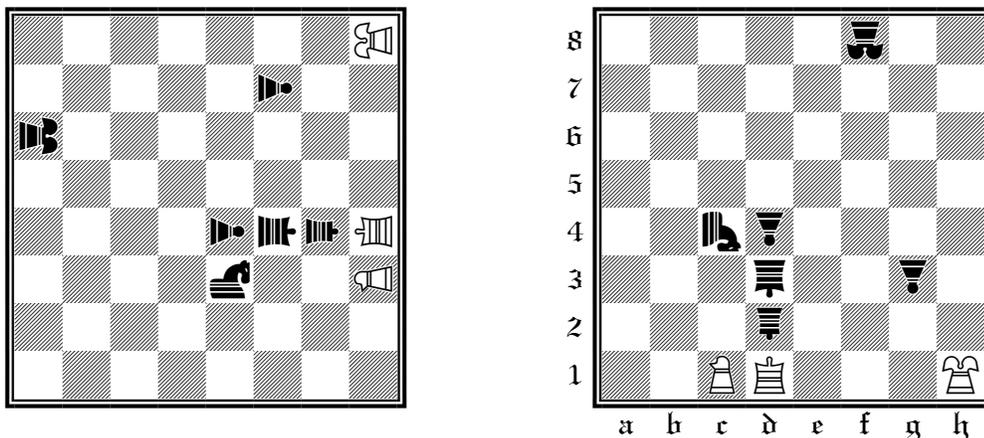


Fig. 91. Problem 73: fols. 47r and 47v (description on fol. 47r and diagram on fol. 47v); 9 pieces: black (at left) plays and wins in three with black pawn which is on d4.

Inventory and solution:

$$\text{♔d1} \text{ ♖h1} \text{ ♗c1} \quad (3)$$

$$\text{♜d3} \text{ ♜d2} \text{ ♞f8} \text{ ♞c4} \text{ ♙d4} \text{ g3} \quad (6)$$

<sup>571</sup> Pareja Casañas's diagram 24: Spanish translation (I: 47), Arabic transcription (I: Arabic numeral 42) and algebraic notation with discussion (II: 34-36).

1. ..., ♖[d3]-c3; 2. (white cannot harm black with any play),<sup>572</sup> ♜[c4]-b2+; 3. ♜[d1]-e2 (forced), ♚[d4]-d3++

The language of this Style IIB problem is unusual in several regards. First, the phrase “& an se de iogar desta guisa” in the rubric where it is not unusual, is repeated again within the text of the problem where it is unusual. Problems 75 and 79 also repeat this phrase within the text of the problem. Second, the description of the moves using the past subjunctive of *iogar* is unique to this problem. Third, also unique to this problem are the lack of description of a first move for white and the phrase that is given instead, “& los blancos non pueden por ninguna manera por que fagan danno a los prietos iogar a ningun logar.” Finally, this is one of six problems that ending with the additional phrase “que aqui esta pintada”; this category also includes Problems 17, 21, 25, 42 and 49.

Murray, J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. This is the first of the problems that Murray presents under the medieval problem section of his “Chess in Europe” chapter (1913: 571, diagram numbers for this section are the same as the *LJ* problem numbers and thus will not be repeated here). In this section he refers to white as white and not red as in his chapter “The Game of Shatranj.” Calvo says that this is a problem original to the *LJ* and that it is very different in style and much more European than the Arabic-style problems (1987: 218). In fact, it is the first in a series of several original and more European-style problems.

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<sup>572</sup> White’s legal options are: ♜ c1-a3 or ♜ c1-e3, ♜ d1-e2, or ♜ h1-e1, -f1, g-1 or anywhere along the h-file. However, in order for the next move of the problem to work, white must choose to move either his fil or his rook and not his king.

The Oxford Companion to Chess presents the miniature for this game from fol. 54v and in its caption gives the correct description and solution, except that they call the fers a *firzan*,<sup>573</sup> but more importantly they also point out that “1. Nb2+ would be mate, but not by the pawn on d4” (11).

See also the Appendices D1 and D3 for a comparison of the iconographic and semi-iconographic Portraits of Alfonso in the *LJ* and a comparison of the *LJ* portraits of Queen Violante.

#### 1.1.6.74 Problem 74

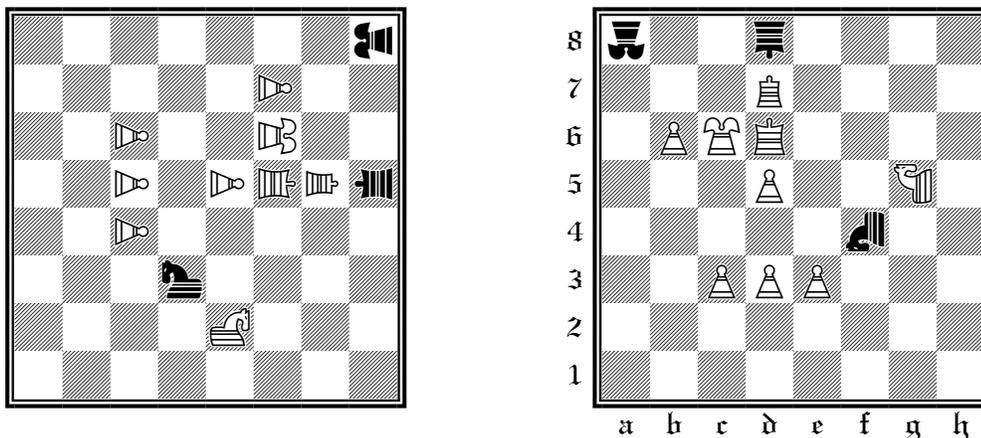


Fig. 92. Problem 74: fols. 47v and 48r (description on fol. 47v and diagram on fol. 48r); 12 pieces: white (at left) plays and wins in four (no more, no less) with the white pawn which begins at d5.

Inventory and solution:

♙d6 ♘d7 ♖c6 ♗g5 ♕b6 c3 d3 d5 e3 (9)

♚d8 ♜a8 ♞f4 (3)

<sup>573</sup> According to their own definition, a *firzan* is “the piece used in shatranj that was supplanted by the fers (in turn supplanted by the queen). A firzan is moved one square diagonally in any direction and can be moved to only 32 squares on the board” (136). Thus, the name *The Oxford Companion to Chess* uses describes a piece that is from the previous step in the evolution of the game. However, given the position in question, this error does not affect the solution.

1. ♖g5-e6+, ♜[f4]x♗[e6]; 2. ♖d5x♜[e6], (♚ cannot move) ♜a8-whenever [along the a-file<sup>574</sup>]; 3. (if needed ♜c6-forward<sup>575</sup> and if not) ♖e3-[e4], (black can do nothing with his ♜ to harm white's advantage);<sup>576</sup> 4. ♖[e6]-e7++

Problem 74 is written in Style IIB. This is another problem whose language is very peculiar. Like Problems 78, 80, 81 and 103, Problem 74 specifies that the checkmate is to occur in exactly (“ni mas ni menos”) a certain number of moves. The second move gives the move for the side to win in the future, a tense usually reserved for the reactive or losing side. Problems 74, 79, 80, 85 through 87, and 96 all use the future tense to describe the moves for both sides; however Problem 74 only does this once. Several phrases are unique to this problem: “& el Rey prieto *non* puede iogar. & aura a iogar por fuerça con el su Roque prieto que esta en su casa; poniendol en qual casa pudiere”, “Et al tercero iuego si mester fuere poner la el Roque blanco siempre delante. & si non fuere mester iogara el Rey blanco con el su peon blanco”, and “Et como quier que iuegue el Rey prieto con su Roque; non puede empeeçer a los blancos.” Finally, as with the following two problems as well as 74-76, 79-94, 96 and 103, no threat is given to the side to win should it err. In this problem the black rook sweep the white king upwards from the bottom of the board, similar to the use of the rook in Problems 75 and 83.

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<sup>574</sup> Black can move his rook at a8 anywhere along the a-file except a7 because if the white pawn at b6 were to capture black's rook, white would win by bare king.

<sup>575</sup> White's rook move would have to be c6-c7 because c6-c8 is checkmate but not in the four moves required by the problem's description.

<sup>576</sup> If the black rook had moved a8-a6, he could then capture the white pawn at b6 which would then lose black the game by ♜c6x♜b6; or if the black rook had moved a8-a3, then he could capture the pawn at c3 with a similar result: ♜c6x♜c3. In either case, white's ability to win is not compromised by any capture black's rook can make.

Van der Linde presents the same position to win in four as his diagram 45 of the chapter “Das Problemschach des Mittelalters.” Murray presents this problem, inverting the diagram, under the medieval problem section of his “Chess in Europe” chapter (1913: 571, 578). In the second presentation, Murray compares it to problem 25 of the manuscript “which for purposes of reference I denote as Arch., [and] was once in the possession of the Counts Archinto, then in the Phillips Library, Cheltenham, and is now in the library of Mr. J. G. White of Cleveland, Ohio, U.S.A.” (1913: 573). J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Calvo says that this is a problem original to the *LJ* and that it is very different in style and much more European than the Arabic-style problems. He also suggests that it could be Sancho el Bravo portrayed here (1987: 219).

See also the Appendices D1 and D4 for a comparison of the iconographic and semi-iconographic Portraits of Alfonso in the *LJ* and a comparison of the *LJ* portraits of Mayor Guillén de Guzmán and her daughter Beatriz.

## 1.1.6.75 Problem 75

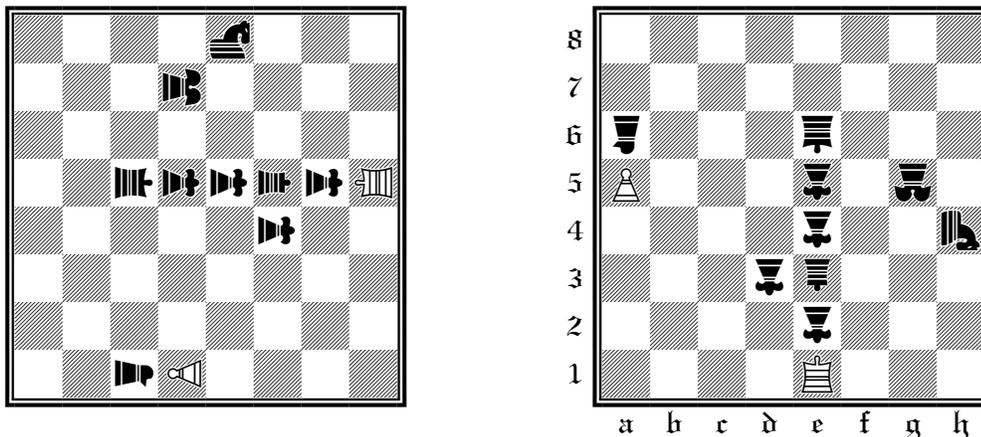


Fig. 93. Problem 75: fols. 48r and 48v (description on fol. 48r and diagram on fol. 48v); 11 pieces: black (at left) plays and wins in four at e4.

Inventory and solution:

$\text{♔}e1 \text{♕}a5$  (2)

$\text{♞}e6 \text{♞}e3 \text{♞}d3 \text{♞}e2 \text{♞}e4 \text{♞}e5 \text{♞}g5 \text{♞}a6 \text{♞}h4$  (9)

1. ...,  $\text{♞}d3-c4$ ; 2.  $\text{♞}[e1]x \text{♞}e2$  (forced),  $\text{♞}[g5]-g1$ ; 3.  $\text{♞}[e2]x \text{♞}e3$  (forced),  $\text{♞}[g1]-g2$ ; 4.  $\text{♞}[e3]x \text{♞}e4$  (forced),  $\text{♞}[g2]-e2++$

This problem, like Problem 81 is unusual in its high number of four promoted pawns but does not have that later problem's beautiful symmetry. Interestingly and as with Problems 21, 58, 63, 64, 76, 77, 94, the second solution of 98, as well as 99 and 101 through 103, all the losing king's moves are forced. Problem 75 is written in Style III. The phrase “& an se de iogar desta guisa” in the rubric where it is not unusual, is repeated again within the text of the problem where it is unusual. Problems 73 and 79 also repeat this phrase within the text of the problem. Problem 75 is the first of several problems to use the infinitive of the verb *poner* as the directive for moves. As with

Problems 77 and 79, no notice is given in the text if these moves give check and, in fact, the word for check is used only once and when mate is given in these problems. Finally, as with the preceding and following problems, as well as 74-76, 79-94, 96 and 103, no threat is given to the side to win should it err.

Van der Linde, whose diagram does not distinguish between ferses and promoted pawns, inverts the same position and reverses the colors, resulting in his mate conditions being to win in four moves at d5 rather than e4, as his diagram 47 of the chapter “Das Problemschach des Mittelalters.” Van der Linde also compares this position to that of Problem 83. Murray (1913: 571), J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Calvo says that this bare king problem is original to the *LJ* and that it is very different in style and much more European than the Arabic-style problems.<sup>577</sup>

#### 1.1.6.76 Problem 76

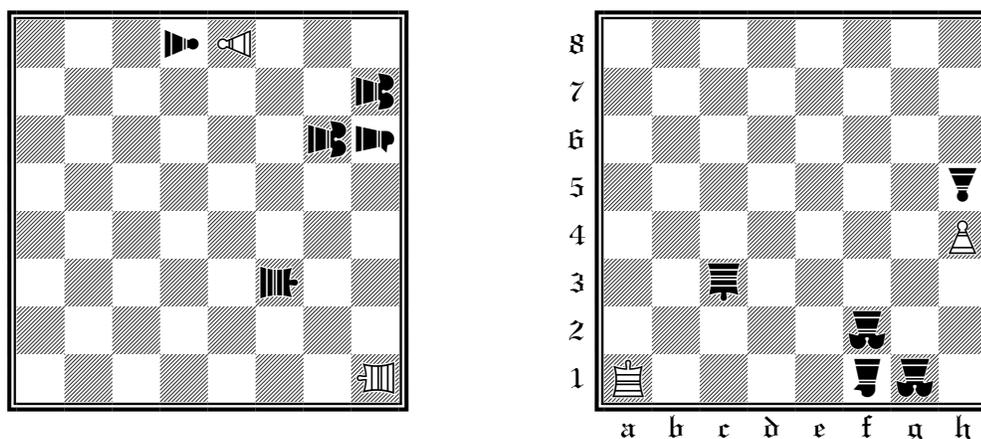


Fig. 94. Problem 76: fols. 48v and 49r (description on fol. 48v and diagram on fol. 49r); 7 pieces: black (at left) plays and wins in exactly five at b1 with his black fil.

<sup>577</sup> Calvo 1987: 219. Bare king (Spanish: *rey robado*) is a victory by leaving a king bare or robbed of all his army, i.e. a king with no other pieces of his same color left on the board. In the *LJ* the bare king victory occurs or is a possibility in Problems 75, 76, 80, 84, 93 and 94. See also the note on bare king victories in Arabic problems at Problem 93.

Inventory and solution:

♔a1 ♚h4 (2)

♚c3 ♜f2 ♞g1 ♜f1 ♚h5 (5)

1. ..., ♞[f2]-d2;<sup>578</sup> 2. ♔[a1]-b1 (forced), ♞[d2]-d1+; 3. ♔[b1]-a2 (forced), ♞[d1]-a1+; 4. ♔[a2]x♞[a1] (forced), ♚[c3]-b3; 5. ♔[a1]-b1 (forced), ♚[f1]-d3++

Although this Style III problem also uses *poner* as the verb to describe moves to be made, the language is much more like the other styles than the preceding Problem 75 because of the inclusion here of other phrases like “dar la xaque con” and “entrara el Rey.” Interestingly and as with Problems 21, 58, 63, 64, 75, 77, 94, the second solution of 98, as well as 99 and 101 through 103, all the losing king’s moves are forced. As with the preceding two problems, as well as Problems 74-76, 79-94, 96 and 103, no threat is given to the side to win should it err. Problem 76 is the first of a pair of bare king problems.

Van der Linde presents the same position but with the colors reversed and the board inverted, specifying only that white is to win with his fil in five moves, as his diagram 50 of the chapter “Das Problemschach des Mittelalters.” Murray (1913: 571), J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Steiger aptly notes that a better play, ♚f1-d3++, results in discovered checkmate in one move. Calvo, who omits the specified checkmate square from his modernization of the problem’s instructions, notes that this problem is an original, European-style bare king problem with an impossible arrangement (1987: 220). The black fils could never have arrived at f1 in a real game (see Figure 7’s diagram of a Chessboard of Fil Possibilities).

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<sup>578</sup> Keats also suggests “(or 1 ... ♞e2, etc.)” which is not present in the manuscript but which also works: 2. ... ♞e2-e1+ (1: 193).

Keats confusingly presents the diagram for Problem 76 underneath the miniature for Problem 103 on fol. 64r and, in this case, never specifies which number problem he is actually describing (1: 192). He explains that in this European-style problem the two blocked pawns “would not have been considered superfluous, since without his pawn White would lose by the ‘bare king’ rule” and that the bishop at f1 “is on a square that it could never have reached in an actual game following the medieval rules.” Keats also notes that black could easily win in one move, presumably by discovered check removing the bishop from f1 to either d3 or h3 or that “[i]t is also easy to see how a mate with bishop on d3 and white king on b1 can be brought about on Black’s second or fourth move.” He gives the correct solution, describing it as a triangulation between the squares a1, a2 and b1 (1: 193).

### 1.1.6.77 Problem 77

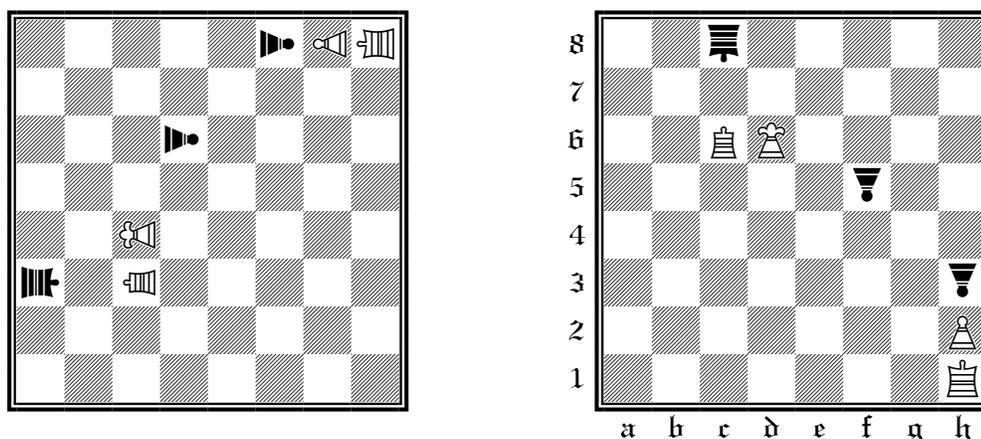


Fig. 95. Problem 77: fols. 49r and 49v (description on fol. 49r and diagram on fol. 49v); 7 pieces: white (at right) plays and wins in seven.<sup>579</sup>

<sup>579</sup> The quantity of sevens employed in this problem cannot be coincidental: this is the seventy-seventh problem on the folio which is equal to seven squared which uses seven pieces and solves in seven moves. Problem 85 also uses seven pieces and seven moves. In fact, more problems use seven pieces than any other number: twelve problems use seven; eleven use twenty-two; eleven use nineteen pieces; eight use ten; seven use eighteen; six use twenty-one; five use fifteen and thirteen; five use eleven; four use sixteen;

Inventory and solution:

♙h1 ♘c6 ♖d6 ♗h2 (4)

♜c8 ♚f5 h3 (3)

(♙[c6] and ♖[d6] are fidated, i.e. safe from capture,<sup>580</sup> ♜ should play whenever he can) 1. ♖[d6]-c7, (♜ cannot move so) ♚f5-[f4];<sup>581</sup> 2. ♖[c7]-d8, ♜[c8]-b8 (forced); 3. ♙[c6]-b7, ♜[b8]-a7 (forced); 4. ♖[d8]-c7, (♜ cannot move so) ♚[f4]-f3; 5. ♙[b7]-a6, ♜[a7]-a8 (forced); 6. ♖[c7]-b8, (♜ cannot move) ♚[f3]-f2 (forced); 7. ♙[a6]-b7++

Both the condition of safe pieces, used later by Lucena, and the prompt that the King should move whenever he can are unique to this Style III problem. Because of the latter condition, the indications for Black's moves are at times unusual in that they explain that the King cannot move so that the King personified must make the move with some other piece. This problem, like Problem 75, uses *poner* to indicate movements without indicating whether or not these moves result in check. As with Problems 77 and 79, the word for check is used only once and when mate is given in this problem. Interestingly and as with Problems 21, 58, 63, 64, 75, 76, 94, the second solution of 98, as well as 99 and 101 through 103, all the losing player's moves are forced.

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four use twelve; three use nine; twenty-eight, twenty-seven, twenty-five, twenty-four, twenty-three, twenty, eight and six pieces are used by two problems each; thirty, twenty-nine, twenty-six, seventeen, fourteen and five pieces are each used by one problem. Given that only one of the problems which use seven pieces occurs before the breakdown of the proposed order, I believe special preference was given to seven-piece problems in the search for enough problems to fill 64 folios.

<sup>580</sup> This is the only instance in the *LJ*'s chess problems where a special condition contrary to normal medieval capturing rules is given.

<sup>581</sup> J. B. Sánchez Pérez acknowledges in his "Erratas" (N.P) that he incorrectly indicates that this move and all other black's moves in this problem result in check to the white king.

Van der Linde, whose diagram does not distinguish between ferses and promoted pawns, presents nearly this same position and mate conditions in his diagram 57 of chapter “Das Problemschach des Mittelalters.” In error, both kings are presented as black instead of h1 being a white king. Murray inverts this problem’s diagram (1913: 572). J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Calvo notes that this problem is an original problem whose very European condition of the two white ferses being safe from capture by black would have been inconceivable to the Arabic aesthetic (1987: 221). See also the Appendix D3 for a comparison of the *LJ* portraits of Queen Violante.

### 1.1.6.78 Problem 78

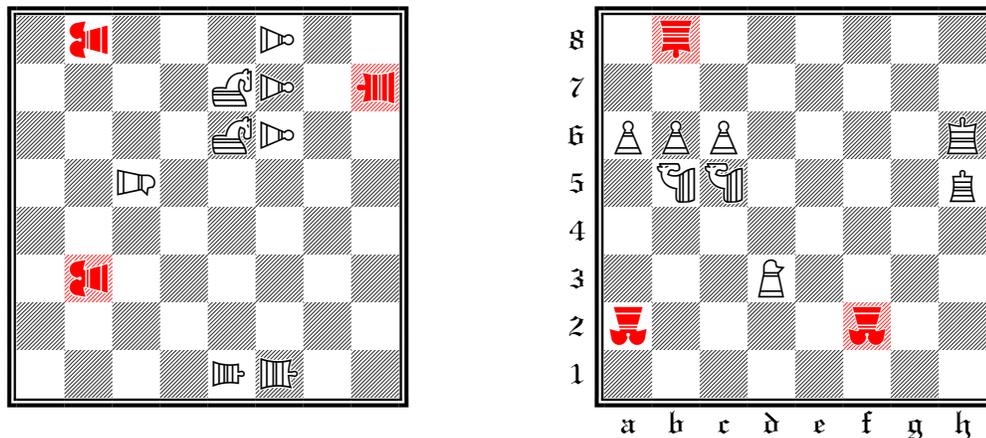


Fig. 96. Problem 78: fols. 49v and 50r (description on fol. 49v and diagram on fol. 50r); 11 pieces: (red and white in diagram, black and white in text) white (at left) plays and wins in exactly three or loses.

Inventory and solution:

♔h6 ♙h5 ♖d3 ♘b5 ♞c5 ♚a6 ♜b6 ♞c6 (8)

♞b8 ♠a2 ♠f2 (3)

1. ♖[c6]-c7+, (if ♜[b8]-c8; 2. ♙[d3]-f5, ♜[c8], ♞[a2] or ♞[f2] cannot move to escape; 3. ♖[b6]-b7++ or ♞[b5-a7]++ [This is white's win in three.]) ♜[b8]-a8; 2. ♙[d3]-f5,<sup>582</sup> ♞a2x ♖a6 (to defend himself from mate [♖b6-b7++]); 3. white cannot win in the three moves specified in order to avoid discovering [checkmate to himself from ♞a6 by ♖b6-b7++<sup>583</sup>]

This Style III problem and the following one, also Style III, are the only two in the *LJ* to have red and white pieces in this miniature rather than black and white. The text, however, continues to refer to the sides as *blanco* and *prieto*. There are many peculiarities in the language of this Style III problem. First, there is the specification that the mate is to occur in a certain number of moves, neither more nor less, as happens in Problem 74, but here it is only if the side to lose (black/red) does not know how to play well. If they do, then black/red wins. It is due to this contradictory introduction, that Calvo says this is the first known “problema falaz”<sup>584</sup> like those found in the CB, BS and Lucena manuscripts Like Problems 74, 80, 81 and 103, Problem 78 specifies that the checkmate is to occur in exactly (“ni mas ni menos”) a certain number of moves. This problem uses *poner* to indicate moves but does indicate when these result in check. It contains two unique terms: *lanços* to indicate number of moves in a conditional move and *arteria* for an alternate ending in praise instead of the usual “e este es el departimiento de este iuego e esta es la su figura.” It gives many alternate endings for White's win and

<sup>582</sup> Textual error: in Problem 78, white's second move is his fil to “la su tercera casa” (f3) but should read “la quarta casa del otro affil prieto” (f5) as given correctly in the second move above. Steiger corrects this error. Crombach leaves the text as is but notes Steiger's correction.

<sup>583</sup> This problem ends with the unusual text: “& assi fincan uençudos los blancos; por *que* non pueden dar mate al Rey prieto en las tres uezes sobredichas. ca non descubre” (fol. 49v).

<sup>584</sup> Calvo explains, “o sea, aquel cuyo enunciado no puede cumplirse debido a una oculta defensa” (1987: 222).

then if Black is the stronger player, one solution for their win. Finally, there are several phrases unique to this problem, “el Rey prieto non puede iogar ninguna cosa dessi mismo nin delos Roques por que *non* sea mathe al tercero iuego con el peon”, “& lo meior que pueden iogar los blancos es. poner ell alffil blanco en la su *tercera* casa. & sera el segundo iuego. E pora deffenderse el Rey prieto del mate deue iogar con el su Roque *pri`eto*” and “& assi fincan uençudos los blancos; por *que* non pueden dar mate al Rey blanco en las tres uezes sobredichas. ca non descubre.”

Van der Linde presents the same position along with the mate conditions of winning in three moves as his diagram 43 of the chapter “Das Problemschach des Mittelalters.” Murray inverts this problem’s diagram (1913: 572). He does not make note of the red coloring of black’s pieces. However, he does give the text for the solution and equates it with number 77 from the *CB* collection. J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. According to Calvo this is a very significant problem as it is the first known false problem. False problems, which favor those who bet against the person trying to solve were very common in the *Bonius Socius* and *Civis Bononice* manuscripts and a particular favorite in the collection of Lucena (1987: 222).

## 1.1.6.79 Problem 79

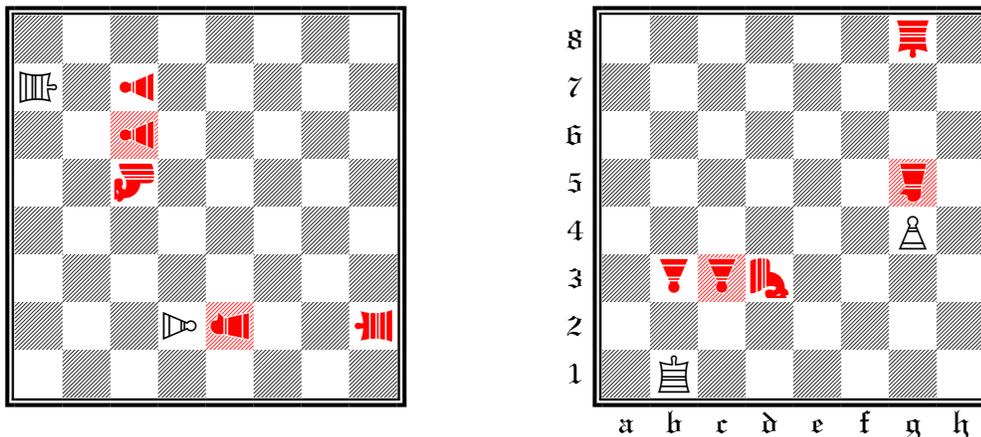


Fig. 97. Problem 79: fols. 50r and 50v (description on fols. 50r and 50v, diagram on fol. 50v); 7 pieces (red and white in diagram, black and white in text) black/red (right) plays and wins in eight.

Inventory and solution:

♔b1 ♕g4 (2)

♚g8 ♜g5 ♞d3 ♝b3 ♞c3 (5)

1. ..., ♜c3-c2+; 2. ♔[b1]-a1 (forced), ♜c2-c1=♚; 3. ♔[a1]-b1 (forced), ♜c1-a3; 4. ♔[b1]-a1 (forced), ♞d3-c1; 5. ♔[a1]-b1 (forced), ♞[c1]-a2; 6. ♔[b1]-a1 (forced), ♜g5-e3; 7. ♔[a1]-b1 or ♕g4-g5, ♞[a2]-c3+; 8. ♕[g4-g5 or g5-g6 or ♔b1-a1, depending on move 7] (forced), ♜b3-b2++

Problem 79 is written in Style III. The phrase “& an se de iogar desta guisa” in the rubric where it is not unusual, is repeated again within the text of the problem where it is unusual. Problems 75 and 79 also repeat this phrase within the text of the problem. The phrase “El primer(o) iuego” es absent. The verb *iogar* is used for the moves of both sides without indication of checks given. As with Problems 75 and 77, no notice is given in the

text if these moves give check and, infact, the word for check is used only once and when mate is given in these problems. Problems 74, 79, 80, 85 through 87, and 96 all use the future tense to describe the moves of both sides. However, Problem 74 only does this in one instance and here the future tense is used throughout the problem. Finally, as with Problems 74-76, 79-94, 96 and 103, no threat is given to the side to win should it err.

This problem and the preceding one are the only two in the *LJ* to have red and white pieces in this miniature rather than black and white. The text, however, continues to refer to the sides as *blanco* and *prieto*. The pathetic, caged pacing back and forth of the doomed white king between a1 and b1, here all but one of his moves being forced, is also seen in Problems 81 and 84. Van der Linde presents the same mate conditions and nearly the same diagram but with the board inverted and the colors reversed in his diagram 59 of the chapter “Das Problemschach des Mittelalters.” In error, the king at g8 (his b1) is given instead as a rook. Murray (1913: 572), J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Calvo notes that this is an original problem with an impossible fil at g5.<sup>585</sup>

Keats presents Problem 79 as another example of the *LJ* problems which conform to the European style (1: 194). His diagram is correct, as his solution although he omits white’s seventh and eighth moves for no discernible reason. He also suggests that “there would seem to be a ‘dual solution’: Black can simply march his king to a3, then play 7 ... c2+ and mate with 8 ... b2.”<sup>586</sup> Keats also shows the miniature of this problem’s diagram

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<sup>585</sup> Calvo 1987: 223. See also Figure 7’s diagram of a Chessboard of Fil Possibilities.

<sup>586</sup> Keats 1: 194. One way this could play out is as follows: 1. ... ♖g8-f7; 2. ♜b1-a1, ♜f-e6; 3. ♜a1-b1, ♜e6-d5; 4. ♜b1-a1, ♜d5-c4; 5. ♜a1-b1, ♜c4-b4; 6. ♜b-a1, ♜b4-a3; 7. ♜a1-b1, ♜c3-c2+; 8. ♜b1-a1, ♜b3-b2++.

from fol. 50v but incorrectly states that its diagram is unrelated to the problem he shows below it; it is in fact the same identical problem (1: 193-95). He presents Problem 76 with the miniature for Problem 103 without explanation and he presents Problem 43 with the miniature of the previous Problem 42, from the same fol. 31v on which the textual description for Problem 43 is given without noting that the two are not in fact the same problem (1: 189-91).

### 1.1.6.80 Problem 80

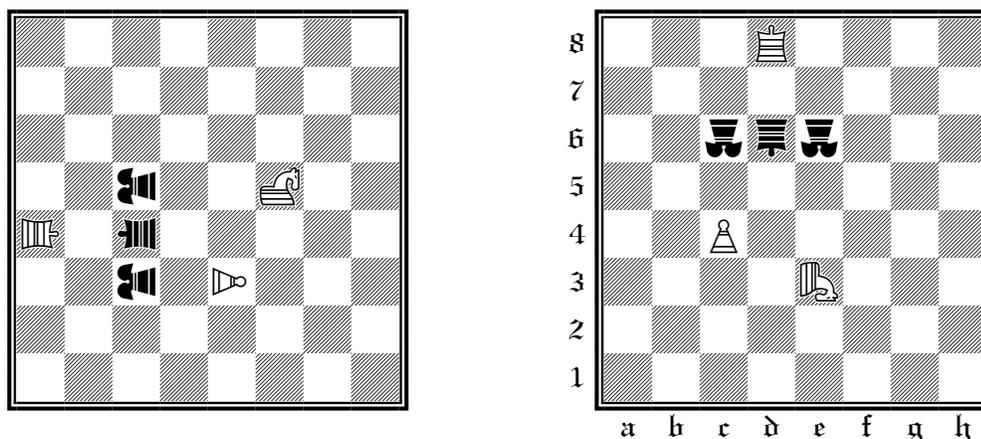


Fig. 98. Problem 80: fols. 50v and 51r (description on fol. 50v and diagram on fol. 51r); 6 pieces: black (at right) plays and wins in three.

Inventory and solution:

♔d8 ♞e3 ♖c4 (3)

♞d6 ♞c6 ♞e6 (3)

1. ..., ♞e6x♞e3; 2. ♖c4-c5+, ♞d6-e6,<sup>587</sup> 3. ♔[d8]-e8 (forced), ♞c6-c8++

<sup>587</sup> Textual error: the manuscript states, “El segundo iuego iogara el Rey prieto dessi mismo en la su tercera casa fferza blanca” (fol. 50v) but should read “El segundo iuego iogara el Rey prieto dessi mismo de la tercera casa de su alfferza poniendolo en la su tercera casa” (d6-e6). Steiger, HSMS and Crombach correct this error.

Like Problems 74, 78, 81 and 103, Problem 80 (Style IIB) specifies that the checkmate is to occur in exactly (“ni mas ni menos”) a certain number of moves. Problems 74, 79, 80, 85 through 87, and 96 all use the future tense for both sides throughout their solutions. This problem also adds that the black pieces are not to move more than “sennas ueces.” The verb *iogar* is used in the future tense with the prepositions *con* and *de* due to the personification of the king piece. Finally, as with Problems 74-76, 79-94, 96 and 103, no threat is given to the side to win should it err.

Van der Linde presents the same position with white to win as his diagram 40 of the chapter “Das Problemschach des Mittelalters.” Murray (1913: 572), J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Calvo notes that this popular *rey robado* or bare king problem is repeated in many treatises up to and including that of Lucena (1987: 223).

### 1.1.6.81 Problem 81

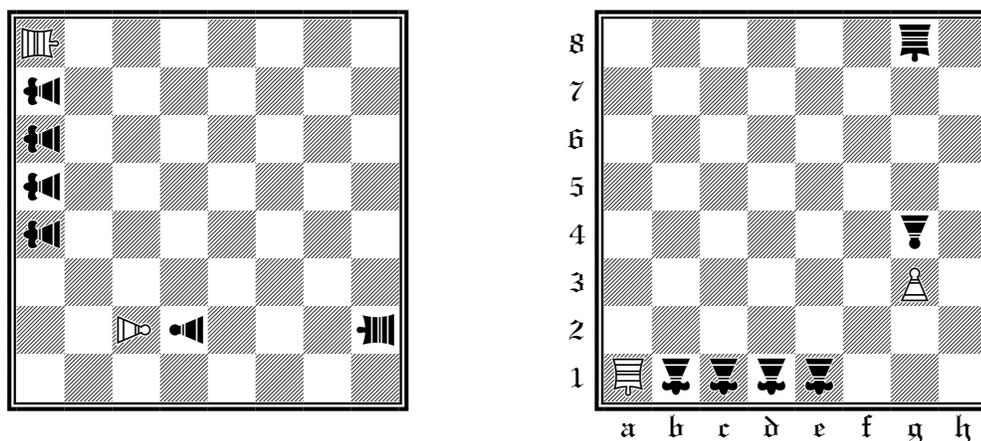


Fig. 99. Problem 81: fols. 51r and 51v (description on fol. 51r and diagram on fol. 51v); 8 pieces: black (at right) plays and wins in exactly seven.

Inventory and solution:

♔a1 ♕g3 (2)

♚g8 ♜b1 ♞c1 ♞d1 ♞e1 ♜g4 (6)

1. ..., ♜b1<sup>588</sup>-b3; 2. ♔[a1]-b1 (forced), ♞e1-d2; 3. ♔[b1]-a1 (forced), ♞c1-a3;
4. ♔[a1]-b1 (forced), ♞d1-d3; 5. ♔[b1]-a1 (forced), ♞d2-c3; 6. ♔[a1]-b1, ♞d3-c2+;
7. (if ♔[b1]-a1, ♞a3-b2++) (if ♔[b1]-c1, ♞a3-b2++)

This Style III problem like Problem 75 is unusual in its high number of promoted pawns. Moreover, it is superior to that earlier problem in terms of how they beautifully form a straight line on the first rank in the beginning, reposition at the fifth move to form another straight line on the third rank and then close to form a checkmating square at the end. Problem 65 offers a similarly lovely dance of knights. It is important to remember with promoted pawns that their optional initial two-square leap cannot be a capture so the white king at a1 is not in check from the black promoted pawn at c1. The caged pacing of the doomed white king between a1 and b1 is also seen in Problem 79.

Like Problems 74, 78, 80 and 103, Problem 81 (Style III) specifies that the checkmate is to occur in exactly (“ni mas ni menos”) a certain number of moves. It is unique in its use of the verb *desponer* once to indicate moves, which it does without noting checks given. It also uses the infinitives of *poner* and the future of *iogar* once each to indicate moves. Finally, as with Problems 74-76, 79-94, 96 and 103, no threat is given to the side to win should it err.

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<sup>588</sup> Textual error: in Problem 81, black’s first move: “la casa del cauallo prieto” (b8) should read “la casa del cauallo *blanco*” (b1) because the board in the miniature is inverted as seen by all the other piece locations explained the remainder of the problem’s text. Steiger corrects this error. Calvo (1987) does not mention the textual error but indicates the proper starting square (b1). Crombach leaves the text as is but notes Steiger’s correction.

Van der Linde, whose diagram does not distinguish between ferses and promoted pawns, presents this same position to win in seven moves but with the colors reversed in his diagram 58 of chapter “Das Problemschach des Mittelalters.” Murray (1913: 572), J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Calvo accurately describes the opening position here as completely contrived (1987: 224). I note that this unusual problem is the one of only two in the *LJ* to use to verb *desponer* to indicate the movement of the pieces. The other to use *desponer* is Problem 47 which uses it only once in a correction. Interestingly, these two problems are among those Pareja Casañas compares to the Rich manuscript

#### 1.1.6.82 Problem 82

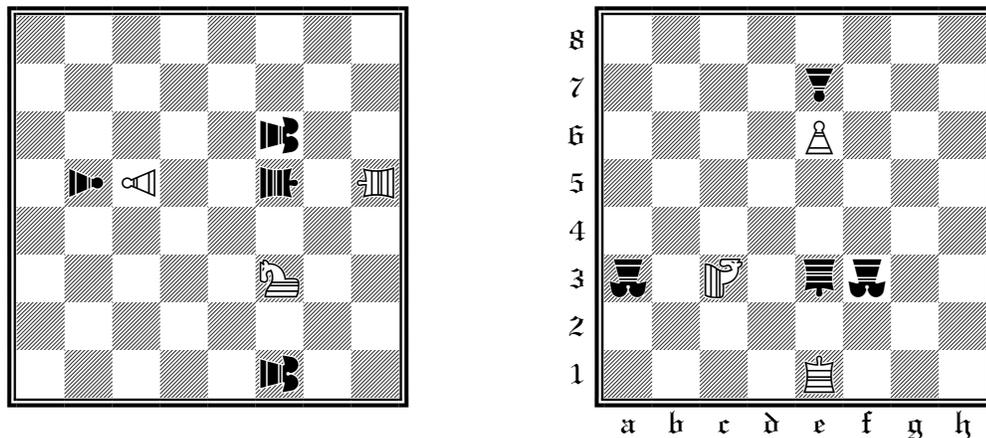


Fig. 100. Problem 82: fols. 51v and 52r (description on fol. 51v and diagram on fol. 52r); 7 pieces: black (at left) plays and wins in three at d2 using ♖ once and ♗s once each.<sup>589</sup>

<sup>589</sup> The text specifies this as “iogando una uez con el Rey prieto; & sennas uezes con sus Roques” (fol. 51v). Calvo modernizes the final hint more specifically: “LAS NEGRAS JUEGAN Y DAN MATE EN TRES JUGADAS EN LA CASILLA E7, JUGANDO CADA PIEZA UNA SOLA VEZ” (1987: 224, capitalization his). See also Problem 87.

Inventory and solution:

♔e1 ♖c3 ♗e6<sup>590</sup> (3)

♚e3 ♜a3 ♞f3 ♙e7<sup>591</sup> (4)

1. ..., ♞a3x♖c3; 2. ♔[e1]-d1 (forced), ♚[e3]-f2; 3. ♔[d1]-d2, ♞[f3]-d3++

This Style IIC problem, like Problem 87 (Style II), adds the unusual specification of which pieces are to play how many times with the use of the rare term *sennas*, “iogando una uez con el Rey prieto; & sennas uezes con *sus* Roques.” As with Problems 73, 77, 79 and 83 the word for check appears only once when mate is given. The only other problem to use this term is Problem 80 (Style IIB). Finally, as with Problems 74-76, 79-94, 96 and 103, no threat is given to the side to win should it err.

Van der Linde presents the same diagram but inverted and with colors reversed as well as specifying the square d7 instead of d2, doubtless due to these reversals, as his diagram 41 of the chapter “Das Problemschach des Mittelalters.” Van der Linde compares this problem to the position of Problem 87 as do Murray and Calvo after him. Murray confuses the two pawns’ colors but otherwise his diagram is the same (1913: 573). He also points out that this problem is very similar to Problem 87 but with the colors changed. J. B. Sánchez Pérez and Steiger display the same diagram. Although the pieces are oriented correctly in the original, Calvo inverts this diagram. Calvo notes that

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<sup>590</sup> Murray (1913) reverses the colors of the pawns at e6 and e7, showing this white pawn as a black pawn. The difference is only slightly important in this problem given the overpowering might of black’s two rooks, but as Murray shows the pawns they are not blocking each other and the white pawn will be able to promote to a fers.

<sup>591</sup> Murray (1913) reverses the colors of the pawns at e6 and e7, showing this black pawn as a white pawn. See above note.

the condition of each piece being played only once is typically European and that the problem is similar to Problem 87 with the colors reversed (1987: 224).

### 1.6.83 Problem 83

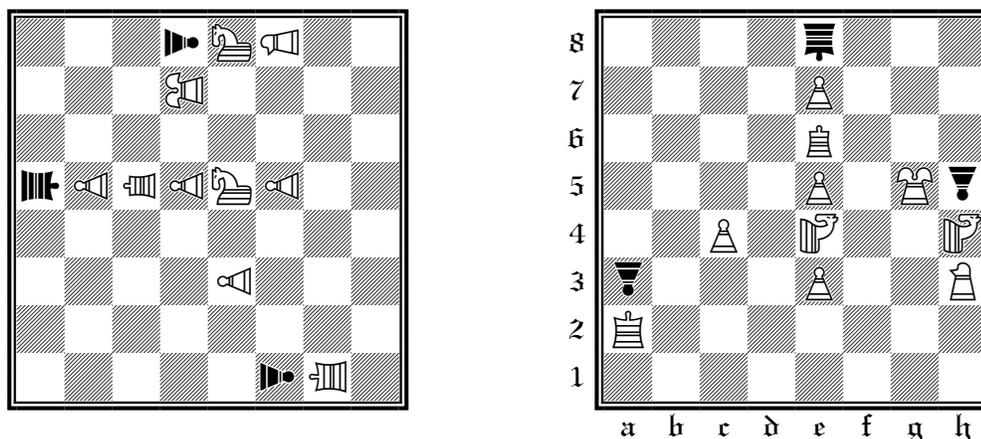


Fig. 101. Problem 83: fols. 52r and 52v (description on fol. 52r and diagram on fol. 52v); 13 pieces: white (at right) plays and wins in five at e4.<sup>592</sup>

Inventory and solution:

♖a2 ♜e6 ♞g5 ♠h3 ♛e4 ♞h4 ♙c4 e3 e5 e7 (10)

♜e8 ♙a3 h5 (3)

1. ♠h3-f5 or ♠h3-f1, ♜[e8]x♙e7; 2. ♞g5<sup>593</sup>-g8, ♜[e7]x♜e6 (forced); 3. ♞[g8]-g7, ♜[e6]x♙e5 (forced); 4. ♞g7-g6, ♜[e5]x♞e4; 5. ♞g6-e6++

Problem 83 is written with characteristics of both Style IIC and Style III. Somewhat like Problems 73, 75 and 79 which repeat the final phrase of the rubric within the problem's description, Problems 83 and 84 restate the final phrase from the rubric "an se de iogar assi" in slightly different language, "iuegasse desta guisa." Both Problems 83

<sup>592</sup> Steiger gives the mate square specification.

<sup>593</sup> Textual error: in Problem 83, white's second move starting square: "la quarta casa del alfil blanco" (g4) should read "la quarta casa del *cauallo prieto*" (g5). Steiger gives the correct square in his solution but transcribes the incorrect phrase as is. Crombach does not correct this error.

and 84 use the infinitive *poner* for attacks without specifying checks given like the problems of Style III but unlike them they use the future of *iogar*, like Style II, as the main way of giving the moves of the side to lose. As with Problems 73, 77, 79 and 82 the word for check appears only once when mate is given. Finally, as with Problems 74-76, 79-94, 96 and 103, no threat is given to the side to win should it err.

The white rook in this problem acts as a broom, inexorably sweeping the black king forward to his doom, while that king vacuums up the neat row of opposing pieces before him in rapid succession but to no avail (see similar use of rook in Problems 74 and 75). Van der Linde compares this position to that of Problem 75 in his diagram 47 of the chapter “Das Problemschach des Mittelalters.” Murray (1913: 573), J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Calvo notes the unequal armies and says that this is an original and very un-Arabic problem (1987: 225).

#### 1.1.6.84 Problem 84

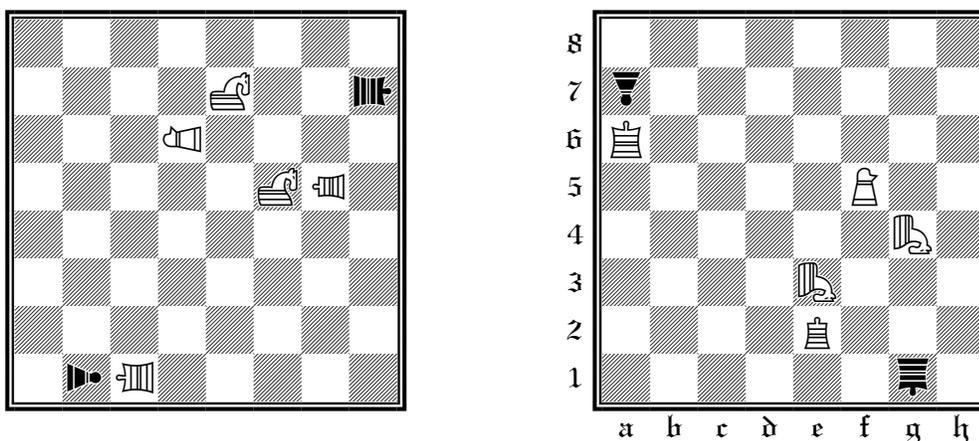


Fig. 102. Problem 84: fols. 52v and 53r (description on fol. 52v and diagram on fol. 53r); 7 pieces: white (at right) plays and wins in six at h1.<sup>594</sup>

<sup>594</sup> Steiger gives the mate square specification.

Inventory and solution:

♖a6 ♗e2 ♜f5 ♞e3 ♝g4 (5)

♞g1 ♚a7 (2)

1. ♗[e2]-f1, ♞[g1]-h1 (forced); 2. ♜[f5]-d3 or ♜[f5]-h3, ♞[h1]-g1; 3. ♞e3-c4or ♞e3-c2 (because if ♞e3-d5 or ♞e3-d1 the mate will not be given in the aforementioned six moves so it is better that he be put in the f5 square or whichever of the others so long as the knight gives check to the black king in three moves, by putting it in f3),<sup>595</sup> ♞[g1]-h1; 4. ♞f5[or wherever]-h4, ♞[h1]-g1; 5. ♞h4-f3+, ♞[g1]-h1; 6. ♞g4-f2++

Problem 84 is written in Style III. Somewhat like Problems 73, 75 and 79 which repeat the final phrase of the rubric within the problem's description, Problems 83 and 84 restate the final phrase from the rubric "an se de iogar assi" in slightly different language, "iuegasse desta guisa." Both Problems 83 and 84 use the infinitive *poner* to the moves of the side to win like Style III but unlike them they use the future of Style II's verb *iogar* as the main way of giving the moves of the side to lose. The particular phrasing of the lengthy explanation of a conditional move, "non se darie el mathe a los seys iuegos desuso dichos", is unique to this problem. Finally, as with Problems 74-76, 79-94, 96 and 103, no threat is given to the side to win should it err. The limitation of the black king to g1 and h1 is similar to that seen in Problems 79 and 81.

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<sup>595</sup> Whereas the manuscript offers some valid but less appealing alternates first and then parenthetically gives the best move after some discarded options, Steiger only gives best move of ♞e3-f5 in his solution and footnotes the other valid and invalid options including one more valid one not specified in the text (♞e3-g2): "oder 3. Se3-c4, oder c2, oder g2 (nicht aber Se6-d5 oder d1, da der Springer dann nicht in 3 Zügen nach f3 gelangt, was Voraussetzung zum Matt in 6 Zügen ist" (238).

Van der Linde inverts the same position, thus giving the win as occurring in six moves at a8 rather than h1, and he strangely omits the white king and black pawn in his diagram 54 of the chapter “Das Problemschach des Mittelalters.” Murray (1913: 573), J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Calvo notes that “[a]l igual que en el problema anterior, el solitario peón negro impide la derrota automática de su bando por rey robado” but offers no further history (1987: 225).

### 1.1.6.85 Problem 85

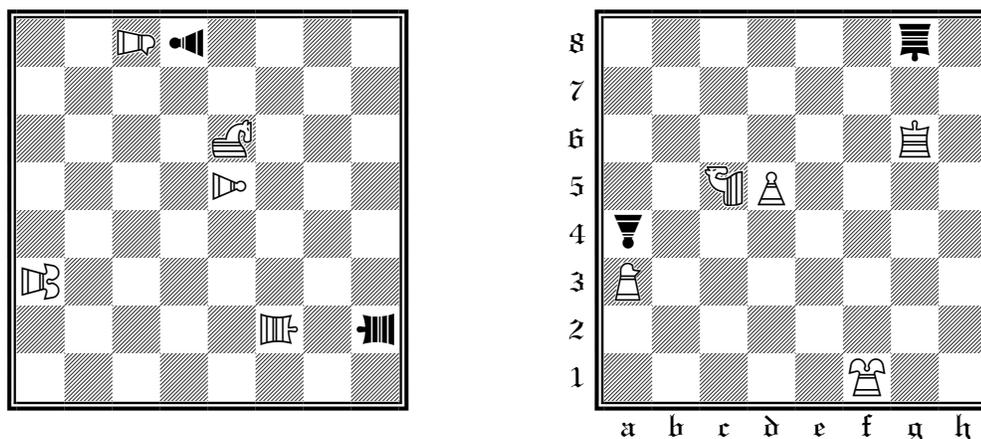


Fig. 103. Problem 85: fols. 53r and 53v (description on fol. 53r and diagram on fol. 53v); 7 pieces: white (at left) plays and wins in seven at d5.<sup>596</sup>

Inventory and solution:

♖g6 ♗f1 ♕a3 ♞c5 ♜d5 (5)

♞g8 ♟a4 (2)

1. ♞c5-d3 or ♞c5-d7, ♞[g8]-h8 (forced); 2. ♞[d3]-e5 or ♞[d7]-e5, ♞[h8]-g8;
3. ♗[f1]-h1, ♞[g8]-f8; 4. ♗[h1]-h8+, ♞[f8]-e7; 5. ♖[g6]-f5, ♞[e7]-d6; 6. ♗[h8]-h7, ♞[d6]x ♜d5; 7. ♗[h7]-d7++

<sup>596</sup> Steiger gives the mate square specification.

This Style IIC problem is one of only six problems that use the word *iuegos* instead of *trebeios* for pieces in the rubric; Problems 5, 85-86, 88, 92 and 102 fall into this category. Problems 74, 79, 80, 85 through 87, and 96 all use the future tense for both sides throughout their solutions. The personification of the Rook, even if only once, prefigures the personification of pieces other than the King continues in the following problem. Finally, as with Problems 74-76, 79-94, 96 and 103, no threat is given to the side to win should it err.

Van der Linde presents the same position and mate conditions in his diagram 56 of chapter “Das Problemschach des Mittelalters.” J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Oddly, Murray presents this problem both inverted under his Arabic game of shatranj (1913: 301, diagram 361) and correctly under the medieval problem section of his “Chess in Europe” chapter (1913: 573). Likely he finally confused himself with his own inverted diagrams. Calvo says that this is a reworking of a well-known Arabic problem (1987: 226).

## 1.1.6.86 Problem 86

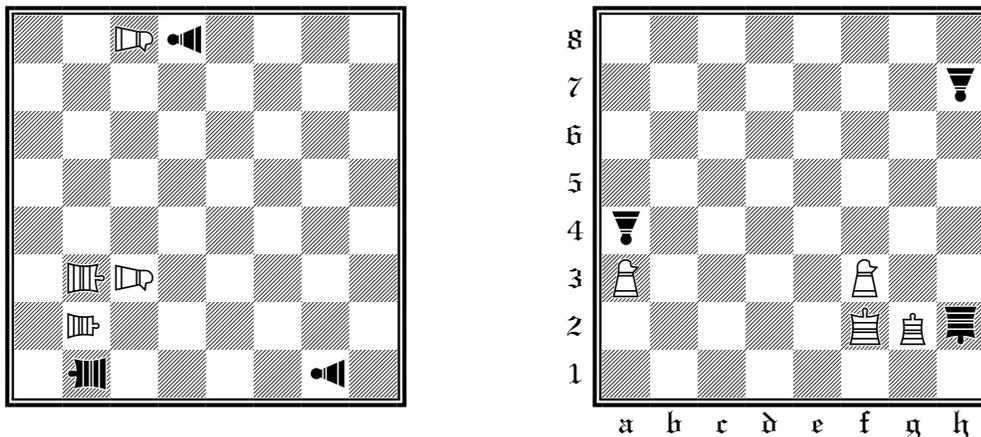


Fig. 104. Problem 86: fols. 53v and 54r (description on fols. 53v and 54r, diagram on fol. 54r); 7 pieces: white (at left) plays and wins in fourteen at h1.<sup>597</sup>

Inventory and solution:

♔f2 ♘g2 ♖a3 ♗f3<sup>598</sup> (4)

♚h2 ♜a4 h7 (3)

1. ♗f3-wherever,<sup>599</sup> ♜h7-[h6]; 2. ♖[wherever]<sup>600</sup>-f3, ♜[h6]-h5; 3. ♖[f3]-d5, ♜[h5]-h4; 4. ♖[d5]-f7 or ♖[d5]-b7, ♜[h4]-h3; 5. ♘[g2]-f1, ♚[h2]-h1; 6. ♖[f7]-d5 or ♖[b7]-d5, ♚[h1]-h2 (to prolong because if ♜[h3]-h2); 7. ♘[f1]-g2++ or ♖[d5]-f3++;
7. ♘[f1]-e2, ♚[h2]-h1; 8. ♘[f2]-g3, ♚[h1]-g1; 9. ♖[d5]-f3, ♜[h3]-h2; 10. ♖[f3]-h1, ♚[g1]x♖[h1] (forced); 11. ♖[a3]-c1 or ♖[a3]-c5, ♜[a4]-a3<sup>601</sup> (or if ♚[h1]-g1; 12.

<sup>597</sup> Steiger gives the mate square specification.

<sup>598</sup> This is an impossible position for the fil so this problem may be artificially composed.

<sup>599</sup> The options are ♗f3-h5, -d5, -d1 or -h1. Steiger gives d1 and notes that it could possibly be another move with this piece. It does not matter where the fil moves and he returns to f3 on the next move.

<sup>600</sup> The fil's second move is to return from h5, d5, d1 or h1 to f3, as described in the note above.

<sup>601</sup> The manuscript only offers the moves twelve through fourteen of the solution for the second option (♚g1). For the first option (♜a3) the solution would be [12. ♖c1-e3+, ♜a3-a2; 13. ♘e2-f1 or ♘e2-f3, ♜a2-a1=♚; 14. ♘f1-g2++ or ♘f3-g2++]. Steiger says that with the pawn option white also wins in fourteen moves in similar way, without giving specifics (244). Calvo (1987) does not even mention the first option.

♖[c1]-e3+ or ♖[c5]-e3+, ♜[g1]-h1; 13. ♘[e2]-f1 or ♘[e2]-f3, ♙[a4]-a3; 14. ♘[f1]-g2++ or ♘[f3]-g2++

This Style IIB problem is one of six problems that use the word *iuegos* instead of *trebeios* for pieces in the rubric; Problems 5, 85-86, 88, 92 and 102 fall into this category. While most problems personify the pieces as a whole or, especially, the King, this problem is interesting in that it personifies all the moving pieces using the future of *iogar* for both sides as well as other occasional verbs. Problems 74, 79, 80, 85 through 87, and 96 all use the future tense for both sides throughout their solutions. Finally, as with Problems 74-76, 79-94, 96 and 103, no threat is given to the side to win should it err.

White obviously out-pieces and out-powers black then as now but by modern rules, white has already checkmated black at the opening position. That this problem's solution requires fourteen moves to checkmate the black king illustrates at great length the markedly inferior powers of the medieval fers and fil versus the modern queen and bishop.

Van der Linde presents this same position to mate in fourteen moves at h1 as his diagram 66 of the chapter "Das problemschach des Mittelalters" and compares it to Problem 16. Murray inverts this problem's diagram (1913: 573, 576). His second presentation compares it to problem number eleven in the Arch manuscript.<sup>602</sup> J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Calvo notes the impossible position of the fil at f3 but offers no further history (1987: 226).

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<sup>602</sup> See also Problem 74.

See also the Appendix D4 for a comparison of the *LJ* portraits of Mayor Guillén

de Guzmán and her daughter Beatriz.

### 1.1.6.87 Problem 87

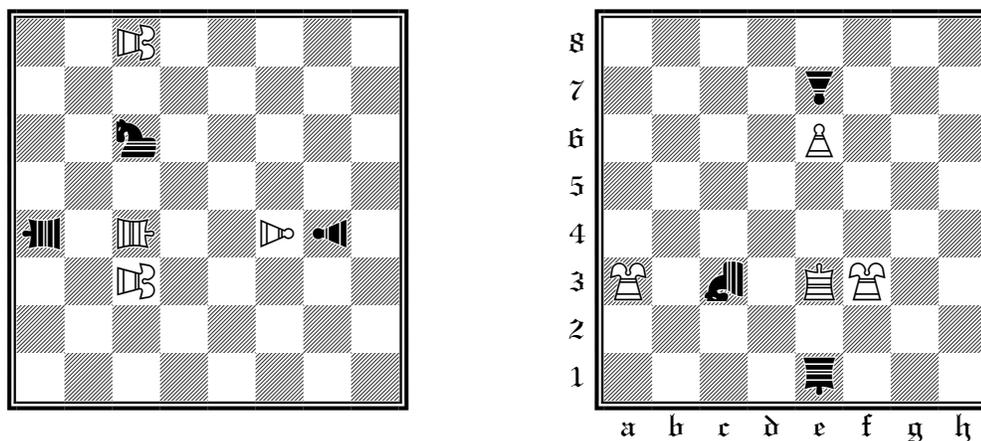


Fig. 105. Problem 87: fols. 54r and 54v (description on fol. 54r and diagram on fol. 54v); 7 pieces: white (at left) plays and wins in three at d2<sup>603</sup> by ♖ and ♗s once each.<sup>604</sup>

Inventory and solution:

$$\text{♖e3 } \text{♗a3 } \text{♗f3 } \text{♖e6} \quad (4)$$

$$\text{♗e1 } \text{♞c3 } \text{♟e7} \quad (3)$$

1. ♗[a3]x♞c3, ♗[e1]-d1; 2. ♖[e3]-f2, ♞[d1]-d2; 3. ♗[f3]-d3++

This Style II problem, like Problem 82 (Style IIC), adds the unusual specification of which pieces are to play how many times with the use of the rare term *sennas*; the only other problem to use this term is Problem 80. Like the preceding Problem 86 (Style IIB), it personifies all the moving pieces with the future tense of *iogar*. Problems 74, 79, 80, 85

<sup>603</sup> Textual error: in Problem 87, the specified checkmate square: “la segunda casa del alferza prieta” (d7) should read “la segunda casa del alferza blanca” (d2). Steiger gives the correct square but transcribes the incorrect word as is. Calvo (1987) ends his citation from the manuscript just before the erroneous word and gives the correct square. Crombach does not note this error.

<sup>604</sup> The manuscript specifies this as “jogando el Rey blanco. & los sus Roques sennas uezes” (fol. 54r). See also Problem 82.

through 87, and 96 all use the future tense for both sides throughout their solutions. Problem 87 contains the very unusual variant spelling *secunda*. Finally, as with Problems 74-76, 79-94, 96 and 103, no threat is given to the side to win should it err.

White's immediate capture of black's knight leaves black with only one trapped pawn. The ending nicely illustrates the powers of the rooks alongside kings in opposition, resulting in an unusual checkmate in which both rook occupy orthogonally adjacent squares.

Van der Linde compares this problem to Problem 82 as does Calvo after him. Murray presents the same diagram with colors reversed and compares it with Problem 82 (1913: 573). J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. I agree with Calvo that this problem was probably a particular favorite of Alfonso's since it appears twice in the *LJ*, here with his portrait and again with the colors reversed as Problem 82 (1987: 227). In his discussion of the identity of the royal couple in the miniature, he also notes that "[t]he black pawn at e7 is needed to avoid losing because of 'bare [k]ing' rule [and t]he white pawn deprives black of waiting moves."<sup>605</sup> Problem 87 (Style II) and Problem 82 (Style III) are written in different styles perhaps indicating different sources or scribes.

See also the Appendices D1 and D3 for a comparison of the iconographic and semi-iconographic Portraits of Alfonso in the *LJ* and a comparison of the *LJ* portraits of Queen Violante.

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<sup>605</sup> "A Tribute to Dr. Ricardo Calvo—Part 3," *The Weave: Renaissance Chess Part 2* 14 July 2005 <<http://www.goddesschess.com/chessays/calvotributepart3.html>>.

## 1.1.6.88 Problem 88

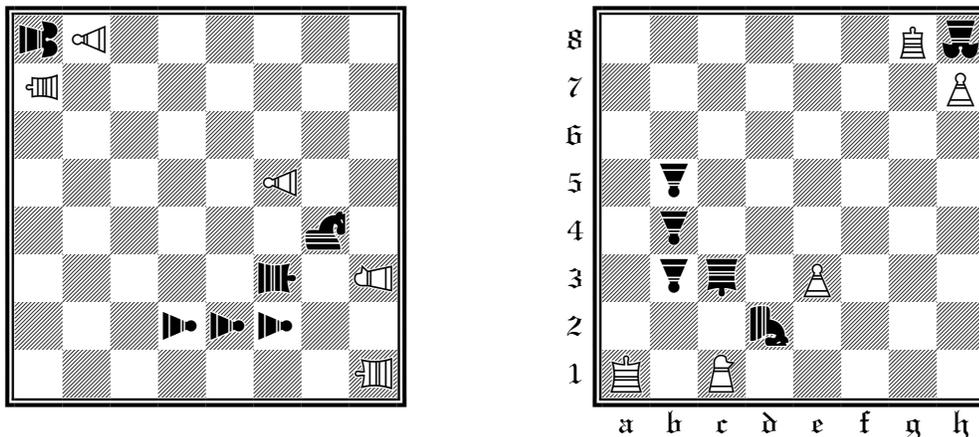


Fig. 106. Problem 88: fol. 54v and 55r (description on fol. 54v and diagram on fol. 55r); 11 pieces: black (at left) plays and wins in four at a3 with ♜[h8].

Inventory and solution:

♜a1 ♜g8 ♞c1 ♠e3 h7 (5)

♞c3 ♝h8 ♞d2 ♠b3 b4 b5 (6)

1. ..., ♠[b3]-b2+; 2. ♜[a1]-a2, ♠[b4]-b3+; 3. ♜[a2]-a3, ♞[d2]-e4; 4. ♜[g8]-f7 (forced), ♝[h8]-a8++

This Style IID problem marks a bit of a return to the use of *xaque con* for attacking moves that give check and the future tense of *entrar* and once *iogar* reserved for the moves of the side to lose. Finally, as with Problems 74-76, 79-94, 96 and 103, no threat is given to the side to win should it err.

Van der Linde presents a mirror image of this same position but inverted and with colors reversed and the resultant mate condition of winning in four moves at h1 rather than h8, as his diagram 46 of the chapter “Das Problemschach des Mittelalters.” Van der Linde also compares this problem with Problem 96, as do Murray, Pareja Casañas, and

Calvo after him. It is in fact merely an inversion of the same problem with the colors reversed.

Murray presents this problem with the colors reversed and a slightly different diagram.<sup>606</sup>

J. B. Sánchez Pérez displays the same diagram. Pareja Casañas presents this *LJ* problem<sup>607</sup> and Problem 96, in comparison to a similar one in the Rich manuscript, with the same diagram and solution. He cites J. B. Sánchez Pérez's diagrams 88 and 96 (106 and 114).

Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Steiger notes Pareja Casañas. Calvo says that this Zugzwang<sup>608</sup> position appears in other Arabic treatises and he, like van der Linde and Pareja Casañas, also compares it to Problem 96 (1987: 227).

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<sup>606</sup> Murray's inventory: b1 black king, c1 black fil, b3 white pawn, c3 white king, e3 black pawn, b4 white pawn, e4 white knight, e5 white pawn, h7 black pawn, g8 black fers, h8 white rook (1913: 294, diagram 220).

<sup>607</sup> Pareja Casañas's diagram 57: Spanish translation (I: 84), Arabic transcription (I: Arabic numeral 78) and algebraic notation with discussion (II: 85-87).

<sup>608</sup> The German term *Zugzwang* is used in chess to describe an unfavorable situation in which the player whose turn it is would prefer not to have to move because he has no available play which does not weaken his position (*Oxford Companion to Chess* 458).

## 1.1.6.89 Problem 89

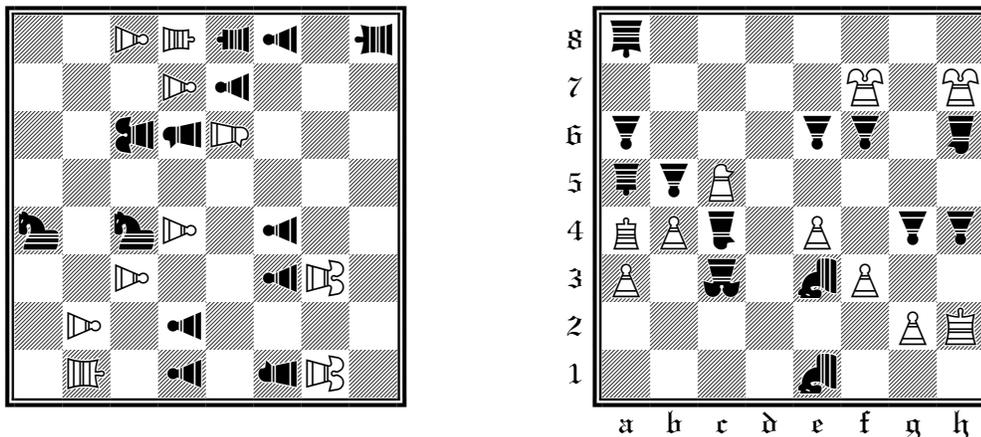


Fig. 107. Problem 89: fols. 55r and 55v (description on fols. 55r and 55v, diagram on fol. 55v); 23 pieces: black (at right) plays and wins in ten.

Inventory and solution:

♖h2 ♖a4 ♜f7 ♜h7 ♙c5 ♘a3 b4 e4 f3 g2 (10)

♜a8 ♜a5 ♞c3 ♞c4 ♞h6 ♞e1 ♞e3 ♙a6 b5 e6 f6 g4 h4 (13)

1. ..., ♞e1x♙f3<sup>609</sup>+; 2. ♙g2x♞[f3] (to prolong), ♞h6-f4+; 3. ♖[h2]-g1 (because if ♖[h2]-h1, ♞[c3]-c1++,<sup>610</sup> ♞[c3]-c1+; 4. ♖[g1]-f2 (forced), ♞[c1]-f1+ (guarded by ♞[e3]); 5. ♖[f2]x♞e3 (forced), ♞[f1]x♙f3+ (guarded by ♙[g4]); 6. ♖[e3]-d4 (forced), ♙e6-e5<sup>611</sup>+; 7. ♖[d4]-d5 (forced), ♞[f3]-d3+; 8. ♖[d5]-c6 (forced), ♞[d3]-d6+; 9. ♖[c6]-c7 (forced), ♙[a5]-b6+; 10. ♖[c7]-c8 (forced), ♞[c4]-e6++

<sup>609</sup> Textual error: in Problem 89, black's first move and check: "la tercera casa del cauallo blanco" (g3) should read "la tercera casa del *alfil* blanco" (f3) because, although there is also a white pawn on f2 (la *segunda* casa del cauallo blanco) this is the only move that gives both the prescribed capture as well as the prescribed check. Steiger also corrects this error. Calvo (1987) does not mention the error but gives the proper square. Crombach leaves the text as is but notes Steiger's correction.

<sup>610</sup> Pareja Casañas does not offer these alternate discarded moves.

<sup>611</sup> Textual error: in Problem 89, black's sixth move is described as from the "cuarta casa del Rey prieto" (e6) to the impossible "tercera casa del Rey blanco" (e3). The second half of the move should read "tercera casa del rey *prieto*" (e5). Steiger corrects this error. Crombach leaves the text as is but notes Steiger's correction.

This Style I problem marks the beginning of a proper return to the default style of the *LJ*, with the rubric “an se de iogar desta guisa”, “dar la xaque con” for checks given by side to win and the phrase “entrara el Rey” for the side to lose. There is a more archaic form of the conditional *serie*. Finally it does share a similarity with some of the later problems of different styles in that, as with Problems 74-76, 79-94, 96 and 103, no threat is given to the side to win should it err.

Van der Linde’s presentation of this position with white to win in ten moves is the same. It is his diagram IV in the chapter “Das Problemschach des Mittelalters.”

Murray presents this problem with an inverted and rather different arrangement.<sup>612</sup> He compares it with Problem 22 as do Pareja Casañas and Calvo after him.

J. B. Sánchez Pérez displays the same diagram. Pareja Casañas presents this *LJ* problem,<sup>613</sup> in comparison to a similar one in the Rich manuscript, with the same diagram and solution except as noted. He cites J. B. Sánchez Pérez’s diagram 89 (107) and mentions the relationship between this problem and Problem 22 but does not present them together.

Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Steiger notes Pareja Casañas. Calvo identifies this problem as coming from as-Suli’s collection and compares it to Problem 22 (1987: 228).

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<sup>612</sup> Murray’s inventory: a1 black king, g2 white rook, h2 white rook, a3 black pawn, e3 black pawn, f3 black pawn, h3 black fil, a4 black fers, b4 black pawn, c4 white fil, b5 white pawn, c5 black fil, e5 white pawn, g5 black pawn, h5 black pawn, a6 white pawn, d6 black rook, e6 black knight, f6 white pawn, g7 white pawn, h7 white king, e8 black knight, h8 white knight (1913: 287, diagram 87).

<sup>613</sup> Pareja Casañas’s diagram 14: Spanish translation (I: 37), Arabic transcription (I: Arabic numeral 32) and algebraic notation with discussion (II: 17-19).

## 1.1.6.90 Problem 90

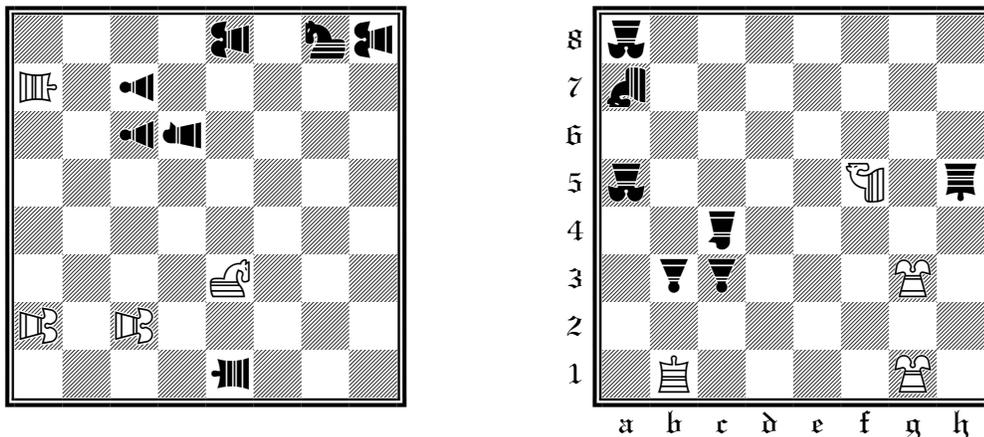


Fig. 108. Problem 90: fols. 55v and 56r (description on fols. 55v and 56r, diagram on fol. 56r); 11 pieces: black (at right) plays and wins in five.

Inventory and solution:

$\text{♔}b1 \text{♞}g1 \text{♝}g3 \text{♖}f5$  (4)

$\text{♜}h5 \text{♞}a5 \text{♞}a8 \text{♟}c4 \text{♞}a7 \text{♟}b3 \text{♟}c3$  (7)

1. ...,  $\text{♞}[a5]-a1+$ ; 2.  $\text{♔}[b1]x\text{♞}[a1]$  (forced),  $\text{♞}a7-b5$  (discovers check by  $\text{♞}[a8]+$ ); 3.  $\text{♔}[a1]-b1$ ,  $\text{♞}[a8]-a1+$  (leaving the  $\text{♞}$  vulnerable to capture); 4.  $\text{♔}[b1]x\text{♞}[a1]$  (forced),  $\text{♟}b3-b2+$ ; 5.  $\text{♔}[a1]-b1$  (forced),  $\text{♞}[b5]-a3++$

This Style IA problem begins with a variant rubric phrase “iuegan se assi”, uses *uezes*, the shortened form *primer* and the usual “dar la xaque con” and “entrara el Rey”, etc. However there are some unique features about this problem’s language. It explains the King’s moves that are played *por fuerça*, with “ca no a otra casa en que entre” or similar phrase. Problem 92 also explains conditional moves in a similar manner. It describes the discovered check with the unique prepositional phrase *en descubriendo* rather than *descubriendo* or *en descubierta* and not with the present subjunctive of

Problems 52, 57, 62 and 68. The phrase “onde salio (primero)” is used only in four problems: 1, 18, 90 and 94. Finally it does share a similarity with some of the later problems of different styles in that, as with Problems 74-76, 79-94, 96 and 103, no threat is given to the side to win should it err.

Like the other Dilaram problems, this one involves the sacrifice of the winning side’s rook(s). It differs from the first Dilaram, Problem 54,<sup>614</sup> in that the colors are reversed so that white wins and it is a bishop rather than a knight which removes to give the discovered check by the second rook. In the second Dilaram, Problem 57, in that only one rook is available to be sacrificed by it given check twice: once after discovery by a bishop as in the first Dilaram and once after capturing a protective knight.<sup>615</sup> The implicit threat to black's king results in the trident-style checkmate also seen in Problems 4, 6, 9, 18, 23, 43 through 46, 48, 52, 58, 59, 67, 90, 91 and 92.

Murray presents this problem with a somewhat different arrangement.<sup>616</sup> Whereas in the similar Problems 54 and 57 white plays and wins, in this problem in the *LJ* the colors are reversed from Murray’s comparison and black plays and wins. Calvo presents this problem both in his 1984 German article<sup>617</sup> and the 1987 companion volume to the

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<sup>614</sup> Problem 54 is shown as played by two turbaned Arabs and with a unique red six-pointed star on the suspended piece bag marking it as a favorite problem.

<sup>615</sup> Problem 57 show the problem played by two Castilian princes, as signified by the royal escutcheons in the corners of the miniature’s frame. Since the third and final Dilaram problem completes this trajectory from Arabic origins to European royalty, showing the game played by a barefoot Violante and another woman I believe this shows Alfonso’s and his family’s esteem and fondness for this problem.

<sup>616</sup> Murray’s inventory: h1 white rook, b2 black rook, h3 white fil, a4 white king, c4 black knight, g4 white knight, h4 white rook, f6 white pawn, g6 white pawn, b8 black rook, g8 black king (1913: 286, diagram 83).

<sup>617</sup> Calvo says, “Es handelt sich um eine der berühmtesten arabischen Mansubat, in welcher Schwarz folgendermassen zieht und gewinnt: 1. ... Ta1+ 2. Kxa1 Sb5+ 3. Kb1 Ta1+ 4. Kxa1 b2+ 5. Kb1 Sa3 matt[.]”

Edilán facsimile. J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Murray, Calvo (1987: 228) and Wollesen (290n30) both note that this, like Problems 54, 57 and (incorrectly) 100 are variations of Dilaram's problem.

To see a move-by-move comparison of these problems, please see the accompanying CD-rom for the PowerPoint presentation entitled "The *LJ*'s Dilaram Problems." See also the Appendix D3 for a comparison of the *LJ* portraits of Queen Violante.

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Im arabischen Manuskript der Bodleian-Bibliothek zu Oxford heisst diese Problem Manusba al-yariya oder Das Problem der jungen Schönheit aufgrund der Legende, welche die phantasievollen arabischen Schachspieler diesen Stellung zuschrieben. Der Name der legendären Schönheit lautet anderen Texten zufolge Dilaram, was Herzensfrieden bedeutet—and so soll sich alles zugetragen haben: Es war einmal ein schönes, junges Mädchen namens Dilaram, die Lieblingsfrau eines Edlen. Er gab ihr diesen Namen, weil sein Herz ohne sie keinen Frieden finden konnte. Eines Tages sass ihm am Schachbrett ein starker Spieler gegenüber. Die Spielleidenschaft ergriff ihn dermassen, dass er Dilaram aufs Spiel setzte. Die Partie gestaltete sich sehr schwierig für ihn, schliesslich schien es, dass sein Gegner ihn im nächsten Zug matt setzen könne. In diesem Augenblick rief Dilaram verzweifelt: Opfere deine zwei Türme, aber opfere nicht mich! Ihr Geliebter sah augenblicklich, was sie im Sinne hatte, und konnte die Partie auf überraschende Weise gewinnen. Das Thema des Opfers der zwei Turme von Dilaram war sehr beliebt, nicht nur in den arabischen Abhandlungen, sondern auch in allen späteren mittelalterlichen Zusammenfassungen, in denen sich viele ähnliche Probleme daraus ableiteten, ebenso im Bonus Socius wie im Civis Bononiae. Im Buch des Spaniers Lucena (1497) erscheint es mehr als zwan-zigmal. Die Struktur des Problems, bei der der König der angreifenden Seite vom Matt bedroht ist, ist typisch für die islamischen Mansubat, die der Stellung eine gewisse Wahrscheinlichkeit einhau-chen wollten, als sei sie aus einer lebendigen Partie entstanden. Der Aufschub des Matts brachte zusätzliche Spannung und gestattete es, begleitende Erzählungen wie die von Dilaram zu erfinden. Die Mehrzahl der aufgeführten Problem in der Abhandlung von Alfons dem Weisem stammt aus arabischen Quellen. (Allerdings ist ein Teil von ihnen in Stil und Aufbau ganz verschieden, was den ersten Einfluss europäischer Problemautoren vermuten lässt.)" (1984: 24).

## 1.1.6.91 Problem 91

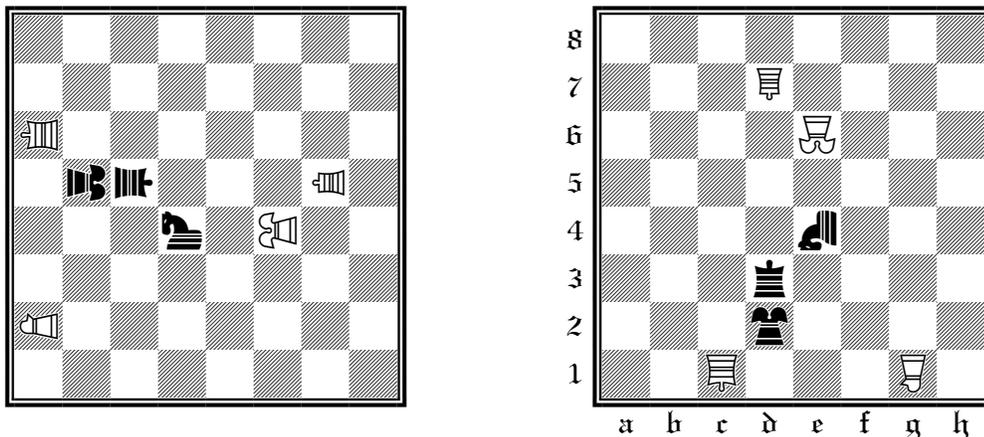


Fig. 109. Problem 91: fols. 56r, 56v and 57r (description on fols. 56r and 56v, diagram on fol. 57r); 7 pieces: black (at right, pieces flipped in diagram) plays and wins in nine or else loses.

Inventory and solution:

$\text{♖c1}$   $\text{♗d7}$   $\text{♘e6}$   $\text{♙g1}$  (4)

$\text{♚d3}$   $\text{♛d2}$   $\text{♜e4}$  (3)

1. ...,  $\text{♛[d2]-c2+}$ ; 2.  $\text{♖[c1]-d1}$  (to prolong because if  $\text{♖[c1]-b1}$ ,  $\text{♜[e4]-c3+}$ ; 3.  $\text{♗[b1]-a1}$  (forced),  $\text{♛[c2]-a2++}$ ,  $\text{♜[e4]-c3+}$ ; 3.  $\text{♖[d1]-e1}$ ,  $\text{♛[c2]-c1+}$ ; 4.  $\text{♖[e1]-f2}$  (forced),  $\text{♜[c3]-e4+}$ ; 5.  $\text{♖[f2]-g2}$  (because if  $\text{♖[f2]-f3}$ ,  $\text{♜}^{618}\text{[e4]-g5+}$  for the  $\text{♘[e6]}^{619}$  and in this way black will win),  $\text{♛[c1]-c2+}$ ; 6.  $\text{♖[g2]-f1}$  (because if  $\text{♖[g2]-f3}$  or  $\text{♖[g2]-h3}$ ,  $\text{♜[e4]-g5+}$  for the  $\text{♘[e6]}^{620}$  and in this way black will win) and (if  $\text{♖[g2]-h1}$ ,  $\text{♜[e4]-$

<sup>618</sup> Textual error: in Problem 91, white's discarded fourth move is described as threatened by his own white knight. "Cauallo blanco" should read "cauallo *prieto*." Steiger and HSMS correct this error. Crombach leaves the text as is and notes Steiger's correction.

<sup>619</sup>  $\text{♜[e4]-g5+}$  is a fork attack on both  $\text{♖f3}$  and  $\text{♘[e6]}$  in which white must move his king out of check and thereby forfeit his rook.

<sup>620</sup> This is a repetition of the same fork attack noted in the previous discarded move.

g3++), ♖[c2]-f2+ guarded by ♜[e4]; 7. ♖[f1]-e1, ♜[f2]-e2+; 8. ♖[e1]-d1 (because if ♖[e1]-f1, ♜[e4]-g3++), ♜[e4]-c3+; 9. ♖[d1]-c1, ♜[e2]-c2++

Problem 91 is written in Style ID. As with the two previous problems, there is a return to the predominant use of “dar la xaque” and “entrara el Rey”, however this problem also has its unique features. The most unique feature is the phrase indicating that the side to win will lose if those color pieces do not wish to make the checkmate wait, the description of forked attacks and the resultant explanations at the end of each conditional move that the best thing to do was to move as “desuso dixiemos.” This problem uses the more archaic conditional *entrarie* and, finally, it shares the lack of a threat to the side to win with Problems 74-76, 79-94, 96 and 103. Checkmate is given using with the trident-style configuration also seen in Problems 4, 6, 9, 18, 23, 43 through 46, 48, 52, 58, 59, 67, 69, 90 and 92.

Murray presents this problem with a slightly different and inverted arrangement with the colors reversed.<sup>621</sup> J. B. Sánchez Pérez, who reverses the piece orientations, and Steiger display the same diagram. Calvo is again misled by the incorrectly oriented pieces in the illumination and as a result inverts this diagram. Calvo compares this problem to Problem 69 and says that it is faithful to as-Suli’s original (1987: 229).

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<sup>621</sup> Murray’s inventory: e2 black fers, d3 black rook, d5 white knight, e6 white king, h7 white rook, b8 black fil, f8 black king (1913: 286, diagram 84).

## 1.1.6.92 Problem 92

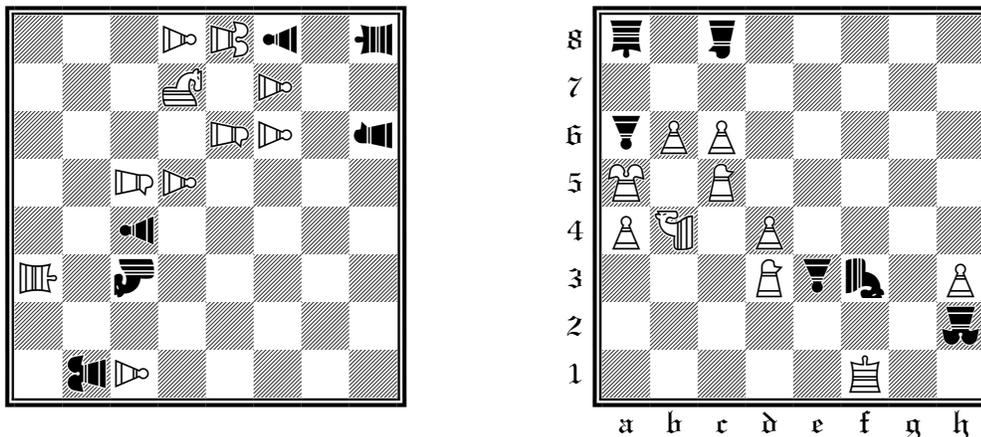


Fig. 110. Problem 92: fols. 57r and 57v (description on fols. 57r and 57v, diagram on fol. 57v); 16 pieces: white (at left) plays and wins in four.

Inventory and solution:

♖f1 ♗a5 ♘c5 ♙d3 ♚b4 ♛a4 ♜b6 ♝c6 ♞d4 ♟h3 (10)

♞a8 ♟h2 ♠c8 ♡f3 ♢a6 e3 (6)

1. ♗a5x ♢a6<sup>622+</sup>, ♞<sup>623</sup>[a8]-b8 (because if ♠[c8]x ♗[a6]; 2. ♛b6-b7+, ♞[a8]-b8 (forced); 3. ♚[b4]x ♠a6++); 2. ♛c6-c7+, ♞[b8]-b7; 3. ♗[a6]-a7+ (guarded by ♘[c6] or pawn ♛[b6]), ♠[b7]x ♛b6; 4. ♛a4-a5++ (guarded by ♗[a7])

This Style IA problem is one of the six that calls the pieces *iuegos* rather than *trebeios*; Problems 5, 85-86, 88, 92 and 102 fall into this category. Additionally its rubric ends with the variant phrase “iuegan assi.” Like Problem 90, this problem explains the end of conditional moves “ca no a otra” and “pues lo mejor es que [...] entra el la casa

<sup>622</sup> Textual error: in Problem 92, white’s first move is described as going to “la tercera casa del Roque blanco” (a3) but should read “la tercera casa del Roque prieto” (a6). Steiger corrects this error. Crombach leaves the text as is and notes Steiger’s correction.

<sup>623</sup> Textual error: in Problem 92, black’s first move is described with “Rey blanco” but should read “Rey prieto.” Steiger does not correct the text itself but shows the move as black’s. HSMS corrects this error. Crombach does not note this error.

que auemos dicho.” Problem 92 is unique in its use of the phrase “que y esta” to indicate a piece to be captured in a square. It shares the lack of an explicit threat to the side to win with Problems 74-76, 79-94, 96 and 103. However, given its similarity with Problem 46, ♖h2-f2++ is implicit. This move would result in the trident-style checkmate also seen in Problems 4, 9, 23, 43, 46, 48, 52, 58, 59, 67, 69 and 91.

Murray presents a somewhat different arrangement and compares this problem to Problem 46.<sup>624</sup> J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Calvo also this is a repetition of Problem 46, which he along with Wollesen (290n30) describes as a reelaboration of the Dilaram theme, and feels that it may be an original to the *LJ* (1987: 229). I note that in Problem 46 there are two black pieces, a rook at h5 and a knight at g4, which are replaced by two pawns in Problem 92, a white pawn at h3 and a black pawn at e3. None of these pieces figures in the solution so their difference is merely cosmetic.

To see a move-by-move comparison of these problems, please see the accompanying CD-rom for the PowerPoint presentation entitled “The *LJ*’s Dilaram Problems.”

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<sup>624</sup> Murray’s inventory: f1 white king, h2 black rook, d3 white fil, f3 black knight, a4 white pawn, b4 white knight, d4 white pawn, g4 black knight, a5 white rook, c5 white fil, h5 black rook, a6 black pawn, b6 white pawn, c6 white pawn, a8 black king, c8 black fil (1913: 304, diagram 399).

## 1.1.6.93 Problem 93

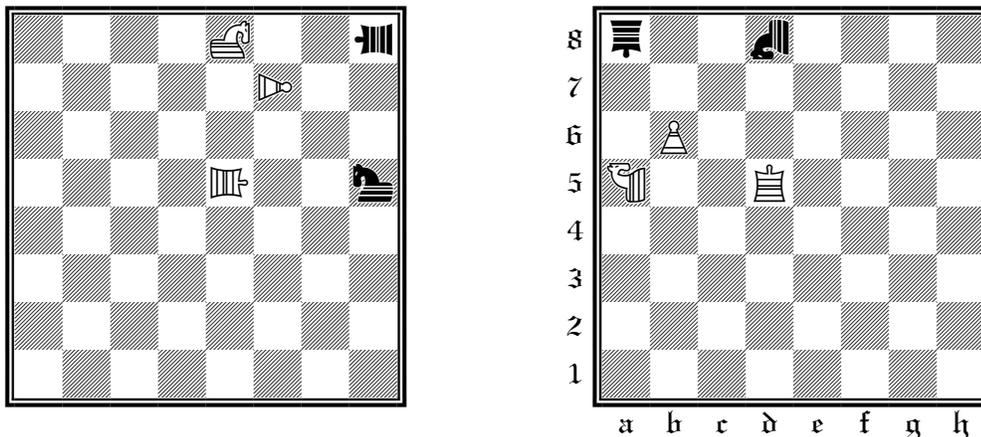


Fig. 111. Problem 93: fols. 57v and 58r (description on fols. 57v and 58r, diagram on fol. 58r); 5 pieces: white (at left) plays and wins [in three].

Inventory and solution:

$\text{♔}d5 \text{♞}a5 \text{♝}b6$  (3)

$\text{♚}a8 \text{♞}d8$  (2)

1.  $\text{♝}b6-b7+$ , (if  $\text{♞}[d8]$  does not  $\times \text{♝}[b6]$ <sup>625</sup>  $\text{♚}[a8]-a7$  or  $\text{♚}[a8]-b8$ ; 2.  $\text{♞}a5-c6+$  (guarded by  $\text{♝}[d5]$ ), (if  $\text{♞}d8$ <sup>626</sup> $\times \text{♞}c6$ ); 3.  $\text{♝}[d5]\times \text{♞}[c6]$  leaving only  $\text{♚}$  [meaning black loses by bare king]) or (if  $\text{♚}[a7]\times \text{♝}b7$  or  $\text{♚}[b8]\times \text{♝}b7$  (and [3. white] can move wherever he wishes); 3.  $\text{♞}[c6]\times \text{♞}d8$ <sup>627</sup>+ (and the black cannot escape defeat so it is better than when 1.  $\text{♝}b6-b7+$ ,  $\text{♞}[d8]\times \text{♝}[b6]$ ); 2.  $\text{♞}[a5]-c6$ , ( $\text{♚}[a8]$  cannot move so)  $\text{♞}[b7-\text{wherever}]$ ; 3.  $\text{♝}$  or  $\text{♞}\times \text{♞}$  wherever he moved [ $\text{♞}b7-c5$  results in  $\text{♝}d5\times \text{♞}c5$ ;

<sup>625</sup> Black might not choose this move because white would return with  $\text{♞}a5\times \text{♞}b7$  and black would lose by bare king. However as the remainder of the solution shows, the player of black may chose this move hoping that white will make a mistake resulting in a tie which would be better than the bare king loss.

<sup>626</sup> Textual error: in Problem 93's second move "en la casa del Rey prieto" (e8) should read "en la casa del *Alfferza prieta*" (d8). Steiger corrects this error. Crombach leaves the text as is and note Steiger's correction.

<sup>627</sup> Textual error: in Problem 93's third move "en la casa del Rey prieto" (e8) should read "en la casa del *Alfferza prieta*" (d8). Steiger corrects this error.

♖b7-d6 results in ♔d5x♗d6; ♜b7-a5 results in ♘c6x♞a5; and ♜b7-d8 results in ♘c6x♞d8; and black loses by bare king].

I love the beautifully simple symmetry of the opening position of this Style IA problem, all five pieces confined to the upper left quadrant of the board. The problem's simplicity may be related as well to the theme of teaching children to play chess, and specifically about the bare king victory, illustrated in its jealously and violently damaged miniature containing portraits, very likely I believe, of Mayor and Beatriz. The problem is also unique in its lack of clarity about which number move it is presenting and in its lack of specified checkmate. The introduction does not specify a number of moves in which to mate and discarded options are played out with giving move numbers before being described as conditional moves. It begins using “dar la xaque” and “entrara” but in the wordy and confusing descriptions of the discarded conditional moves other verbs like *fincar*, (*poner en*) *iogar* and expressions like “por tal” and “como auemos dicho desuso.” Finally, it shares the lack of a threat to the side to win with Problems 74-76, 79-94, 96 and 103.

Van der Linde presents the same diagram and white to win as his diagram 35 of the chapter “Das Problemschach des Mittelalters.”

This is the seventh of the eight *LJ* problems that Murray does not present.

J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Steiger, citing Pareja Casañas,<sup>628</sup> explains that the bare king, the king divested of all his men, loses as

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<sup>628</sup> Pareja Casañas explains *rey robado*: “Desposeído de todas sus piezas. La práctica general entre los árabes era considerar como tablas el juego en el cual, en jugadas inmediatas, ambos adversarios se ponían mutuamente en la situación de rey robado. Era, pues, necesario que, al despojar el vencedor de su última pieza al vencido, le quedara a aquél, por lo menos, una, fuera del alcance del rey robado. Sin

though he were checkmated. Calvo notes that this is a Zugzwang position in a bare king problem but offers no further history (1987: 230). While the text does hint at an expression of the idea of bare king, it unfortunately does not also express the idea of Zugzwang.

See also Appendices D5 and D4 showing details of the miniatures which show children being taught to play a game and a comparison of the *LJ* portraits of Mayor Guillén de Guzmán and her daughter Beatriz.

#### 1.1.6.94 Problem 94

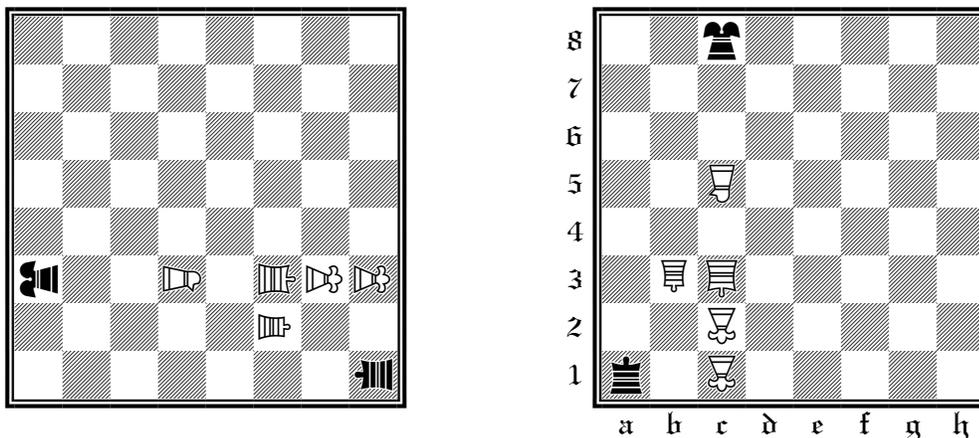


Fig. 112. Problem 94: fols. 58r and 58v (description on fols. 58r and 58v, diagram on fol. 58v); 7 pieces: black (at left, piece orientations flipped in diagram) plays first but loses<sup>629</sup> [in four].

embargo, los jugadores de Medina tenían por buena la victoria de aquel que primero dejara a su adversario en situación de rey robado, aunque éste pudiese dejarle al otro en la misma situación, a la jugada siguiente. Esta manera de vencer se conocía con el nombre de *victoria medinesa*, que según al-Biruni, estaba también admitida en la India” (II: LXXXIIIn1). Cf. *LJ*'s Problem 93's second move “El segundo iuego dar la xaque con el cauhallo blanco que esta en la quarta casa del Roque prieto poniendol en la tercera casa del alffil prieto en guarda de so Rey. & si el Rey prieto le tomare con su cauhallo que esta en la casa del Alfferza prieta tomar lo a el Rey blanco & fincara con el peon blanco. & si nol tomare con el cauhallo prieto; tomara el Rey prieto el peon blanco & entrara o quisiere” (fol. 57v, emphasis mine).

<sup>629</sup> This is the only problem whose presentation declares that the first to play must lose.

Inventory and solution:

♖c3 ♗b3 ♘c1 ♙c2 ♚c5 (5)

♜a1 ♞c8 (2)

1. ..., ♞c8x ♘c5+; 2. ♜[c3]-b4, ♞[c5-c8]; 3. ♜[b4]-a3, ♞[c8]-a8+; 4. ♜[b3-a4] (to cover), ♞[a8]-b8<sup>630</sup> (to defend against mate [♘c1-b2++]); 5. ♘[c1]-b2+, ♞[b8]x ♘b2 (forced); 6. ♜a4-b3 (to surround ♞), black must play and lose his ♞ and 7. lose the game [by bare king rule]

As noted above, this problem is unique in the *LJ* as being the only one whose presentation declares that the first to play must lose. However, it is no real surprise that black who begins this problem with only his king and one rook succumbs to white's larger army. Perhaps the only surprise is that the weaker side does not lose by bare king. This Style IA problem personifies all the pieces that are played, uses the verb *iogar* and is unusual like the previous problem in limited use of move numbers. The introduction only specifies that Black plays first and is defeated. The phrase "onde salio (primero)" is used only in four problems: 1, 18, 90 and 94. Interestingly and as with Problems 21, 58, 63, 64, 75 through 77, the second solution of 98, as well as 99 and 101 through 103, all the losing player's moves are forced in this problem. The final conditional move is explained lengthily with the unusual phrases "ca non puede dal iogar; maguer quiera. & nol puede poner` en logar que nol pierda & assi son uençudos los prietos." Finally, it shares the lack of a threat to the side to win with Problems 74-76, 79-94, 96 and 103.

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<sup>630</sup> J. B. Sánchez Pérez, who inverts this problem, incorrectly gives "Th1-g1X" instead of "Th1-g1" as he acknowledges in his "Erratas" (N.P.).

Van der Linde, whose diagram does not distinguish between ferses and promoted pawns, inverts the same position and gives the same mate conditions as his diagram 51 of the chapter “Das Problemschach des Mittelalters.” Murray presents this problem with a slightly different arrangement<sup>631</sup> (1913: 286, diagram 78).

J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo<sup>632</sup> are all misled by the incorrectly oriented pieces in the illumination coupled with the first move which describes the black rook as being “en la casa del alffil blanco.” However, in the rest of the moves it becomes obvious that the first description is erroneous and the black rook is really in the black fil’s square because all the rest of the moves describe the opposite half of the board as white’s half. It is more likely that the first move contains one error than the remaining five moves do. As a result of this confusion, both invert this diagram. These leaves both kings having moved very far afield, but given the advances state of the game shown by the great loss of pieces on both sides, this is not at all unrealistic.

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<sup>631</sup> The only difference is that Murray (1913) has reversed the colors.

<sup>632</sup> Calvo notes that the AH manuscript attributes this typical bare king problem to ar-Razi (1987: 230). According to *The Oxford Companion to Chess*, ar-Razi who was from near Tehran was “one of the five *aliyat* (grandmasters) of the 9<sup>th</sup> century and the greatest of them according to as-Suli”; he defeated al-Adli in the presence of the Caliph and wrote a book which is now lost (333).

## 1.1.6.95 Problem 95

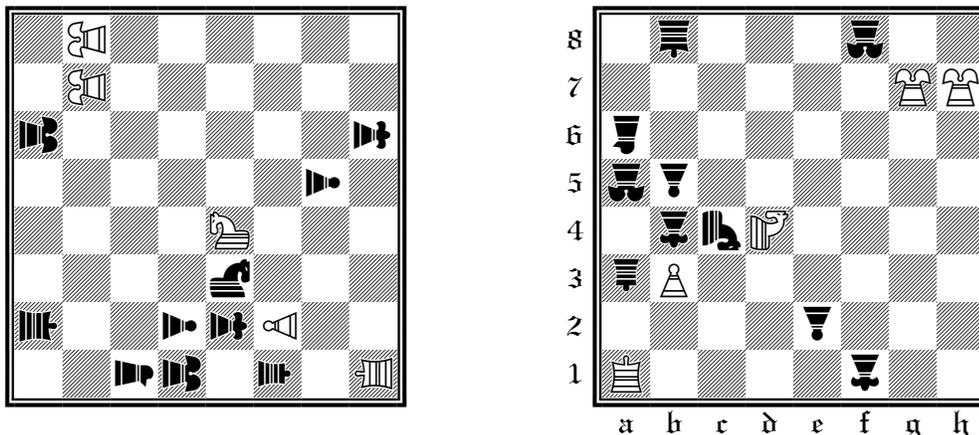


Fig. 113. Problem 95: fols. 58v, 59r and 59v (description on fols. 58v and 59r, diagram on fol. 59v); 15 pieces: black (at left) plays and wins in fifteen.

Inventory and solution:

♚a1 ♛g7 ♖h7 ♞d4 ♙b3 (5)

♜b8 ♜a3 ♞b4 ♟f1 ♞a5 ♞f8 ♞a6 ♞c4 ♞b5 e2 (10)

1. ..., ♞a3-b2+ ([also] discovered check by ♞a5+),<sup>633</sup> 2. ♜a1-b1, ♞a5-a1+ (guarded by ♞b2); 3. ♜b1-c2, ♞a1-c1+ (guarded by ♞b2); 4. ♜c2-d3, ♞c1-c3+ (guarded by both ferses: ♞b2 and ♞b4); 5. ♜d3-e4, ♞c3-e3+ (guarded by ♞c4); 6. ♜e4-d5, ♞e3-e5+ (guarded by ♞c4); 7. ♜d5-c6, ♞e5-c5+ (guarded by ♞b4); 8. ♜c6-d7, ♞c5-c7+ (guarded by ♞b8); 9. ♜d7-e6, ♞a6-c8+; 10. ♜e6-d5, ♞c7-c5+ (guarded by ♞b4); 11. ♜d5-e4, ♞c5-e5+ (guarded by ♞c4); 12. ♜e4-d3, ♞e5-e3+ (guarded by ♞c4); 13. ♜d3-c2, ♞e3-c3+ (guarded by both ferses: ♞b2 and ♞b4);

<sup>633</sup> Pareja Casañas offers none of the original's parenthetical information for this problem, including the threat to black.

14. ♖[c2]-b1, ♗[c3]-c1+ (guarded by ♜[b2]); 15. ♖[b1]-a2, ♗[c1]-a1++ (if black errs then 1. ♜d4-c6+, ♜[b8]-a8 or ♜[b8]-c8,<sup>634</sup> 2. ♜g7-[a7 or ♜g7-c7<sup>635</sup>]++)

This Style IA problem marks a return to the presence of a threat to the side to win should it err. Its beautiful solution marches the losing king up and back a half-moon circuit which uses only white squares.

Van der Linde compares this position to that of Problem 38 in his diagram 67 of the chapter “Das problemschach des Mittelalters.” Murray (1913), Pareja Casañas and Calvo (1987: 231) make this same comparison.

Murray presents this problem with a rather slightly different and inverted arrangement.<sup>636</sup>

J. B. Sánchez Pérez displays the same diagram. Pareja Casañas presents this *LJ* problem and Problem 38,<sup>637</sup> which he calls palindromes with a similar one in the Rich manuscript, with the same diagram and solution except as noted. He cites J. B. Sánchez Pérez’s diagrams 38 and 95 (56 and 113).

Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Steiger notes Pareja Casañas. Calvo calls this problem a repetition of Problem 38 and compares it also to Problem 2 (1987: 231).

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<sup>634</sup> The second option given is only possible before move nine when the black fil returns to his square and remains there for the remainder of the game.

<sup>635</sup> As with the previous note, the second option given is only possible before move nine.

<sup>636</sup> Murray’s inventory: a1 black rook, e1 white knight, g1 black king, b2 white rook, c2 white rook, a3 black fil, c3 white pawn, g3 black pawn, h3 black fil, b4 black fers, g4 black pawn, h4 black rook, a5 black knight, e5 white knight, f5 black knight, c6 white pawn, g6 white pawn, h6 black fers, d7 white pawn, h7 white king (1913: 287, diagram 86).

<sup>637</sup> Pareja Casañas’s diagram 19: Spanish translation (I: 31-32), Arabic transcription (I: Arabic numerals 26-27) and algebraic notation with discussion (II: 5-8).

## 1.1.6.96 Problem 96

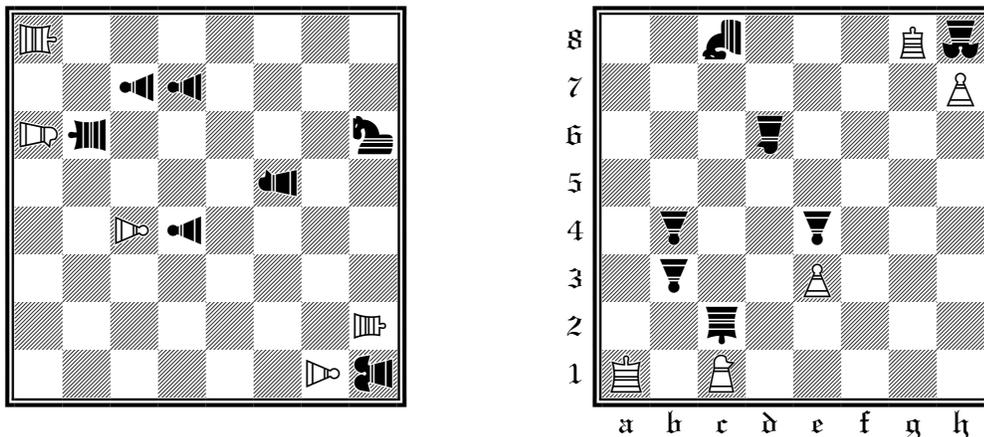


Fig. 114. Problem 96: fols. 59v and 60r (description on fol. 59v and diagram on fol. 60r); 12 pieces: black (at right) plays and wins in four.

Inventory and solution:

♚a1 ♜g8 ♞c1 ♠e3 h7 (5)

♞c2 ♝h8 ♠d6 ♞c8 ♠b3 b4 e4 (7)

1. ..., ♠b3-b2+; 2. ♚[a1]-a2 (forced), ♠b4-b3+; 3. ♚[a2]-a3 (forced), ♞c8-b6;

4. ♚g8-f7 [forced],<sup>638</sup> ♝h8-a8++

This Style IID problem is peculiar in the length of its description of the attacking moves, which says the black king will play his specific piece from the specified departure square, check if it occurs and specifying its arrival square. Problems 74, 79, 80, 85 through 87, and 96 all use the future tense for both sides throughout their solutions. The moves of the side to lose are use the future tense of both *entrar* and *iogar*. Finally, it

<sup>638</sup> Textual error on fol. 59v: in Problem 96, white's third move "casa del caualllo blanco poniendola en la segunda casa dell alffil blanco" (b1-c2 or g1-f2) should read "casa del caualllo *prieto* poniendola en la segunda casa dell alffil *prieto*" (g8-f7). Steiger does not correct the text but offers the correct move Dg8-f7. Calvo (1987) also gives the proper square without mention of the error. Crombach does not correct this error.

shares the lack of a threat to the side to win with Problems 74 through 76, 79 through 94, and 103.

Van der Linde presents this problem as the same as Problem 88, of which it is an inversion with colors reversed. Murray, Pareja Casañas and Calvo also make this same comparison.

Murray presents this problem with the colors reversed and a slightly different diagram and compares it with Problem 88.<sup>639</sup>

J. B. Sánchez Pérez displays the same diagram. Pareja Casañas presents this *LJ* problem<sup>640</sup> and Problem 88, in comparison to a similar one in the Rich manuscript, with the same diagram and solution except as noted. He cites J. B. Sánchez Pérez's diagrams 88 and 96 (106 and 114).

Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Steiger notes Pareja Casañas. Calvo says this Zugzwang position is the same as that of Problem 88 with minimal modifications (1987: 231).

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<sup>639</sup> Murray's inventory: b1 black king, c1 black fil, b3 white pawn, c3 white king, e3 black pawn, b4 white pawn, e4 white knight, e5 white pawn, h7 black pawn, g8 black fers, h8 white rook (1913: 294, diagram 220).

<sup>640</sup> Pareja Casañas's diagram 57: Spanish translation (I: 84), Arabic transcription (I: Arabic numeral 78) and algebraic notation with discussion (II: 85-87).

## 1.1.6.97 Problem 97

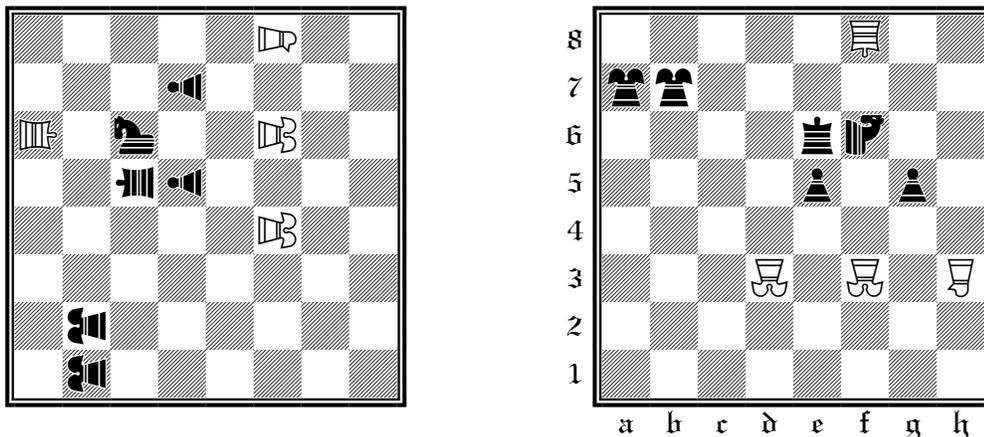


Fig. 115. Problem 97: fols. 60r and 60v (description on fol. 60r and diagram on fol. 60v); 10 pieces: white (at right, piece orientations flipped in diagram) plays and wins in two.

Inventory and solution:

♖f8 ♗d3 ♜f3 ♠h3 (4)

♞e6 ♞a7 ♝b7 ♞f6 ♟e5 ♟g5 (6)

1. ♗f3x♞f6+, ♞[e6]x♗[f6] (forced); 2. ♗d3-d6++ (if white errs then black wins)

This Style ID Abu Naam problem is distinguished from the *LJ*'s other presentations of this theme in Problems 58, 63 and 64 by its shorter format, the stunning knight move which precipitates the many captures having already been played, and by its having white rather than black as the winner, thus inverting the board and reversing the colors. The double-rook attack here is similar to those in Problems 10 and 39, the other Abu Naam Problems 58, 63 and 64 as well as the double-knight attack of Problem 21. Problem 97 shares the fil which covers a square to prevent the losing king's flight with Problem 64. Lastly, all other Abu Naam problems specified the threat to the side to win,

but this final one does not saying that if the side to win errs, they will lose but the specific threat is not described. However it would be ♖a7-a8++ or ♜b7-b8++. As in Problem 65, the losing player's sole move in this problem is forced.

Van der Linde presents the same diagram and white to win as his diagram 37 of the chapter "Das Problemschach des Mittelalters." Murray presents this problem with a rather different arrangement<sup>641</sup> (1913: 284, diagram 53). J. B. Sánchez Pérez and Steiger display the same diagram. Calvo is again misled by the incorrectly-oriented pieces in the illumination and as a result inverts this diagram (1987: 231). Murray and Calvo both note that this problem, like Problems 58, 63 and 64 is another repetition of the Abu Naam problem.

To see a move-by-move comparison of these problems, please see the accompanying CD-rom for the PowerPoint presentation entitled "The *LJ*'s Abu Naam Problems."

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<sup>641</sup> Murray (1913) inverts this diagram and shows the following arrangement: e1 black rook, g1 black rook, g3 black knight, f4 black pawn, f5 white pawn, f6 white fers, g6 white knight, d7 white rook, h7 white rook, g8 black king.

## 1.1.6.98 Problem 98

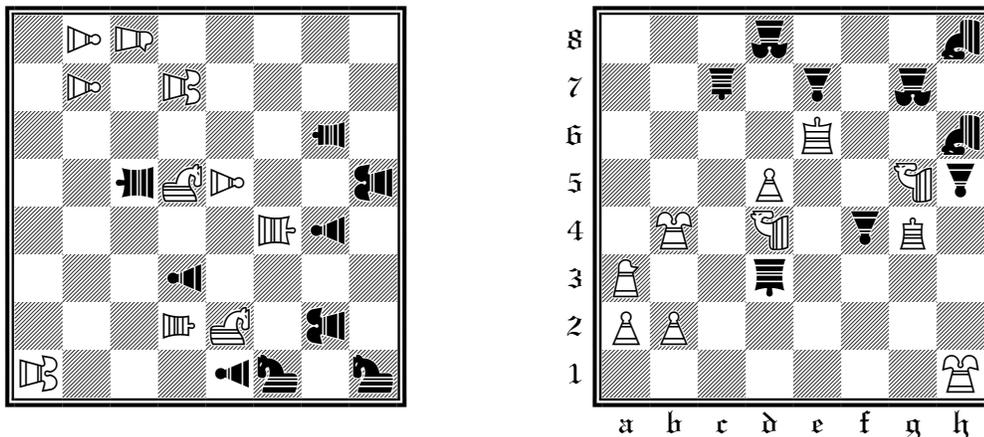


Fig. 116. Problem 98: fols. 60v and 61r (description on fols. 60v and 61r, diagram on fol. 61r); 19 pieces: black (at right) plays and wins in two or white (at left) plays and wins in five.

Inventory and solution:

$\text{♖e6}$   $\text{♗g4}$   $\text{♝b4}$   $\text{♞h1}$   $\text{♜a3}$   $\text{♞d4}$   $\text{♞g5}$   $\text{♙a2}$   $\text{b2}$   $\text{d5}$  (10)

$\text{♞d3}$   $\text{♞c7}$   $\text{♞d8}$   $\text{♞g7}$   $\text{♞h6}$   $\text{♞h8}$   $\text{♙e7}$   $\text{f4}$   $\text{h5}$  (9)

1. ...,  $\text{♞d8-d6+}$ ; 2.  $\text{♖[e6]-e5}$  (forced),  $\text{♞h8-g6++}$

1.  $\text{♞h1-d1+}$ ,  $\text{♞[d3]-e3}$  (forced); 2.  $\text{♝b4-b3+}$ ,  $\text{♞[e3]-f2}$  (forced); 3.  $\text{♞g5-h3+}$ ,  $\text{♞[f2]-g2}$  (forced); 4.  $\text{♞d1-g1+}$ ,  $\text{♞[g2]-h2}$  (forced); 5.  $\text{♞d4-f3++}$

Despite Calvo's criticism of this Style ID problem, it is unique in the *LJ* in that it has two possible solutions depending on which color plays first. While Problem 39 offers two solutions, both are for the same side to win. That such a great deal of consideration was given to this position is remarkable considering that this situation seems quite possibly to have arisen in a game between the two usual men seen on fol. 61r, two of Alfonso's "fools." Interestingly and as with Problems 21, 58, 63, 64, 75 through 77, 94, 99 and 101 through 103, all the losing king's moves are forced.

Murray inverts this diagram (1913: 304, diagram 406). J. B. Sánchez Pérez and Calvo display the same diagram, the latter calling this an original problem of hasty composition (Calvo 1987: 232).

### 1.1.6.99 Problem 99

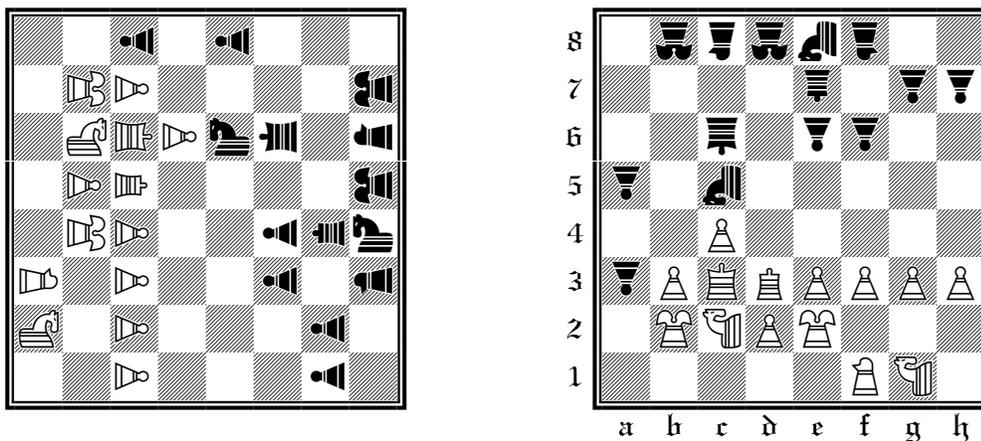


Fig. 117. Problem 99: fols. 61r and 61v (description on fols. 61r and 61v, diagram on fol. 61v); 28 pieces: black (at right) plays and wins in nine at h5.<sup>642</sup>

Inventory and solution:

♖c3 ♜d3 ♘b2 ♙e2 ♚f1 ♞c2 ♝g1 ♠b3 c4 d2 e3 f3 g3 h3 (14)

♞c6 ♞e7 ♡b8 ♡d8 ♠c8 ♠f8 ♛c5 ♛e8 ♠a3 a5 e6 f6 g7 h7 (14)

1. ..., ♡[b8x ♠]b3+; 2. ♘[b2]x ♡[b3] (forced), ♡[d8]x ♜d3+; 3. ♚[f1]x ♡[d3] (forced), ♛c5-a4+; 4. ♖[c3]-d4 (forced), ♠[e6]-e5+; 5. ♖[d4]-e4 (forced), ♛a4-c5+; 6. ♖[e4]-f5 (forced), ♠g7-g6+; 7. ♖[f5]-g4 (forced), ♠[c8]-e6+; 8. ♖[g4]-h4 (forced), ♠g6-g5+; 9. ♖[h4]-h5 [forced], ♛e8-g7++

<sup>642</sup> Steiger gives the mate square specification.

Problem 99 is written in Style I. Interestingly and as with Problems 21, 58, 63, 64, 75 through 77, 94, the second solution of 98 and 101, all the losing king's moves are forced in this problem.

Murray presents this problem with a rather different arrangement and the colors reversed.<sup>643</sup>

J. B. Sánchez Pérez displays the same diagram. Pareja Casañas presents this *LJ* problem,<sup>644</sup> in comparison to a similar one in the Rich manuscript, with the same diagram and solution. He cites J. B. Sánchez Pérez's diagram 99 (117). The Rich manuscript problem mates with a pawn rather than the *LJ*'s knight, which Pareja Casañas describes as befitting the preferred Arabic artistic canon.

Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Steiger notes Pareja Casañas.

Calvo says that this problem comes from the collection of al-Adli, probably from a real game like many Arabic problems and that is closely related to Problem 5 (1987: 233). I note that the man with the book is again the one who wins, as in Problem 63.

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<sup>643</sup> Murray's inventory: b1 white knight, c1 white fil, e1 white rook, f1 white fil, b2 white pawn, g2 white rook, a3 white pawn, c3 white fers, d3 white pawn, f3 white king, f4 white knight, g4 black fil, h4 white pawn, f5 black pawn, h5 black pawn, a6 black pawn, b6 black pawn, c6 black pawn, d6 black pawn, e6 black fers, f6 black king, g6 black pawn, e7 black pawn, f7 black knight, g7 black rook, a8 black rook, b8 black knight, f8 black fil (1913: 283, 23).

<sup>644</sup> Pareja Casañas's diagram 16: Spanish translation (I: 39), Arabic transcription (I: Arabic numeral 34) and algebraic notation with discussion (II: 20-21).

## 1.1.6.100 Problem 100

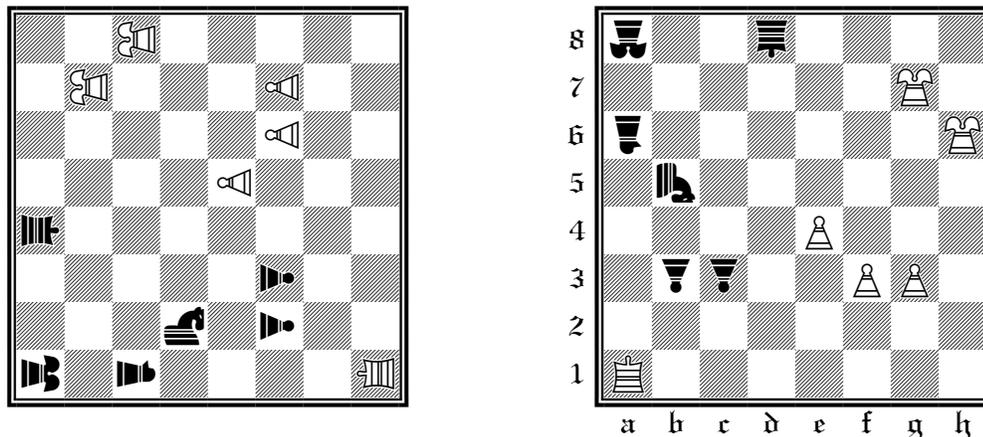


Fig. 118. Problem 100: fols. 61v and 62r (description on fols. 61v and 62r, diagram on fol. 62r); 11 pieces (per the textual description although 12 are clearly shown, as also noted by Steiger and Grandese (1986-87: 80) black (at left) plays and wins in five (if white plays then ♔[h6]-h8++).

Inventory and solution:

♚a1 ♛g7 ♜h6 ♟e4 ♟f3 ♟g3 (6)

♚d8 ♛a8 ♟a6 ♟b5 ♟b3 ♟c3 (6)

1. ..., ♟a6-c4+ (discovered check [from ♛a8]); 2. ♛g7-a7 (to cover and prolong), ♛[a8]x♛[a7]+; 3. ♛h6-a6 (also to cover and prolong), ♛[a7]x♛[a6]+; 4. ♚[a1]-b1 (forced), ♛[a6]-h6; 5. ♚ [b1-a1] or ♚ [b1-c1] or ♟ [e4-e3] or ♟ [f3-f2]<sup>645</sup> or ♟ [g3-g2],<sup>646</sup> ♛[h6]-h1++

This Style IIE problem is unique in that it is the one to give the threat to the side to win at the beginning of the problem rather than at the end. It is also the only problem that uses the phrase *en descubierta* rather than *en descubierta* to describe discovered

<sup>645</sup> This option leads to mate in six rather than prescribed five moves: 5. ♟ [f3-f2], ♛[h6]-h1+; 6. ♟ f2-f1=♚, ♛h1x♛f1++.

<sup>646</sup> This option leads to mate in six rather than prescribed five moves: 5. ♟ [g3-g2], ♛[h6]-h1+; 6. ♟ g2-g1=♚, h1x♛g1++.

check; it does not use the present subjunctive to indicate this move like Problems 52, 57, 62 and 68. Additionally, it is the only problem that describes a move for the side to win and then says “darla xaque” after this move. This problem uses the future tense of the verbs *entrar* and *iogar* for the moves of the side to lose.

Murray presents this problem with a somewhat different arrangement.<sup>647</sup> Unlike similar Problems 54 and 57 and Murray’s comparison problem but like another similar Problem 90, black plays and wins. J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo (1987) display the same diagram, with Steiger noting that instead of the eleven pieces indicated in the text that twelve are clearly visible in the diagram. However, based solely on the position of the opening pieces and not on the solution given in the manuscript, Calvo erroneously believes that this is another presentation of the Dilaram problem and gives a solution that does indeed beautifully produce a Dilaram checkmate but which is entirely unrelated to solution give in the text of the *LJ*.<sup>648</sup> Calvo also suggests that the miniature shows the legendary story of this problem in a European setting (1987: 233). I agree that the position of this problem is comparable to that of other Dilaram problems, the solution is entirely unlike it. While this problem does involve the sacrifice of two rooks, they are sacrificed by the losing side as a delaying tactic rather than by the winning side in order to win. The winning side has only one rook and gives check with it rather than with his knight as in Dilaram. Perhaps since three problems of the Dilaram theme (Problems 54, 57 and 90) and two other similar Dilaram-like problems (46 and 92) had already been

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<sup>647</sup> Murray’s inventory: h1 white rook, b2 black rook, h3 white fil, a4 white king, c4 black knight, g4 white knight, h4 white rook, f6 white pawn, g6 white pawn, b8 black rook, g8 black king (1913: 286, 83).

<sup>648</sup> Calvo’s solution from Problem 100: “1...Ac4. 2. Rb1, Ta1. 3. Rxa1, b2. 4. Rb1, Ca3, mate” (1987: 233).

presented, Alfonso or his team decided that the variations on that theme had been exhausted and so chose to present a problem with a different outcome from a similar starting position.

To see a move-by-move analysis of this problem and why it is not a Dilaram problem, please see the accompanying CD-rom for the PowerPoint presentations entitled “The *LJ*’s Problem 100—Not a Dilaram Problem” and “The *LJ*’s Dilaram Problems.”

### 1.1.6.101 Problem 101

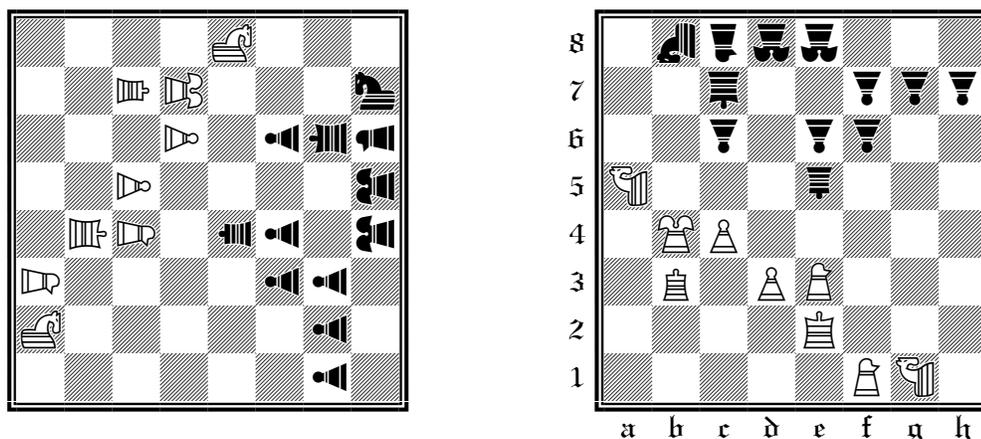


Fig. 119. Problem 101: fols. 62r and 62v (description on fols. 62r and 62v, diagram on fol. 62v); 21 pieces: white (at left) plays and wins in six at c2.<sup>649</sup>

Inventory and solution:

♖e2 ♜b3 ♘b4 ♙e3 ♚f1 ♞a5<sup>650</sup> ♞g1 ♙c4 d3 (9)

♞c7 ♞e5 ♜d8 ♜e8 ♜c8 ♞b8 ♙c6 e6 f6 f7 g7 h7 (12)

<sup>649</sup> Steiger gives the mate square specification.

<sup>650</sup> Calvo has a white knight at a5 but leaves the square white instead of black (1987: 234).

1. ♖b4-b7+, ♜[c7]-d6 (forced); 2. ♖[c4]-c5+ (guarded by ♖[e3]), ♜[d6]-d5 (forced); 3. ♖b3-c4+, ♜[d5]-d4 (forced); 4. ♖g1-f3+, ♜[d4]-c3 (forced); 5. ♖b7-b3+, ♜[c3]-c2 (forced); 6. ♖f3-e1++ (if white errs black wins because they have more and greater pieces)

The language of this Style IID problem is very typical, using the phrases “darla xaque con” and “entrara el Rey.” The most unique feature of Problem 101 is the wording of the threat to the side to win should it err, which says merely that the other side will win because they have more and greater pieces. Interestingly and as with Problems 21, 58, 63, 64, 75 through 77, 94, the second solution of 98, as well as 99 and 101 through 103, all the losing king’s moves are forced in this problem. This problem’s interest owes to the forced march of the better-equipped black king into the enemy camp.

Van der Linde compares this problem to the positions of Problems 25 and 27 in his diagram 55 of chapter “Das Problemschach des Mittelalters.” Murray and Calvo make this same comparison. Murray presents this problem with a slightly different arrangement.<sup>651</sup> Only the piece at f6 differs—in the *LJ* it is a black pawn, in Murray it is a black knight. J. B. Sánchez Pérez and Steiger display the same diagram. Calvo says that this problem appears in the collection of as-Suli and compares it to Problems 25 and 27 (1987: 234).

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<sup>651</sup> Murray’s inventory: f1 white fil, g1 white knight, e2 white king, b3 white fers, d3 white pawn, e3 white fil, b4 white rook, c4 white pawn, a5 white knight, e5 black fers, c6 black pawn, e6 black pawn, f6 black knight, c7 black king, f7 black pawn, g7 black pawn, h7 black pawn, b8 black knight, c8 black fil, d8 black rook, e8 black rook (1913: 286, diagram 77).

## 1.1.6.102 Problem 102

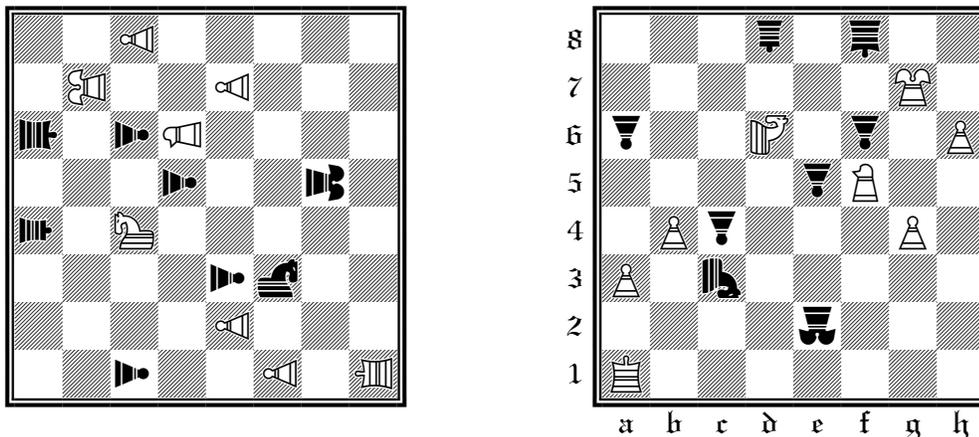


Fig. 120. Problem 102: fols. 62v and 63r (description on fols. 62v and 63r, diagram on fol. 63r); 16 pieces: white (at right) plays and wins in five at h6.<sup>652</sup>

Inventory and solution:

$\text{♖a1}$   $\text{♗g7}$   $\text{♘f5}$   $\text{♙d6}$   $\text{♚a3}$   $\text{♛b4}$   $\text{♜g4}$   $\text{♝h6}$  (8)

$\text{♞f8}$   $\text{♟d8}$   $\text{♠e2}$   $\text{♡c3}$   $\text{♢a6}$   $\text{♣c4}$   $\text{♤e5}$   $\text{♥f6}$  (8)

1.  $\text{♗[g7]-f7+}$ ,  $\text{♞[f8]-g8}$  (forced); 2.  $\text{♚[h6]-h7+}$ ,  $\text{♞[g8]-h8}$  (forced); 3.  $\text{♗[f7]-f8+}$ ,  $\text{♞[h8]-g7}$  (forced); 4.  $\text{♗[f8]-g8+}$ ,  $\text{♞[g7]-h6}$  (forced); 5.  $\text{♙[d6]-f7++}$  (if white errs  $\text{♠[e2]-a2++}$ )

This Style IID problem is one of the six problems that uses *iuegos* for pieces instead of *trebeios*: Problems 5, 85-86, 88, 92 and 102 fall into this category. Interestingly and as with Problems 21, 58, 63, 64, 75 through 77, 94, the second solution of 98, as well as 99 and 101 through 103, all the losing king's moves are forced in this problem. As with Problem 32, checkmate is given just when the king finally flees from the corner where he has been trapped.

<sup>652</sup> Steiger gives the mate square specification.

Van der Linde presents the same position to win in five at h6 as diagram 49 of the chapter “Das Problemschach des Mittelalters” and compares this position to that of Problem 32. Murray presents this problem with the colors reversed and slightly different diagram.<sup>653</sup> J. B. Sánchez Pérez, Steiger and Calvo display the same diagram. Calvo compares this problem to Problem 32 and says that appears in as-Suli’s collection with the colors reversed (1987: 234).

### 1.1.6.103 Problem 103

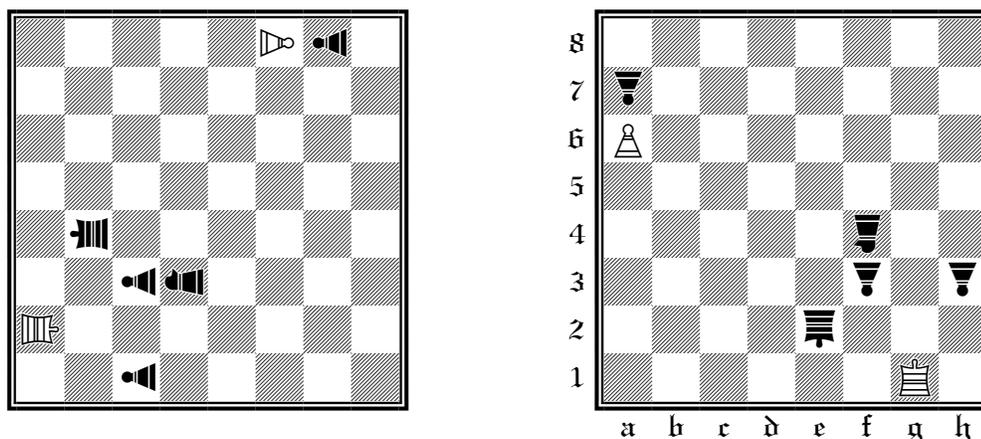


Fig. 121. Problem 103: fols. 63r, 63v and 64r (description on fols. 63r and 63v, diagram on fol. 64r); 7 pieces: black (at right) plays and wins in eleven.

Inventory and solution:

♖g1 ♗a6 (2)

♚e2<sup>654</sup> ♜f4 ♞a7 ♝f3 ♛h3 (5)

1. ..., ♞f3-f2+; 2. ♖[g1]-h1 (forced), ♞[f2]-f1=♚[+]; 3. ♖[h1]-g1 (forced), ♚[f1]-f3; 4. ♖[g1]-h1 (forced), ♚[f3]-g2+ (guarded by ♞[h3]); 5. ♖[h1]-g1 (forced),

<sup>653</sup> Murray’s inventory: c1 black king, e2 white rook, a3 black pawn, c3 black pawn, e3 black fil, h3 black fil, a4 white knight, c4 white pawn, e4 black fers, e5 white pawn, a6 white pawn, d6 black knight, f6 white pawn, h6 black pawn, g7 black rook, d8 white fers, f8 white king (1913: 289, diagram 115).

<sup>654</sup> Calvo (1987) has a black king at e2 but also makes the square black in error.

♙f4-d2 or [♙f4]-h6 or [♙f4]-d6; 6. ♖[g1]-h2 (forced), ♜e2-f3; 7. ♖[h2]-g1 (forced), ♜[f3]-e3; 8. ♖[g1]-h2 (forced), ♜[e3]-f4; 9. ♖[h2]-g1 (forced), ♜[f4]-f3; 10. ♖[g1]-h2 (forced), ♜[d2, h6 or d6]-f4+; 11. ♖[h2]-g1 (forced), ♜h3-h2++ (guarded by ♜[f4])

Like Problems 74, 78, 80 and 81, Problem 103 (Style IID) specifies that the checkmate is to occur in exactly (“ni mas ni menos”) a certain number of moves. Here, the eleven moves required prevent black winning with a four-move bare king victory, for example 1. ..., ♜e2-d3; 2. ♖g1-f2 or ♖g1-h2, ♜d3-c4; 3. ♖f2x♜f3 or ♖h2x♜h3, ♜c4-b5; 4. ♖f3x♜f4 or ♖h3-g3, ♜b5x♜a6. It uses the infinitives *dar* and *poner* to describe attacking moves of the side to win, and *entrar* and *iogara* for the moves of the side to lose. The problem’s interest lies in the cornered dance in the lower right of the board. Interestingly and as with Problems 21, 58, 63, 64, 75 through 77, 94, the second solution of 98, as well as 99 and 101 through 103, all the losing king’s moves are forced in this problem. Finally, it shares the typically European lack of a threat to the side to win with Problems 8, 16, 69, 73 through 77, 79 through 90, 92 through 94, and 96 (Problems 15, 29, 66, 78, 91, 97 and 101 all have vague threats).

This is the last of the eight *LJ* problems that Murray does not present. J. B. Sánchez Pérez and Steiger display the same diagram. Calvo says this triangulation problem is original to the *LJ* and may be the earliest known example of conjugate squares.<sup>655</sup> He wonders if the scene does not show the famous game played between Ibn al-Ahmar and Alfonso VI of Castile, a suggestion which is supported by the red pennant

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<sup>655</sup> Calvo 1987: 235. “Usually a pair of squares occupied by kings in a pawn ending when the position is a Zugzwang. ... A simple example is the trébuchet when the kings stand a knight’s move apart.” See also *Oxford Companion to Chess* 89.

which was the emblematic flag of the former who was also known as “The Red” because of his hair.<sup>656</sup>

## 1.2 The “Libro de los Dados” and Games Other Than Chess

Alfonso’s *LJ* is not the first or the only book of chess or even book of games to include chess and other games such as tables and mill. Both the *Bonus Socius*<sup>657</sup> and *Civis Bononiæ*<sup>658</sup> also include mill and tables problems and even Arabic works by al-Adli and as-Suli who wrote works on both chess and *nard*.<sup>659</sup> However, the *LJ* is unique in its orderly presentation of the games beyond the chess problems. Not only does it present

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<sup>656</sup> The same ruler of Granada as in the ballad, “Abenámar, Abenámar / moro de la morería / el día que tú naciste / grandes señales había.” See Chapter II’s discussion of fol. 64r in the Catalogue of Miniatures for my refutation of this impossible suggestion.

<sup>657</sup> According to the *Oxford Companion to Chess*, “a 13<sup>th</sup>-century manuscript written in Lombardy and comprising 119 leaves. The first 99 of these contain 194 chess positions or problems of the old game, some Arabic, some European. The text, including names of pieces, is in Latin. The rest of the work is devoted to backgammon and merels. The name of the manuscript suggests that the author, perhaps Nicholas de St. Nicholai, was a university teacher. Many copies of the manuscript were made in Italy and France. Van der Linde, using a source from which one leaf was missing, published 192 *Bonus Socius* positions in his *Quellenstudien* [1881]” (53).

<sup>658</sup> According to the *Oxford Companion to Chess*, “(i.e. Citizen of Bologna), the pen name of the author of a manuscript collection of 288 problems written before 1450. The author, who includes 191 problems from the earlier *Bonus Socius*, states that he gave all the problems known to him. He concealed his identity, as yet undiscovered, in a Latin poem of 24 lines. Many positions were designed for wagering purposes. *Civis Bononiæ* gives two pages of tips for tricking the victim, such as pretending to be unsure of the position so that if, on being offered the choice of sides, the antagonist chooses the winning one, some apparently harmless changes can be made to restore the advantage. Proving the absences or presence of a solution may be equally difficult and some problems, following a practice acceptable at the time, were intentionally composed without a solution. The 288 problems were published in Murray’s *A History of Chess* [1913]. Perhaps the best copy of the manuscript is one made in 1454, now in the Estense Library of Modena. It has an additional 245 problems; for these 192 solutions are in Latin, 53 in Italian” (80-81).

<sup>659</sup> “Al-Adli ar-Rumi (*fl.* 840). Patronized by several caliphs, including a son of Harun ar-Raschid, al-Adli was regarded as the strongest player of his time until defeated, not later than 848, by ar-Razi. Al-Adli wrote a book on chess, severely criticized by as-Suli [854-946], and also a book on *nard*, an old board game in the backgammon family, often confused with chess by historians. His books have long since been lost, but some of his problems, endgames, and opening systems have survived” (*The Oxford Companion to Chess* 3). “Abu-Bakr Muhammad ben Yahya as-Suli (854-946), the strongest player of his time, composer and author of the first book describing a systematic way of playing shatranj. For more than 600 years [up to Alfonso X’s time] the highest praise an Arab could bestow on a chessplayer was to say that he played like as-Suli. ... A good conversationalist with a genial manner, he had wide knowledge. His large collection of book made him the butt of a satirical poem [somewhat similar to Alfonso’s *canción de escarnio y maldecir* about the dean of Cádiz’s library]. ... He wrote many history books and two textbooks on chess” (*The Oxford Companion to Chess* 401-2).

more games than other manuscripts but it presents in distinct fashion even the games it has in common with other manuscripts. In the *LJ*, chess is shown not merely, or even principally, as a moral allegory such as it is in *Cessolis*, but rather as a princely textbook for better day-to-day administration of the kingdom and life in general. The games, like mill and tables, which the *LJ* has in common with other manuscripts are presented not as problem sets similar to the 103 chess problems, but as a rulebook for a myriad of games which can be played with their same equipment, i.e. boards and pieces. Each game's symbolism, sometimes more overtly acknowledged than others, builds one upon the other, not as we would normally find in a Christian allegory stressing the importance of the afterlife over the present one, but rather from a narrow microcosmic perspective of this life expanded to a vast, holistic view of the universe as macrocosm.

In the prologue, Alfonso lays out a basic foundation for his harmonizing view of chess and tables with dice presented as the necessary-evil link between the two. The first three treatises then address each of these three elements separately. The remaining four treatises follow and expand conceptually upon the same triad of games grouped together as a whole around chess, dice and tables in a progressive format of theme and variation. The fourth treatise expands on the equipment, the fifth on the number of players. The sixth treatise borrows elements from all three basic games and recasts them on another type of board while the seventh treatise projects those same play elements onto a universal arena encompassing the largest boards, number of players and number of symbolic connections.

Beyond basic considerations of content and context, it seems clear that the very order in which the games are presented is intended to be didactic. This format of the *LJ* is so unique that it has inevitably confused many who have tried to describe its contents. For example, Olivia Remie Constable only counts the work's seven divisions as three, according to its later title, and says only that the remainder of "[t]he book ends with a discussion of astrological versions of chess and other board games" (315). Her summary dismissal of the complex games which crown the collection cause her to wrongly assume that the text and images of the *LJ* "consistently emphasize the superiority of chess, and its distinction from all other games" (Constable 316). However it is vital to understand the way in which the *LJ* is organized because it is this contextualization of its content which both makes the text unique and explains its purpose, as Alfonso says, for the wise and especially for those who understand astrology.

For those who look beyond the three allegorical games of the initial exemplum, the additional four treatises reveal a purposeful series of steps, the games of which expound and expand upon the concepts of each previous one, finally arriving at the totality of Alfonso's holistic perspective of the cosmos in his astrological games. Beginning with the most noble chess, the lowly dice and the favored tables, we see how the prologue's allegory plays out, evolving from mankind rigidly and alternately confined by intellect and luck, to the exemplary wise man who knows how best to live in any circumstance by using both skill and fortune to his advantage. This concept in itself is unique in games literature but the *LJ*'s innovation does not end there. The next four treatises contain variants of chess, dice and tables played with larger boards and with a

larger number of players; mill games and astrological games. The same allegory introduced in the prologue and scholastically debated in the first three treatises is then further analyzed in terms of expanding the places and people to which the analogy can be applied in the larger boards and games for more players. Next the same physical and allegorical elements used in all three main types of games, chess, dice and tables, are utilized in a totally new format and variety of games called mill. The mill games add another, celestial dimension to the previous games by introducing a wheel- or star-like spin. The final treatise combines all the elements from the previous six treatises in a scholastic crescendo of knowledge, luck, chess, tables, numerology and astrology.

Chess is such a hugely popular and influential game that it occupies a large percentage, often a majority, not only of the *LJ* but of most literature devoted to games. For that reason, it is not uncommon to divide the study of games, as did H.J.R. Murray, into individual analyses of the game of chess (Murray's *A History of Chess* [1913]) and board games other than chess (Murray's *A History of Board-Games Other Than Chess* [1952]) or, indeed, as David Parlett does, to subdivide board games into race, space, chase and displace games.<sup>660</sup>

In addition to some of the works referenced in the first section on chess, sections 1.2 through 1.7 of this dissertation's first chapter will utilize several other previous studies. Among the works which treat both chess and the other games of the *LJ* are those by Brunet y Bellet, all three of Murray's works and Calvo's three studies. Others, such as R. C. Bell, Frederic V. Grunfeld, the Provenzos, Botermans et al. and David Parlett, do

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<sup>660</sup> David Sidney Parlett, *The Oxford History of Board Games* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1999).

not treat chess in depth, if they treat it at all, but do consider games other than chess. Each of these latter studies is outlined chronologically below and their treatments of particular games are discussed in the pertinent sections of this chapter.

Brunet y Bellet shows the range of games covered in the *LJ* by quoting from the descriptions for the presentations of 8-sided dice, 7-sided dice and astrological checkers respectively.<sup>661</sup> These types of games, found in what he collectively calls the *Apendice*, are, he feels, the most important part of Alfonso's *LJ* because being less known and understood than the principal triad of chess, dice and backgammon they shed the most light on game history. He offers a detailed analysis of great chess, base-seven tables, four-seasons chess, four-seasons tables, astrological checkers (*escaques*), and the game of the maidens also known as the forced game.

Murray's landmark *A History of Chess* (1913) also presents several derived chess modifications in Ch. XVI, often mentioning their related tables variants, including: decimal chess, great chess, four-seasons chess and tables, *escaques*, and astrological tables (1913: 348-51). At the same time, Murray's fundamental 1941 article on tables treats all fifteen *LJ* tables variants within their European context.

In *A History of Board-Games Other Than Chess*, Murray carefully explains that

[T]his work completes the survey of board-games which [he] began in [his] *History of Chess*. The aim of this survey has been to present as complete a record as possible of the board-games that exist, or have existed, in different parts of the world, to establish how they are played, to sketch what is known of their histories and developments, and to investigate the ultimate origin of board-games in general and the circumstances which made possible their invention. (1952: v)

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<sup>661</sup> José Brunet y Bellet, "El código de D. Alfonso El Sabio sobre el juego del ajedrez," *La España regional* III.17 (1887) 412-32.

Miniatures 139, 140 and 149 (text: fols. 83r, 84r and 95r; images: fols. 83v, 84v and 96v).

Murray goes on to explain that he deliberately omits new games which have no new aim or rule, that this is the first study to “attempt to make a comparative study of the board-games of the whole world” and, as such, one of its chief contributions is to adopt “a uniform system of terms in describing the games” (1952: v). For the purposes of this dissertation, this uniform system of terms as seen below in Murray’s “Table of Contents” is fundamental in establishing the relationship between games and will therefore be utilized in the present study.

Murray divides this work into the following nine chapters: an introduction which covers types of boards, pieces or men, lots and dice, movement and capture; games in the ancient world; games of alinement and configuration such as merels, which is a term for the family of games to which the simplest variety of *alquerque* belongs; war-games such as chess, checkers and *alquerque*; hunt-games on the *alquerque* boards such as fox and geese or *cercar la liebre*; race-games such as tables and *escaques* which Murray calls the Arabic astronomical game; and two chapters on mancala, its history and different types of games around the world; the final chapter treats the distribution and origin of board-games. This dissertation will examine only those parts of Murray’s non-chess study which bear directly on games contained in the *LJ*.

Lilly C. Stone briefly discusses both dice and tables games in the context of medieval, specifically Tudor, England.<sup>662</sup> While she does not make the correlation here,

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<sup>662</sup> Lilly C. Stone, *English Sports and Recreations* (Published for the Folger Shakespeare Library Ithaca, New York: Cornell UP, 1960).

her study is relevant because one of the dice games, hazard, evolved directly from the *LJ's azar*.

*Games of the World: How to Make Them, How to Play Them, How to Come to Be* (New York: Holt, 1975), edited by Frederic V. Grunfeld, whose introduction states that it uses Alfonso's *LJ* as a point of departure, is divided into five sections on board and table games; street and playground games; field and forest games; party and festival games; and finally, puzzles, tricks and stunts. In its first section are many games that relate to the *LJ* especially those of the backgammon and mill families.

The first volume of R. C. Bell's *Board and Table Games from Many Civilizations* (1979) arranges games into six chapters by the following categories: race games, war games, positional games, mancala games, dice games and domino games. In the first category of race games are found cross and circle games such as pachisi, spiral race games such as hyena and goose, square board race games, peg scoring games, and the backgammon group which includes the Sumerian game, the game of thirty squares, *ludus duodecim scriptorum*, *tabula*, chasing the girls, *tourne-case*, *sixe-ace*, *fayles* and backgammon itself. The second category of war games includes the *alquerque* group of games, the chess group, draughts, the *tafl* group, the *latruncolorum* group and running-fight games. The positional games of the third category include the morris games noughts and crosses, three men's morris, six men's morris and nine men's morris; three-in-a-row games; five-in-a-row games, replacement games; games of territorial possession and patience games. Ch. four covers mancala games. Ch. five covers dice games including hazard. Ch. six covers domino games and other games like ma-jong, bingo and tiddle-a-

wink. The final seventh chapter gives instructions for making game boards and pieces. The second volume represents a stand-alone supplement to the original volume comprised of different but related and generally more modern game variants, none of which are directly taken from the *LJ*. The same six initial chapters are followed by a seventh on word and number games, an eighth on card games requiring boards, a ninth on games of manual dexterity and a tenth on gaming counters.

Bell's description of the *LJ* divides the work into four sections instead of seven, a common error seen in many subsequent works. Section one is chess; section two, dice; section three, tables; and section four "contains a miscellaneous collection of games starting with an enlarged chess, the Grande Acedrez, then a game consisting of a combination of chess and tables, Tablas de Alcedrez, [ending] with the game of Alquerque" (I: 36). Bell's somewhat erroneous description of the work's contents, with its omission of the astrologically-based games, is perhaps due to the fact that he had not seen the work and to the confusing rubric for the based-seven backgammon on fol. 85r which introduces it as "el iuego de las tablas del Acedrex de las diez casas."

Asterie Baker Provenzo and Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr. present the seventeen games of goose, the mill family, pachisi, snakes and ladders, alquerque, solitaire, halma, mancala, steeplechase, queen's guard, chivalry, go-bang, seega, fox and geese, nyout, draughts and backgammon.<sup>663</sup> As in Bell's work, the different types of variants of the mill family are separated into morris games of alignment and *alquerque* war games.

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<sup>663</sup> Asterie Baker Provenzo and Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr., *Favorite Board Games You Can Make and Play* (New York: Dover, 1990. Rpt. of *Play It Again: Historic Board Games You Can Make and Play*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice, 1981).

*The World of Games: Their Origins and History, How to Play Them, and How to Make Them* (New York: Oxford, 1987, 1989) by Jack Botermans, Tony Burrett, Pieter van Delft and Carla van Splunteren offers ancient board games as well as modern dice, card, domino, board and activity games. Like Grunfeld's *Games of the World*, it utilizes the *LJ* as a primary source when presenting the *LJ*'s nine and twelve men's morris, "cerca (sic) la liebre."

David Parlett's *The Oxford History of Board Games* is divided into race, space, chase and displace games with a final section dedicated to modern variations on a theme. Race games include backgammon, space games include mill, chase games include the *cercar la liebre* variant of *alquerque* and displace games include chess. Purely dice games are not included, though Parlett does give an introductory discussion on the different types of dice needed to move the pieces in the variety of games discussed.

Ricardo Calvo (1987) offers a brief overview of the entire *LJ*, including descriptions of all the games, before offering his intensive study of the "Libro del acedrex" and the 103 chess problems. As he rightly observes, even though chess is

la parte más voluminosa y elaborada del Códice, no es para esta mentalidad que lo inspira más que una de las formas simbólicas en que el hombre puede interrogarse sobre su propio destino.... Ajedrez, Dados y Tablas [from the prologue's fable] suponen tres respuestas diferentes a la pregunta, tres vías distintas de conocimiento, tres actitudes del hombre ante su destino. La propia actitud personal de Alfonso el Sabio queda reflejado en sus intentos armonizadores." (Calvo 1987: 150)

Thus Alfonso is here portrayed as a Christian European harmonizing the traditional Muslim preference for chess with his own love of the whole range of oriental games, especially tables.

### 1.2.1 The “Libro de los dados” or “Book of Dice”

The *LJ*'s second treatise, the “Book of Dice,” is smaller by far than the main “Books of Chess and Tables,” containing only seven folios, i.e. fols. 65r-71v.<sup>664</sup> As Murray explains, this book “treats games of chance with dice alone” (1913: 568). It also contains twelve miniatures showing all but the first two of these twelve different methods of play: 1) *mayores* and its opposite which I term *menores*; 2) *tanto en uno como en dos*; 3 and 4) two types of *triga*; 5) *azar* (related to the later hazard and modern craps); 6) *marlota*; 7) *riffa*; 8) *par con as*; 9) *panquist*; 10) *medio azar*; 11) *azar pujado*; and 12) *guirguesca*. The number of dice games in the “Libro de los dados,” like the number of folios in the “Libro del acedrex,” is significant: twelve being the highest roll on a pair of six-sided dice. Unlike the “Libro del acedrex” and the rest of the *LJ*, miniatures in the “Libro de los dados” precede rather than follow the games they illustrate, with the exception of the final game of *guirguesca* which has two miniatures, one before and one after its description.

This treatise is the shortest in the entire work perhaps because the dice players are characterized as violent, contemptible, brainless cheaters both in the illuminations and in Alfonso’s book of law, the *Libro de las tafurerías* (*LT*), which codified decrees dealing with gambling houses and all the possible cheats, such as shaving the edges of dice as described in the *LJ*. The *Cantigas de Santa María* also portrays dice players as inhabitants of the lowest strata of humanity such as we find in the tales and artwork of the *Códice Rico*.

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<sup>664</sup> Given that this is the only treatise not to be followed by a blank folio, It seems the original plan for the “Libro de las tablas” may have been for it to occupy six folios, a number equal to the number of sides on a die, but that it ran longer than projected.

Alfonso's distaste for players of these luck-based, and therefore baser games, shows in nearly every aspect of the "Libro de los dados." First, as stated, he dedicates many fewer pages to this section. The miniatures's often derogatory depictions of the dice-players show the violent nature of the gambler and his environs. The emphasis on gambling is illustrated by the ever-present coins on the boards and the losers, among them members of the nobility, handing over their belongings. The baser nature of noble Christians who gamble at dice is revealed in the miniature on fol. 71v when an insulting hand gesture or *figa* is offered to the Jewish opponents. Many lower class players are often depicted as drinking and clad merely in their underwear, having gambled away the rest of their clothes.<sup>665</sup> Unlike gamblers on dice, players in the other treatises are shown in a variety of dress and are almost always covered or at least depicted with a certain elegance. The winner of a chess game may be rewarded with a beverage that may indeed be wine but it is not shown as a vice. Even the tone of the language here is quite distinct, seemingly much more legalistic than the descriptions of chess problem solutions. The

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<sup>665</sup> The topos of the gambler clad only in his undergarments appears in Spanish medieval verse: "Desde que la verguença pierde el tafur al tablero, / sy el pellote juga, jugara el braguero;" Juan Ruiz, *Libro de buen amor*, from stanza 470 of *The Book of Good Love* (Vermont: Tuttle, 1999) 120. "Non quieras jugar dados nin seas tablajero, / ca es mala ganancia, peor que de logrero; / el judio al año da tres por quatro, pero / el tabla de vn dia dobla el su mal dinero. / des que los omnes estan en juegos ençendidos, / des-pojan se por dados, los dineros perdidos; / al tablagero fincan dineros e vestidos, / do non les comen se rrascan los tahures amidos. / los malos de los dados, disse lo maestre rroldan, / todas sus maestrias e las tachas que an;" Juan Ruiz, *Libro de buen amor*, from stanza 554 (p. 140). "María tan yrada, / rrespuso esa vegada: / Elena, calla, / por qué dizes tan palabra? / Ca el tu amigo / a pos el mío non val vn mal figo. / Quando él es en palacio / non es en tal espacio, / oras tien algo, oras tien nada, / que ayna falla ela soldad. / Quando non tien que gastar, / torase leugo ajogar, / et joga dos vezes o tres, / que nunca gana vna vez; / quando torna a perder, / aynda sal el su auer: / joga el cauallo et el rroçin / et elas armas otro syn, / el mantón, el tabardo / e el bestido et el calçado; / finca en auol guisa, / en panicos et en camisa. / Quando non tien que jogar / nin al a que tornar, / vay ela siella empeñar / a los francos dela cal; / el frano et el albardón / dalo al su rrapagón / que lo vaya vender / et enpeñar pora come; / sé que ay oras / que allá van las esporas; / a pie viene muchas vegadas, / desnudo et sin calças" ("Elena y María" anonymous, *circa* 1280. *Historia y antología de la poesía española: 1150-1650*. Edición y notas de Richard P. Kinkade y Dana A. Nelson. 3ª edición revisada. [Tucson, Arizona: Department of Spanish and Portuguese, 1998] 56).

introduction explains that people cheat at dice in many ways. Notably, this is the only time cheating is mentioned in the *LJ*. Every possible combination for each kind of dice roll is enumerated in a legal fashion followed by the stern assertion that the roll may be made in exactly as many ways as listed and no more.<sup>666</sup>

Alfonso feels compelled to include a two-fold reason for the *LJ*'s inclusion of dice: because it was mentioned in the prologue myth to explain the games's creation and because dice are necessary to play the tables games in the following section. The *LJ* as a dial of princes would not have needed to cater to the lower class player who would be strongly attracted to these types of games. The miniatures show that nobles did play the dice games but the fact that they did so without Alfonso's approval is clear.

### 1.2.1.1 The *LJ*'s Dice Games

The "Libro de los dados" begins with an explanation of how dice are to be made and takes pains to caution about the means used to cheat with dice.<sup>667</sup> On fols. 65r-71v, Alfonso uses the royal "Nos" or "we" to present twelve dice games. The games of the "Libro de los dados" can be divided into five separate types of dice games: simple; pairs plus something else; making a point; natural win or making a point; and finally natural win, sudden death or making a point. As will be seen, the final three types of games are

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<sup>666</sup> However, certain combinations for *triga* and *panquist* omitted in error are supplied as noted by Steiger, Crombach and Canettieri in my critical text.

<sup>667</sup> The *DPCRAX* lists the variant form *dados* under *dado* (559) in *LAP*, *YMG*, and *ACE*. The following is the relevant portion of the *TDMS* entry: "dado(s) 2. pl. dados (de juego), *Eng* 1357; *Api* 3v17; *Afo* 2r80; *Aaj* 1b7<sup>667</sup>; *Apa* I 23a22; *Aju* 271b26; *Ata* 227,24; *Min* 74,7; *Lba* 554a; /d-s. *plomados*, dados con plomo metido en un lado para hacer fullerias, *Ata* 217,25; 1253c; *CBa* 148d12" (212). The *LT*: "dado [of uncertain, probably oriental origin related to Arab. dad] s., m. 1. 'pieza cúbica—en la época de Alfonso X, de madera, piedra, metal o (preferido) hueso —, en cuyas caras hay señalados puntos desde uno hasta seis, y que sirve para varios juegos de fortuna o de azar' *I.a.*(4) El rricoomne que jugar los dados, *IV.a.*(3,5) los que jugaren con dado de tabla—los dados de .VJ. e as, e quatro e de tres, e de çinco e dos—non aya pena" (359).

all interrelated with each type building on the elements of the previous one. All games but one are played with three dice; *guirguesca* is the only dice game in the “Libro de los dados” played with two dice.

The first two games mentioned in the “Libro de los dados” are also the most simple. *Mayores*<sup>668</sup> and its opposite, which I will call *menores*, are respectively won by the highest or lowest total of each player. After these two games, my analysis of their organization by type does not follow the *LJ*’s order of the dice games but rather groups them by the four remaining types.

Three other *LJ* dice games involve rolling pairs plus something else. From simplest to most complex, these are: *par con as*<sup>669</sup> (pair with an ace), *riffa*<sup>670</sup> (raffle?) and *tanto en uno como en dos* (as many as on one die as on two). In *par con as*, the eighth game described in the “Libro de los dados,” both players roll until one of them hits the winning combination of both a pair and an ace. In *riffa*, the seventh game described, each

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<sup>668</sup> The *DPCRAX* lists the entry for *mayores* under *mayor* gives the following entry: “2. Nombre de cierto juego de ajedrez. *ACE* (1283) fol. 65v13, ...” (1197). Rather than a game of chess, *mayores* should be defined in the *DPCRAX* as a game of dice. The *TDMS* has no entry for *mayores*. Jean Bodel’s fabliau *Le jeu de saint Nicolas* (c. 1200) mentions two dice games, *plus poins* and *hazard*, which may correspond to the *LJ*’s *mayores* and *azar*.

<sup>669</sup> The *DPCRAX* offers the following definition for the entry *par con as* “1. Cierta juego de dados. *ACE* (1283) fol. 68v4, otro iuego a y que llaman par con as” (1343). The *TDMS* has no entry for *par con as* but notes under the entry for *par* another term related to games mentioned in the *Ordenamiento de las tafurerías* “a pares non pares—juego de ajedrez, *Ata* 229,15;” (523). I believe that the *TDMS* is in error here. Rather than being the name of a game of chess, which is never mentioned in the *LT*, this must be a game or way of playing with dice. The modern *Simon and Schuster’s International Spanish Dictionary* (New York: Simon, 1973; s.v. *par*) gives *jugar a pares y nones* (to play at odds and evens) which sounds similar to *a pares non pares* and much more like a roulette-style dice betting game than chess (1400).

<sup>670</sup> The *DPCRAX* defines *rifa* as “*sust.* 1. Cierta juego de dados. *ACE* (1283) fol. 68r5, otra manera de iuego ay; que llaman riffa que se iuega en esta guisa. el que primero lançare los dados deuelos echar tantas uegadas; fata que lançe par en los dos” (1570). The next in the *DPCRAX* entry talks of a region or people known before Alfonso’s time as *as rifete(s)*, and in his time as *paflagonia* (*paflagones*). Perhaps the game name is indicative of its origin from this place as this is the only other word beginning with *rif-* in the dictionary.] The *TDMS* offers a possible etymological clue but says only “[*lat. rixa(?)*]f. el juego llamado rifa, *Aaj* 68a3” (615) and should also specify that it is a dice game. Steiger relates the word to the French word raffle and various other sources (403). *Riffa* is also the name of an ancient city in the northern central part of the island nation of Bahrain, possibly the place of origin of this game.

player rolls until one of them gets a pair whose total is then added to the third die, with the highest total winning as in *mayores*. In *tanto en uno como en dos*, the third game described, both players roll until one of them rolls a combination of dice where there is the same total with one die as with other two; for example, six on one die and either a pair of threes or a five and an ace, or a four and a two.

The final three types of games all build one upon the other, as previously mentioned. Two games involve making a goal number, called a point, from seven to fourteen. The term “point” is borrowed from the terminology of the modern dice game craps and means rolling a specific, desired number; players are said either to make or to miss their point. Two other games involve making a point plus the possibility of a natural win with certain other numbers. The term “natural” is also borrowed from modern craps and means an instant winning number. And finally, three varieties of *azar* (hazard) involve the first two elements of making a point or a natural plus the third option of rolling a sudden death losing number. In *marlota*<sup>671</sup> and *panquist* (sweepstakes),<sup>672</sup> the

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<sup>671</sup> The *DPCRAX* defines *marlota* as “*sust.* 1. Cierta juego de dados. *ACE* (1283) fol. 67v5 ...” (1191) and the *TDMS* offers “[?] s. especie de juego de dados, *Aaj* 67c2” (448). The *LT*: “marboto [*origin uncertain*] s., f. 1. ‘marlota’, ‘(clase de) juego jugado con tres dados’ (See the Libro de los Dados, fol. 67v.) *XL.a.(41)* E si jugare a paradas, que lo pague de la marboto” (370). Steiger references G. Sachs, *RFE* 23, 187. The word also means a Moorish gown, perhaps the type of gown with the row of bottoms down from the neck as depicted on the young male players in the miniature illustrating this game on fol. 68r. *Simon and Schuster’s International Dictionary: English/Spanish Spanish/English* (New York: Simon, 1973) gives the verb *marlotar* as “*tr.v.* (rare) to dissipate, waste; to destroy, undo” (1339).

<sup>672</sup> The *DPCRAX* offers the following definition for the entry *panquist* “*sust.* 1. Cierta juego de dados. *ACE* (1283) fol. 69r2, otra manera ay de iuego que llaman panquist. // *ACE* (1283) fol. 69r21, e si echare ternas as; leuare las quatro. e a esta suerte postremera llaman panquist (1341). The *TDMS* incorrectly defines *panquist* as “[?] s. un juego de ajedrez, *Aaj* 69a1” (523). The *TDMS* should instead say that *panquist* is a dice game, not a chess game. Steiger: notes that the word might be based on the Greek prefix *pan-* and possibly the prov. *quaest*, and refers to the game προχίρεσιμος (prociresimos) in Becq de Fouquières, 317 (401). I suggest that because the term *panquist* is the term applied to the roll which wins the player all four bets staked, that this game’s name may derive from the Greek prefix *pan-* meaning all and the French or Provençal past participle *quist* meaning desired and so I offer the translation of sweepstakes.

sixth and ninth games described, one player rolls to give both his opponent and himself a point number from seven to fourteen. The same player then continues to roll the dice until he either makes his own point, thereby winning, or makes his opponent's point and thereby loses. The difference between the two is that *panquist* is like *marlota* with more money. In *panquist*, the different combinations for each point are weighted from one to four amounts or stakes, so a player wins more for hitting certain combinations than for others whereas in *marlota* a winner simply wins one set amount. The pattern for what constitutes a *panquist*, sweeping all four stakes, is explained by Paolo Canettieri.<sup>673</sup> For goal numbers seven through ten, the roll called *panquist* that wins all four stakes is that which contains the highest possible pair<sup>674</sup> and for goal numbers eleven through fourteen, the *panquist* roll is based upon the flip-sides of the winners for the lower rolls with 11 corresponding to 10, 12 to 9, 13 to 8 and 14 to 7.<sup>675</sup> Three stakes are won by the combinations with the lower pairs, and one or two by the combinations without pairs.<sup>676</sup> Both of *marlota* and *panquist* are similar to *triga* and *azar* without the natural win or sudden death aspects.

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<sup>673</sup> Paolo Canettieri, ed. and trans., *Il Libro dei Giochi: Il Libro dei Dadi, delle Tavole, del Grant Acedrex e del Gioco dei Scacchi con Dieci Caselle, degli Scacchi delle Quattro Stagioni, del Filetto, degli Scacchi e delle Tavole che Se Giocano con l'Astrologia* (Bologna: Cosmopoli, 1996).

<sup>674</sup> "(3+3 per 7-8 e 4+4 per 9-10)" (Canettieri 48).

<sup>675</sup> Thus, eleven's *panquist* is based on the pair that forms the flip-side for ten. And since ten's *panquist* is based on its highest possible pair, i.e. fours in the sequence 4+4+2, eleven's *panquist* will be based on the roll which contains a pair of the numbers opposite those fours on the dice. Since opposite faces of a die total seven, the flip-sides of fours are threes. This then makes eleven's *panquist*, a pair of three plus the remaining number needed to total eleven: 3+3+5. See Canettieri's excellent chart (48).

<sup>676</sup> Canettieri is bothered by the fact that this scoring system means that, in terms of the number of combinations, there are more ways to win three stakes for 14 than there are to win two stakes for the same number. While this is true, the odds for winning two or three stakes for 14 are equally slim: 6 out of 216. See the odds charts in Appendix C1.

*Triga*<sup>677</sup> (trios) and *guirguesca*,<sup>678</sup> the fourth and twelfth games described, are similar to the previous two but add the possibility of a natural win. In *triga*, three dice are used and low rolls of three through six and highs of fifteen through eighteen as well as all triples (three sixes, three fives, etc.) are naturals. If a player does not roll a natural, then points from seven through fourteen are assigned and play continues as in *marlota*. *Guirguesca* is *triga* played with only two dice.<sup>679</sup> Low rolls of one or two, and high rolls of eleven or twelve are naturals; points for *guirguesca* are assigned from three through ten and play continues as in *marlota* and *triga*.

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<sup>677</sup> The *DPCRAX* gives the following entry for *triga*: “*sust.* 1. Cierta juego de dados. *ACE* (1283) fol. 66r2, otro iuego ay que llaman triga que se iuega en esta manera, que si omne iuega con otro. & lança primeramientre par. // *ACE* (1283) fol. 66r4, otro iuego ay que llaman triga que se iuega en esta manera. que si omne iuega con otro. & lança primeramientre paren<sup>677</sup> los tres dados; o quinze puntos o dizeseys o dizeiete o dizecho; o la soçobra destes que son seys cinco & quatro & tres que gana. & estas suertes todas son llamadas. triga. // *ACE* (1283) fol. 66r14, & estas suertes todas son llamadas. trigas. // *ACE* (1283) fol. 66r14, & estas suertes todas son llamadas. trigas & pueden uenir en esta manera” (1809). The *TDMS* offers a Latin etymology in the following entry: “[*lat. tritica*] *f.* 1. cierta echada de los dados en el juego de la triga, *Aaj* 66a14. 2. juego con tres dados, *Aaj* 66a2” (700). Steiger defines it simply as a dice game, but notes its probably originally having to do with a goal to get all dice with the same number.

<sup>678</sup> This is another mysterious name perhaps indicating the game’s origin. “*Guirguesca*” which may be of Romanian origin, was perhaps brought to Iberian courts by Alfonso’s mother-in-law Violante of Hungary. The “u” after the “g” indicates that the Spanish scribe was trying to indicate a soft “g” which does not exist in Spanish and not the “h” sound that “gi” would produce. The root of the word appears to be a variant on the name George. Similar words include Georgievsk, a Russian city, and Georgesku, a common eastern European surname. Since the Greek root of this name means farmer, perhaps this was a dice game from a rural area. The *DPCRAX* defines *guirguesca* as “*sust.* 1. Cierta juego de dados. *ACE* (1283) fol. 71r4 ...” (960). The *TDMS*, which says that *guirguesca* is “[?] *f.* especie de juego, *Aaj* 71a1” (374) should specify that it is a species of dice game. The *LT*: gargisca [*origin uncertain; perhaps der. from ‘guirguesca’ from ‘grigu(i)esco’?*] *s.*, *f.* 1. ‘(clase de) juego jugado con dos dados’ (See the Libro de los Dados, fol. 71r.) *XL.a.* (43) si jugare a paradas, que lo [*el tablaje*] pague de la marboto, o de la gargisca ...” (366). Steiger says that the word means Greek and offers much etymological information (397).

<sup>679</sup> Dana Arthur Nelson notes a figurative usage of a hard roll in the *Libro de Alixandre* verse *A* 754d “para describir un momento crítico en la Guerra Troyana: ‘mas fue.s.les la entrada en dos e as [“más difícil, azarosa”] poniendo”’ (*El Libro de Alixandre: Nuevas notas al margen de tres ediciones* [Boletín de la Real Academia Española, Tomo LXXXIV, Cuaderno CCLXXXIX: Enero-Junio 2004] 59).

An Italian betting game called *La Barca*<sup>680</sup> possesses several features in common with *LJ* games. Its betting rules are especially similar to the *LJ*'s dice game *guirguesca* because of the special conditions for rolling the harder combinations with two six-sided dice, i.e. two and twelve. The winning number seven recalls one aspect or another of nearly every game in the *LJ*. The condition that if the usually winning number seven is rolled, when it is not desirable, is similar to the losing roll of *reazar* in the *LJ* game *azar*, discussed next.

The three varieties of *azar*<sup>681</sup> are the fifth, tenth and eleventh games described in the “Libro de los dados.” All three combine the natural win and point-making elements of *marlota*, *panquist*, *triga* and *guirguesca* with the possibility of sudden death or instant

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<sup>680</sup> Classic Pub Games series of Avid Press, Inc. New Paltz, NY 12561. Its circular board is a betting area with the numbers 1-6 and 8-12 marked around the perimeter and the number 7 inside the circle on the sail of a boat, hence the name of the game. Resembling the dial or face of a clock, its board recalls the *LJ*'s *el mundo*, four-seasons tables and the astrological variants of both checkers and tables. Players pay into each number's separate kitty for rolls of 2 to 6 and 8 to 11. If a two is rolled, that player pays into the 2-kitty but wins whatever is on 8 through 12. If a twelve is rolled, that player pays into the 12-kitty but wins whatever is on 2 through 6. A roll of seven wins all the money on the board unless there are none and then he must pay into the 7-kitty.

<sup>681</sup> The *DPCRAX* gives the following entries for *azar*, *azar pujado* and *medio azar* all from *ACE* and all under *azar* (267) and also references the entry for *pujar* (1481). “azar. Véase también *pujar*<sup>2</sup>. *sust.* 1. En los juegos de naipes o dados, carta o dado que tiene el punto con que se pierde. *ACE* (1283) fol. 67r17 ... 2. Cierta tipo de juego de dados *ACE* (1283) fol. 67r2 ... 70v11 ... *Unidades pluriverbales*: *azar pujado ACE* (1283) fol. 70v10 ... 70v11 ... *medio azar* Definiciones indeterminadas *ACE* (1283) fol. 70r2 ...” (267). The *DPCRAX* is incorrect in saying that an *azar* in cards or dice only loses; an *azar* wins if it comes on the first roll and loses if it comes after that. The *TDMS* offers the following entry for *azar* with Alfonsine citations from the *LJ* and the *Ordenamiento de las tafurerías*: “[ár. az-zahr] *m.* 1. tipo de juego de dados, *Aaj* 67a2; 67a5; *Ata* 229,14. 2. suerte de los dados, *Lba* 1534b;...”(97). The *TDMS* gives no entry for either *azar pujado* or *medio azar*. The *LT*: *azar* [from Arab. az-zahr] *s.*, *m.* 1. ‘(clase de) juego jugado con tres dados’ (See the *Libro de los Dados*, *fols.* 67r, 70r-v.) *XL.a.*(45) E si jugare a paradas, que lo pague ... del azar en tres dados e en dos dados (355). The *LBA*'s stanza 1534 offers an example of *azar* in the sens of randomness and not a dice game: “Muchos piensan ganar cuando dicen: ¡A todo!, / pero luego, un azar cambia el dado a su modo; / busca el hombre tesoros por tener acomodado, / viene la muerte entonces y lo deja en el lodo” (Richard P. Kinkade, *Historia y antología de la literatura erótica española en el contexto de las letras europeas 1200-1650*. 2 vols. [Tucson, AZ: Department of Spanish and Portuguese, 2000] 208). Another edition renders this same passage as, “Muchos cuydan ganar, quando disen ‘¡a todo!’ / viene vn mal azar trae los dados en Rodo; / llega el omne thesoros por lograr los apodo / viene la muerte luego, e dexalo con lodo” (Juan Ruiz, *Libro de buen amor. The Book of Good Love*. [Vermont: Tuttle, 1999] 376). Jean Bodel's fabliau *Le jeu de saint Nicolas* (c. 1200) mentions two dice games, *plus points* and *hazard*, which may correspond to the *LJ*'s *mayores* and *azar*.

losing numbers. This sudden death aspect is like rolling craps in the modern game of craps.<sup>682</sup> *Azar* plays exactly the same as *triga* except that if, after point numbers are assigned, a player rolls a number that would otherwise have been a natural on his first roll, this number now becomes an instant loser. *Medio azar* plays exactly like *azar* with rising stakes for each natural rolled until there is a winner.<sup>683</sup> *Azar pujado* plays exactly like the previous two varieties except that stakes rise with each subsequent roll, natural or otherwise, until there is a winner.

In the fourth treatise of the *LJ*, in which larger game variants are discussed, eight-sided dice are presented which can be used to speed *grant acedrex* as well as play the dice games described in the “Libro de los dados.” For these larger dice, the natural numbers are from three through seven and twenty through twenty-four; point numbers are

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<sup>682</sup> See rules for modern craps in Richard L. Frey’s *According to Hoyle* (Greenwich, CT.: Fawcett, 1963) 214-16. Craps evolved from *azar* through a middle-step game called hazard. “A Simplified Game of Hazard” (From instructions accompanying hazard dice by Cooperman Fife & Drum Co.—Centerbrook, CT USA.). Two dice are used for this game. The player who is rolling the dice is called the ‘shooter.’ On the shooter’s first roll he will either: 1) roll a 2, 3 or 12 and lose his turn to the player on his left, or 2) roll a 7 or 11 and win the round and retain possession of the dice, or 3) roll any other number. In this last case the shooter continues to cast the dice until he either rolls the same number he first rolled and so wins the round and retains possession of the dice or rolls a 7 to lose both the round and possession of the dice. The game continues until all players have had the chance to be the shooter. [Reverse side of instructions] Wooden Dice. The earliest games of chance were played with dice that gave simple “heads or tails” results. Such dice could be made of sticks with just two faces distinguished by color or markings, or shells that could land with open side up or down. A more sophisticated early die was made from the ankle bone or knuckle bone of a small animal by painting numbers on the faces of the bone. Dice in a variety of shapes and designs made of bone, ivory, pottery, stone and other materials both common and precious were found throughout the ancient world. The present arrangement in which the markings on opposite sides of the die add up to seven was introduced early in the history of cubic dice in order to make ‘trick’ dice easier to detect. Dicing games such as Hazard, a gambling game popular since the Middle Ages and the forerunner of today’s most popular casino dice game, were tavern favorites in the colonies at the time of the American Revolution and colonial soldiers were known to hammer lead musket balls into dice to while away the time. Although gambling games may have met with disapproval from many ‘proper’ early Americans, dice were none the less a common item on household inventories and many boardgames called for a pair of dice for play.”

<sup>683</sup> Similar to the idea of the doubling cube in modern backgammon.

assigned from eight through nineteen.<sup>684</sup> Seven-sided dice are also presented in this treatise to speed the play of an undescribed decimal chess variant but natural and point numbers are not specified though they would likely be naturals of three through seven and eighteen to twenty-one, points being from eight through seventeen (see Appendix C for sample games and odds with the *LJ*'s six-, seven- and eight-sided dice).

The dice games contained in the *LJ* are not terribly interesting based, as they are, entirely on luck. The language of the treatise itself is rather dry and legalistic in its description of the rules and firm enumeration of the possible combinations for each number. The origins of the games remain a mystery with the only clues being their curious names as noted for each game. Their connections with and evolution into the later game hazard and the modern game craps is made clear by the natural (*triga* and *guirguesca*), point-making (*marlota* and *panquist*) and sudden death (all types of *azar*) elements. According to Stone, the most popular dice game in Medieval England was hazard played with two dice rather than *azar*'s three. In hazard, one player would call a number between five and nine before rolling rather than letting a roll of the dice give a number to each of his opponents and himself. If the hazard player made his point, he was said to "throw a nick" and won. With a roll of two or three, he 'threw out' and lost. If he neither threw a nick or threw out, he continued to roll until either winning by again rolling the first number thrown, called the "chance," or losing by rolling what was his original point, now called his main (24).

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<sup>684</sup> Steiger: Dice rolls over 15 and under 7 or over 14 and under 8 with two dice; in Great Chess [with eight-sided dice] from 20 upwards and from 6 downwards (391).

### 1.2.1.2 Dice Symbolism

Alfonso's disdain for dice probably explains the absence of any symbolism for them in the *LJ*. That is not to say, however, that what may be the oldest gaming equipment in the world is without any symbolism.<sup>685</sup> While the *LJ* does not, other medieval texts do offer explicit dice symbolism such as this example offered by Murray which lends a Christian interpretation to certain gaming elements sometimes known as the devil's bones:

So we find the pips on the die elaborately explained as emblematic of Christianity by Reinmar v. Zweter [mid-thirteenth century], the ace standing for the Unity of God, the two for heaven and earth, the three for the Trinity, the four for the Gospels, the five for the five senses, and the six for the Lenten fast, the whole being a cunning invention of Satan to introduce the Christian to the implements of gambling under the guise of the symbols of religion. (Murray 1913: 529)

See also the Muslim traditions attributed to the pip values of the dice used in *nard*, in section 1.3.1.1.

Their random number generation produces various possible outcomes and can be read as divination of various possible futures. This randomness is an element of most games and the essence of their divinatory kinship. Fortune-telling is foretelling the rise and fall of one's fortunes as symbolized by the spinning Wheel of Fortune or "rueda de la Fortuna," a highly popular medieval allegorical device upon which gamblers rely. This reliance upon such a fickle mistress is often scorned because it indicates that a gambler has no other dependable resource such as his *seso*, i.e. wits or skill. Such a hapless fool

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<sup>685</sup> "Cubic dice have been known for several thousand years, having been found in Egyptian tombs dating from before 2000 BCE" (Nigel Pennick, *Secret Games of the Gods* [York Beach, ME: Weiser, 1997. Rpt. of *Games of the Gods: The Origin of Board Games in Magic and Divination*. London: Rider, 1988] 34).

could also be considered more likely to be a cheat, blasphemer or other sort of criminal, all of which brings us to the next section.

### 1.2.1.3 The Licitness of Games and Gambling<sup>686</sup>

The morality or lack thereof in the playing of games in various cultures is a whole and separate dissertation subject in itself. Legal authorities tackled this issue, as seen in Alfonso's *Ordenamiento* or *Libro de las Tafurerías*.<sup>687</sup> Religious authorities, both Christian and Muslim, weighed in on which if any games were beneficial or at least not harmful to play. This dissertation will not attempt to give a collective list of censures, bans and prohibitions on various types of gambling but will rather cite some examples to show the various sides of the debate on games in Alfonso's time and demonstrate the Wise King's unique perspective upon their legitimacy.

In some cases, attempts were made to ban people, especially clergy, from playing all games including chess apparently without any serious impact on their popularity. To illustrate the important difference this unique climate made to Spain, Toledano points out that St. Louis, King of France outlawed chess in his kingdom<sup>688</sup> and that the Catholic

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<sup>686</sup> “‘Alea jacta est’: at the gaming table with Alfonso the Learned” by Dwayne E. Carpenter in *Journal of Medieval History*. Vol. 24, 1998; 333-45. Regarding licitness, Carpenter cites Eugen Wohlhaupter's “excellent, if not readily available, overview of Spanish gambling legislation from the Roman period to the eighteenth century” (333n2), “Zur Rechtsgeschichte des Spiels in Spanien” in *Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft, Erste Reihe, Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens*, 3 (Münster, Germany: n.p., 1931) 55-128.

<sup>687</sup> The individual known as Maestre Roldán who authored the *Libro de las tafurerías* is the same Roldán mentioned in Juan Ruiz's *Libro de buen amor*, verse 556a, cited earlier, where Don Amor or Lord Love is advising the Archpriest on how to behave respectably. He cautions that men excited by gambling will lose their clothes to play dice and that they will cheat, as explained by Roldán. Part II of MacDonald's study places the *Ordenamiento*, or ordinances concerning games, into a historical context, discussing thirteenth-century Castile and prohibitions and regulations on gambling.

<sup>688</sup> Héctor Toledano, “El Libro de juegos (ajedrez dados y tablas) de Alfonso X,” *Boletín Editorial de El Colegio de México* (1990) 5. This ban occurred in 1254 according to Titus Burckhardt, “Juegos de ajedrez en España,” *Al-Andalus*, 6 May 2002, accessed 27 Sept. 2005,

Church had condemned it since the eleventh century. *Il gioco in Italia nei secoli XIII e XIV e specialmente in Firenze* cites the ban of *zara (azar)* in Florence and Sienna at the very beginning of the thirteenth century. Murray discusses some ecclesiastical prohibitions of gaming in *A History of Chess* (1913: Christian 166-67, 380-83 and 408-11; Muslim 187-90). Calvo also discussed the issue briefly (1987: 138).

Along with many other exhortations not to play or excerpts from later prohibitions, Murray includes the following translated passage from the 50<sup>th</sup> Rule of the Canons published by the 6<sup>th</sup> General Council (Third Council of Constantinople, A.D. 680): “No clergy nor layman shall play at *zerniyu (azar)*, *shakmaté* (chess) and *tablei* (tables)” (Murray 1913: 380nn24-25). There is also a letter to the pope from a bishop in 1061 in which the latter condemns clergy who take part in lay amusements including games: “That the early mediæval Church viewed the use of dice with strong disfavour is evident from the attempts that were made to suppress it with legislation” (1913: 166); Wilkinson cites a letter was from Cardinal Damianus (1007-1072), bishop of Ostia reproving another bishop (xx). Around 1110, John Zomares ruled that chess equals excommunication; in 1128 St. Bernard of Clairvaux forbade Knights Templar from playing chess; and in 1291 the Archbishop of Canterbury also banned it (Murray 1913: 166). Constable notes that the Templars forbad themselves to play chess (314-15n35). However, Pedro Alfonso’s *Disciplina Clericalis* lists chess among the seven arts at which a knight or perhaps a cleric scholar should excel (see also note on this work in section 1.1.1.1).

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<[http://www.webislam.com/numeros/2002/171/Temas/Juego\\_ajedrez\\_Espa%C3%B1a.htm](http://www.webislam.com/numeros/2002/171/Temas/Juego_ajedrez_Espa%C3%B1a.htm)>), this being the same year St. Louis also banned the game of tables (Calvo 1987: 138).

In contrast, most Muslim literature seems to put forward a Scholastic-style debate on the defense of chess due to its redeeming and edifying emphasis on free will and the concomitant condemnation of dice games, including *nard*, due to their predestination-like reliance on forces outside the players, such as dice, to determine the outcome. In this context, Murray states that “the Mohammadan jurists have been unable to settle the question of the legality of chess-play by any direct decision of Muhammad” (1913: 187). He goes on to state that “Abu Hanifa reduces the question to a dilemma: either the game is played for a stake, or for amusement. In the first case it is forbidden by the *Qur’an*, in the second it is not one of the three forms of recreations allowed by Muhammad.<sup>689</sup> Chess, *nard*, and fourteen are all clearly illegal.<sup>690</sup> There is, however, a difference of degree. Chess is only disapproved (*makruh*), not forbidden (*haram*), as is *nard*.”<sup>691</sup> Similarly, Baldassare Castiglione’s *Il Cortegiano*, Ch. XXXI, notes that dice are unworthy of a courtier while the ingeniousness of chess is acceptable.

Chess was still disapproved of if it became a consuming vice, prohibiting one from the proper observance of prayer or work, or if it led one into gambling. Keats says in his fifteenth chapter “Chess, Society and Gambling” that Maimonides (1135-1204) disapproved of playing chess for money (1: 175; see also 2: 38). While Alfonso’s *Libro de las Tafurerías* treats which games may be played, his *Siete Partidas* goes beyond the

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<sup>689</sup> Limited to those with one’s horse, bow or wife or wives (Murray 1913: 189).

<sup>690</sup> According to Murray (1913: 189n10): “*Fourteen* was a game played with small stones on a wooden board which had three rows of holes (al-Qabuni).”

<sup>691</sup> Murray 1913, 189. For further information of the other opinions of other Arab religious philosophers, see Murray’s *A History of Chess* (1913: Christian 166-67, 380-3 and 408-11; Muslim 187-90).

legality of the games themselves by specifying that the *diezmo* tax must be paid even on those ill-gotten gains obtained from gaming.<sup>692</sup>

The uniqueness of Alfonso's perspective in this debate on the morality of dice games is his separation of the elements of tables into the two distinct features we find in his prologue's Scholastic debate on *seso* and *suerte*. While acknowledging that tables cannot be played without dice, Alfonso correctly holds that the luck element of the dice is not the strongest deciding factor in the game's outcome because the skill of the individual

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<sup>692</sup> Part I, Title XX: "Ley .xii. de quales ganancias son tenudos los onbres de dar el diezmo avn que las ganen mal. Derechamente ganando los onbres las cosas deuen dar dellas diezmo segund dicho es pero porque ganen muchos muchas cosas sin derecho assi como las que ganen de guerra no iusta o de carçel defendida o de robo o de furto o de simonia o de renueuo o lo que ganen los iuezes dando malos iuyzioso o los abogados. o los presoneros razonando pleitos iniustos asabiendas & los testigos afirmando falso testimonio o los ofiçia les que son en cada delos reyes o delos otros sennores que ganen o toman algunas cosas delos onbres contra defendimiento de su sennor & lo que ganen los juglares o los trobadores o los que juegan los dados o las tablas o los adeuinos o los sorteros quier sean varones o mugeres & lo que ganen las malas mugeres faziendo su pecado o lo que lieuan los onbres poderosos de aquellos sobre quien tienen poder amenazando los de manera que les han a dar algo por miedo que han dellos o de otra manera qual quier semejante desta que ganen los onbres sin pecado o porque dubdan algunos si deuen dar diezmo: touo por bien santa yglesia delo mostrar & manda que qual quier destos sobredichos quier fuese xpistiano o iudio o moro o hereje que ganase alguna cosa de aquel las que dize en la ley terçera deste titulo que de el diezmo dello avn que las no gane derechamente en alguna delas maneras de suso son dichas quela yglesia non toma diezmo de tales como estas por razon de sus personas mas por razon del derecho que pasa ael con la heredad. pero si ganasen otras cosas que no fuesen heredades departimiento ay quales dellos deuen dar el diezmo delo que ganen por razon de sus personas o quales no que si aquello que ganen es cosa que pasa el sennorio dello al quelo gana de manera que aquel que ante lo auia. no le finca demanda nin derecho contra el que la pueda cobrar tenudo es de dar el diezmo porella & esto cae en los juglares & en los truhanes delas ganancias que fazen por sus juglerias & truhanerias & en las malas mugeres delo que ganen por sus cuerpos que avn que tales mugeres como estas malamente lo ganen pueden lo reçebir pero la yglesia touo por bien de no tomar del las el diezmo nin delos sobredichos en esta ley porque no paresca que consiente en su maldad & esto se entiende mientras biuiere en aquel pecado que despues que se partiesen del bien lo pueden tomar sin mala estança. mas si la graçia es de cosa que non pasa el sennorio dello al que la gana. assi como de furto o de robo no deuen dar diezmo della que delo ageno no puede dar ninguno diezmo nin fazer limosna queles quelo fiziesen tales serian como quien faze sacrificio a dios de fijo ageno: que quanto dolor ouiere el padre viendo matar su fijo para fazer sacrificio del tamanno pesar ha nuestro sennor dios delos diezmos & delas limosnas que fazen delas cosas ajenas esso mismo es delas cosas que ganen los onbres por renueuo o por simonia o jugando tablas o dados o delo que ganen los onbres poderosos por amenazas & gelo dan los otros por miedo que han dellos & delo que ganen los oficiales de qual quier manera que sea non aviendo derecho delo tomar por qual quier destas maneras quelo ganen pueden gelo demandar aquel los de quien lo ouieren avn que les paresca que paso el sennorio aellos & porende no deue el dar diezmo de tales ganancias" (John O'Neill, ed., "*Siete Partidas de Alfonso X* [Seville, Oct. 1491] New York: Hispanic Society. Transcribed by Ivy A. Corfis [text.spo]," *The Electronic Texts and Concordances Madison Corpus of Early Spanish Manuscripts and Printings*, CD-ROM, [Madison, WI: HSMS, 1999] fol. 66r).

player exerts such a strong role. From this point of view, then, Alfonso's position on the Muslim debate about chess and *nard* becomes a wholly new European dispute not about chess and tables, but rather about chess and dice. As in Muslim philosophy, chess is praised as noble while the base randomness of dice is condemned. The result is that tables is held up as the ideal game, synthesizing the best of the two debated elements: chess's *sic* and dice's *non*.

Rodrigo Caro's *Días geniales ó lúdicos* (1626) shows that the discussion of the legitimacy of games continues into the seventeenth century. This work's presentation is much like that used in the *Conde Lucanor*. In Dialog III, Part V, Don Diego asks Don Fernando if the games of checkers and chess are ancient and don Fernando expounds upon the more ancient origin of checkers and slightly more recent origin of chess quoting from many ancient sources including Alexander ab Alexandro, Sophocles, Marcial, Lucan, Petronius Arbiter, Ovid, Cicero and Seneca. All early game references known to Caro appear to have been grouped together from dice games, to *ludus latrunculorum*, to a zodiac game somewhat similar to the *LJ*'s astrological checkers.

#### 1.2.1.4 The *Libro de las Tahurerías* and the “Libro de los dados”

Robert A. MacDonald's edition of the *Libro de las tahurerías* (*LT*) presents a nearly exhaustive study of Alfonso's code of law dealing with cheating dice players.<sup>693</sup>

Interestingly MacDonald says that its

purpose was to fill a gap seen to exist in the earlier Alfonsine codes...  
*Espéculo, Fuero real, Siete Partidas*—with respect to royal gambling

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<sup>693</sup> Robert A. MacDonald, ed. *Libro de las tahurerías: A Special Code of Law, Concerning Gambling, Drawn Up by Maestro Roldán, at the Command of Alfonso X of Castile* (Madison, WI: HSMS, 1995).

concessions and the regulation of gambling houses and related matters. Previously, while judges might or might not be ignorant of the subject, they had no legal source that could be cited should they be confronted with a case involving disputes over concessions, violation of rules related to playing games of chance, the definition of various types of delinquent behavior, and the lack of proscribed punishments for proscribed activities connected with gambling. (1-2)

Perhaps the need to develop a new code of law because of so many problems arising from dice players explains Alfonso's distaste for them and perhaps a similar logic can also suggest a reason for composing the *LJ*: to fill the need for a book on games which he loved so much and which appeared nowhere else in his nearly encyclopedic writings.

In section 4.3, MacDonald offers an alphabetical list of fourteen games mentioned in the *LT*, all from Law XL, except as noted, and of which games six appear in the *LJ*. The final three games of the list, along with *dardo* are grouped last at the end of Law XV as games on which one may legally bet and do not seem to be dice or board games.<sup>694</sup>

1. *azar* (a dice game in the *LJ*),
2. *cabo quinal* (a different spelling of the tables game *cab & quinal* in the *LJ*),
3. *cruçetas* (in neither the *LJ* nor the *DPRAX*),
4. *dardo* (a sport mentioned in the prologue of the *LJ* but not as the name of sedentary game),
5. *enperador* (a different spelling of the tables game *emperador* in the *LJ*),
6. *fallas* (a tables game in the *LJ*),
7. *garg[u]isca* (a different spelling of a dice game given as *guirguesca* in the *LJ*),

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<sup>694</sup> MacDonald refers inaccurately to six-sided dice as hexagonal dice in his translations of the laws and his dice discussion. The proper geometric terminology for them is either hexahedral or simply cubical dice. A hexagon is a planar or two-dimensional figure with six sides and six angles whereas a regular hexahedron or a cube is a six-sided solid, three-dimensional figure.

8. *jaldeta* (in neither the *LJ* nor the *DPRAX*, the *LT* specifies that it is played outside the *tahurería* so perhaps also not a sedentary game),
9. *marboto* (a variant spelling of the dice game *marlota* in the *LJ*),
10. *los quatro* (as found in II.a.6, II.b.53 and 16.7.a, however, do not refer to a dice game but to dice used in cheating as the text clearly states), discussed below,
11. *seys e dos e as* (a variant spelling of the tables game *seys dos & as* in the *LJ*),
12. *tejuelo* (not in the *LJ*, *DPRAX* offers “juego de la chita o del chito, en que se tira con un tejo” (1734),
13. *vallesta* (not in *LJ*, *DPRAX* only *ballesta* for sport 276),
14. and *via de la capa* (not in *LJ* or *DPRAX*, appears to be linked *tauromaquia*).

MacDonald’s study of Alfonso’s *LT* reveals some important connections with the *LJ*’s prologue, “Libro de los dados” and “Libro de las tablas.” Of the twelve dice games described in the *LJ*, the *LT* only mentions these three *azar*, *marlota* and *guirguesca* (with variant spellings as noted), in the reverse order of how they appear in the *LJ*. Law XL states that “E que juegue a enbites<sup>695</sup> fasta que pague el tablaje. E si jugare a paradas, que lo pague de la marboto,<sup>696</sup> o de la gargisca<sup>697</sup> o del azar<sup>698</sup> en tres<sup>699</sup> dados e en dos dados” (295-96).<sup>700</sup>

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<sup>695</sup> Variant forms of *marlota* in *LT* manuscripts: *marboto*, *mar boto*, *marvato*, *maruoto*, *marbeto*, *marbota*, *marueco*, *marvoto*, *marveto*, *manboto*, *atarboto*, *marabelo* (MacDonald 342).

<sup>696</sup> Variant forms of *jaldeta* in *LT* manuscripts: *xaldeta*, *galdeta* (MacDonald 304).

<sup>697</sup> Variant forms of *guirguesca* in *LT* manuscripts: *gargisca*, *gargita*, *gagista*, *gargista*, *sargista*, *grigiesca*, *gargujisca*, *garguista*, *gagisca*, *gorgista* (MacDonald 342).

<sup>698</sup> Variant forms of *azar* in *LT* manuscripts: *arar*, *asar*, *a(^??)[^z]ar*, *alzar* (MacDonald 342).

<sup>699</sup> Variant forms of *en tres* in *LT* manuscripts: *antes*, *e non tres* (MacDonald 342).

<sup>700</sup> All *azar* games in the *LJ* use three dice but this passage may hint at a point in the evolution of this game to hazard, as discussed above.

The first law of the *LT*, representing the biggest problem with dice players, is titled “De los que descreen,” or dice players, specifically nobles (*rricoomne*, *fijodalgo* and even *infantes*)<sup>701</sup> who swear. First-time offenders are to be fined twenty gold maravedís; second-time offenders, forty, while a third offense requires that the delinquent be brought before the king. For knights and their squires: first time, ten gold maravedís; second time, arrest. If he cannot pay, he will be brought before the king. For non-nobles: first time, six gold maravedís; second, twelve; third, two finger-lengths to be cut from his tongue. If he cannot pay, first time whipped thirty strokes; second, fifty. For a gambler who lives in the *tahurería*: first time, whipped thirty strokes; second fifty and be made to say that he believes in the Lord God and the Virgin Mary; third to have two finger-lengths cut from his tongue. Any Jew or Moor abusing Christian figures does not escape any of the above penalties and he and his belongings are to be brought before the king to be done with as the monarch deems fit.

The second law, and hence the second biggest problem after blasphemy, are the eight ways of cheating described and prohibited in Leyes II y III.<sup>702</sup> Fol. 65r of the *LJ*

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<sup>701</sup> The specificity of this law argues the case for identifying the richly dressed men in the “Libro de las Tablas” (fols. 65r-71v) as Alfonso’s sons.

<sup>702</sup> In Elizabethan England, dice games were also played in homes, taverns and specially licensed gaming houses and cheating continued to be a problem addressed both by the creation of special terms and books on the subject like Alfonso’s *Libro de las tafurerías*. “Cheating or Cheating Law was originally a term specifically applied to the art of using false dice and of skilfully [sic] substituting one set of dice for another. There were no less than fourteen different kinds of false dice, with such exotic names as a ‘A bale of barred cinque-deuces’, ‘a bale of langrets contrary to the vantage’, and ‘a bale of gourds with as many high men as low men for passage’. All of these dice were designed to diminish or eliminate the element of randomness in their behaviour without this fact being apparent to the intended victim. Thus some dice were made with some faces slightly longer than others so that certain faces fell more often or more rarely. ‘Fullams’ were dice loaded with lead or quicksilver, ‘bristles’ had a short hair set in to one side to prevent that face from lying upwards and ‘gourds’ were dice hollowed out on one side. ‘High men’ and ‘low men’ were dice so-called because of their tendency to turn up high numbers or low ones. The standard compendium on this subject, repeatedly filched from by other Elizabethan and Jacobean popular

mentions the dice should be perfect cubes because otherwise their irregular rolling constitutes cheating and says further methods of cheating will be discussed later but they never actually are in that work. They are, however, given as follows in the *LT* and the specific legal pattern for pips on a die, used through today, is given in Law IV as well as in the *LJ*.<sup>703</sup>

First, “dados que ayan nombre los quatro”<sup>704</sup> could refer to four-sided dice but since the preposition *con* is lacking, as in the next example and as with *escaquetes* described below, the term “los quatro” remains unclear and seems to mean dishonest dice. This use of the term *quatro* has puzzled me greatly and I offer two explanations: First, *cuatro* can also be slang for the word *horse*,<sup>705</sup> which also happens to be modern-day English casino jargon for a crooked die which is spotted incorrectly either by not having the proper numbers on opposing sides or by having more or less than twenty-one total points.<sup>706</sup> Whether such slang could survive so many centuries and across a language barrier is problematic. However, given the specialized nature of the terms and their

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pamphleteers, is Gilbert Walker’s *A Manifest Detection of Dice-Play*” (Gamini Salgado, *The Elizabethan Underworld* [N.p.: Wrens Park, 1999] 22-23).

<sup>703</sup> “E deuen seer puestos los puntos. en esta guisa. so la ffaz del seys; el as. & so el cinco; el dos. & so el quatro el tria” (fol. 65r).

<sup>704</sup> The *LT*: “quatro [*from Lat. quattuor*] adj. 1. ‘los puntos señalados en una de las seis caras de un dado contraria a la en que se señalan tres puntos’ *IV.a.(7)* los dados de .VJ. e as, e quatro e de tres, e de cinco e dos. nom. m. (pl.) 2. ‘(clase de) juego de dados y escaques con que a uno se le hace trampas o se le estafa’ *II.a.(6)* aquellos que metieren a juego njn jugaren con dados que aya nombre los quatro, *II.e.(119, 131)* aquellos que jugaren con los escaquetes a que dizen los quatro ... que ayan la pena que deuen auer los que jugaren con los dados que ayan nombre los quatro” (376-77).

<sup>705</sup> *Simon and Schuster’s International Spanish Dictionary: English/Spanish Spanish/English* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973) 1090.

<sup>706</sup> This and the following paragraphs on dice cheats draw on information from “Crooked Dice,” *Dice Play*, 2003-06, 4 June 2007 <<http://homepage.ntlworld.com/dice-play/DiceCrooked.htm>>.

precisely equal meanings (as with ace,<sup>707</sup> deuce and trey which survive in modern English to describe cards as well as the name of the backgammon variant acey-deucey), I offer it as a possibility. Another more likely explanation is the mention of “dez de Chartres” among six different kinds of cheater’s dice in the contemporary “Dit d’un mercier.”<sup>708</sup> The Spanish word *quatro* (four) may have resulted from a corruption of the term *Chartres*, either through Parsons Lillich’s explanation of the town’s name being rooted in the Latin *carcer* (cell or prison), or alternatively through its similarity to the French word for four, *quatre* (31). The cleric from Chartres who cheats at dice in *Cantiga* 24 also supports this suggested reading. In any case, whether the Spanish “dados que ayan nombre los quatro” refers to the irregularly spotted dice today called horses, or prison dice or even just dice from Chartres, which may be understood to signify dishonest or cheating dice.

Second, “dados que ayan nombre con .vi. o .vij. o con otros dados que ayan mas o de menos de sus suertes” appears to refer, with its inclusion here of the preposition *con*, to six- or seven-sided dice which have greater or fewer points than they should.

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<sup>707</sup> The *TO*: “as [*from Lat. asse*] s. 1. ‘el punto único señalado en una de las seis caras del dado contraria a la en que se señalan seis puntos’ *IV.a.(6)* los dados de .VJ. e as, e quatro e de tres, e de çinco e dos” (355).

<sup>708</sup> Meredith Parsons Lillich, “The Tric-Trac Window of Le Mans,” *The Art Bulletin* 65:1, Mar. 1983) 31, citing La Curne de Sainte-Palaye, *Dictionnaire historique de l’ancien langage françois* (Paris, 1880) III: 407, which notes the term Chartres used as the name of the town and to denominate certain things made in it with a second definition of as type of playing dice mentioned in the thirteenth-century manuscript Bibliothèque Nationale Français, Fr. 19152, fol. 43 which contains the “Dit d’un mercier,” four verses of which describe various types of cheating dice among the merchants wares, including: dice that roll high numbers; dice that roll low numbers; from Paris, from Chartres and from Reims; as well as dice that always roll the number one. I am grateful to my dear friend Eliud Chuffe for his doggedly patient assistance with this source.

Third, “dados plumados,”<sup>709</sup> literally, leaded dice, or what today we would call “loaded dice” that have lead or other weight inside to make them tend to fall on certain faces.

Fourth, “dados desuenados”<sup>710</sup> or hollowed dice, what today is called a “floater,” similar to the “dado plumado” above whose uneven weight causes the dice to tend to fall on certain faces.

Fifth, “dados afeytados”<sup>711</sup> or, literally, shaved dice, those that are not perfectly cubical and whose uneven weight causes them to tend to fall on certain faces.

Sixth, “escaquetes”<sup>712</sup> a que dizen los quatro” contains two terms which have puzzled me greatly. *Los quatro* is discussed above. *Escaques* in *LJ* means a checker-like piece in a game though here the diminutive *escaquetes* would appear to signify some

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<sup>709</sup> The *LT*: “plomado [from the p. p. of ‘plomar’] adj. 1. ‘que tiene más peso en un lado porque se ha añadido plomo’ *II.c.(61)* el que metiere njn jugare con los dados plumados. nom., m. 2. ‘cosa plumada’ *II.d.(113)* es fiel el dado afeytado ... como es el plumado e el desuenado” (374).

<sup>710</sup> The *LT*: “desuenado [from the p. p. of ‘desvenar’] adj. 1. Dicese del dado cuyo material ha sido desnaturalizado o amañado ilegalmente mediante ahuecamiento y, quizá, relleno mediante la introducción en él de otro material, ‘ahuecado y, quizá, relleno’ *II.c.(62)* el que metiere njn jugare con los dados plumados njn desuenados, que peche ... todo aquello que ganare doblado. nom., m. 2. *II.d.(113)* los que ... los [dados] desfazen de su quadra, e de los cantos de las quadras como es el plumado e el desuenado” (361).

<sup>711</sup> The *TO*: “afeytado [from the p. p. of ‘afeitar’] adj. 1. ‘afeitado’, ‘biselado’ *II.d. (93)* el que metiere njn jugare a juego njnguno con dados afeytados” (353).

<sup>712</sup> MacDonald gives the following definition: “escaquete [der. from ‘escaque’] s., m. (w/o. sg.) 1. ‘trebejo’, ‘pieza de juego’ *II.e.(117)* E aquellos que jugaren con los escaquetes a que dizen los quatro” (364). The fact that this curious word appears only in this manuscript coupled with the many variant forms of it in the different versions of the same manuscript denotes its rarity and unfamiliarity. While *escaque* presently means a square or check on a game board, and in the *LJ* it refers to a checker-like gaming piece, the diminutive and perhaps pejorative Catalanian suffix *-ete* seems to indicate a small, less valuable, less well-made or less common piece of gaming equipment than a proper die, chessman or marker. I do not believe it can mean *trebejo* in the sense of chess piece because the *LJ* is very clear in never using these terms synonymously and chess is not mentioned in the *LT*. Also, the inclusion of this word in a law which deals specifically with other types of dice along with its description of having more or fewer points than it should rules out this reading because chess men do not have points on them. Not only the suffix but the root itself seems to come from Catalunya where *escac* means chess square; thus an *escaquete* would seem to mean a small square and with the prohibition describing illegal ones in this law, more specifically a small square with dots, numbers or points on it perhaps long dice or stick dice, numbered tiles, teetotums or shells.

other sort of gaming equipment which is thrown like dice, perhaps with the meaning of long dice or stick dice, numbered tiles to be flipped or drawn from a bag, teetotums or shells, which have greater or fewer points than they should.

Seventh, “otros escaquetes que ayan de mas o de menos de sus suertes,” a term which seems to mean random number generators as discussed in the previous example which have greater or fewer points than they should.

And finally, eighth, “los que saben fincar los dados o jugaren con otros que no” which appears to refer to shooters who know how to throw the dice so as to cause them to land upon the desired faces played in conjunction with those players who do not possess this skill, hence the invention of dice boxes or allowing a third party to roll the dice.

#### 1.2.1.5 The CSM's Dice Players

Alfonso's *Cantigas de Santa María* contains a significant number of miniatures that either show dice players as heretics who manage to break most of the laws in the *LT*, or with lyrics mention the evils of dicing themselves.<sup>713</sup> According to Keller and Cash, images of dice, dicing tables and gambling dens appear in *Cantigas* 6, 24, 38, 72, 76, 93, 136, 140, 154 and 174 of the *Códice rico* of the Escorial and in *Cantigas* 6 (254) and 18

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<sup>713</sup> While it could be argued in dice's favor that the apostles cast lots to replace Judas (Acts I 1: 26), the negative stereotype is at least as old as the Biblical tale of soldiers casting lots at the foot of the cross for Christ's clothes (Matt. 27: 35) and continues through the time of the *Quijote* into modern song lyrics. “Pero esto no me admiró tanto como el ver que, siendo natural de los jugadores el alegrarse los gananciosos y entristecerse los que pierden, allí en aquel juego todos gruñían, todos regañaban y todos se maldecían” (Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Don Quijote de la Mancha II [Segunda parte del ingenioso caballero don Quijote de la Mancha]*. Ed. John Jay Allen. 16th ed. 2 vols. [Madrid: Cátedra, 1994] 2: Ch. LXX, 550). A twentieth-century example is “Playin’ Dominoes and Shootin’ Dice” by Tex Woods and O. D. Dobbs, wherein a dice-player is described as one who “lived his life on wine and liquor / Runnin’ around in one of them new machines / He was about the proudest feelin’, wheelin’ dealin’ sneakin’ stealin’, / Aggravatin’ man I’ve ever seen / Nothin’ but a midnight rambler, biggest drunkard and a gambler / He’d do anything that wasn’t nice / Huntin’, golfin’, fishin’ swimmin’, runnin’ around with other women / Playin’ dominoes and shootin’ dice.”

(294) of the *Códice florentino*.<sup>714</sup> Dice are referenced in the lyrics of *Cantigas* 56, “Gran dereit’ é de seer,” and 294, “Como hũa moller que jogava os dados en Pulla lançou hũa pedra aa omagen de Santa Maria, porque perdera, e parou un angeo de pedra que y estava a mão e recebeu o colbe.” MacDonald also describes the depiction of gamblers in *Cantigas* 136, 154, 163, 174, 238 and 214.

Dwayne E. Carpenter offers an examination of the interrelationship between Alfonso’s *LJ*, *Siete Partidas*, *Ordenamiento de las tafurerías* and *Cantigas de Santa María*, with special emphasis on the last two works.<sup>715</sup> Carpenter, finding nine *cantigas* devoted to “generally ill-fated dicers” (333) and ten more which mention gambling, concludes that Alfonso “in his *Cantigas de Santa Maria* unambiguously forges a causal link between gambling, anger and blasphemy” (335). These nine *Cantigas*, he believes, “display both a steadfast condemnation of the practice and an uncertain outcome for its devotees” (341). Carpenter finds Alfonso’s anti-dicing stance “palpably hostile” (344), especially in terms of the punishments associated with it, discussed above.

Carpenter discusses the ragged presentation of dice-players and pointedly-placed poniards on fol. 65r (337-39) and fol. 66r (339-41) and compares these to the similarly foul-mouthed and violent types seen in the *CSM*. Specifically, Carpenter compares the *tafurería* described in *Cantiga* 214: 5-8 (342), stone-throwing gamblers in *Cantigas* 38,

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<sup>714</sup> John E. Keller and Annette Grant Cash, *Daily Life Depicted in the Cantigas de Santa Maria*. Studies in Romance Languages: 44. Ed. John E. Keller (Lexington, KY: UP of Kentucky, 1998).

<sup>715</sup> Dwayne E. Carpenter, “‘Alea jacta est’: at the gaming table with Alfonso the Learned,” *Journal of Medieval History*. Vol. 24, (1998) 333-45. He refers to *Cantigas* “Nos. 38, 72, 136, 154, 163, 174, 214, 238, 294. In addition, miscellaneous references to gamblers and gambling are found in *cantigas* 5.103, 6.38, 24.10, 76.12, 156.22, 194.31, 245.105, 401.61, 403.46-47” (341n24). Of these, *cantigas* 154, 163 and 174 contain repentant gamblers (342n26). All Carpenter’s *CSM* references are to Mettmann’s critical edition (Coimbra: n.p., 1959-72).

136 and 294 (342), arrow-shooting gamblers in *Cantiga* 154 (342-43), blasphemers in *Cantigas* 163 and 174 (343-44), the divine punishment of gamblers including death in *Cantigas* 72, 136 and 294 as well as pursuit by demons and damnation to hell in *Cantigas* 38 and 238 (344). Lastly, and most curiously, there is one case of Marian intervention in a dice game described by Carpenter, *Cantiga* 214, which he then discusses, citing vv. 5-8 (342-44).

Carpenter and I both note that Alfonso never shows himself playing at dice (345) and that more important people merit their own arches whereas rabble, as on fol. 65r, do not (338). However, I differ with Carpenter's overview of the *LJ* since he only gives 97 total folios rather than my count of 98 and sees only four sections (chess, dice, tables and mill) rather than my seven (336). At the same time, he counts only nine variants of tables as opposed to my count of fifteen though he is in agreement with me that the games of tables synthesize with equal importance the prologue's two elements of intellect and chance; he also notes that the games of mill do this as well.

In the second panel of *Cantiga* 6 depicting a Jewish dice player who kidnaps a Christian child who lost when the game was over, there is a group of four boys in hair nets on the left of the crowd outside who play with two or three dice. The two dice which are visible show a 1 and a 5, while a third die is unclear.

*Cantiga* 24, which depicts a gambling cheat of a cleric from Chartres, shows a group of five young men at the left of the first panel who look as though they are playing dice, but no dice are visible.<sup>716</sup> What may be a dicing board is in the room on the right.

In panels one, two and three of *Cantiga* 38, we see a variety of dicing activity. In this miracle, an angry gambler throws a stone at a statue of the Virgin and Child. Dice players are described in the text of the miracle as of the same low order as other “muy malas gentes,” as vagabonds and unfortunates. The first panel shows three dice unattended; the two dice which are readable show a six and a three. The second panel shows four men, one drinking and one shirtless, playing dice which read 1-5-6. The third panel shows three men, one shirtless, playing dice which read 5-2-5.

*Cantiga* 72 tells of how the devil killed a drunken gambler who swore at the Virgin because he had lost and also shows dicing between a large group of youths in multiple frames. In the first panel, two dice showing two and one are visible. In the second panel there are three dice showing a five, possibly a four, and a two.

In the first panel of *Cantiga* 76, we see a large group of men and boys playing with two men fighting at right. The caption mentions an evil-minded, belligerent *tahur*, the cheating son of a devout woman. The dice show 5-6-3.

*Cantiga* 136's miracle tells the story of a group of men and women who were playing dice. One woman, enraged by losing, throws a stone at the image of the Mother and Child. Mary's statue opens up her arm so as to receive the blow that would have

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<sup>716</sup> That a cleric from the city of Chartres is a cheat at dice is significant because it supports my theory that the “dados a que dizen quatro” in the *Libro de Tahurerías* refer to the same cheater's dice mentioned as “dez de Chartres” in the “dit d'un mercier” of manuscript Fr. 19152 of the Bibliothèque Nationale Française. For more on these dice, see Sec. 1.2.1.4.

struck the Child. The first through third panels depict a scene outside a church with a hexagonal dicing board of pale wood, the shape of which echoes the number of sides on a die. The first panel does not show the dice but all players are pointing various fingers toward the ground where dice may have been meant to be painted. The second panel shows three dice, possibly reading 4-4-6; each die appears to be missing at least one point but their configuration indicates the above score. The third panel again shows no dice on the board and this time the attention of the scene is focused elsewhere. *Cantiga* 294 tells of yet another woman dice player who threw a rock at the Virgin's statue.

Panel 6 of *Cantiga* 140 shows a wild scene of celebration with wine, women, a devil and a group of five playing dice on a square brown board. The score: 3-6-5.

*Cantiga* 154 shows a rectangular brown dicing board heaped with piles of coins in the first four frames. The amount of coins in each pile changes as the game progresses. The scores are 3-4-5, 6-3-4, 2-5-3 and 4-3-5 respectively.

Dice also appear in the miniatures of *Cantiga* 53, panels 1-3, where three men play dice at left; *Cantiga* 93, panel 1, where two men play dice in a tavern or bawdy house; *Cantiga* 163, panels 1-3, where men play dice; and *Cantiga* 174, panels 1-3, where men again play dice.

#### **1.2.1.6 Other Studies on Period Dice Games**

The misplaced rubric in the game *triga* of the “Libro de los dados” confuses Murray into listing three varieties of it in *A History of Chess*, but since he omits the opposite of *mayores* his total count of twelve dice games ends up being correct.

Bell's *Board and Table Games from Many Civilizations* includes a Mexican two-dice game called *barbudi* (I: 130-31) whose winning and losing rolls represent combinations similar to those in *guirguesca*. The shooter's opponent, called a fader, may choose to call for a one- or two-shot decision. Winning rolls for a one-shot win are 6-6, 5-5, 3-3 and 6-5 and losing numbers are 4-4, 2-2, 1-1 and 1-2. In the two-shot version, if he rolls 6-5, he wins only half the stake; if he rolls 1-2 he loses only half the stake.

Bell presents the two-dice game hazard, which he says "became a mania among gamblers during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and it survives in a modified form in the American game of Craps."<sup>717</sup> In Bell's hazard, the shooter rolls first for a number between five and nine, called a main point, and then for a number between four and ten, called a chance point. If his main point and chance point turn out to be the same number, he wins by "nicks." Nicks could also be won with a chance of twelve for a main point of eight six or eight; or a chance of eleven for a main point of seven. Unless the shooter nicks or throws an "out" in his attempt to roll a chance point, he then continues to throw until he hits either the chance, and wins, or the main, and loses. Automatic outs are as follows: twelve for main points of nine, seven or five; eleven for main points of nine, eight, six or five; either two or three (both known as crabs) was out for any main point. Bets could be made on the side between observers or with the shooter at his discretion.

Gil Jacobs offers a final section on international favorites among dice games.<sup>718</sup> In it, there are two variants of craps which evolved from hazard as well as barbooth or barbudey, passe-dix and four twenty-one which are somewhat similar to *LJ* games.

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<sup>717</sup> R. C. Bell, *Board and Table Games from Many Civilizations*. 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1960, 1969 New York: Dover, 1979) I: 132.

<sup>718</sup> Gil Jacobs, *World's Best Dice Games: How to Play and Win* (Millbrae, CA: Hansen, 1988-93).

Jacobs also describes a game called *barbudey* or *barbooth* which is similar to *guirguesca* and which Jacobs says is popular in Greece and Mexico, perhaps hinting at the origin of the name *guirguesca*: “The dice alternate until a winning or losing hand is rolled. Each player has an equal chance of winning. Winning hand = 3-3, 5-5, 6-6, or 6-5. Losing hand = 4-4, 2-2, 1-1, or 1-2” (158).

Calvo’s brief analysis of the “*Libro de los dados*” (1987) is largely incorrect due to his presumption that in this treatise, as in the rest of the *LJ*, the miniatures follow each game’s description. The rubrics in this section also lead him astray and cause him to count three varieties of *triga* and *reazar* as a separate game from *azar*, rather than as a component of its play.

Canettieri’s (1996) descriptions of the dice games *mayores*, *tanto en uno como en dos*, *marlota*, *medio azar*, *azar pujado* and *guirguesca* all agree with mine. Although he does not specify a name for it, his description of what I call *menores* also agrees with mine. His descriptions of *triga* and *azar*, with sample games and literary references, (45-46 and 178-79) and *panquist* with a winnings comparison chart (47-49), are very detailed and useful. He describes *riffa* and *par con as* well and usefully lists all their respective winning combinations. Most notably Canettieri unravels the mystery of *panquist*, as explained above.

### 1.2.3 English Translation of the “The Book of Dice”

[fol. 65r] **How dice should be made.**

Since we have now spoken about the games of chess, which are played by wits or skill, as completely as we could, we now want to tell here about the games of dice for two reasons: The first, because the debate between the wise men, as we showed at the beginning of the book, was between brains or luck, which was better. And on this matter, each

one gave his example to the king: the first of brains, by the games of chess; the second of luck, by the dice. The other [reason] is that even though tables are greater and more beautiful than dice, since they cannot be played without them, it is fitting that we speak of them first.

And we say that dice should consist of three squared shapes of six equal sides, all equal in size and perfectly square because otherwise they would not roll as often on one side as another and it would be trickery more than luck.<sup>719</sup> And thus this is the first of the ways of cheating, as we will later tell, in which those who wish to cheat make crooked dice.<sup>720</sup>

And it is to have on each one of the six sides, pips<sup>721</sup> placed in this manner: on the one side six, and on the other five, on the other four, on the other three, on the other two and on the other one, so that twenty-one pips come on each die, and so that sixty-three pips come on three dice.

And the pips should be placed in this manner: opposite the six-side, the one; and opposite the five, the two; and opposite the four, the three.<sup>722</sup>

And these dice can be made [fol. 65v] of wood, or of stone, or of bone, or of any metal, but notably best the ones are made of bone, the heaviest to be found, more than any other material and they fall more equally and more squarely wherever they are thrown.

**The game of *mayores* (high roll) & of *tanto en uno como en dos* (as many on one [die] as on two).**

The first game of those that men play is he who rolls the highest total wins and this game they call *mayores*.

All the other types of games that there are, are wagers that men place among themselves, which are betting games, such as he who rolls the lowest wins.

Or *tanto en uno como en dos* that is in this way: if it should say on the one die six, the other two must say five and one, or four and two, or double threes. And if it should say five on the one, the other two must say four and one, or three and two. And if it should say four on the one, the other two must say three and one, or double twos. And if it should say three on the one, the other two must say two and one. And if it should say two on the one, the other two must say double ones.

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<sup>719</sup> This passage of my translation is quoted without credit in David G. Schwartz, *Roll the Bones: The History of Gambling* (New York: Gotham, 2006) 38.

<sup>720</sup> Further ways of cheating are not explained in the “Libro de los dados” or in the rest of the *LJ*. Perhaps it is meant that they are or will be described in the *Libro de las tafurerias* where they indeed appear in the eight manners discussed above in section 1.2.1.4.

<sup>721</sup> The manuscript uses the word *puntos*, literally points. I give the more common English term “pips” instead to avoid confusion with the word for playing spaces (i.e. points) in the next treatise the “Libro de las tablas.”

<sup>722</sup> Alfonso does not say it explicitly but this makes “good” dice the ones that have reciprocal sides that add up to the metaphysically significant number seven.

[fol. 66r] **This is the game of *triga* (trios).**

There is another game called *triga* that is played in this way: that if a man is playing against another and he first rolls par<sup>723</sup> on all three dice, or fifteen pips, sixteen, seventeen, eighteen or the flip-sides of these rolls which are six, five, four or three, he wins. And these rolls are all called *trigas* and they can be rolled in this way:

[Table 2. *Triga*'s Combinations.]

18 pips: 6-6-6
17: 6-6-5
16: 6-6-4 and 5-5-6
15: 6-6-3, 6-5-4 and 5-5-5
Also 6 pips can be rolled in this way: 4-1-1, or 3-2-1, or 2-2-2;
5 pips: 3-1-1 or 2-2-1
4: 2-1-1
3: 1-1-1
Also "par" on all three dice can be rolled in this way: 6-6-6, 5-5-5, 4-4-4, 3-3-3, <sup>724</sup> 2-2-2, 1-1-1.

**Another version of *triga*.**<sup>725</sup>

In another way a man can roll in which he will have none of the rolls which we have described up to this point, and it will be *triga*, as when a man takes for himself (the point number) seven pips, or eight, or nine, or ten, or eleven, or twelve, or thirteen, or fourteen, and the other with whom his is playing rolls the same [fol. 66v] this will be *triga* and the one who first took the number will win.

And if by chance he does not roll the other player's number and he takes another (number) for himself, they should both roll as many times until one of them hit upon one of those numbers. And rolling one's own number will be *triga* and he will win, and if he should roll the other's it will also be *triga* and he will lose.

And these rolls can come in so many ways:

<sup>723</sup> *Par* meaning either the same number on all dice rolled, i.e. a pair or doublets on two dice or as here triplets on three dice, or par meaning even, i.e. simply the same number as in the modern game of golf.

<sup>724</sup> The manuscript omits triple threes accidentally but I follow Steiger, Crombach and Canettieri, inserting them for the sake of completeness.

<sup>725</sup> By scribal error the rubric "Otra manera de *triga*" is inserted too early, in the description of how six can be rolled. I relocate it here to its logical and proper place. This repetition causes Janer to list *triga* as having three versions ("Naipes ó cartas de jugar y dados antiguos con referencia á los juegos del Museo Arqueológico Nacional," *Museo Español de Antigüedades* 3 [1874] 49).

Table 3. *Triga's Combinations—Continued.*]

7: 5-1-1 or 4-2-1 or 3-2-2 or 3-3-1
8: 6-1-1 or 5-2-1 [or 4-3-1] <sup>726</sup> or 4-2-2 or 3-3-2
9: 6-2-1 or 5-3-1 or 5-2-2 or 4-4-1 or 4-3-2 or 3-3-3
10: 6-3-1 or 6-2-2 or 5-4-1 or 5-3-2 or 4-4-2 or 3-3-4
11: 6-4-1 or 6-3-2 or 5-4-2 or 5-5-1 or 3-3-5 or 4-4-3
12: 6-5-1, 6-4-2 or 6-3-3 or 5-4-3 or 5-5-2 or 4-4-4
13: 6-6-1 or 6-4-3 or 6-5-2 or 5-5-3 or 4-4-5
14: 6-6-2 or 6-5-3 or 6-4-4 or 5-5-4

And in as many ways as we have said above, can come the rolls on the dice, and not in more.

[fol. 67r] **The game they call *azar* (hazard).**

There is another dice game that they call *azar* and it is played in this way: the one who first has to roll the dice if he should roll 15 pips, or sixteen, or seventeen, or eighteen or the flip-sides of these rolls which are six or five or four or three, they win.<sup>727</sup> And any of these numbers in any of the ways that they may come according to the other games that we have described above is called *azar*.<sup>728</sup>

And if by chance he does not roll any of these *azares* first, and gives to the other as a point number one of those which are from six pips and above or from fifteen and below, in whichever way that it may come, according to the other games we described in which they come. And afterward these (points) he rolls one of the rolls which we said here was *azar*, this roll will be called *reazar*<sup>729</sup> and the one who rolled first shall lose.

And also if by chance he should not roll this number which becomes *reazar*, he must take for himself one of the other point numbers which are from six pips and above or from fifteen and below in whatever way it may come. And they should roll as many times until one of these points is made, either his own by which he wins or that of the other by which he loses, except if he takes the same point number that he gave the other, which would be called match. And they must return to roll from the beginning.

<sup>726</sup> As Canettieri correctly observes, the game *triga* omits in error the combination 4+3+1 for the total 8 on fol. 66v. Into my critical text, I have therefore inserted “o quatro tria & as” as this same combination is given on fol. 69v for *panquist* and I insert it where I think it would most likely fall given other similar series.

<sup>727</sup> Modern craps also has opening winning rolls called naturals, but they are two of the easiest rolls: seven and eleven. The hard rolls of two, three, and twelve are opening-roll losers called craps.

<sup>728</sup> *DPCRAX* incorrectly gives this definition as only a losing roll (267). Despite the negative connotation of the word *azar* in modern Spanish, in this medieval game the combination called *azar* can win or lose for a player depending on when in the game it is rolled.

<sup>729</sup> In modern craps, the player is said to have “crapped out.”

And however any of these rolls should come that are called *azar* or *reazar* and until one of the point numbers is made, neither of them will win nor lose because of it until point numbers are taken, as it says above.

[fol. 67v] **This is the game of *marlota*.**

There is another dice game that they call *marlota* in which there is no *azar*, *reazar*, nor *triga*. And it is played taking sides in this way: he that rolls the dice is to give a point number to the other with whomever he is playing.

And the point numbers that he can give or take for himself are these: seven or eight or nine or ten or eleven or twelve or thirteen or fourteen, in any way that they may come according to the other games we described in which they can come. And if he rolls fourteen or above or seven or below, it is not a point number for either one or the other. But rather he should roll as many times until he gives a point number of these aforementioned ones to that one with which he is playing and take another for himself. And of these numbers, the first one is to belong to whomever he is playing with and the other is his own.

And after the point numbers are divided in this way, he is to roll until he makes his own point or that of the other, thus rolling his own he wins and rolling that of the other he loses.

[fol. 68r] **This is the game of *riffa* (raffle?).**

There is another kind of game which they call *riffa* that is played in this way: he who first rolls the dice should roll them as many times until he rolls a pair on two, then he should roll the other one. Then the pips of this third die are to be counted with the pips of the other first two dice.

And if the other who is playing with him, in rolling the dice in this same way rolls more points he wins, and if as many he ties, and if less he loses.

[fol. 68v] **This game they call *par con as* (pair with an ace).**

There is another game that they call *par con as* and it is played in this way: the one who wins the battle<sup>730</sup> will play first. And if he rolls a pair on two dice and an ace (a one) on the other, he wins. And if not, the other should roll and in this way they should play until one of them succeeds and he who should roll it first, will win.

[fol. 69r] **This game is called *panquist* (sweepstakes).**

There is another kind of game that they call *panquist* and it is played in this way: he who wins the battle<sup>731</sup> will roll first and the other is

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<sup>730</sup> As in many modern games, each player rolls to determine who plays first. Generally, one die is rolled and the player with the highest roll wins “the battle.”

<sup>731</sup> See the note on the opening roll to determine the first player under the translation of the dice game *par con as*.

to lay out four stakes<sup>732</sup> one in front of the other. And whichever one rolls will give the first point number to the other one and the second he will take for himself.

And the rolls which can be given are from seven pips to fourteen.<sup>733</sup>

He who has seven pips for his point number, if he should roll 5-1-1 or 4-2-1, he will take the first two (stakes); and if he should roll 2-2-3, he will take three; and if he should roll 3-3-1 he will take all four. And this last roll they call *panquist*.

Also he who [fol. 69v] should have 8 pips for his point number, if he should roll 5-2-1, he will take the first (stake); and if he should roll 4-3-1, he will take two; And if he should roll 6-1-1 or 2-2-4, he will take three; and if he should roll 3-3-2, he will take four. And this last roll they call *panquist*.

Also he who should have 9 pips for his point number, if he should roll 6-2-1 or 5-3-1, he will take the first (stake); and if he should roll if 4-3-2, he will take two; and if he should roll 2-2-5 or 3-3-3, he will take three; and if he should roll 4-4-1, he will take four. And this last roll they call *panquist*.

Also he who should have 10 pips and should roll 5-4-1 or 5-3-2, he will take the first (stake); and if he should roll 6-3-1, he will take two; and if he should roll 2-2-6 or 3-3-4, he will take three; and if he should roll 4-4-2, he will take four. And this last roll they call *panquist*.

Also he who should have 11 pips for his point number and should roll 6-3-2 or 5-4-2, he will take the first (stake); and if he should roll 6-4-1, he will take two; and if he should roll 5-5-1 or 4-4-3, he will take three; and if he should roll 3-3-5, he will take four and this last roll they call *panquist*.

Also he who should have 12 pips, if he should roll 6-5-1 or 6-4-2 he will take the first (stake); and if he should roll 5-4-3 he will take two; and if he should roll 5-5-2 or 4-4-4 he will take three; and if he should roll 3-3-6 he will take four and this last roll they call *panquist*.

Also he who should have thirteen pips and should he roll 6-5-2, he will take the first (stake); and if he should roll 6-4-3, he will take two; and if he should roll 6-6-1 or 5-5-3, he will take three; and if he should roll 4-4-5 he will take four and this last roll they call *panquist*.

Also he who should have 14 pips and should he roll 6-5-3, he will take two; and if he should roll 6-6-2 or 5-5-4, he will take three; and if he should roll 4-4-6 he will take four, and this last roll they call *panquist*.

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<sup>732</sup> Depending on the particular combination with which a certain point is made, the shooter may win one, two, three or four of these stakes though one-stake wins are not possible for all numbers. The pattern explained by Canettieri is discussed above.

<sup>733</sup> See Table 26. *Panquist*'s Combinations and Winnings in Appendix C1.

And these are the rolls that win, both for the one who places the stakes as well as the one who rolls the dice, to the one whose roll comes first.

[fol. 70r] **This game they call *medio azar* (half hazard).**

There is another dice game that they call *medio azar* that is played in this way: those who want to play have first to roll battle<sup>734</sup> and he who wins will roll first.

And if he should roll 14 pips or above or seven or below in any way that each one of these numbers may come it will be *azar*. And for each *azar* he will win a stake as agreed upon between them that may be worth from a *dinero*,<sup>735</sup> a *sueldo*,<sup>736</sup> or a *moravedí*<sup>737</sup> or however much more should be the bet.

And the rolls which are in the middle of these are called point numbers and these are eight or nine and ten and eleven and twelve and thirteen. And if by chance he should not roll *azar* and he give the point number to the other and take a point number for himself, the one that he should make first will win three stakes.

And if after he should give a point number to the other one he should then roll *azar* before he takes his own point number, the stakes will be raised to four. And if he should roll another *azar* it will go to five. And as many *azares* as he should roll each one after the other, will be worth one stake [fol. 70v] until he takes a point number for himself.

And if by chance before he takes a point number for himself he should match the same point number as the other one, he will roll again for *azar* and if he should make it, he will win all the stakes that were there. And if not, he will give (his opponent) another point number and it will count on top of the other first stakes and in this way the game returns to start over again.

**This game is they call *azar pujado* (raised hazard).**

The *azar* they call raised is played in same was as *medio azar* that we described above, where the stakes still are raised for *azar* as well as for any roll that should come before the point number of one or the other.

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<sup>734</sup> See the note on the opening roll to determine the first player under the translation of the dice game *par con as*.

<sup>735</sup> Any attempts to value this coinage depends on whether the moravedí was silver or gold, which the *LJ* does not specify, and, if so, of what weight. In 1179, the Fuero de Uclés states that the gold morabetino was worth 6 sueldos or 72 dineros (12 dineros to a *solidus* or sueldo). Cf. Pío Beltrán Villagrassa, *Obra completa*. 2 vols. Vol. II: *Numismática de la Edad Media y de los Reyes Católicos* (Zaragoza: Librería General, 1972); Octavio Gil Farrés, *Historia de la moneda española*. 2<sup>a</sup> ed. (Madrid: Gráficas Adrados, 1976); and Richard P. Kinkade, "Money in the *Poema de Mio Cid*: A Reassessment," *Anuario Medieval* 6 (1994) 103-26.

<sup>736</sup> Another name for the coin called *solidus*, worth twelve dineros (*Simon and Schuster's International Spanish Dictionary: English/Spanish Spanish/English* [New York: Simon, 1973] 1519). See also the bets in *escaques*.

<sup>737</sup> The *LT* calls the maravedí a gold coin.

And therefore they call this *azar pujado* because the other one above is *medio azar*.

[fol. 71r] **This is the game they call *guirguesca*.**

There is another kind of game they call *guirguesca* that is played with two dice in this way:

Those who want to play have first to roll battle,<sup>738</sup> and he who wins it will roll first.

And if he should roll 6-6 or 6-5 or the flip-sides of these which are 2-1 or 1-1 it will be *azar*, and he will win one stake of such quantity as they agreed upon that it be worth.

And if per chance he should not roll *azar* and he should roll four pips or five or six or seven or eight or nine or ten in whatever way that they may come, each one of these will be called a point number and that whomever he is playing with shall have it, and the other will bet upon it whatever amount he should wish and if the one who rolls the dice should then roll as many pips as (the point number) he gave him, this will be called match and he will take whatever is there whether he had placed a bet or whether he had kept silent.

And if by chance he should not roll a match and he should roll one of the numbers which we said above were *azares*, he will lose it all. And if he should roll neither match nor *azar* and he should roll one of the other point numbers, that one he will take for himself, and he will roll as many times until he makes his (point) or that of the other. And by making his own he wins and [fol. 71v] for that of the other he loses.

In these 12 games of dice that we have put here, can be understood all the others that they play in the other lands which are made or which can be made from here on about which we do not know.

### 1.3 The “Libro de las tablas” or “Book of Tables”

The *LJ*'s “Libro de las tablas” (fols. 72r-80r, with fol. 80v blank) contains fifteen varieties of two-player race games to be played with counters (i.e. *las tablas*<sup>739</sup>) and

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<sup>738</sup> See the note on the opening roll to determine the first player under the translation of the dice game *par con as*.

<sup>739</sup> The *DPCRAX* offers the following entries for *tabla(s)* and variant forms *tabla(s)* and *taula(s)* as they pertain to the *LJ*: “6. Juego de damas. *LEY* (1256?-1300?) fol. 44v81, otrosi deuen seer largos; en dar de sus cosas. alos que las ouieren mester; segund que desuso es dicho; en el titulo de los obispos. e no deuen iogar dados ni tablas. ni boluer se con los tafueres; ni atener se con ellos. ni entrar en tauernas a beuer. // *EE1* (1270-1284) fol. 74r22, e otro dia luego estando a su conseio o iogando alas tablas demanaua por ellos. & enuiaua les dezir por sus mandaderos que eran dormidores & perezosos. // *ACE* (1283) fol. 1r33, los otros iuegos que se fazen seyendo; son assi como iogar acedrex. & tablas & dados. & otros trebeios de muchas maneras. // *EE2* (1284?-1345?) fol. 20r90, et dixieron les asi duennas non uos es mester que nos descubrades delo que vos queremos dezir vos sabedes bien jugar las tablas & nos dar vos hemos vn

either two or three six-sided dice on a rectangular tables or backgammon board of twenty-four points or spaces. As Murray says

‘Multi sunt ludi ad tabulas,’ or there was no game of which *tables* was the actual name. The mediæval phrase *ludere ad tabulas* is in fact as vague as our phrase *to play (at) cards*. Cards and tables are generic names, each covering a number of different games which are only linked together by the use of a common apparatus for play.<sup>740</sup>

Murray believed that the name of the game came from the medieval Latin name for the playing piece, *tabula*, and not the name of the board which, in fact, derived from the name for the pieces. In Spanish, the result is that Alfonso calls the pieces *tablas* and the board *tablero*. Murray compares the nomenclature of the pieces, boards, part of the board and dice rolls among the Spanish *LJ*, the so-called King’s manuscript [*K*] dating from around 1330 in England, and two Italian works known as the *Bonus Socius* [*BS*], compiled before 1300, and *Civis Bononiæ* [*CB*], dating roughly from 1400 (Murray 1941: 57). Also of note here is that Murray says the *barra*<sup>741</sup> is the division between the two

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grannt auer que paredes al tablero & conuidat muy de rezio a quien quisiere jugar.” “7. Pieza usada en los juegos con tablero. *ACE* (1283) fol. 72r39, e otrossi las tablas con que iuegan quadradas. o redondas. & non fazen logar en que se encasen; por esso fue fallado por meior de fazer barras de fuste al tablero.” “*Unidades pluriverbales*: quinze tablas 1. Cierta juego con tablero. *ACE* (1283) fol. 73r6, el primer iuego dellas es este que llaman las quinze tablas o las seys o quantas y pudieren poner de quinze fasta la una. // *ACE* (1283) fol. 73r6, el primer iuego dellas es este que llaman las quinze tablas o las seys o quantas y pudieren poner de quinze fasta la una” (1717-1718). The *TDMS* offers that following variant forms among others: (tabola, tabula, taula) and defines *tabla* as “[*lat. tabula*] [...] 7. pieza usada en juegos, *Aaj* 2b1. [...]” (668). The *TDMS* offers no listing for *quinze tablas*. The *LT*: tabla, talla [*from Lat. tabula*] s., f. 1. ‘ficha o pieza circular (o, en algún caso, cuadrada) de caras llanas y paralelas entre sí que sirve, en número igual y de un color diferente para cada jugador, para jugar a varios juegos’ *XL.a.(4)* Todo omne que quisiere jugar las tablas puede lo fazer en esta guisa (380).

<sup>740</sup> H. J. R. Murray, “The Mediæval Game of Tables” *Medium Ævum* Vol. X, no. 2 (June 1941) 57-69; quote from 57-58.

<sup>741</sup> The *LT*: barra [*of unknown, pre-Roman origin*] s., f. 1. ‘pieza mucho más larga que gruesa que se usa para dividir y señalar las partes del tablero’, also ‘en el tablero, barra de fuste cavada a manera de media rueda, en que pueden encasar las tablas redondas’ *XXXIV.b. (50)* si algunos jugaren en tablero que aya barras (356).

tables when, in fact, Alfonso also uses this word to describe the scalloped strips that run the length of the interior edge of the board and which indicate the *casas* or points.

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)*, the game was always called tables through the seventeenth century when the term backgammon began to appear.<sup>742</sup> Stone says that backgammon was called tables “in Tudor times, probably because the board consisted of two tables hinged together” (24). The *OED* etymology says that apparently the halves of backgammon derive from the Middle English “back game.”<sup>743</sup> This is possible since the same phrase is used today to describe the situation of a man who finds some of his pieces lagging or trapped on his opponent’s side of the board. In Spanish, the word *chaquete* derives from one of the French names for the game, *jacquet*.<sup>744</sup>

Five of the fifteen tables games are race games of contrary motion in which players begin at different points and move around the board in opposing directions.<sup>745</sup> Seven of the fifteen tables games are race games of parallel motion in which players begin at the same point and move around the track in the same direction.<sup>746</sup> Two or three

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<sup>742</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary Online*. 2006.

<<http://dictionary.oed.com.ezproxy.library.arizona.edu/entrance.dtl>>, s.v. *tables*.

<sup>743</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary Online*. 2006.

<<http://dictionary.oed.com.ezproxy.library.arizona.edu/entrance.dtl>>, s.v. *backgammon*.

<sup>744</sup> Frank Lohéac-Ammoun, *Backgammon* (Mexico City: Roca, S.A., 1992) 9.

<sup>745</sup> The five *LJ* tables games of contrary motion include *fallas*, *emperador*, *medio emperador*, *todas tablas* and *reencontrat*. *Fallas* uses three dice, a fixed opening position and stipulates that the game is lost if a captured piece cannot be immediately reentered. *Emperador* and *medio emperador* both use three and two dice respectively, and were invented by Alfonso with provisions for ties and a special type of win. *Todas tablas* is a direct ancestor of our modern backgammon sharing its unique opening arrangement and use of two dice. In *reencontrat* players enter from diagonally opposite quarters instead of the more usual two tables on the same side of the bar for games of contrary motion.

<sup>746</sup> The seven *LJ* tables games of parallel motion include *seys dos & as*, *pareia de entrada*, two versions of *cab & quinal*, *laquet*, *buffa cortesa* and *buffa de baldrac*. *Seys dos & as* uses three dice and a fixed opening arrangement. *Pareia de entrada* is a three-dice game in which all pieces begin off the board. *Cab & quinal* is the name of two games with differing fixed opening arrangements based upon the number

of the *LJ*'s tables games are simple children's games meant to teach the basic workings of tables.<sup>747</sup> As with the number of folios in the "Libro del acedrex" and the number of dice games in the "Libro de los dados," there is numerological significance to the number of games offered in the "Libro de las tablas": fifteen being the number of men each tables player possesses.

While the *LJ* contains 103 chess problems or *juegos departidos*, it does not contain any backgammon problems.<sup>748</sup> However, we know that they existed because, according to Murray, within other medieval works there are over eighty problems or *juegos departidos* which the *Bonus Socius* and *Civis Bononiae* manuscripts call *partita*; and the King's manuscript calls *jupertiae* "a latinized form of the E[nglish word] *juperty* or *jeopardy*."<sup>749</sup> These games appear to be of two types: the first are *ludi optativi* where players choose what numbers to play instead of rolling dice and the second are where dice are used to generate random numbers. Murray's article gives a glossary of the Latin terms used in these problem games followed by an appendix wherein the medieval games of tables are described.

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of dice used either three or two. *Laquet* is a game without captures, somewhat resembling the mill game *cercar la liebre*, discussed later under mill games. Finally, *buffa cortesa* and *buffa de baldrac* are both games which begin with all pieces off the board; the first uses two dice and the later uses only three.

<sup>747</sup> *Doze canes* or *doze hermanos* is a two-dice game of placement without motion and *doblet* is a simple children's game first of unstacking and then of bearing off which uses three dice. Finally, *quinze tablas* uses three dice and a fixed starting position; it may either be a children's bearing-off game or a sixth game of contrary motion.

<sup>748</sup> *How Good Are You at Backgammon?: 75 Challenging Test Situations for You to Rate Your Ability with the Experts* by Nicolaos and Vassilios Tzannes (New York: Simon, 1974) and Barclay Cooke's *Paradoxes and Probabilities: 168 Backgammon Problems* (New York: Random, 1978) show that books of game problems to be solved are not only popular in chess throughout history but also in backgammon today. Like modern chess problem books, the backgammon problems are divided into groups by the phase of the game in which they occur: fifteen opening, one hundred twelve middle-game and forty-one end-game problems as well as transcriptions of some whole tournament games.

<sup>749</sup> Murray 1941: 64 and 1913: 619 ff. and 643 ff.

### 1.3.1 The Arabic Game of *Nard* and the *LJ*

Most studies of backgammon's history and evolution focus on the undeniably related Sumerian, Egyptian and European games of the board found at Ur.<sup>750</sup> *senet*, *tabula* and *ludus duodecim scriptorum*.<sup>751</sup> As for specifics, however, these same scholars often throw up their hands in the face of what Daniel Willard Fiske humorously described as the impenetrable darkness and even pointlessness of it all.<sup>752</sup> Calvo is a rare exception, noting the dual sources of these games and giving equal weight to the Roman *alea* route and the Arabic *nard* route (1987: 138). However, given that the preponderance of influence on the *LJ* comes from the Arabic and Indian cultures, this dissertation will continue to harmonize with the *LJ*'s oriental and Arabic affiliation by focusing upon *nard*, as in the fundamental importance of the Arabic and Muslim traditional dichotomy between *nard* and chess, as well as the relationship between tables and the Indian game of pachisi together with pachisi's connection to the evolution of modern chess and

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<sup>750</sup> Sir Leonard Wooley, Director of the Joint Expedition of the British Museum and the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania to Mesopotamia, discovered at least two gaming boards during his excavations at Ur, conducted from 1922 to 1934 for the Trustees of the British Museum. One inlaid board is mentioned in his book *Ur of the Chaldees: A Record of Seven Years of Excavation* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex [Eng.]: Penguin, 1952) as having been found buried close to a chariot, weapons and tools. A footnote explains that a more elaborate example of a game board is shown as his pl. 6b. Actually, it is his pl. 5b which shows the 8x3 square board that narrows between the second and fifth squares of the top and bottom rows for a total of twenty squares.

<sup>751</sup> Cf. Murray's 1941 article and Bell I: 23-38. While tracing the earliest mention of eastern games by the Greeks, Murray discusses the etymology of *tabla* (*taula*, *tabula*, *tawula*) and its connections to *nard* or *nardshir* and the *ludus duodecim scriptorum* (1913: 162).

<sup>752</sup> One of my favorite evasions of the topic is found in Harold Thorne's introduction to his *Backgammon in 20 Minutes* (New York: Dutton, 1930) where the entirety of his treatment of the topic consists of, "We will dismiss the history of this game by acknowledging that it is very old. The name itself actually shrieks of age" (7). A close second is Bruce Becker's wholesale dismissal of the importance of the topic of the game's history as far as its actual play is concerned in his self-described short version of backgammon's history in his *Backgammon for Blood* (New York: Avon, 1974) and also published by arrangement with E. P. Dutton, Thorne's publisher. "I once met someone who was an anthropologist or an archaeologist, or something. He knew all about backgammon: its origins, its history. But I found him insufferably dull; he couldn't play" (155).

backgammon via the ancient game of *chaturanga* and the *ashtapada* board on which it was played.<sup>753</sup> J. B. Trend emphasizes the Oriental influence which, he points out, begins with an Oriental fable and usually shows players in Oriental dress, some accompanied by Oriental musicians, engaged in chess problems of almost exclusively Muslim origin.<sup>754</sup> Calvo relates that “Ya en los tratados árabes más antiguos se contraponen las dos actitudes diferentes que simbolizan por un lado el voluntarista juego del ajedrez, y por otro los fatalistas juegos de azar. ... Alfonso el Sabio recoge esta tradición y nos la devuelve amplificada y proyectada a su manera.”<sup>755</sup>

*Nardshir* or simply *nard*<sup>756</sup> is the Arabic name for medieval tables games, now known by the group name of *tawula* and various individual varietal terms. The name *nardshir* derives, as does the Spanish name *tablas* as explained in the *LJ* and above, from the names of the pieces used to play the game: *nard*, a Persian meaning “wood,” refers to one player’s plain round wood pieces; *shir*, meaning “lion,” refers to the other player’s lion pieces.<sup>757</sup> Calvo notes that popular etymology relates the name of the game *nardshir*

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<sup>753</sup> Chess scholars agree that the vast majority of the 103 chess problems are of Arabic origin, the portrait of as-Suli on fol. 17v and Arabic script in the miniatures confirm this source; one quarter of the dice games in the *LJ* contain the Arabic word *azar* as their name or part of their name; great chess as well as the invention of games is attributed by the *LJ* to India; four-seasons chess has clear connections to the earliest known and Indian variant of chess, the four-player *chaturanga*; the name and games of *alquerque* are of obvious Arabic origin; and, finally, the astrological checkers while it uses Roman mythological gods as figures for the planets, the science behind the game is of Arabic origin and the game is suspected to be related only to two other games, both Arabic in origin.

<sup>754</sup> J[ohn] B[rande] Trend, “Alfonso El Sabio and the Game of Chess,” *Revue Hispanique* LXXXI (1933) 9.

<sup>755</sup> Calvo 1987: 150.

<sup>756</sup> Murray notes that Mongols call backgammon *narr* (1913: 370) and “The fact that the Kalmucks call backgammon *narr* (= Ar. and Per. *nard*) is indirect confirmation for the Muslim ancestry of the name *shatar* (for chess)” (1913: 376). The Arabic word *nard* and the Spanish word *nardo* (tuberose in English) are obviously not related.

<sup>757</sup> Murray describes how the historical names of game pieces have led to later or modern names of other parts of the same game or the whole games themselves (e.g. *scacus* for chessmen, now *escaque* chess square or chess the game, *nard* for one of the pieces to name of tables). I believe that this may help

to the name of the king “Ardshir o Artajerjes ... fundador de la dinastía sasánida” (1987: 138). More will be presented on this king, also known as Nushirwan, below in the context of another games origin myth offered in the *Chatrang-namak*.

In Muslim tradition if all games are not thought to be bad, chess and *nard* are considered to be opposites with chess being good and *nard* bad.<sup>758</sup> Not only could *nard* be considered immoral because of its use of fatalistic dice which rely on predestination rather than free will, but also because within the use of dice lies the rampant possibility for cheating noted by Alfonso in the “Libro de los dados” and the *LT*. According to Murray, in “*Alberuni’s India*, ed. by E. Sachau, Arabic text 1887; English translation 188” (1913: 57-58n12) there is “a reference to *nard*, in which we are told that when two players sat down to *nard*, a third threw the dice for them” (1913: 57-58n12). Presumably this third person was meant to reduce the risk of dishonesty between the players.

Stone says that “[t]here were other indoor games less harmful to the moral well-being of the participant. Among these was backgammon, called ‘tables’ in Tudor times” (24). Although it was usually the immorality of dicing that provoked scorn, in Sebastian Brant’s *Ship of Fools* (1494) which gives short descriptions of the consequences of humanity’s various vices, backgammon is shown as a vice in Section 49 “Bad Examples of Parents.” A woodcut shows a child reaching to play with the same game that a foolish

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explain why Alfonso said that the name of the game and the word tables had to do with the playing pieces rather than for the quarters of the board as the Latin etymology of tables confirms and the rest of the world who uses the term as they use it (1913: 399). Despite Alfonso’s explanation, some uncertainty about the term is seen in the name of the game *todas tablas* and the *LJ*’s explanation for it. Fol. 77v says that game’s name reflects the fact that pieces (*tablas*) are spread throughout all four quarters (tables) of the board.

<sup>758</sup> Cf. Félix M. Pareja Casañas, ed. *Kitab fi al-shatranj wa-mansubatihi wa-malahihi. Libro del ajedrez, de sus problemas y sutilezas, de autor árabe desconocido. Según el Ms. Arab. Add. 7515 (Rich) del Museo Británico. Texto árabe, traducción y estudio previo por Félix M. Pareja Casañas*. 2 vols. (Madrid: Maestre, 1935) “Elogio del ajedrez,” (16-18) and “Parangón entre el ajedrez y el ‘nard’,” (10).

father enjoys, presumably gambling away the family's money. Curiously, the placement of the hinge and resultant bar on the board in the woodcut looks like a sort of sideways backgammon drawn by someone who did not play the game. The folding board is not unusual but the orientation of the triangular points is is; they more commonly run in rows along the length of the board rather than parallel to the hinge.



Fig. 122. *Ship of Fools*: Backgammon Players Make Bad Parents.

Tables or *nard*'s "negative reputation" in Muslim culture derives from the fact that the player's movement of the pieces is subject to the whims of Fortune in the dice rolls. Underscoring this negative luck-based slant of *nard* is its traditional Muslim view that its symbolism is rooted in astrology, presented later in this section. As in similar debates within the medieval Christian church, a belief in astrology was considered in Muslim thought to be tantamount to a belief in predestination. These celestial considerations would not have disturbed Alfonso and some other Christians of his time

who were deeply fascinated by the influence of the stars.<sup>759</sup> However, to most Muslim minds, chess scored over *nard* on both counts: it was not (to their knowledge) astrologically based and players made their moves of their own free will and choosing.<sup>760</sup>

The *LJ* can thus be seen as one Christian's king's apology for all types of games in general, but of Muslim-derided *nard* or tables in particular. By shifting the negative attitude away from tables as a whole due to personal preference and, not least, recognizing the significant element of skill required for good play as well as by putting a negative spin on the truly luck-based dice games and those who played them, Alfonso not only exalts tables by holding them up as the perfect synthesis of the elements of gaming (the prologue's exemplum of skill and luck) but also by exalting the players of tables as comparable to chess players in wisdom and intellect. In addition, he is credited with inventing two tables games named for himself as Holy Roman Emperor. The names of *emperador* and its smaller variant *medio emperador* reveal the *LJ*'s goal of Alfonso's political aspirations.

### 1.3.1.1 *Nard's Evolution and Symbolism*

Parlett traces literary references to *nard* from the Babylonian Talmud (300-500 A.D.) as does Calvo (1987), who also references the *Chatrang-Namak* (c. 650-860 A.D.) and wholly refers to the games in the *LJ*'s third treatise as *nard* rather than tables. Parlett expands upon Fiske's theory of this game family's development, adding a fourth logical

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<sup>759</sup> Consider the astrological predictions for the prince who was to die by stoning, burning, falling, hanging, drowning, etc. in sts. 130-31 of the *LBA*.

<sup>760</sup> See also section 1.2.1.3 The Licitness of Games and Gambling.

phase: 1) *grammai* or games of lines; 2) *nard*; 3) tables; and 4) sophisticated modern variants like backgammon and the French *trictrac* (74-75).

I believe that the *LJ* and its combination of tables games can help answer Parlett's question of "whether European Tables is better regarded as a continuation of Tabula or as an import from Nard-playing Islam, or how the two might be combined" (75) by showing that it is both things. Most games historians, including Murray (1941) and Calvo (1987) say, without much if any documentation, that the Roman ancestors of backgammon like *alea*, *tabula* and the lined games (*grammai* or *ludus duodecim scriptorum*) were played with three dice and that the Arab ancestors of backgammon, *nard* or *nardshir* were played with two.

I have found some circumstantial evidence to support this in references made by the *LJ* to a "game that the Romans call *rencontre*" (fol. 79v) which uses three dice while the Arabic Rich manuscript of Pareja Casañas's study condemns Arabic *nard* in which players allow their destinies to be governed by the external whims of two dice (11 and 13) rather than their own free will as in chess. Juan de Mena's "Laberinto de Fortuna" (1444), based on Roman mythology, describes three dice-like wheels which represent past, present and future and which determine men's fate in stanzas 55-62.<sup>761</sup> The *LJ*'s "Libro de las tablas," representing the confluence of these two traditions contains eight tables games which use three dice, six which uses two and one variant which may use either two or three dice.<sup>762</sup>

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<sup>761</sup> Richard P. Kinkade and Dana A. Nelson, eds. *Historia y antología de la poesía española: 1150-1650*. 3rd revised ed. (Tucson, AZ: Dept. of Spanish and Portuguese, 1998) 142.

<sup>762</sup> The eight *LJ* three-dice tables variants are: *quinze tablas*, *doblet*, *fallas*, *seys dos & as*, *emperador*, three-dice *cab & quinal*, *buffa de baldrac* and *reencontrat*. The six *LJ* two-dice tables variants

Alfonso may possibly have been trying to emulate Arabic chess masters and writers like as-Suli or al-Adli. As-Suli wrote the first work on chess presenting a “systematized way of playing”<sup>763</sup> and his portrait appears on fol. 17v of the *LJ* where he is depicted with a scepter topped with a flower similar to Frederick II’s *lilienzepter*.<sup>764</sup> Al-Adli wrote both a book of chess (*Kitab as-shatranj*), much criticized by as-Suli, and a book of *nard* (*Kitab an-nard*), both now lost (*Oxford Companion to Chess* 3).

Like chess, *nard* has spawned multiple origin myths in addition to that seen in the *LJ*’s prologue.

Several legends, however, connect the invention of chess in some way or other with the game of *nard* (*tables, backgammon*). ... This linking of two games that to us seem so dissimilar—chess, a game in which chance plays the smallest of parts, and *nard*, a game in which chance plays the dominant part—appears somewhat singular, yet no association of games has been so persistent or has endured so long.... In these (European) collections, however, the essential distinction between chess and tables is minimized.... In Muslim literature it is upon the essential difference between chess as the game of skill and *nard* as the game of chance that stress is everywhere laid. The player’s complete liberty to select the move he wishes to make in chess is contrasted with the player’s subjugation to the dominion of blind chance in *nard*.<sup>765</sup>

One of the most frequently found origin myths for *nard* as related to chess is seen in the

[e]arly 14<sup>th</sup>-century Persian manuscript... *Shah Namah* [also *Shahnama*], the *Book of Kings*. Written by poet Firdausi [also Firdawsi, Abul l’Kasim el-Mansur], c. 935-1025, it recounts how an envoy from an Indian raja introduced *shatranj* into the court of Khusrau I by challenging

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are: *doze canes/hermanos, medio emperador, two-dice cab & quinal, todas tablas, laquet* and *buffa cortesa*. *Pareia de entrada* may be played with two or three dice.

<sup>763</sup> *The Oxford Companion to Chess* 401.

<sup>764</sup> For description of the emperor’s ideal appearance, see the description of Jupiter in the game *escaques* or astrological checkers.

<sup>765</sup> Murray 1913: 208-10. The games’s difference in this regard recalls the Christian debate between free will and predestination as regards astrology.

Persians to solve the game's riddle.... [Firdausi] describes nard as a battle between two kings.<sup>766</sup>

The riddle of chess was solved by the king's minister, Wajurgmitr [also Buzurjmihir, Bozorgmehr and Burzurgjumhur], who along with his answer sent a game of his own invention which was also a riddle to be solved. This latter was the game of *nard*.<sup>767</sup>

### 1.3.2. Alfonso's Preference for Tables

The prologue as well as the “Libro de las tablas” reveals Alfonso's personal preference for tables over chess and other games.<sup>768</sup> In the prologue, the word *ordenadamiente* is used on fol. 2r to describe how the pieces are arranged in the game of tables. This term of respect was previously used by the wise man who brought chess as his proof to describe how one who was intelligent, or “lived by his brain,” did things. In the introduction to the “Libro de las tablas,” the good player of tables is similarly said to play *cuerdamiente*, that is, “prudently, wisely or sensibly.” In the presentation of the three games as proof of the wise men's arguments, the amount of space dedicated to each game is revealing of Alfonso's personal preference for tables: chess, even though it is

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<sup>766</sup> Murray 1913: 157.

<sup>767</sup> Anthony Saidy, *World of Chess* (New York: Random, 1974) 43, 47.

<sup>768</sup> While chivalric heroes like Tristan and Amadís may have played chess, the game of tables was a favorite in medieval romances. Tables was played at the wedding celebrations that open “Los Siete Infantes de Lara” and the grieving father Martín Gómez eulogizes his second son by saying, “Dios os perdone, el mi hijo, / Hijo que mucho preciaba; / Jugador era de tablas / El mejor de toda España” (Ramón Menéndez Pidal, “Historia de los siete infantes de Lara,” *Flor nueva de romances viejos* [Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1958] 3: 101-129). As is mentioned in the *Quixote* II, Ch. XXVI, tables was played by Gaiféros as well as by his captive wife with her captor, the moor Galván who orders the death of Gaiféros in another ballad: “Jugando está á las tablas don Gaiféros; / Que ya de Melisendra está olvidado” (as cited in Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Don Quijote de la Mancha II* [Segunda parte del ingenioso caballero don Quijote de la Mancha]. Ed. John Jay Allen. 16th ed. Vol. 2. [Madrid: Cátedra, 1994] 225). And in the ballad “Moriana y el Moro Galván”: “Moriana en un castillo—juega con el moro Galván: / juegan los dos á las tablas—por mayor placer tomar. / Cada vez que el moro pierde—bien perdía una ciudad; / cuando Moriana pierde—la mano le da á besar. / Del placer que el moro toma—adormescido se cae.” (R. Menéndez Pidal, *Flor nueva de romances viejos* [Madrid: Espasa, 1938], 113). There are earlier references in the same romance: “después que hubieron comido, / siéntanse a jugar las tablas” (104); “se fue para los palacios/ do los infantes estaban;/ unos juegan a los dados;/ otros juegan a las tablas” (105).

described as the most noble of games, the one requiring the greatest mastery and the one which makes up the majority of games in the manuscript, receives only five lines while six are devoted to dice and fully fifteen lines are written about tables.

Additionally, Alfonso's Scholastic-style origin myth for the games reveals tables as the ideal synthesis of the two other games because tables require the intellect of chess and the luck of dice. While it is never explicitly stated that backgammon is therefore the superior game, or at least the favorite of Alfonso, it is implicitly clear. One of Alfonso's sources for chess problems, as-Suli, offered ten advantages of chess which ironically treated the issue of free will in a manner which is both rather unique for Arab treatises and somewhat similar to the *LJ*'s presentation of the matter, saying that man's will is restricted in chess by its rules, whereas *nard* offers total free will and dice none (Bland 7). The combination of intellect and chance involved make it the most life-like and therefore the most useful game thus far in the collection for Alfonso's fundamental purpose: to learn by playing.

Alfonso's preference for games of tables shines through in the "Libro de las tablas" itself. First, in the Wise King's invention of a pair of tables variants, both of which he not so humbly names after his imperial ambitions, and also in this section an expanded base-seven tables variant in the fourth treatise on larger games. Second, the fact that Alfonso actually played these games often and considered himself adept at them is revealed in the fact that the only two strategic hints for play appear in the third treatise of the *LJ*. Third, while the king may be shown playing chess and astrological games within

the manuscript, the only textual reference to his appearance as a player is as a player of tables.

The text also reveals Alfonso's impatient personality frustrated with the slowness of chess and with a strong personal preference for games with a more rapid play than traditional chess.<sup>769</sup> Alfonso plays chess, but he seems to prefer end game or checkmate problems that play out more quickly than full games. He explains how to use dice to speed up every single chess variant in the *LJ*, even when this requires inventing dice for this purpose and explicitly explaining that they can be very long to play. In his astrological variants, the game played upon a checkered board like that for chess is really more simplistic in terms of the piece movements than is chess and thus it is more like the game of checkers than that of chess. All the pieces possess the same powers of movement, unlike chess, and he even gives it a different name within the same family; *escaques* is to *acedrex* as checkers is to chess.

Alfonso's description of the manufacture of the tables board, which is to include scalloped edges so that the round pieces can be securely tucked into them, is an ingenious trick that would appeal to the seasoned player. Modern boards, even Spanish and Arab ones, are not made in this beautiful and useful way.<sup>770</sup>

Catherine Swietlicki presents compelling evidence that Manrique shares Alfonso's preference for a more realistic game including elements of both intellect and

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<sup>769</sup> See footnote in section 1.1.3.1 on Alfonso's seven complaints in the *LJ* regarding slow games.

<sup>770</sup> However, I have seen a backgammon board up for auction on eBay that had this feature and was described as having come from Uzbekistan which have a similar "guttered" board. Russian inlaid boards similar to those made in the Arabic style in the south of Spain are shown by Victor Keats in his *Chessmen for Collectors* (London: Batsford, 1985) 167. These Arabic and/or Spanish style chess boards may have migrated with the scalloped-style backgammon boards together with Muslims via Spain or another route like Constantinople.

luck but she oddly errs in identifying chess played with dice as the third game of the *LJ* and best answer to the Indian king's question.<sup>771</sup>

### 1.3.3 The *Libro de las Tahurerías* and the “*Libro de las tablas*”

MacDonald's study of Alfonso's *LT* reveals some important connections between it and the *LJ*'s prologue, the “*Libro de los dados*” and the “*Libro de las tablas*.” Of the *LJ*'s fifteen tables games, the *LT* names the following four in Law XL, which states that he who wants to play tables should play only “al enperador<sup>772</sup> o a las fallas,<sup>773</sup> e al cabo quinal,<sup>774</sup> e al seys e dos e as,<sup>775</sup> e non a otro juego njnguno. E juegue fasta seys marauedis de la moneda blanca, e non mas” (295-96). The order these four games are listed in does not reflect the *LJ*'s order which is *fallas* (fourth), *seys dos & as* (fifth), *emperador* (sixth) and *cab & quinal* (ninth).

### 1.3.4 Ability vs. Probability in Tables<sup>776</sup>

The same *seso* vs. *suerte* theme from Alfonso's prologue appears in modern analyses of the game as well and Alfonso is not the only serious fan of the game to feel backgammon needs a justification because it uses dice.

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<sup>771</sup> Catherine Swietlicki, “Life as a Game: The Tablero Image in Jorge Manrique's *Coplas por la muerte de su padre*,” *Kentucky Romance Quarterly* 26 (1979) 433-44, specifically 438.

<sup>772</sup> Variant forms of *emperador* in *LT* manuscripts: *enperador*, *enpera*, *emperador*, *comprador* (MacDonald 342).

<sup>773</sup> Variant forms of *fallas* in *LT* manuscripts: *falles* (MacDonald 342).

<sup>774</sup> Variant forms of *cab & quinal* in *LT* manuscripts: *q~ual*, *qual*, *que val*, *ca lo qval* (or *ca lo q<ue> val*), *cabquinal*, *cabo que ual*, *qual al tabo q~ual*, *cabo que nal*, *calo que nal*, *cabo quenal*, *cabo que val* (MacDonald 342).

<sup>775</sup> The name for this game as given here varies slightly from the *LJ*'s *seys dos & as*.

<sup>776</sup> I thank Florentine Science of Education student Francesca De Angeli for this pleasing rewording of Alfonso's opposites based on her phrasing in e-mail to the author, 31 Mar. 2007.

John Leet defends backgammon by saying, “[u]nfortunately, backgammon has been misunderstood and underrated in the past, and many people have needlessly lost interest in the game.”<sup>777</sup> Leet argues that this is because

The impression is gotten that the game is merely a race around the board where the luckiest player wins. Actually, the game has an enormous amount of strategy, and a player who applies the correct strategy will beat someone who doesn’t a high percentage of the time. In fact, when a game is played properly, a player who uses the correct strategy will beat an average player 85% to 95% of the time.<sup>778</sup>

Like Alfonso and Leet, Don Stern believes that due to its synthesis of the elements of skill and luck, “that backgammon combines the best of all classic intellectual games” but that because “beginners delight in capturing the opposing pieces [they] thereby misread the purpose of the game.”<sup>779</sup>

Tim Holland says that

[a]fter centuries of play within the relatively closed circle of the very leisured class, why now the sudden rush by so many to roll dice and move fifteen stones around a succession of twenty-four points on a board? Frankly, I am surprised it did not happen before, since backgammon is *the perfect game*, one that rewards skill yet contains an element of luck. The outcome of the game is in doubt until the last roll of the dice.<sup>780</sup>

This very uncertainty resulting from the combination of *seso* and *suerte* forms a large part of the entertainment factor in playing backgammon.

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<sup>777</sup> John Leet, *Winning Backgammon* (New York: Sterling, 1998) 5.

<sup>778</sup> Leet 7.

<sup>779</sup> Stern 11.

<sup>780</sup> Tim Holland, *Beginning Backgammon* (New York: Hoi Polloi, 1973) ix.

### 1.3.4.1 Backgammon's Appeal

While Millard Hopper's grasp of thirteenth-century tables rules was not perfect,<sup>781</sup> he echoes Alfonso's sentiments about games and backgammon in particular in terms of their invention, who might benefit from their play and the game's combination of skill and luck. Hopper's rationale for backgammon's invention also echoes Alfonso's prologue: "To play an absorbing game is one of the surest ways of taking tired minds off the monotony of daily routine."<sup>782</sup> Who plays backgammon?

Among the age old favorites of home games that will never die is the entertaining pastime of Backgammon. Its endless diversity of play and amusement will fully compensate all who undertake its study. Young and old alike will find it a fascinating pastime to sharpen their wits and develop logical thinking, foresight, and alertness; faculties well placed for the struggles of everyday life.<sup>783</sup>

Hopper goes some distance towards explaining why an impatient player like Alfonso might prefer backgammon and yet esteem it beyond games of mere luck: "Backgammon, while holding a wealth of strategy and skill does not require the exacting concentration of chess or checkers. While luck plays a great part in the results of the game where players

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<sup>781</sup> Hopper is not completely accurate in his assessment that, "[i]n its mode of play in the 13th Century, three dice were used for the throws and the pieces were all started from the adversary's table" (1). Eight of the fifteen *LJ* tables variants use three dice, six use two and one may use either two or three; only in *emperador*, *medio emperador* and possibly *quinze tablas* does a player begin with all his pieces in his adversary's inner table and the other twelve variants begin in other configurations.

<sup>782</sup> Millard Hopper, *Win at Backgammon* (New York: Dover, 1941) 1. Compare to the *LJ*'s rationale that God wanting man to have every manner of happiness, he gave man the ability to create all types of games so that they might "pudiessen soffrir las cueytas & los trabajos quandoles uniessen;" (fol. 1r).

<sup>783</sup> Hopper 1. Compare Hopper's passage to the *LJ*'s list of people: "E como quiere que todos estos iuegos son muy buenos cadaunos en el tiempo & en el logar o conuienen; pero por que estos iuegos que se fazen seyendo *son cutianos*. & se fazen tan bien de noche como de dia; & por que las mugieres que non caualgan & estan encerradas an a usar desto; & otrossi los omnes que son uieios & flacos. o los que han sabor de auer sus plazer apartadamientre por que non reciban en ellos enoio nin pesar; o los que son en poder ageno assi como en prision o en catiuero o que uan sobre mar. E comunalmientre todos & aquellos que han fuerte tiempo; por *que* non pueden caualgar nin yr a caça ni a otra parte; & han por fuerça de fincar en las casas & buscar algunas maneras de iuegos con que hayan plazer & se conorten & no esten baldios" (fols. 1r and 1v).

are equally matched, still, a skillful player when paired against a haphazard one, will far excel his inexperienced adversary.”<sup>784</sup>

Leet also explains backgammon’s appeal in terms of the rapidity of its play and exciting reversals of fortune:

Admittedly, bridge and chess are more popular games. But backgammon has several aspects that make it a better game. For many, both bridge and chess are too dry, involved and slow-moving, and they demand a high degree of intense, prolonged concentration. On the other hand, backgammon is much easier to learn, it is fast-moving and lighthearted, and it is exciting because the lead can change hands quickly. It is a dynamic game where the situation is constantly changing—there is always the possibility of large changes in fortune. No two games are the same, and there are no anticlimactic draws in backgammon.<sup>785</sup>

Stern explains backgammon’s narcotic-like appeal as due to the fact that “[n]o two backgammon games can be identical; ties are impossible; games are fast (averaging less than ten minutes in tournaments); luck and skill mix inexorably in the play so that one lucky roll can destroy an apparently impregnable position.”<sup>786</sup>

#### **1.3.4.2 Advantage: *Seso***

Modern views of mathematical laws have changed the way we judge the element of luck in backgammon. Rather than viewing fortune as an unpredictable and fickle mistress, in backgammon the concept of luck is reduced to a finite number of probabilities, the odds of which are easily memorized and used to one’s advantage as a bankable skill: knowing the thirty-six possible combinations of two six-sided dice and the

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<sup>784</sup> Hopper viii.

<sup>785</sup> Leet 7.

<sup>786</sup> Stern 8.

odds of rolling any one specific number from two through twelve for the purposes of making a certain move or capture.

Walter L. Richard<sup>787</sup> and Stern<sup>788</sup> both contend that the luck factor in backgammon evens out over the course of multiple games in favor of skill. Stern explains particularly well a concept that Alfonso only hints at: the fact that within the concept of odds there is also the advantage of managed risks for the one who understands probabilities. A wise player is one who knows how best to play his pieces to take advantage of a good roll and not be destroyed by a poor one (12).

Bruce Becker also explains how luck means probability, which in backgammon evens out in favor of skill.<sup>789</sup> Ch. 3 snappily states that “[i]f you can count to 36, you’re into probabilities and odds.... However, even when luck is a major factor, you still need as much skill as possible so that you can capitalize on the luck when it comes.”<sup>790</sup>

### 1.3.5 The Introduction to the “Libro de las tablas”

The introduction to the third treatise (fols. 72r through 73r) takes great pains to explain that when moving a piece according to the roll of the dice, the space or point on which the piece begins is never counted in tables. This assertion, which at first may seem strangely unnecessary to the modern player who would never think of counting it, makes sense when the *LJ* is considered as a whole. The rules for movement given in “Libro del

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<sup>787</sup> Walter L. Richard, *Complete Backgammon* (New York: Little, 1940) 2-3.

<sup>788</sup> Stern 7.

<sup>789</sup> Bruce Becker, *Backgammon for Blood* (New York: Avon Books, 1974).

<sup>790</sup> Becker 29-30. Compare Becker’s statement about the skill of being prepared to capitalize on good luck with Alfonso’s “E otrossi en la uentura quanto mayor era; que tanto auie y mayor peligro por que no es cosa cierta. Mas la cordura derecha era; tomar [fol. 2r] del seso aquello que entendiesse omne *que* mas su pro fuesse. & dela uentura *guardarse* omne de su danno lo mas *que* pudiesse. & ayudarse della en lo que fuesse su pro” (fols. 1v and 2r).

acedrex” specify, quite unlike modern chess thinking, that the square on which a chess piece begins is indeed counted. So for instance, when the *LJ* expresses the familiar concept that the pawn advances one vacant square forward per move, but that some like to play with a rule that lets the pawn move two squares forward, the way in which it is expressed is much less familiar: “Pero bien a y algunos que usan a iogar delos peones a tercera casa la primera uez” (fol. 3v). By “third square” the *LJ* means the same thing as a modern player when he says “second square,” because the *LJ*’s “Libro del acedrex” counts the square on which the pawn begins as the first, the first square to which it moves as the second, and the final second square to which it can move as the third.

Backgammon notation has undergone a similar evolution to that used in chess, discussed previously in this chapter. Murray’s early- and mid-twentieth-century studies use the inner/outer table terminology as well as following “the practice of French writers on trictrac in naming the players C (Chloris) and D (Damon)” (1941: 66). Calvo uniquely refers to the sides as “las blancas” y “las rojas” (1987: 138). This dissertation will follow both Alfonso and the modern convention of calling the sides white and black, as in chess. Murray’s tables terminology and system of labelling the board is modelled upon that used by the unknown author of the thirteenth-century King’s manuscript he refers to as *K*:<sup>791</sup> the points are labelled from *a* through *z*, omitting *i* and *v* presumably to avoid confusion with the letters *j* and *u* (66) so that the board appears thus:<sup>792</sup>

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<sup>791</sup> “a[n English] manuscript of *c.* 1330, now in the British Museum (King’s, 13. A. xviii, ff. 158-60)” Murray 1941: 57.

<sup>792</sup> Where the points are numbered beginning at the edge of the board and moving around it in one direction of play: where a=24, b=23, c=22, d=21, e=20, f=19, g=18, h=17, j=16, k=15, l=14, m=13, n=12, o=11, p=10, q=9, r=8, s=7, t=6, u=5, w=4, x=3, y=2 and z=1.

m	l	k	j	h	g	f	e	d	c	b	a
n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	w	x	y	z

Fig. 123. Murray's System for Assigning Letters to the Backgammon Board.<sup>793</sup>

Now the twenty-four points on a backgammon board are number from one through twenty-four, generally with white's inner table consisting of points one through six. This dissertation will use the modern numbering system and label the four quarters of the board with capital Roman numerals, with quadrant I being whenever possible the table from which white removes his pieces from the board.

The *LJ*'s manner of describing the quadrants or tables of the board may also initially be confusing because it does not use modern terminology. Modern backgammon employs the terms inner and outer table for each half of the board closest to an individual player, the inner table being the one from which pieces are removed and the outer table being the other one. In modern parlance, then, white plays in a semi-circular or horseshoe-shaped path from black's inner table (points twenty-four through nineteen), over the bar and through black's outer table (points eighteen through thirteen), then into and through white's own outer table (points twelve through seven) to white's inner table, and from this last table (points six through one) bears off his pieces.

In order to illustrate the following prepositional phrases as they are used in the "Libro de las tablas" to denote the different quadrants (*en derecho*, *de lado* and *en pospunta*), I have labeled each of these four tables from the perspective of white and in terms of the distance from the desired goal, i.e. bearing off—IV (black's inner table), III

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<sup>793</sup> Murray 1941: 66.



“En derecho” refers to the opponent’s inner or outer table on the same side of the bar, i.e. quadrants I and IV or II and III.<sup>794</sup> In chess, this phrase means orthogonal movement, typically straight forward in terms of pawn movement, which might mislead the reader into believing that the next contiguous quadrant or table is meant. However, it is “de lado” which refers to the next contiguous table as defined by the direction of play, i.e. quadrants I and II or III and IV or possibly even II and III though this last case does not arise in the *LJ*.<sup>795</sup> “En pospunta” refers to the diagonally opposite quadrant, i.e. quadrants I and III or II and IV.<sup>796</sup> This term is synonymous with the usage in the “Libro del acedrex.”

Whereas modern backgammon and my description of the games described within the body of the “Libro de las tablas” follow the modern convention of identifying the points of each board consecutively beginning at twenty-four and counting down to one, the description of the numbering of the points in the introduction to the “Libro de las tablas” is inconsistent both with the modern system and more importantly with how the points are numbered in the descriptions of the games within the treatise.<sup>797</sup> The introduction numbers the points in each table one through six, corresponding to the

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<sup>794</sup> This term appears in ten different *LJ* games: *doblet*, *fallas*, *seys dos & as*, *emperador*, *pareia de entrada*, *cab & quinal*, *todas tablas*, *laquet*, *buffa de baldrac* and *reencontrat*.

<sup>795</sup> This term appears only in the introduction to the “Libro de las tablas” and in the game *seys dos & as*.

<sup>796</sup> Calvo agrees (1987: 139). This term appears only in the game *seys dos & as*.

<sup>797</sup> The textual descriptions of *fallas* (fol. 74v), *seys dos & as* (fol. 75r), *emperador* (fol. 75v) and *todas tablas* (fol. 77v) number the points in only one table, with the six-point against the bar and the rest descending numerically to the one-point against the outer edge of the board. Only *laquet*’s description (fol. 78r) numbers the points of two adjacent tables, in each other’s mirror image and descending from six against the bar to one against the board’s edge. No system for numbering the points is given in the textual descriptions of *quinze tablas* (fol. 73r), *doze canes/hermanos* (fol. 73v), *doblet* (fol. 74r), *medio emperador* (fol. 76r), *pareia de entrada* (fol. 76v), *buffa cortesa* (fol. 78v), *buffa de baldrac* (fol. 79r) or *reencontrat* (fol. 79v).

numbers on each dice. This is logical enough but the problem results, I believe, through a scribal error in which the descriptors “oriella en que no ay casa” and “barra” are reversed.<sup>798</sup> This reversal results in the points being numbered not from outside edge (i.e. the perspective of a player who would be bearing off from that table, as it is today and within the “Libro de las tablas” games) but rather numbered from the bar.

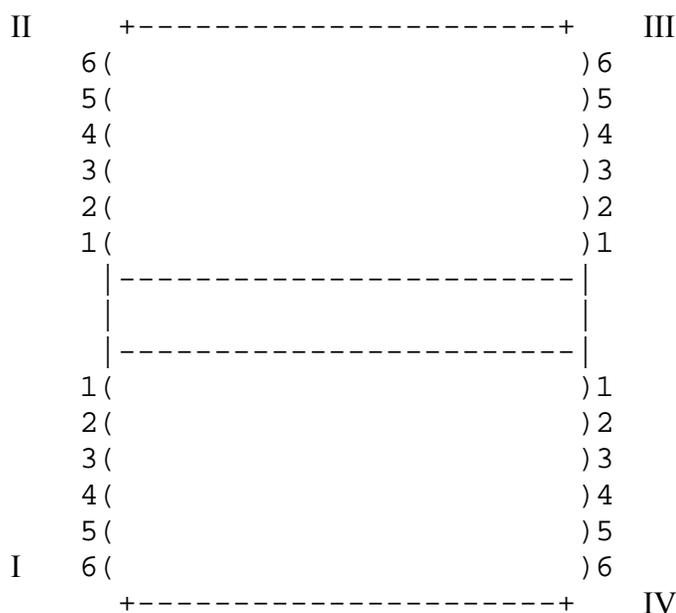


Fig. 125. Fol. 72v's Reversed Description of the Numbering of the Points.

My presumption that this is a scribal error results in a description which coincides with the system of numbering points within the remainder of the treatise and with Canettieri's description. In this corrected system, each table is still numbered one through six to correspond with the dice but with the numbers descending away from the bar towards the outer edge of the board. Thus, a player whose piece is on that table's point which is closest to the bar and furthest from the edge of the board would be called the

<sup>798</sup> “E el sennalamiento es tal. que en las casas delas quadras de dentro del tablero; son ordenados los puntos delos dados desta guisa. En la que es primera en el departimiento del tablero; contra la oriella de cabo en *que* no a casa; es por al seys. & la otra cabo della cinco. & la otra *quatro* & la otra tres. & la otra dos & la otra *as*” (fol. 72v; where a=6, b=5, c=4, d=3, e=2 and f=1).

six-point because a player would need a six in order to bear off that piece.

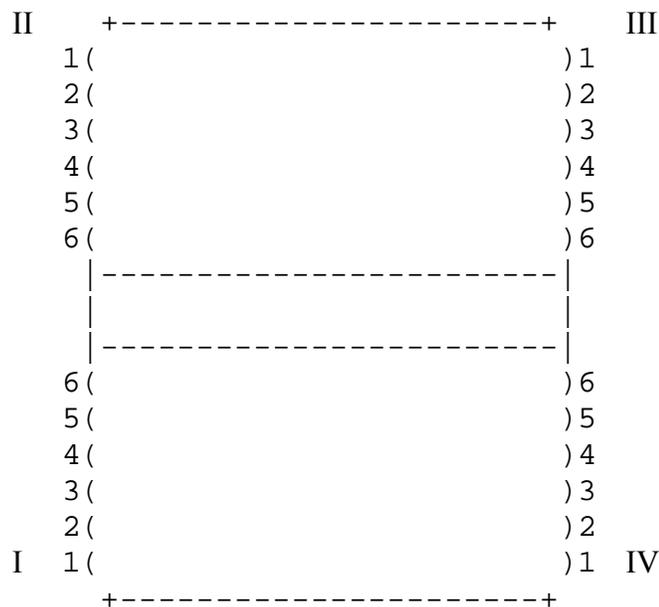


Fig. 126. Canettieri's Tables Numbering Scheme (correcting fol. 72v).

The problem with this system is that the numbers cannot be used to follow the direction of play, neither the circuit as a whole nor even from one table to the next. The problem with the diagram is that it does not reflect the vertical orientation of the medieval boards. Modern positions are usually shown horizontally but since there is no standard or simple uniform way, as exists for chess, to rotate the boards I leave them as they are shown in the original miniatures.

The inconsistency of perspective between the "Libro de las tablas" introduction and the games's descriptions themselves in terms of numbering the points as well as the terms describing the quadrants are confusing to the modern player and, apparently, to the medieval miniaturist. The miniatures for both variants of *cab & quinal* as well as that for *todas tablas* show arrangements which do not match their textual descriptions due to

these factors. Because of the confusing and contradictory systems for identifying the quadrants and the points in the *LJ*, I have corrected the passage on fol. 72v and I will use the modern conventions described above to describe all *LJ* tables games below.

### 1.3.5.1 Other Studies of the *LJ*'s Tables Games

The *LJ* is not the only medieval book of games which contains collections of problems for games other than chess. Murray compares the *LJ* and its fifteen tables variants with the King's manuscript (English, c. 1330), which describes eight varieties of tables, and two Italian collections of chess, tables and mill problems written in Latin, the *Bonus Socius* (before 1300) and the *Civis Bononiæ* (1400-1450).<sup>799</sup> Multiple versions exist for the Italian manuscripts and they contain between 34 and 80 versions of tables of two types: optative games (*ludi optativi*) in which players choose their throws instead of throwing the dice, and problems in which the dice are used.<sup>800</sup> One King's manuscript tables variant, *Ludus Anglicorum* (Murray 1941: 67) and three *LJ* tables variants allow a play feature related to the optative games, in which players play with three dice but only roll two, while the third die remains fixed at a chosen number or is agreed to exist as a notional number chosen by a player or his opponent. These games include *emperador*, *seys dos & as* and the *cab & quinal* which uses two dice.

In *A History of Board-Games Other Than Chess*, Murray describes two Celtic battle-games for two players using undifferentiated men, Welsh *gwyddbwyll* and Irish *fidchell*. Little else is known about these two games. Their etymologies, however, may

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<sup>799</sup> Murray notes that there are also a few references in German, Dutch, and Icelandic literature of the period, which give the names of the favorite games of tables in these countries (1941: 57).

<sup>800</sup> Murray 1913: 619 and 1952: 118. One thirteenth-century version of the *Bonus Socius* is held by the Cleveland Public Library in a copy from 1893, under the title *Copy of the Bonus Socius Ms., (so-called) in the National Library*, Florence. I believe this is the copy to which Murray refers (1913: 573).

give us a linguistic clue to backgammon's mysterious word origin. According to Murray, the beginning of each game's name, *gwydd* in Welsh and *fid* in Irish, means "wood."<sup>801</sup> Two theories are that the two halves of the word backgammon mean back game or small battle but since *baec* is another Welsh word for wood and does *nard* in the Arabic tables game *nardshir*, I suggest that this term begs further research.

Among the manuscripts which Murray lists in his article, he counts twenty-five different tables variants which include all fifteen described in the *LJ*. Murray's tables article presents the *LJ*'s games alphabetically, while *A History of Board-Games Other Than Chess*, Ch. 6 "Race-Games," divides the tables games by type of play: 1) games of entry, piling, unpiling and bearing off (like *doze canes/hermanos* and *doblet*); 2) games of movement with fewer than fifteen men a side (no *LJ* tables games in this category); 3) games of movement with fifteen men variously arranged on the board (like *quinze tablas*, *todas tablas*, *cab & quinal*—which Murray calls *cab e equinal* (1952: 123)—, *fallas*, *laquet*, *seys dos & as* ); 4) games of movement (like *emperador* and *medio emperador*); 5) games without initial arrangement (a) (like *buffa cortesa* and *pareia de entrada*); (b) (like *buffa de baldrac*—which Murray calls *Buf de Baldriac* (1952: 128); (c) *reencontrat* which Murray calls "Los Romanos rencontrat," (1952: 128); (d) (no *LJ* tables games in this category); 6) games of which only the names are known (no *LJ* tables games in this category). In addition to these tables games, this sixth chapter of Murray's *A History of Board-Games Other Than Chess* also presents related race games played on a square board and finally, as well as oddly since it is not a race game, Alfonso's *escaques*.

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<sup>801</sup> "The two names are linguistically identical: Welsh *gwydd* = Irish *fid*, both meaning 'wood'" (Murray 1952: 34).

Bell's first chapter "Circle and Race Games," Section 5 "The Backgammon Group," traces history from Ur or the Sumerian game, *tau*, *senet* called the game of thirty squares, *ludus duodecim scriptorum* and *tabula*, to *sixe-ace* and *fayles* and then on to modern backgammon (I: 23-46). He includes two Alfonsine tables variants in his *Board and Table Games from Many Civilizations* (1969). First is a variant he calls *sixe-ace* and says that "[t]he Alfonsine codex mentions this games as 'seis dos e as'" (I: 39). Bell's name for the game appears to come from Charles Cotton's *Compleat Gamester* (1674) whose description of the game "sixe-ace" Bell quotes. The second tables variant Bell presents is the game which he calls *fayles* and which he says "is also mentioned in the Alfonso manuscript under the name of *fallas* and was still played in the time of Ben Jonson (1572-1637)." In Bell's description of the history of backgammon, he mentions Alfonso's *todas tablas* but does not give a description of the game, saying only that it "was almost certainly the Tables of the Middle Ages" (I: 43). The manner of play for each of Bell's games is presented below under each *LJ* game.

Grunfeld presents the modern rules for backgammon along with the five related race games of wari, pachisi, chinesenspiel, senet and the royal game of Ur. Grunfeld only gives the rules for modern play but his instructions on how to make your own board show an interesting relationship to the *LJ* tables boards because their exterior edges are

scalloped in the same way. Scalloped interior edges, perhaps the ancestors of today's triangular points are seen in the tables diagrams of the *Bonus Socius* manuscript.<sup>802</sup>

The Provenzos's introduction to their section on backgammon gives the correct count of tables variants and therefore miniatures in the *LJ*'s third treatise, saying that “[f]ifteen variations of the game are illustrated in the *Libro de Juegos* of King Alfonso X (1251<sup>803</sup> to 1282) of Castille” (220). Their presentation of the game itself, however, offers only the modern rules and variations.

Parlett divides the fifteen *LJ* tables games into four types: first, games without movement in which player's pieces need not cross each other's paths and which are primarily simple games for teaching children (*doblet*, *doblet*'s reverse which is eureka and *los doze canes* (or *hermanos*); second, games of parallel movement, in which both players follow the same track in the same direction (the Italian “*buffa cortese*,” its Spanish equivalent “*pareia de entrada*” and *reencontrat*); third under the heading of “Barail and Myles” Parlett describes *cab & quinal*, *laquet* and *seys dos & as* ; and finally, *buffa de baldrac*, *emperador*, *medio emperador*, *quinze tablas* , *todas tablas* and *fallas* are grouped under Parlett's games of contrary movement. Each of Parlett's descriptions is compared below with the relevant games in the *LJ*:

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<sup>802</sup> Cf. the *Copy of the Bonus socius manuscript (so called) in the National Library, Florence*. Cleveland, 1893.

<sup>803</sup> It appears that the Provenzos are following Bell and here cite what I believe Bell may have been offering as a possible beginning date for work on the *LJ* as the beginning date of Alfonso's reign. Alfonso's rule began upon his father's death in 1252. The Provenzos also give the ending date of Alfonso's reign as the year in which Sancho claimed his father's throne. Most sources today consider Alfonso's reign to have lasted until his death in 1284.

### 1.3.6 The *LJ*'s Fifteen Tables Games

#### 1.3.6.1 *Quinze tablas*

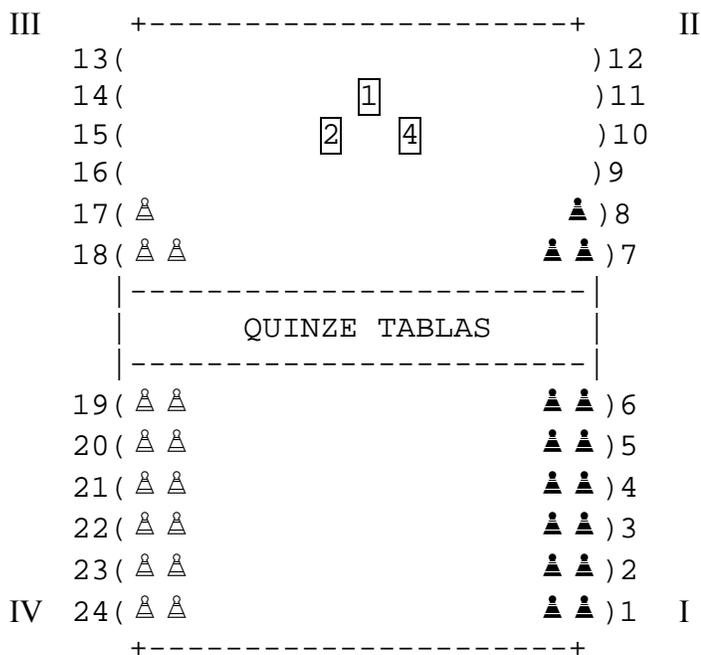


Fig. 127. *Quinze tablas*: fols. 73r and 73v (description on fol. 73r and diagram on fol. 73v), where white either 1) moves clockwise and bears off from I, and black moves counterclockwise and bears off from IV; or 2) white moves from 17 towards 24 and bears off from IV, and black moves from 8 to 1 and bears off from I.

*Quinze tablas* (fifteen pieces) is played, as its name implies, with fifteen men on each side and, as the miniature shows, three dice. In my M.A. thesis I say that, “[Fol. 73r] gives the first game variation called *quinze tablas* or ‘fifteen men’” (Musser 1995: 31). Its description is quite meager, only eight lines, and unlike all the other games included in the volume it is the only one that seems to bear no similarity to any modern game. From its brief description, we know very little about the game, only that its name comes from the number of pieces from one to fifteen employed whether it be, according to the two examples named, fifteen or six. It appears that it may either be an extremely simple game in which the pieces do not cross paths but rather both players race, first to move all their

men into their respective inner tables and then to bear them off or else a more typical tables game of contrary motion. Murray and Parlett both feel that *las quinze tablas* is a game of contrary motion and that the pieces do cross paths and bear off from the table where the other player began, with Parlett calling this one of several *LJ* games that are direct ancestors for modern backgammon. Calvo notes that the three dice hint at its Roman origins (1987: 138). Canettieri presents the same arrangement but with colors reversed.

See also Appendix D2 for a comparison of the possible non-iconographic *LJ* portraits of Alfonso.

### 1.3.6.2 *Doze canes o doze hermanos*<sup>804</sup>

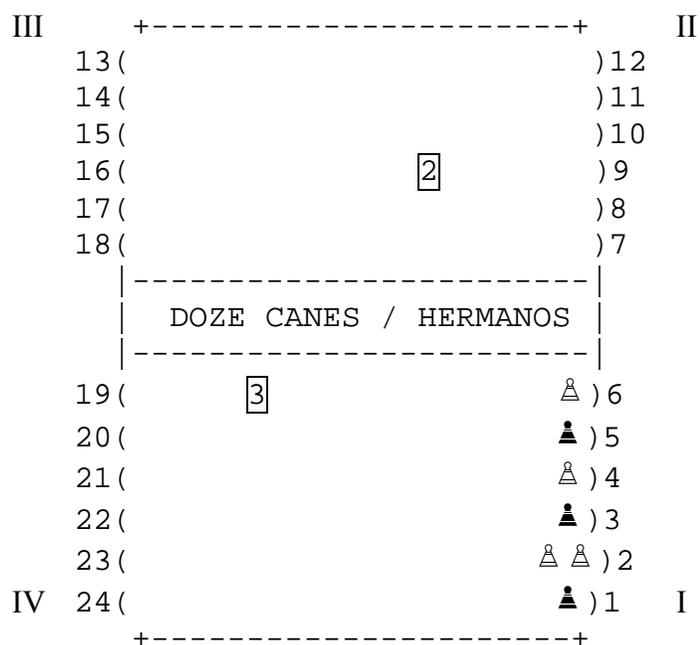


Fig. 128. *Doze canes o doze hermanos*: fols. 73v and 74r (description on fol. 73v and diagram on fol. 74r), where both players play into I and the other quadrants are not used.

Similar to the first *LJ* tables game, *las quinze tablas*, *los doze canes o hermanos* (twelve dogs or brothers) derives its name from the number of pieces used by each player. The term *dogs* for the playing pieces is also seen in some Greek and Egyptian games.<sup>805</sup> In this game, which uses only one quadrant of the board and does not involve

<sup>804</sup> The *DPCRAX* references the entries for *alquerque*, *can* and *hermano* under the entry for *doce* (687) because of the games *doze canes/hermanos* and *alquerque de doce* but does not offer quotes from these sources. Under *can* the *DPCRAX* gives the following definition of the tables game under the modern spelling *doze canes*: “1. Juego de tablas que utiliza doce tablas. *ACE* (1283) fol. 73v8, el segundo iuego es que se doblan las casas & llaman le doze hermanos o doze canes. e esto es por que se iuega con doze tablas. por que uengan dos a dos dobladas” (345). Under *hermano* the *DPCRAX* again gives the definition for the same game: “*Unidades pluriverbales*: doce hermanos 1. Cierta juego de tablas. *ACE* (1283) fol. 73v7, el segundo iuego es que se doblan las casas & llaman le doze hermanos o doze canes. e esto es por que se iuega con doze tablas. por que uengan dos a dos dobladas” (1001). The *TDMS* does not offer a definition of the game. The word *canes* is cited as used in *Aaj* 76d13, which describes one aspect of the game *pareia de entrada* which is similar to that of *doze hermanos*. The *TDMS*’s entry for *hermano* does not include a reference to this game.

<sup>805</sup> Edward Falkener, *Games Ancient and Oriental, and How to Play Them; Being the Games of the Ancient Egyptians, the Heira Gramme of the Greeks, the Ludus Latruncolorum of the Romans, and the Oriental Games of Chess, Draughts, Backgammon, and Magic Squares* (New York: Dover, 1961) 39, 64.

movement of the pieces once they are placed, each player begins by holding his pieces in his hand or somewhere outside the field of play and enters them by rolls of the two dice trying to be the first to double all men on all six points, the quadrant of entry being determined by the first to play. Once two pieces of the same color occupy a point, it and the pieces cannot be captured by the opponent. In my M.A. thesis I compare los *doze canes* to Russian backgammon “where all the men start off the board and are entered according to two dice on the same side of the board and then moved around both in the same direction to bear off. Differences here between the Alfonsine and the modern version are that only twelve men are used instead of fifteen, no mention of hitting blots is made, although from the introduction it probably can be assumed, and [there is] no explanation of how double rolls are to be handled” (Musser 1995: 31).

Without explicit textual evidence, Murray assumes logically that “a throw which a player cannot use is lost” and that “[t]here is no movement, but blots can be taken and have to re-enter” (1941: 67). Calvo’s description of *doze canes* is accurate (1987: 138). Parlett describes *doze canes* as being the reverse of *doblet*, discussed below. Canettieri’s diagram shows, rather than the arrangement seen in the *LJ*, how the board is to be arranged prior to beginning play with two pieces beside each of the six points of each color’s respective table. Although he does not reproduce the miniature’s board position, he does note that its simplicity can be assumed from the fact that children are seen playing this game.

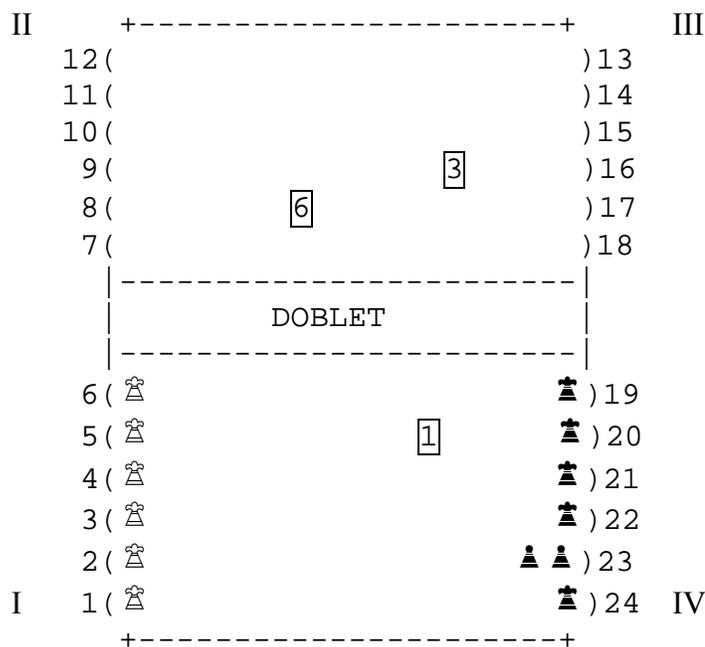
1.3.6.3 *Doblet*<sup>806</sup>

Fig. 129. *Doblet*: fols. 74r and 74v (description on fol. 74r and diagram on fol. 74v), where white moves within and bears off from only I and black moves within and bears off only from IV. (NOTE: quadrants II and II are not used, and  $\text{♁} = 2 \text{ ♁}$  s stacked.)

In *doblet* (doublet), a simple children’s race game, each player begins with two men, one stacked on top of the other, on each of the six points of their own inner table. Play consists first of unstacking each of the top men and then bearing them off by the rolls of three dice. The order of play is determined by an initial dice roll in which players are said to *lanzar batalla*.<sup>807</sup> In my M.A. thesis I explain that “[t]he nasty part of the game is that if a player cannot use a roll or part of it either to unstack or bear off his own men, then his opponent gets to take the unused portion in addition to his own roll. I also failed to show the two black pieces on point 23 as unstacked. The first part of *doblet* is very similar to

<sup>806</sup> The *DPCRAX* defines *doblet* as “*sust.* 1. Cierta juego de tablas ... 74r5” (687). The *TDMS* says that *doblet* is “[?] s. el nombre de un juego de tablas, *Aaj* 74a1” (256).

<sup>807</sup> See the note on the opening roll to determine the first player under the translation of the dice game *par con as* (section 1.2.3).

the modern Arabic children's game of *yahoudieh*<sup>808</sup> where there are fifteen men stacked in threes on the six, five and four points and in pairs on the three, two and one. Also the modern Greek children's game of *eureka* where there are two men on each the six, five and four points and three on each the three, two and one. *Eureka* does not involve unstacking, but simply bearing off. These games are mainly played by children to familiarize them with the board and movement of the pieces in bearing off because they are simpler in that they do not involve men being hit and returned because they do not move around the board and pass each other in play. The final part of the game dealing with not being able to use a roll is not part of *yahoudieh* or *eureka*.<sup>809</sup> The only modern game where we see this agonizingly frustrating feature is the Turkish game called *gioul*<sup>810</sup> (Musser 1995: 32-33).

Murray, calling *doblet* “a simpler form of the *doublets* played in England in Tudor and Stuart days” (1941: 60), describes the arrangement of pieces correctly but confuses the order of play saying that they begin off the board and are stacked on rather than being unstacked and removed.<sup>811</sup> Calvo’s description of *doblet* is accurate (1987: 138). Parlett concurs with my identification of *doblet* as a forerunner to the Levantine children’s game of *eureka* (Musser 1995: 32). Canettieri notes Calvo’s observation (1987: 138) that since the player at left has rolled a total of ten on his dice (6-3-1), he is entitled to unstack a piece on his five-point, indicated by his index finger. Parlett also aptly compares *doblet*

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<sup>808</sup> Yahoudieh, meaning “the Jewess,” is a children’s game where the players’s paths do not cross but simply practice the concept of bearing off pieces (Bakarat 19-21). Yahoudieh is comparable to the *LJ*’s *doblet*.

<sup>809</sup> Cf. Prince Alexis Obolensky and Ted James, *Backgammon: the Action Game* (New York: Collier-Macmillan, 1974) 168.

<sup>810</sup> Cf. Obolensky and James, *Backgammon: the Action Game* 168.

<sup>811</sup> “... so named because the 12 men on each side have to be entered and piled in pairs on the six points of the players’s inner tables” (1941: 60).



men around the four quadrants of the board in order to be borne off with the other thirteen. The sticky bit is that single pieces can be hit or captured and forced to reenter at their opponent's inner table. If a player tries and fails to reenter a piece, that piece dies and that player loses the game. In my M.A. thesis, in which I accidentally omitted the thirteen white pieces from what would be point 6 in my diagram and showed the third dice as read four instead of five, I explain that this feature of play is the source of the game's name:

The game of *fallas* is so called because men can 'fallecer' or be hit by another player and 'die'.... If he cannot reenter his man on his next turn due to the point being occupied, that man dies and is not reentered into play. If this happens, that player loses the game. This game is quite similar to the modern version of standard backgammon except that the men are not quite as spread out at the start and the rule for reentering is much harsher. In modern standard backgammon if a player cannot reenter his man he simply cannot play that turn and tries again on his next turn. (Musser 1995: 33)

Murray compares *fallas* to *fayles* (1941: 60) or *fails* (1952: 123) of the King's manuscript (fol. 159r) and misunderstands the sudden death rule at failed reentry, saying instead that "[i]f a player cannot use any throw, he loses the game" (1941: 67). Murray also wrongly says that *fallas* is "so called because the player who failed to be able to use any throw lost at once" (1941: 60) and goes on to say that this was also known as playing *ad fallum* or in medieval French *jouer a la faille*, which could be used figuratively as well. *Faylis* is similar except that when played with two dice the minoret rule, which doubles the lesser number rolled, applies (1941: 59). Calvo's description 1987: 138-39) is accurate for white according to his own notation system which labels the points similar to Murray's system but omits the letters *u* and *w* rather than Murray's *i* and *u*. His description of white's opponent, which Calvo calls red, is not quite accurate because he

incorrectly states that both players would move alphabetically through the points, which is impossible in a game of contrary motion like *fallas*.

Bell claims to presents two *LJ* tables variants, *fallas* and *seys dos & as* which he calls “Fayles” and “Sixe As” respectively. In Bell’s presentation of *fayles*, the board uses the same opening arrangement as *fallas* and play is comparable, though Bell says it, like the variant in Murray’s King’s manuscript, can be played with either three or two dice with the minoret rule, an option not offered in Alfonso’s text. An example of this rule is that if two dice were used, “then at each throw the smaller score of the pair was counted twice, e.g. 6, 4, was scored as 6, 4, 4” (I: 41). Bell’s presentation of *sixe as*, discussed under the next game, is in my opinion unrelated to the *LJ*’s *seys dos & as*.<sup>813</sup>

Parlett describes *fallas* as well and says that it shares with *cab & quinal*, *laquet* and *seys dos & as* “a dramatic opening position” (84) and describes this game as played with three dice or with two when the third is permanently set at ace, rather than the lesser number rolled according to Murray and Bell.

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<sup>813</sup> Bell’s game may derive from Cotton’s *Compleat Gamester* (1674) whose game Sice-ace Murray notes is a different game to the *LJ*’s *seys dos & as*. See discussion of *seys dos & as* below.

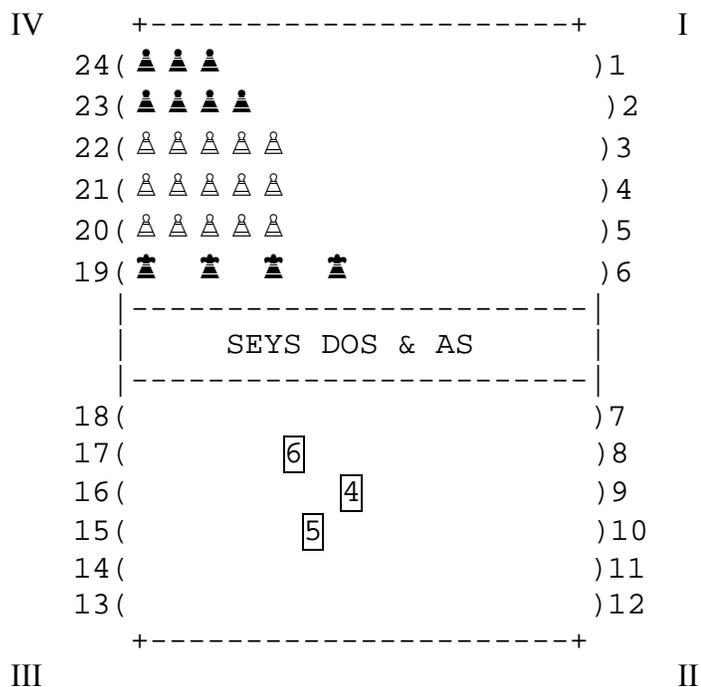
1.3.6.5 *Seys dos & as*<sup>814</sup>

Fig. 131. *Seys dos & as*: fols. 75r and 75v (description on fol. 75r and diagram on fol. 75v), where both move counterclockwise and bear off from I. (NOTE:  = 2  s stacked.)

*Seys dos & as* (six, two and one) is a game of parallel movement in which one player begins with five of his men on each of the three-, four- and five-points of one quadrant and his opponent also begins with his men in that same quadrant: three on the

<sup>814</sup> The *DPCRAX* defines *seys dos & as* somewhat vaguely under the entry for *seis*: “*Unidades pluriverbales*: ... Cierta juego. *ACE* (1283) fol. 75r5, e otro iuego ay que llaman el seys dos & as. e entablan amos los iogadores en la una quadra del tablero. & el que uence la batalla a la mano. & deue poner sos quinze tablas ene sta guisa en la casa del seys. & de dentro del tablero en la una quadra ocho tablas & en la casa del dos en essa misma quadra quatro tablas & en la del as tres. e ell otro iogador deue poner las suyas en essa misma quadra en la casa del cinco & del quatro. & del tria en cadauna cinco cinco tablas. e por que aquel que uence la batalla a las casas del seys dos & as; llaman a este iuego assi” (1631). The *DPCRAX* should specify that this is a certain game of tables. The *TDMS* references only the first word of the game’s name under the entry for *seis* and cites only the *Ordenamiento de las tafurerias*: “3. juego de tablas asi llamado, *Ata* 229,10” (636). The *LT*: “seys [from Lat. sex] adj. 1. ‘seis’ *I.c.*(61) peche ... seys marauedis de oro. nom. m. 2. S. e dos e as ‘(clase de) juego de tablas’ (See the Libro de las Tablas, fol. 75r.) *XL.a.*(15-17) S. o [syete] ‘dados con que, en un juego, a uno se le hace trampas o se le estafa’ *II.b.*(41) aquellos que jugaren con dados que ayan nombre .VI. o .VIJ” (379).

one-point, four on the two-point and eight on the six-point. The winner of the initial roll plays the men on six, two and one, hence the name of the game and in turns with three dice, both players bring their pieces along the same path through all four quadrants of the board to be borne off. In my M.A. thesis I explain that blots “can be hit and returned to start over but they do not die if not reentered to first time as in the stringent *fallas*” (Musser 1995: 34) and that *seys dos & as*, like *doze canes*, is similar to “Russian backgammon in that all men move in the same direction around the board to bear off” (Musser 1995: 31). Particularly of note in this game, is that the manuscript numbers the points are as modern players do, from the outside inwards, and not from the bearing-off perspective used in the treatise’s introduction from the inside outwards.

Murray quotes that “[c]aptured men are re-entered in the table diagonally opposite to that in which they were taken (‘no a la casa que esta de derecho, no a la casa que esta de lado, mas a la quel esta en pospunta’)” (69). He also explains in a footnote to his 1941 article that, *seys dos & as* “is a different game from the Sice-ace described in Cotton’s *Compleat Gamester* (1674)” (1941: 60n1). Calvo accurately describes *seys dos & as* (1987: 139).

*Seys dos & as* is the second of two *LJ* tables variants that Bell claims to present. Bell’s *fayles* greatly resembles *fallas*, as discussed above. However his presentation of what he calls “sixe as” differs from the *LJ*’s *seys dos & as* so greatly as to be unrecognizable. According to Bell in *sixe as*, each player arranges six of his own men in the center points of his half of the board, the remaining six pieces forming a pool in the board’s center. With two dice each die is read separately and when a die shows and ace

then “a piece is handed over to the opponent and added to his pieces”; for a die showing two points “a piece is taken from the pool and added to the player’s pieces”; dice showing rolls of three and four are disregarded; for a die showing five points “a piece is put in the central pool between the tables”; and for a six “a piece is borne off the table and is laid aside” (I: 39). Also, according to Bell, this game evolved into a drinking game offered by Charles Cotton in his *Compleat Gamester* (1674) (I: 39-41).

Parlett groups *seys dos & as* together with *cab & quinal* and *laquet* together as comparable to *buffa cortesa*, saying that all these “play from north-east to south-east, but differ in starting with all thirty pieces on the board in more or less dramatic initial arrangements. Some use three dice, others use two with a notional throw of six” (79). He gives the correct opening arrangement but, like Murray, he also says that “[a] curious rule decrees that a captured piece be re-entered in the table diagonally opposite the one it was captured in” (79).

### 1.3.6.6 *Emperador*<sup>815</sup>

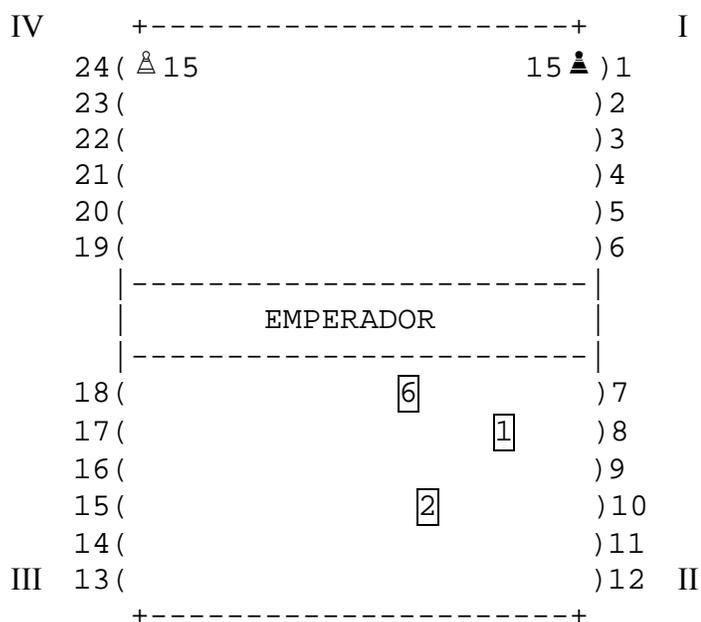


Fig. 132. *Emperador*: fols. 75v and 76r (description on fols. 75v and 76r, diagram on fol. 76r), where white moves counterclockwise and bears off from I, and black moves clockwise and bears off from IV. (NOTE: the dice roll 6-2-1 matches the point numbers which lend their names to the *LJ* tables variant *seys, dos e as*; this also occurs on fol. 77v's diagram for *cab & quinal*.)

*Emperador* (emperor) is played by two players each beginning with fifteen men on the one-point of their opponent's inner table and racing them by turns with three dice in opposite paths around the board to bear them off. In my M.A. thesis I explain that this "game (fols. 75v-76r) was in Spain called 'Emperador' or Emperor because he, meaning Alfonso X who had albeit unsuccessful aspirations to become Holy Roman Emperor, created it" (Musser 1995: 26). Here in this very personal game to Alfonso the *LJ* offers

<sup>815</sup> The *DPCRAX* defines *emperador* and *medio emperador* as "3. Cierta juego de tablas ... 75v6 ... *Unidades pluriverbales: medio emperador* 1. Juego de tablas. *ACE* (1283) fol. 76r25 ..." (724). The *TDMS* cites both the *LJ* and the *Ordenamiento de las tafurerías* and defines *emperador* as "3. juego de tablas, *Aaj* 75c1; *Ata* 229,9" (270) but does not have an entry for *medio emperador*. The *LT*: "emperador [from *Lat. imperatore*] s., m. 1. '(clase de) juego de tablas' (See the *Libro de las Tablas*, fols. 75v-76r.) *XL.a.(10)* Todo omne que quisiere jugar a las tablas puede lo fazer en esta gujsa: que lo juegue al enperador o a las fallas" (363). MacDonald offers a study of the phonology of *emperador*, noting that the *LJ* (his *JL*) uses *emperador* in section 14.8.1.

two rare bits of strategy, one for a tie which is better than an outright loss and the other is a special type of victory. In another game, the Roman *ludus latruncularum*, the winner was termed *dux* or *imperator* (Falkener 48).

Blots are hit and returned to be reentered, although in this game a single piece of either color blocks reentry on that point even though in other games and elsewhere in this game a single opponent's piece would be vulnerable to capture. If a piece cannot be reentered, rather than the sudden death loss of *fallas*, in *emperador* this is deemed a tie. *Emperador* can be won as usual by being the first to bear off all pieces but or by the formation of a prime (*barata*), i.e. six consecutive points held by two or more pieces. Once a player forms a prime and hits at least four of his opponent's men, the game is said to be "baratado" which is a win. Not included in the description given on fol. 75v but rather as a side note in the description of *reencontrat* on fol. 79v is that no two pieces may occupy the same point, and thus no *barata* begun, until after the second half of the board, i.e. beginning in each player's third table, or perhaps until at least one piece has advanced beyond this point.

Tric trac is the onomatopoetic name for backgammon in French but also a term used to describe a special variant which can be won by hitting just one blot and which, like the *LJ's emperador*, has special terminology for certain situations. A prime in your inner table is a win called *toutes* or *tootes*; one man each on your twelfth and thirteenth points is a win called *rovers* or *boveries* and dangerous to try. A double win is possible by getting all your men first to your one point and then bearing them all off. If you misplay what would have been your winning hand and your opponent points it out saying

“Why not?” then he wins instead. Also, a sort of doubling is possible saying “I vie the game” with a regular arithmetical increment of 1, 2, 3, 4..., as opposed to the doubling cube’s exponential raising of stakes (2, 4, 8, 16...).<sup>816</sup>

Murray finds the most interesting of the variant of tables in the *LJ* to be “*emperador*, because both in Spain and England there were special terms for different ways of winning, comparable with the distinctions made in backgammon between the hit, the gammon, and backgammon. In Spain, the blocking of six consecutive points gave the win *barata*; in England there were two special wins known as limpolding and lurching” (1941: 61). In the King’s manuscript, limpolding is described as when one player has doubled the first five points on the opposite side of the board, and the other has one man on each of the six points in his table of entry, eight on the ace-point of his bearing table and one man in hand. Lurching is similar to limpolding, but occurs when the loser has fewer than eight men on the ace-point of his bearing table (1941: 67). Murray also says that *emperador* or *ludus anglicorum* was the leading variety of tables in both Spain and England and perhaps in Italy where it was known as *testa* (1952: 124).

Parlett groups together six games (*ludus anglicorum*, Greek plakoto, *LJ*’s *emperador*, Italian *testa*, French *tieste* and *impérial*) of contrary motion where all fifteen of the player’s pieces begin “piled on their entry point” (82). Parlett describes *emperador* as using three dice or two with a notional third dice of six or any other number of his opponent’s choosing, although this second option does not appear in the manuscript.

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<sup>816</sup> “Game Report: TickTack,” ed. Mark Waks (pseud. Justin du Coeur), 30 Mar. 1996, accessed 17 May 2006, <<http://jducoeur.org/game-hist/game-recon-ticktack.html>>.

Parlett like Murray observes that neither may enter a piece on any occupied point and that no point may be doubled until one man has moved around the board.

Perhaps confirming the game's popularity is the following miniature from the *Carmina Burana* (Cod. Lat. 4660) where the game being played seems to be *emperador*. The piles of pieces at the topmost points of the board, their distribution throughout the board without resemblance to the *todas tablas* arrangement and the fact that the player of red (dressed in red at left) has nearly completed a prime in his outer table give the appearance of being a somewhat inaccurate game of *emperador* in progress. However no dice are shown and the number of pieces, at least seventeen red and eleven black, is likely inaccurate. One might at first think that black was ahead, thus deserving the cup of wine the page brings him, and only possesses eleven pieces because he had borne the other four off already unless one counts the excessive number of pieces possessed by red.



Fig. 133. The Tables Miniature from the *Carmina Burana*.<sup>817</sup>

<sup>817</sup> The *Carmina Burana*'s (Cod. Lat. 4660) fol. 91v. 6 May 2005  
<<http://www.klassiekemuziekids.net/componisten/orff.htm>>

### 1.3.6.6.1 *Emperador's Configuration Called Barata (Prime)*

The words *barata* and *maña* or *manera*<sup>818</sup> appear together in both the “Libro de las tablas” and the “Libro del alquerque.” Crombach’s (392) and Canettieri’s (209) glossaries indicate that the words *maña* and *manera* may be used synonymously in these cases. Under *manera* Crombach simply refers the reader to *maña* (“cierta astucia por la cual queda empatado el juego”) and *mañar* (“hacer, quedar tablas, empatar”). Canettieri puts the two words together with one definition, unnecessarily confined to the opponent’s inner table, “collocare le tavole del proprio comparto in tutte le caselle che l’altro non ha occupato” (209); for *maña* and *mañar* he refers the reader back to *manera*. The *DPCRAX* defines *maña* as “destreza, habilidad, artificio, astucia, vicio, mala costumbre, manera, empate” and, incorrectly, “cierto tipo de juego de tablas.”<sup>819</sup> So while *manera* means way and *maña* can mean tie (as in a tied game) or trick, it can also mean tricky way (as in *malas mañas*) of winning.

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<sup>818</sup> According to the *DPCRAX* the *maña* or trick is when “[e]n el juego de las tablas reales, disposición de las piezas que mira a ocupar las dos últimas casas del contrario, donde se termina el juego con piezas dobles.” It should instead say when six consecutive points are occupied by two or more of one player’s men. The *LT*: “barata {postv. from baratar} s., f. 1. ‘trueque’, ‘cambio’ XXXV.a.(48) cada vno deue tomar tal omne, o acoger lo en su ... casa, o poner tal guarda en lo suyo que sea seguro que non le faga mala barata de aquello que le metiere en la mano en guarda. 2. ‘mohara’, ‘fraude’ X.a.(17) e se fuyeren con ellos [dineros], e les feçier algun barata por que aquellos que tienen las tafurerias ayan de perder o menoscabar” (356). Steiger defines *barata* as a trick, in tables (391).

<sup>819</sup> According to the *DPCRAX*, similar to Murray and most likely confused by the rubric into identifying *maña* as a game rather than a feature within the game of *emperador*, where the meaning of *tie* is meant (fol. 76r): “llaman a este iuego manna; por que el danno uiene igual de amas las partes” (1186). The *TDMS* also says that *maña* is an “especie de juego” citing this same folio (446).

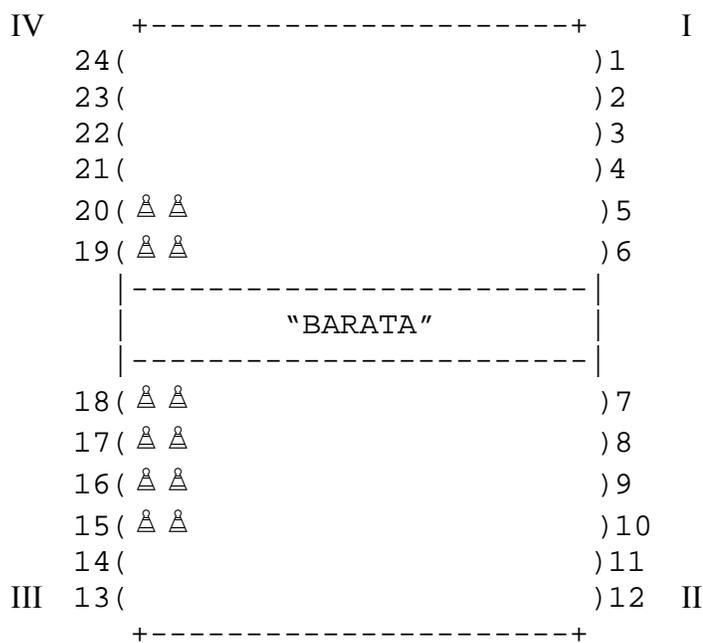


Fig. 134. *Emperador*'s Configuration Called *Barata* (description on fol. 76r but no diagram in the *LJ*): as in modern backgammon, no matter what black rolls he can never bridge the prime and in *emperador* this formation is an automatic win for white.

The rubric for *barata* with *emperador*'s description leads Murray to consider *barata* as a separate game rather than a feature of *emperador* (1913: 569, but not his later works). However, since he only counts the two varieties of *cab & quinal* as one, his total of fifteen tables variants there ends up being correct. While Murray counts sixteen miniatures for this third *LJ* treatise, I count two on fol. 77v for a total of seventeen.

Calvo accurately describes the game *emperador*, its name, its miniature, and *barata*, but for *manera* oddly says that it “consiste en mantener una barrera a ultranza. Cuando la barrera está formada por fichas de ambas partes ‘llama a este iuego malina por que el danno uiene egual de ambas las partes’” (1987: 139). His transcription is not very accurate and does not make much sense.

Parlett defines a prime in tables as “bareta (Alfonso MS only) = six consecutive doubletons—only possible on the further side of the board, of course” (82).

The term *barata*, in my opinion, used in this sense means little bar (made of six consecutive pairs of pieces) rather than “cheap” in the modern sense of the word *barata* in Spanish. However the usage of this term in the *LJ* seems to indicate other meanings rather than a type or class of win as understood by Murray (1913, although correct in 1941: 67). The verb *baratar* is used on fol. 72v in the introduction to the “Libro de las tablas” and states that “La barata delas tablas es quando ell un iogador toma tantas tablas all otro que no a despues casas en que entrar. con ellas & pierde por y el iuego.” A further clue towards understanding the meaning of this word may perhaps be found in the medieval French word *barat* meaning trick or ruse and its corresponding verb *barater*. The modern Italian verb *barare* means to steal.

We talk today of the trick or knack of winning a particular game. On fol. 75v, two things that a good player does in the game *emperador* are described: “Pero ay dos cosas que fazen los buenos iogadores. la una es manera & la otra barata. E la manera se faz pora deffender se el que tiene peor iuego que nol pierda. E la barata pora ganar el iuego mas en saluo el que lo tiene meior.” These are not, then, two classes of wins like the regular win, double win or gammon and triple win or backgammon of the game backgammon but rather two bits of strategy that can lead to winning as suggested by the Wise King.

Alfonso’s first bit of strategy is for the player who is behind and playing what is known today as a back game (as opposed to a running game) and for the player who is

ahead in order to win even more surely. Alfonso goes on to explain *manera* (tie) and *barata* (prime) through fol. 76r, saying that *manera* is when the player who is behind has so many pieces on the inner table of the player who is ahead that the latter cannot enter his pieces there, which he needs to do before he can bear them off and win, no matter what he rolls because all the points are covered by his or his opponent's men. What is unique about the rules of *emperador*, then, is that if a point in a player's inner table is covered by at least one of his own or his opponent's pieces, then that player may not move his piece to that point. Alfonso explains that since in other games a piece could be moved to a point already occupied by the same player's piece, in this game this constitutes a tie (*manera*) because this harms both players equally.<sup>820</sup>

Alfonso's second bit of strategy, *barata*, happens when one player is ahead in the game and has formed a group of twelve pieces by doubling them up on six points so that even if his opponent is able to reenter a hit piece, he cannot pass this barricade with any roll because the highest number on the dice is six. The player who has formed the barricade, known as a prime in modern backgammon, moves his men so as to roll his prime forward, trying to hit his opponent's men as he does so. This leaves fewer and fewer points onto which they can be reentered. Alfonso says that when four or more pieces are hit, the game is "baratado" and therefore won by the player with the prime

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<sup>820</sup> "E la manera es desta guisa. *que* cadauno tenga tantas tablas *que non* pueda entrar en las casas dela quadra del otro por suerte *que* lance seyendo todas las casas presas por las sos tablas & por las del otro. E deuen parar mientes *que* maguer fiquen una tabla en las casas dela quadra o a de entrar que nola ponga sobre la otra suya maguer este sola nin sobre las otras que estan dobladas como quier *que* la suerte diga *que* lo podrie fazer. si en otro iuego fuesse & desta guisa por *que* ell uno ni ell otro *non* pueden entrar; llaman a este iuego manna; por *que* el danno uiene equal de amas las partes" (fols. 75v and 76r).

because at that point he can bear his pieces safely off and continue hitting his opponent's men if he wishes.<sup>821</sup>

### 1.3.6.6.2 *Emperador* Relatives

The game of emperor is exactly like the modern Arabic game *julbahar*,<sup>822</sup> and similar to the modern Arabic game *mahbouseh*<sup>823</sup> and the modern Greek *plakoto*<sup>824</sup> in which “blots are not hit and returned to start over but are landed upon and ‘covered’ or trapped and cannot move until the covering man moves off” (Musser 1995: 35). This covering of a piece is a feature seen in the modern variant called press backgammon which also shares *emperador*'s opening arrangement:

In this game you don't hit an opponent's piece when you land on it. You can't, in other words, send it bouncing off to the bar. Instead you “press” it. This means that for as long as you choose to remain there, that piece must stay where it is. The object of the game is the same as in conventional backgammon—to bear off all your pieces before your opponent does....

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<sup>821</sup> “LA barata es quando el un iogador tiene meioria del otro & tiene doze tablas entabladas por que ell otro maguer entrenon pueda salir & delas otras tablas que tiene a se de baxar o fazer y alguna a que de. E quandol da *quatro* tablas o mas es el iuego baratado por que puede leuar sus tablas en saluo o dar le mas si quisiere. & gana el iuego por este logar” (fol. 76r).

<sup>822</sup> *Julbahar* is a complicated Egyptian variant, where all start on the first point like *mughrabieh* and *mahbouseh*. First both players roll for doubles, the highest or lone doubles earns the right to play. If the first to play was the only player to roll doubles, then he begins by first playing his opponent's men to put him in as awkward a situation as possible. Pieces may be entered at any time and do not have to await the arrival of one piece in the inner table. In the course of play, if a move cannot be made then five points for each such play are added to the player's score. Both players play for a goal of 31 points or any other amount both agree upon. When bearing off, if a player has a back man in his opponent's inner table or in his own outer table then he may only bear off men on points which correspond exactly to the dice rolls (Bakarat 21).

<sup>823</sup> *Mahbouseh* is nearly identical to *mughrabieh*. The difference between the two consists of what happens to blots. In the latter, nothing happens to them but in *mahbouseh* a single piece can be “covered” and pinned to that square by an opponent's piece until that piece moves. Two pieces of the same color on a point make that point safe from covering (Bakarat 18-19). *Mahbouseh* is comparable to the *LJ*'s *emperador*, modern press backgammon and Greek *plakoto*. Khuri says that this variant is considered to be the most sophisticated while *frangieh* depends more on luck than skill and *mughrabieh* is a children's game (Fu'ad Ishaq Khuri, *Tents and Pyramids: Games and Ideology in Arab Culture from Backgammon to Autocratic Rule* [London: Saqi, 1990] 17-18).

<sup>824</sup> Cf. Obolensky and James, *Backgammon: the Action Game* 165-67.



Murray, who wrongly places *medio emperador* on fol. 78r (1941: 67), instead of fol. 76v, compares it to two tables variants from the King's manuscript: the *Ludus Lumbardorum* or *Lumbardium* omitting that game's special victories and the *Ludus Anglicorum* with a third notional throw of six or other number chosen by one of the players (1941: 60 and 67). Calvo describes *medio emperador* accurately (1987: 140). Parlett mentions this game briefly saying that it is a "speeded up" version of *emperador* which ignores two tables of the board (83).



quadrant. If the same number is rolled on both or all three dice, the player is entitled to an extra roll as in modern acey-deucey.

Though Murray gives the wrong page (fol. 71v instead of 75v; 1941: 67), he correctly describes the game of *pareia de entrada* including an extra turn for doubles rolls (1941: 68). His explanation of the game's name is unsatisfactory because it applies to all tables games of parallel movement: *pareia de entrada* is "so named because both players had to enter their men in the same table" (1941: 60). Calvo describes the game well but misunderstands that the roll of doubles is played twice *and* allows a second roll (1987: 140). Canettieri gives an accurate description but only one diagram, identical to the one he gives for *doze canes*. Parlett calls *pareia de entrada* the Spanish equivalent of the Italian game *buffa cortesa* (76).

### 1.3.6.9 Two Versions of *Cab & quinal*<sup>827</sup>

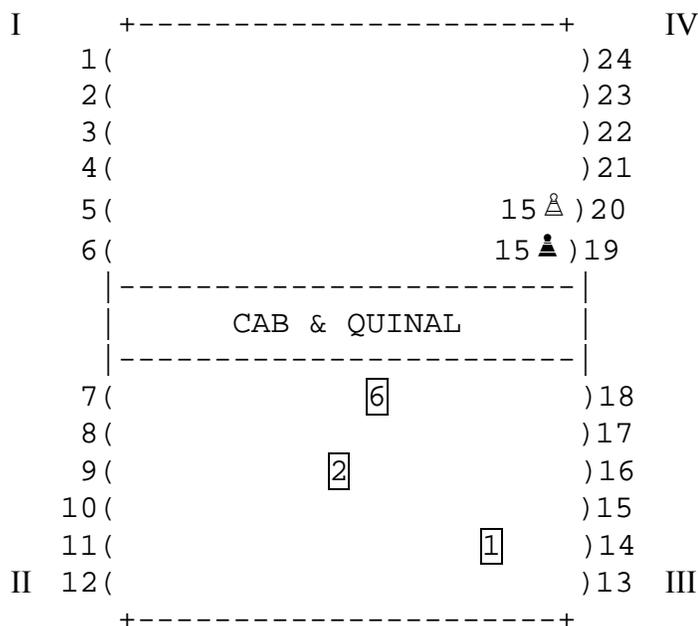


Fig. 137. Original Diagram of *Cab & quinal con tres dados*: fols. 77r and 77v (description on fol. 77r and diagram on fol. 77v, at left).

There are two versions of *cab & quinal* (alongside fives) in which the players, as in *doze canes* and *seys dos & as* as well as *laquet*, race each other around the board in the same direction. All are comparable to modern Russian backgammon which shares this feature.

In the version with three dice, both players begin with all fifteen of their pieces piled on one point - the question being which point? At first glance the miniature and the

<sup>827</sup> The *DPCRAX* lists and defines “cab et quinal” as: “*sust.* 1. Cierta juego de tablas. *ACE* (1283) fol. 77r5 ...” (317). The *TDMS* incorrectly or at least incompletely defines it as “[?] s. juego de dados, *Aaj* 77a1, 77a4” (122). It should be defined as a game of tables instead of a game of dice. The *LT*: “cabo [from *Lat. caput*] s., m. 1. ‘fin’, ‘término’ *XLIII.e.*(122) desde el comjenço fasta el cabo. C. QUINAL ‘cab e quinal’, ‘(clase de) juego de tablas jugado con tres, o algunas veces con dos, dados’ (See the *Libro de las Tablas*, fol. 77r.) *XL.a.*(13) Todo omne que quisiere jugar las tablas puede lo fazer en esta guisa: que lo juegue al enperador o a las fallas, e al cabo quinal, e al seys e dos ...” (356) quinal (*V.A. cabo*) [from *Lat. quinale*] s. 1. ‘cabo grueso’? *XL.a.*(13) (377). Steiger defines it as a game of tables and compares it to the *Li Livres Bakot*, partie XLII, p. 700 (French: Black 15 at 1 and White 14 at 2 and 1 at 3; Spanish: Black 15 at 6, White 14 and 5 and 1 at 4, likely a miniaturist error).



These suggested corrections are also supported by comparison of this game, *cab & quinal*, in the *LJ* with the two-dice version shown in Partie XLII of *Li Livres Bakot*<sup>830</sup> where the diagram shows the initial arrangement much more logically, with all fifteen pieces of one color on the one-point and, of the opposite color, fourteen pieces on the two-point and one on the three-point all on the same table. In the French game, play was somewhat different since the pieces which begin on the one-point are safe from capture and the goal of their opponent is to trap them so that they cannot advance.

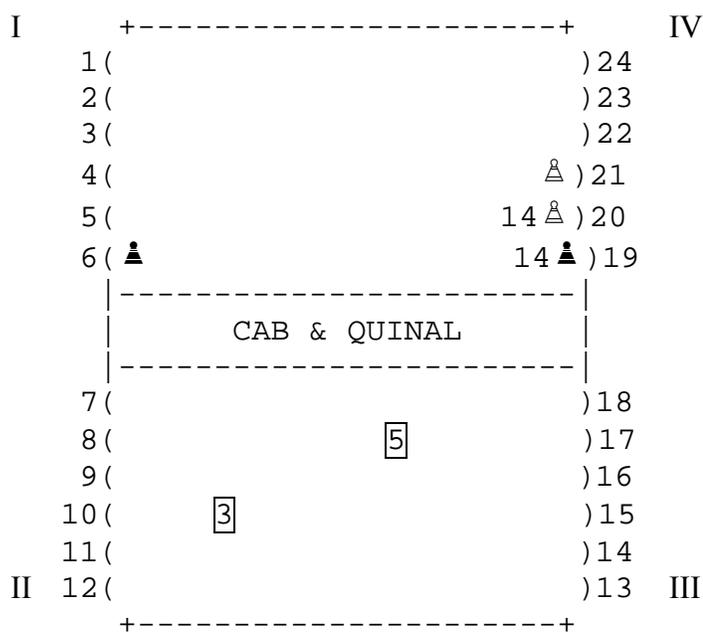


Fig. 139. Original Diagram of *Cab & quinal con dos dados* (description on fol. 77r and diagram on fol. 77r, at right).

In the *cab & quinal* version played with two dice, a notional third dice which is always counted as six is used and each player's fifteen pieces are somewhat more spread out than in the three-dice version. The player who begins further back, has fourteen pieces on the starting point and one piece on the point behind it. His opponent begins

<sup>830</sup> "Les Livres Bakot," *The Origin of Backgammon*. 2004, 5 June 2007, <<http://perso.wanadoo.fr/bckg/english/bakot.htm>>.

with fourteen pieces on the point in front of his starting point and one piece on the six-point of the fourth quadrant. However, correcting the diagram for two-dice version of *cab & quinal* is somewhat trickier. If we can “correct” this version, I suggest that white should have one piece on 24 and the remaining fourteen on 23 while black has fourteen on 22 and one on 6. However, it is much more problematic to reconcile the language identifying the points in this variant to propose such a theory strongly.

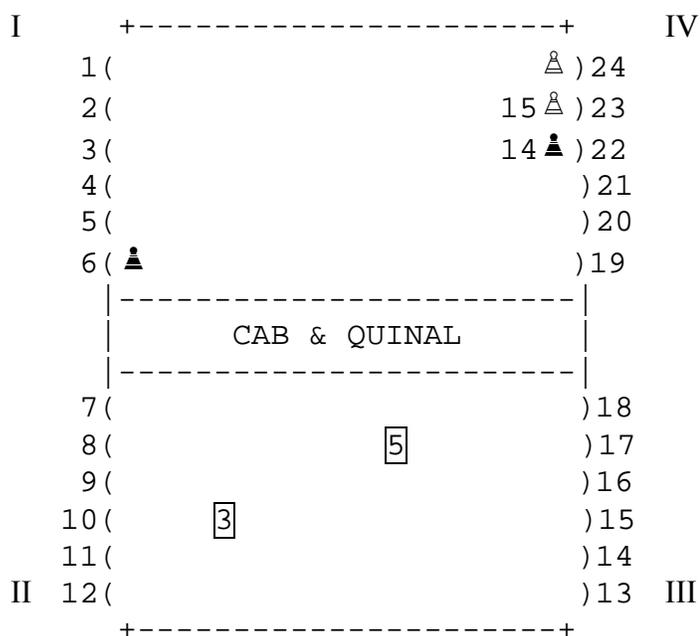


Fig. 140. Corrected (?) Diagram of *Cab & quinal con dos dados* (description on fol. 77r): where both move counterclockwise and bear off from I.

Murray describes both versions accurately in terms of their textual and miniature presentations in the *LJ*, without questioning the miniature and gives an unsatisfactory explanation of the game’s name, saying that the first variety of *cab & quinal* is “said to be so called because all men are arranged in one table of the board” (1941: 60). Calvo describes both versions of *cab & quinal* and its split miniature accurately (1987: 140). Canettieri presents the arrangement correctly but inverts the colors. Parlett describes both



array.<sup>832</sup> In this instance, the diagram does not match the textual description in such a way as to leave me to wonder if the miniaturist became confused by the terms used to describe the four tables or the numbering of the points, or perhaps he was unfamiliar with the game or did not have a model. Canettieri also notes this discrepancy. After a close examination of the text, I agree with Canettieri and believe the initial arrangement for *todas tablas* should be identical to the modern initial arrangement.

Using the same numbering perspective from the treatise's introduction, the game's description clearly states that for the inner tables, five pieces of one color are to be placed on the six-point of the table across from two pieces on the one-point of the opposite table<sup>833</sup> (i.e. two of one color on a one-point, say 24 in the above diagram, and five of that same color on 6; see discussion of *en derecho* above) and that the other color's pieces are to be placed in a similar fashion, that is mirroring the first color's arrangement (i.e. two of the opposing color on 1 and five on 19). However, the miniaturist has painted all white's men in the same two contiguous tables (that is, pieces of the same color on 24 and 19; see discussion of *de lado* above) and all black's men in the opposite two contiguous tables (on 1 and 6).

The piece disposition within the two outer tables presents more confusion. The next placement of a group of five is described in terms of *color* of the first five men

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<sup>832</sup> A variant called tabard backgammon with precisely this opening arrangement and playing exactly as modern backgammon is described in *The Complete Book of Games* by Clement Wood and Gloria Goddard (Garden City, NY: Garden City, 1940) 329-30. Since no information regarding its provenance is given for this variant and its name suggests both *tablas* and a medieval origin, I wonder if the *LJ*'s miniature is not its source.

<sup>833</sup> "E en las dos quadras que son derecho la una dela otra; ponen en la una en el seys [t and f] cinco tablas de una color. & dessa misma ponen dos al as [a and z, respectively] en la otra quadra que esta en derecho della & en essa misma quadra contralla ponen otrossi las tablas como *en esta que auemos dicha*" (fol. 77v).

placed on 19 but in terms of *quadrant* (IV) with respect to the two men most recently placed on 24.<sup>834</sup> So, the second group of five should be placed on 12 in quadrant II. The final trio of pieces is to be placed on a five-point, but the quadrant is not made clear.<sup>835</sup> Since the problem's description says that the game is called *todas tablas* because the pieces are spread out through all four tables, they should go in the only one which so far has no pieces in it; for white that would be quadrant II. Also since the textual description, if not the miniature's diagram, makes it clear that in all other respects the opening arrangement is identical to the modern one, I will risk the assumption that the final three pieces should be placed on 8.

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<sup>834</sup> "E en las *otras* dos quadras que son cabo **dessas** en la casa dell as ponen cinco tablas dela color que pusieron las otras cinco en la casa del seys" (fol. 77v, emphasis mine).

<sup>835</sup> "E en las del cinco ponen tres tablas en cadauna dessas colores" (fol. 77v).



*tablas* to the French *toutes tables*, the Italian *tavole reale* and Cotton's game called Irish.

According to Stone,

[i]n the reign of James I [1603-1625] the celebrated Cotswold Games, which exemplified many of the popular recreations of the day, grew into national importance. These games had begun in the reign of Elizabeth I [1558-1603], or perhaps even earlier, as a small local gathering.... Information about the Cotswold Games is to be found in *Annalia Dubrensis* (1636), a volume edited by Matthew Walbancke, containing poems by Michael Drayton,<sup>836</sup> .... Inside tents one could play chess; Irish, which resembles backgammon.... (8)

As with many dicing games, Irish uses special terms for each of the six sides of the dice: ace, duce, trea, kater, cinque, sice. Opening set-up appears to have been the similar to for the *LJ's todas tablas* with five men on your six point, three on your eight, five on your thirteen and two on your twenty-four. Irish offers two exciting differences from modern backgammon. First, winning by a throw of doubles is worth more than not. Second, if you have a prime in your inner table or home and you hit your opponent, you must "unbind" your prime by sending all but one of your men on a point back to be re-entered. Which point is broken is decided by whoever rolls the highest number on one dice.<sup>837</sup>

#### **1.3.6.10.1 Pachisi to Backgammon Evolution**<sup>838</sup>

The modern opening position of the pieces in backgammon may possibly be explained as the result of the conversion of a four-player race game played on a cruciform track to a two-player race game on a circular track. Each of pachisi's four players begins with their men in one of the four different arms of the board so that the

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<sup>836</sup> Drayton also wrote a poem mentioning the roc, the bird which may have inspired the *aanca* used in the *LJ's grant acedrex*.

<sup>837</sup> "Game Report, Irish and Early Backgammon," *Medieval and Renaissance Games Home Page*, ed. Mark Waks, 29 Mar. 1997, accessed 30 Mar. 2007, <<http://jducoeur.org/game-hist/game-recon-irish.html>>.

<sup>838</sup> See also Murray 1913: 49-50.

players are ranged evenly around the track; in the *LJ's todas tablas* the player's men are also ranged roughly evenly around the track with seven or eight men beginning in each of the four tables of the board. The medieval opening arrangement of *todas tablas* is, while erroneous, somewhat chesslike in that it has black and white pieces beginning in mirrored positions on opposite sides of the board. In order to increase the traffic and contact between the player's pieces in backgammon, the players move in opposite directions on the circular track rather than all in the same direction as in pachisi. The modern game increases the immediacy of the contact between the players's men by alternating their positions to have some of each player's men beginning in each of the four tables of the board.



Murray describes *laquet* accurately (1941: 67). Calvo's description of *laquet* omits the number of dice used but is otherwise accurate (1987: 141). Canettieri gives the same opening arrangement for *laquet* but with the colors reversed. Parlett accurately describes this then-recent invention, calling it bizarre in its opening arrangement and unusual in its lack of captures. He compares *laquet* together with *cab & quinal* and *seys dos & as* to *buffa cortesa* (79).

*Laquet*'s feature of blots not being hit appears in a modern backgammon variant, called rosespring backgammon:

In Rosespring Backgammon you need only one piece to establish a point. Since there's no such thing as a blot, it follows that pieces can't be sent to the bar. However, the basic difference between this and other forms of backgammon lies in the treatment of doubles. After the first three rolls of the game, any player rolling a double plays the throw as he or she would in a conventional game of backgammon and then plays every succeeding double number up to and including 6-6. So, if you were to roll 1-1, you'd play your move of 1 four times, following by a move of 2 four times, a move of 3 four times, and so on. All these moves have to be taken before your opponent makes the next roll.

In the early stages of the game it's not difficult to play consecutive doubles. But after a while, with one piece being enough to establish a point, it often happens that a player can't complete a sequence. In such a case the remaining doublets are forfeited to the opponent. Imagine, for instance, that you roll 2-2. You can play that and the 3-3, but you can't complete the 4-4 moves. You make as many moves as you can, coming to a full stop after, say, the second move of 4. Your opponent is then free to make the other two moves of 4 and also to complete the rest of the sequence. If he or she came unstuck before the end, you'd be entitled to complete the play and your opponent would then make the next roll. (Ratip 59)

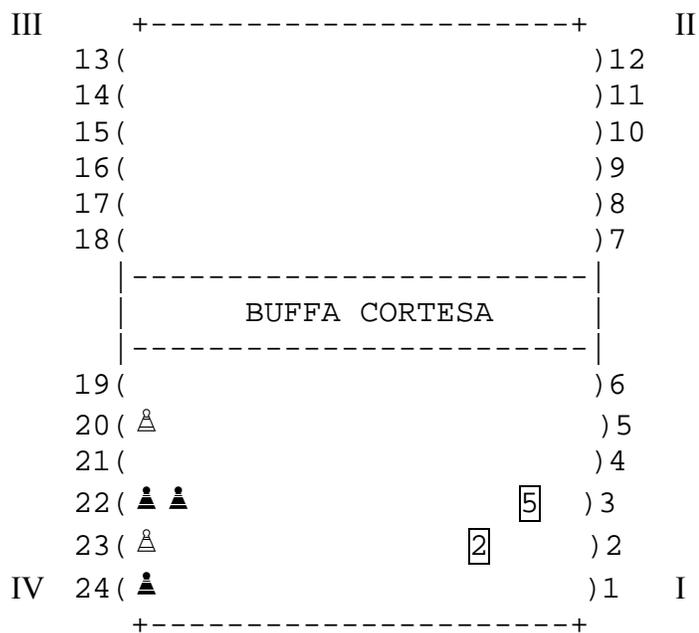
1.3.6.12 *Buffa cortesa*<sup>841</sup>

Fig. 144. *La buffa cortesa*: fols. 78v and 79r (description on fol. 78v and diagram on fol. 79r), where both enter at IV and move clockwise to bear off from I.

The *LJ* presents two tables games called *buffa*, differentiated by name and number of dice. The first, called *buffa cortesa* (courtly *Puff*) in other countries,<sup>842</sup> uses two dice and as I explain in my M.A. thesis, “plays much like *la pareia de entrada* (fol. 76v)” because both players begin with all fifteen of their pieces off the board and enter them according to the dice into the same quadrant and move them in the same direction around the board in order to be borne off. I also explain in my M.A. thesis that *buffa cortesa* is also

<sup>841</sup> The *DPCRAX* defines *buffa cortesa* as “*sust.* 1. Cierta juego de tablas. *ACE* (1283) fol. 78v6 ...” (311) and *buffa de baldrac* as “*sust.* 1. Cierta juego de tablas. *ACE* (1283) fol. 79v5 ...” (311). *Buffa cortesa* and *buffa de baldrac* are listed together under the entry for *buffa* in the *TDMS* which says: “*buffa* [*onom.* buf(f)] *f.* juego de tablas, *Aaj* 78c2; */b. cortesa*, *Aaj* 78c6; */b. de baldrac*, *Aaj* 79a2; 79a5” (119). Steiger: *ludus bufarum*, qui dicitur buffadamater, cortesa (höfishce), de baldrac (the common, related to *baldraque* (cosa de poco o ningún valor) and suggesting an etymological relationship between *baldrac* and *baidaq*) (392).

<sup>842</sup> The other countries to which the *LJ* refers here are probably German-speaking ones since *Puffspiel* or simply *Puff* is the name of backgammon in German. The German name seems to employ the root *Puff* in the sense of a hit or a buffet made to blots. It may also be related to the modern checkers term *huff* or *puff*, meaning to remove a piece from the board which failure to make a mandatory capture.

like *laquet* in that “what the one player cannot play of his roll, the other may” (Musser 1995: 38).

Murray gives the incorrect name, number of dice and folio for *buffa cortesa*, calling it “Buffa de cortesia” played with three dice on fol. 75v (1941: 66). However his description of its play is accurate except that he adds an extra roll for doubles not explicit in the manuscript. Murray says that *buf* or *buffa* games were “played widely in Germany from the 13<sup>th</sup> century onwards...” (1941: 60). This doubles roll may originate in the *Bonus Socius* and *Civis Bononiae* manuscripts which also include similar two-dice games called *buf* and *buffa* respectively. Calvo’s description of *buffa cortesa* is accurate (1987: 141). Parlett also gives this game’s name incorrectly, as “buffa cortese,” and describes this counterclockwise game of parallel movement as an Italian equivalent to the Spanish *pareia de entrada* (76-77). Canettieri does not offer a diagram for either *buffa cortesa* or *buffa de baldrac* but describes both correctly.

A modern variant called German backgammon is likely a descendent of the games Alfonso knew as *buffa*. Falkener’s description of German backgammon says that players enter and bear off from the same points, moving in the same direction, and includes a provision by which if a player forgets to take their extra doubles then his opponent may claim and play them (254).



in the *LJ's reencontrat*.<sup>843</sup> Calvo follows Murray's incorrect rendering of the game's nomenclature but otherwise gives an accurate description of the game (1987: 141). Canettieri does not offer a diagram for either *buffa cortesa* or *buffa de baldrac*. Parlett, following Murray's incorrect name and description, calls it "Buff de Baldriac" and describes it as an apparent forerunner to the modern game of acey-deucey, "distinguished by the peculiarity that players enter and bear from adjacent tables, black moving counterclockwise from north-west, white anti-clockwise from north-east" (82).

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<sup>843</sup> "4. *Buf de Baldriac* (Alf 79J), *Baldrac* (CB 73). *Dice* 3. A throw which a player cannot use is lost. *Arrangement*; none. C enters in af, moves in direction amnz and bears in tz; D enters in mg, moves in direction mazn, and bears in sn" (1941: 66).

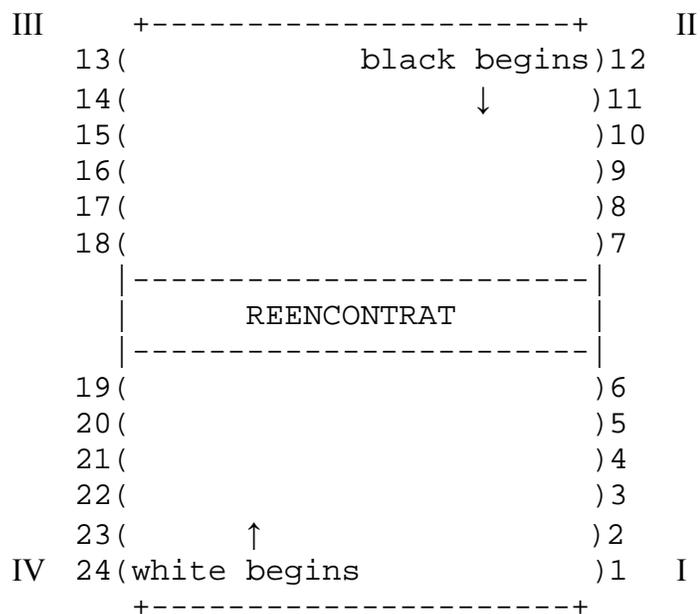
1.3.6.14 *Reencontrat*<sup>844</sup>

Fig. 146. *Reencontrat*: fols. 79v and 80r (description on fol. 79v and diagram on fol. 80r): where white begins at IV and moves clockwise sequentially around through I, bearing off from one; and black begins in II and moves also clockwise but through the quadrants in the following order: II, I, IV, and III, bearing off from III. (NOTE: the board is blank without men or dice.)

Each player of *reencontrat* (*rencontre*) has all fifteen of his men on the point most at his right so that they are diagonally placed respective to one another. The players roll to see who plays first, then they each must move one man around to their own inner board before they can move any others. ‘Wounded’ men are sent back as usual. A small bit of strategy is given here by saying that what is needed in this game (and any other) is to know how to make points well with any given roll” (Musser 1995: 39). As I also state in my M.A. thesis

<sup>844</sup> The *DPCRAX* gives the following definition under the entry for “recontrat”: “*extranj.* 1. Cierta juego de dados entre los antiguos romanos. *ACE* (1283) fol. 79v6, este es otro iuego que llaman los romanos reecontrat & iuegasse con tres dados” (1537). However nothing in the text suggests specifically that this name was used by ancient rather than contemporary Romans; the word *antiguos* is not present in the source text and the accompanying verb tense *llaman* is present rather than past. Maybe the Romans are the ones Alfonso knew who called it that, but I suspect that the name has a French etymology. A *rencontre* is a hostile encounter or clash between combatants. The *TDMS* has no entry for *recontrat* or *recontrant*.

*reencontrat* “bears much resemblance to the modern Turkish game called Moultezim.”<sup>845</sup>

Culin may indicate a possible Oriental relative or possible source for this variant, showing an opening arrangement for Chinese backgammon similar to the *LJ*'s tables game *reencontrat*.<sup>846</sup>

Murray describes the game well, except for grouping the Romans with the game's name and misunderstanding the one-man rule to mean that “[n]either player can pile any men until they have reached the opposite side of the board” (1941: 68). Calvo again follows Murray's strange naming of this game, but gives an otherwise accurate description of its play (1987: 141). Parlett describes *reencontrat* as a game of parallel movement and calls it “a variety of Buffa in which pieces are entered and bear from diagonally opposite tables, white playing from north-east to south-east, and black from south-west to north-west” (77-78). Parlett also notes that “Murray's uncharacteristic misreading of the phrase *que llaman los romanos recontrat* ‘which the Romans call Recontrat’, has resulted in a general rendering of the game's name as ‘Los Romanos Recontrat’” (78). Canettieri offers a corrected diagram for *reencontrat* that is identical to his diagrams for *doze canes* and *pareia de entrada*.

### 1.3.7 Modern Descendants of the *LJ*'s Tables Games

Of course tables games did not just spread from India or the Middle East to Europe. According to Edmund Hoyle,<sup>847</sup> *nard* extended east arriving “in China during the Wei dynasty (220-265 AD)” where as t'shu-p'u was popular from 479 to 1000. Along

<sup>845</sup> Cf. Obolensky and James, *Backgammon: the Action Game* 161-65.

<sup>846</sup> Stewart Culin, *Korean Games: With Notes on the Corresponding Games of China and Japan* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania, 1895. New York: Brooklyn Museum in assn. with Dover, 1991) 81-82.

<sup>847</sup> “How the game of evolved: backgammon” (via Help, Contents, Playing Games, Backgammon, How the game of Backgammon evolved), *Hoyle Board Games*. CD-ROM. (Sierra, 1998).

with games spread the controversy over their play. In Japan, it was known as “Sugoroko and was declared illegal during the reign of Empress Jito (690-697 A.D.).”<sup>848</sup>

Hoyle codified the rules for backgammon in 1743 and they have remained nearly unchanged through the present day except for the addition of the doubling cube, invented by an unknown American in the 1920s.<sup>849</sup> Today the derivatives of all these backgammon games thrive in the Orient, the Arab world, both Western and Eastern Europe and the Americas. I have seen in shops and on eBay Uzbekistani boards which are still fashioned with the beautifully practical scalloped edges that Alfonso’s book depicts and praises.

Bakarat’s *tawula* (Ar. tables) study reveals that the Arabic game *tawula* or “shesh-baish” (for the favorable roll of 6-5) plays like modern backgammon.<sup>850</sup> Bakarat

<sup>848</sup> See also Murray’s *History of Board-Games Other Than Chess*, Ch. 6.

<sup>849</sup> “How the game of evolved: backgammon” (via Help, Contents, Playing Games, Backgammon, How the game of Backgammon evolved), *Hoyle Board Games*. CD-ROM. (Sierra, 1998).

<sup>850</sup> Robert A. Bakarat, *Tawula: A Study in Arabic Folklore* (Helsinki: Folklore Fellow, 1974). While in Arabic this highly propitious roll lends its name to the whole game itself, in English it is referred to as the lover’s leap because one back man can leap eleven points from one end of the board to the other. Chaucer, who wrote of dice and tables, said “O riche marchautz, ful of wele been yee, / O noble, o prudent folk, as in this cas! / Your bagges been nat fild with **ambes as**, / But with **sys cynk**, that renneth for youre chaunce; / at cristemasse myrie may ye dauce!” (“The prologe of the Mannes Tale of Lawe,” *The Canterbury Tales*. Ed. Librarius, 5 May 2005, <<http://www.librarius.com/canttran/manlawtr/manlawtale099-133.htm>>: II: vv. 122-26; emphasis mine). There is also the modern backgammon variant acey-deucey named for the 2-1 dice roll which is so powerful in that game. 5-6 is a natural win in modern craps, which similarly has names for many of its rolls (e.g. snake eyes for ones and box cars for sixes) and Parlett describes the terms *canis* for a roll of 1-1-1-1 and *Venus* for a good roll, perhaps 6-6 in Roman times (26). Culin describes Korean backgammon, with its convex scalloped points similar but opposite to the *LJ*’s concave ones, known by a name equivalent in that language to “double-sixes” (*Korean Games* 79-81). See also Bakarat’s chart illustrating the Arabic terms for the numbers in dice rolls on his pp. 10-11. As with the *LJ*, there are special terms for a single die of a number, not always the same as the name of that number, as well as another term for doubles of that number. The *LJ* provides for a further terminology distinction for triples. For comparison between the Bakarat’s Arabic chart (10-11), I have created the following the following table from the *LJ*’s terminology in the “Libro de los dados.”

Table 4. Names Given to Dice Rolls in the *LJ*.

	1	2	3	4	5	6
single	as	dos	tres / tria	quatro	cinco	seys
doubles	amas as	dos dos	ternas	quadernas	quinas	senas
triples	amas as alterz	dos dos alterz	ternas alterz	quadernas alterz	quinas alterz	senas alterz

describes six variations of race games using a total of thirty pieces within the *tawula* game family: *frangieh*,<sup>851</sup> *mughrabieh*,<sup>852</sup> *mahbouseh*,<sup>853</sup> *yahoudieh*,<sup>854</sup> *julbahar* and *boola*.<sup>855</sup> Several of these variants have direct similarities to *LJ* tables variants as noted above.

### 1.3.8 English Translation of “The Book of Tables”

[fol. 72r] **Here begins the book of the games of tables. And it speaks firstly about how the board and the pieces<sup>856</sup> should be made, and how many they should be, and what prime means and how to tie i n them. And also about how they require dice to guide them and make their moves as subtly as they should be able.**

Since we have spoken there about the dice as completely as we were able, we wish now to speak here about tables, and however they might require dice to play because they show luck, still they are to be played intelligently taking from the wits where it should be required. And also from luck. And therefore we wish now, here to speak of them.

And we say thus: that the board on which they are to be played is to be square. And in the middle it is to have a mark so that four quarters

<sup>851</sup> *Frangieh*, meaning foreign and possibly French plays like our modern backgammon and begins with the same opening arrangement (17). Khuri says that this variant depends more on luck than skill than *mahbouseh* (17-18). Note: Bakarar assigns the twenty-four points letters *a* through *x*, without omitting *i* and *v* as does Murray. Analogous usage of words of the same root *franga* to mean both Frank/French and usually fair-colored, European foreign(er) exists or existed in other languages including Arabic, Persian, Greek, Dravidian, Thai, Cambodian, Samoan, Malayyam and even the Irish Gaelic *francach*. Cf. Hans Zinsser, *Rats, Lice and History* (New York: Bantam, 1960) 148 and “LINGUIST List: Vol-4-459. Tue 15 June 1993” ed. Gwyn Williams 21 June 1993 <<http://www.umich.edu/~archive/linguistics/linguist.list/volume.4/no.451-500>>.

<sup>852</sup> *Mughrabieh*, named for Morocco its place of origin, begins with each player stacking all fifteen of his pieces on the first point of his opponent’s inner table. Khuri classifies *mugrabieh* as a children’s game (17-18). Each player must first bring one piece around the board to his own inner table before beginning to move any of his other fourteen pieces. Because only one piece is required to “make a point” there is no capturing in *mughrabieh*. If a player bears off all his pieces before his opponent bears off at least one piece, then the win is a double win similar to backgammon’s gammon win (17-18), *Mughrabieh* is comparable to modern rosespring backgammon discussed above, particularly in its lack of captures due to the invulnerability of blots.

<sup>853</sup> See description of the *LJ*’s *emperador*.

<sup>854</sup> See description of the *LJ*’s *doblet*.

<sup>855</sup> *Boola* is an Egyptian variant of *frangieh* in which more than two people can play. Either group participation is allowed in the determination of moves or the winner of each game takes on another of the players in sequence (Bakarar 21-22).

<sup>856</sup> The pieces in tables are called *tablas* in the *LJ* whereas in most other languages the tables are quarters of the board itself.

are made. And in each table there are to be six points, so that they total twenty-four.

And although in some lands they make the boards flat and painted and also the pieces with which they play square or round and they do not make a place into which they fit, for this reason it was discovered to be better to make the sides of the board from wood, carved out in semi-circles into which the pieces, which are to be round, can be fitted.

And also, one half of the pieces must be of one color and the other half of another so that they can be recognized one from the other. And they are to be fifteen of each color so that in one quarter of the board they can [fol. 72v] place pairs on each point and remain three outside (that quarter) in order to win the game by forming a prime or to tie when it be necessary. Because without these it could not be done.

And for this reason they place the pieces doubled up: because just as in the game of chess when one piece is found alone, separated from the others so that it does not have anyone to guard it and it can be captured, likewise that of tables. If they are not doubled up, the other player who should roll that number which corresponds to that point can take that single piece and there is no one there to defend it.

Prime in tables is when one player captures so many of the other's pieces that he then does not have points upon which to enter them and he therefore loses the game. And tying is that even if he has very few pieces and he enters them that neither one can play even if he wishes. So also for prime because without these three pieces which are in addition to the first twelve, it could not be done.

The dice are perforce needed in tables. Because just as the body cannot move without the feet, so they should not be able to move without them to make any play, because by they are forced directly according to the pips on the dice to move to those points where are indicated by them.

And the board's marking is such that the points of the inner tables are ordered by the pips on the dice in this way: on that which is the first in the division of the board, near the bar is for the six, and the other next to it five, the other four, the other three, the other two and the other one.<sup>857</sup> So one who wants to move from that house that is near the side of the edge where there is no point, and count to the next table would have to roll a six. And this is because the first point from which a piece starts is never counted because if it were counted and a one were rolled, then the piece would stay on that same point. And therefore, the six and all other rolls are to be counted beginning with the second square that is next to and ahead of it. And in this way, the dice make the pieces run around the board. And they make the games as in this book you shall see. And

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<sup>857</sup> A scribal error reverses this concept, saying instead that the 6-point is that closest to the edge of the board and so I correct it here

therefore those who would wish to learn to play well must first learn how many pips you must rolls for each point, not counting the point from where the piece leaves.

[fol. 73r] **This is the first game that they call the *quinze tablas* (fifteen pieces).** The first game of them is this one that they call fifteen pieces or six and however many they can place there from fifteen to one.

[fol. 73v] **This game they call the *doze canes* or *doze hermanos* (twelve dogs or twelve brothers).**

The second game is that the pieces are doubled up on the points and they call it twelve brothers or twelve dogs. And this is because it is played with twelve pieces so that they may be arranged doubled up two by two on the six-points in one of the tables of the board, which whoever is to play first should choose.

And the one who can pair them up the fastest, of the two players, will win because the other will not be able to capture one of his pieces once the point contains a pair.

But each one of those that would play should hold their pieces in their hand or on the board off the points on which they are to play and not place them on the points until the roll of the dice comes for them to be placed.

And this is the explanation of this game.

[fol. 74r] **This game they call *doblet* (doublet).**

And there is another game of tables that they call *doblet* which is played in this way. Each one of the players should have twelve pieces and put them doubled up, one on top of another, each one in his inner table.

And whoever wins the battle<sup>858</sup> should roll first.

And they should unstack those twelve pieces that are on top of the others by the numbers of the rolls of the dice pips.

And also they should bear off and he who bears off first will win the game.

And if by chance either one of the players should make a roll that he does not have the pieces to play, either to unstack them or bear them off, the other player should do it. And in this way it happens many times that one player will win by the numbers that the other will roll.

And this is the explanation of this game and this is the diagram of its arrangement.

[fol. 74v] **This is the game they call *fallas* (drop dead).**

There is another game of tables that they call *fallas* and it is set up in this way: that thirteen of the fifteen pieces are placed on the six-point which is in one of the quarters on the board. And the [remaining] two are placed on the first point that is against the outside edge of the table that is

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<sup>858</sup> See the note on the opening roll to determine the first player under the translation of the dice game *par con as*.

across from the other one on the same side of the bar. And he who has that table, sets up in this same way as the one in the other table as we described.

And when they are thus arranged each one of the two players should try to bring his pieces around through those two tables to his own table as fast as he can, because there he is to arrange them so that he can bear them off safely and in bearing off guard them so that the other does not hit them.

Because if not, he would have to return them to the table where they first began. And if he should find that the other [player] has placed his pieces there where he must enter, he would die because he could not enter and he therefore would lose the game.

Also, he who should roll in such a way that he would not have anywhere to go except for the point that the other had occupied, he will lose the game because he dies. So for this reason, they call this game *fallas*.

But they can either lose or win and in another way. If by chance each one of the players should conduct his pieces safely to his inner table so that neither hits the other, the one who bears them off more quickly will win the game.

And this is the explanation of this game.

[fol. 75r] **This is the game that they call *seys dos & as* (six, two and one).**

This is another game that they call *seys dos & as*.

And both players place their pieces in the same table of the board and he that wins the battle,<sup>859</sup> plays first and he should put his fifteen pieces in this way all within the same table of the board: on the six-point, eight pieces and on the two-point in that same table, four pieces and on the one-point, three. And the other player should put his in that same table on the five-, four- and three-points with a group of five pieces on each one.

And because the one who wins the battle<sup>860</sup> has the six-, two- and one-points they call this game thus. And he should play first and take as many points as he should be able in the other table that is contiguous (across the bar).

And the other one that plays after him also will take as many points as he should be able in that same table.

And if in taking those points one should hit one or more of the other's pieces, he must return them not to the table which is on the same side of the bar nor to the table which is next to it (on the same side of the

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<sup>859</sup> See the note on the opening roll to determine the first player under the translation of the dice game *par con as*.

<sup>860</sup> See the note on the opening roll to determine the first player under the translation of the dice game *par con as*.

bar) but to the one which is diagonally opposite. And once he places them in this table he must bring them around through all the tables to that table from where they must be borne off.

And he who should bear them off faster will win the game.

And this is the explanation of the game which we described above.

[fol. 75v] **This is the game that they call in Spain *emperador* (emperor), because he made it.**

There is another game of tables that they call in Spain emperor because he made it and it is set up and played in this way. The one player should place his fifteen pieces on the one-point in one table. And the other (should place) his fifteen pieces in the other one-point that is in the table next to it (on the same side of the bar).

And he that should win the battle<sup>861</sup> is to roll first and bring his pieces by the rolls of the dice around through the tables of the board until he enter them into the table where the other had his (pieces). And the other player should do this same thing towards him in the opposite direction.

And if in passing the ones should hit the others, they must return to the table where they first were placed. And from there they must be taken again as before until they come to the table where they should be entered. And in passing by each other and being hit and returning again as above in order to play he that enters them into the table where he should and bears them off safely, he wins the game.

But there are two things that good players do.<sup>862</sup> One is (called) tie and the other prime.

And the tie is done to save the one who has the worse game from losing. And the prime, so that he who has it better wins the game even more surely.

And the tie is like this, that each one has so many pieces that he cannot enter into the other's table no matter what he may roll, all the points being held by his pieces or his opponent's. And they should be blocked while even one piece remains on the points of the [fol. 76r] table where he is to enter, because he may not put it on top of another one of their own even though it be alone nor on top of the others which are in pairs even though the roll of the dice says that they could do it if it were in another game, and in this way because neither one nor the other can enter, they call this game a tie; because the damage is equal on both sides.

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<sup>861</sup> See the note on the opening roll to determine the first player under the translation of the dice game *par con as*.

<sup>862</sup> This advice about what good players do is the first of the only two strategy hints offered in the *LJ*, perhaps because it is a game was a personal favorite to Alfonso. Both pieces of such advice in the *LJ* appear in the "Libro de las tablas." The second hint appears in a game with a rule comparable to a rule in the game emperor.

**What is the *barata* (prime) of this game**

A prime is when one player has an advantage over the other and has twelve pieces arranged (contiguously) so that the other even if can enter he cannot escape and of the other pieces that he has he must bring them down or make one be hit there.<sup>863</sup>

And when he hits four or more pieces the game is “primed” because he can bare his pieces off safely or hit him more if he wishes. And he therefore wins the game.

**This game they call *medio emperador* (half emperor)**

There is another game that they call *medio emperador* and it has this name because just as the other game that we described above is played on the four tables of the board, so this one is played on two tables. And it is played with two or three dice but there is no prime like the other one but one can tie.

And because the game *emperador* is played on the whole board and this one only on half of it and with two dice, therefore they call it *medio emperador*.

And this is the explanation of this game.

[fol. 76v]

**This game they call the *pareia de entrada* (paired entry)**

There is another game that they call *pareia de entrada* that is played with three or two dice in this way. The players who play this game should have their pieces outside of the points and place them in one of the four tables of the board upon which they agree as in *doze canes*. And he who first places them there should bring them through the tables of the board to the other table that is across from it on the same side of the bar and there he is to place them if he can and bear them off.

And if each player in bringing his tables to the table where they are borne off, they hit one of them, it should return to that table where they were first placed. And he must strive to bring it as fast as he can to that table where they are to be borne off. And he that should bear them off the fastest will win the game.

And so much of an advantage has either one of the players who rolls the same number on the three or two dice, because he is to move the entire roll as soon as he rolls the doubles or triples. And in addition it is to be his turn to roll again.

And because in the beginning of this game they enter their pieces as in *doze canes* and after when they roll a double they are to complete it all, therefore they call this game *pareia de entrada*.

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<sup>863</sup> In English, we say that one should roll the prime forward using the extra three men. The strategy of putting a blot ahead of your prime is useful when sacrificing it to be hit by an opponent's reentering means that your piece would have to be reentered, and thus have an additional opportunity to hit more enemy pieces on another trip around the board.

[fol. 77r] **This game they call *cab & quinal* (alongside fives).**

There is another game of tables that they call *cab & quinal* and it has this name because all thirty pieces are put in one table of the four tables of the board. The fifteen that are of one color on the six-point and the other fifteen on the five-point that is alongside of it.

And those on five have<sup>864</sup> the first go because if those on six which are one point ahead played first, they would have two advantages: the first, one point which they are ahead and the other, going first.

And they play in this way, they should bring themselves around through the other points of the tables of the board to the other table which is across from (on the same side of the bar) the one where they were set up and from there they should be borne off.

And if any of them are should hit each other in bringing them around they should return and enter with them on the points of the table where they began, if they should find (those points) empty or with blots or on top of their own pieces, however many may be there. And in this way the game of *cab & quinal* with three dice differs from the game of *emperador*.

But if some wish to play it with two dice and count the other die as of whatever number they might agree upon, for instance if the third die should always be six, it is set up in this way: they are to put the fourteen pieces on the six-point and the other one of that same color ahead on the other (inner table's) six-point. And of the other fifteen pieces they are to put fourteen of them on the five-point and the other one on the four-point that is next to it. And the movement and the bearing off of these pieces is to bring themselves around just like the other game that we described above that is similar to this, that is played with three dice.

[fol. 77v] **This game they call *todas tablas* (all tables).**

There is another game that they call *todas tablas* because it is set up spread out through all the four tables of the board.<sup>865</sup>

And in the two tables that are across from one another (on the same side of the bar), on the first they place five pieces of one color on the six-point. And of that same (color) they place two on the one-point of the other table that is across from it (on the same side of the bar), and in that same table (the other color) also puts his pieces opposite it (the first color) as we have said in this. And in the other two tables that are across the bar from these, on the one-point they put five pieces of the color that

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<sup>864</sup> This game and *todas tablas* are unusual in the “Libro de las tablas” in terms of the personification of its pieces.

<sup>865</sup> The explanation of this game's name highlights Alfonso's confusion over the name tables. In the introduction to the “Book of Tables,” he explains that it is the pieces that are called tables. Everywhere else in the world it is the quadrants or leaves of the board are called tables. Several other variants use all fifteen playing pieces but are not called *todas tablas*. Only this variant that uses all of the quadrants or tables is called all tables.

placed the other five on the six-point. And on the five-points they put three pieces in each of these colors.

And they are played<sup>866</sup> like this: whichever one goes first will play whichever side he wishes bringing the two pieces from the one-point towards the six-point where they have five pieces. But if some pieces are taken, they are to return them to the table where the two pieces are on the one-point. And from there to bring them to the table where the five pieces are on the six-point and from there to bear them off.

And this game is played with two dice.

[fol. 78r] **This game they call *laquet* (the quest).**<sup>867</sup>

There is another game of tables that they call *laquet* and it is played with two dice and set up in this way: fourteen pieces of one color are placed in one table of the board on the one-point and the fifteenth is placed on the one-point of<sup>868</sup> the other table which is across from it (on the same side of the bar). And the other fifteen pieces are placed in this way, fourteen in the same table where the other fourteen are: two on the six-point and three each on the five-, four-, three- and two-points. And the fifteenth in the third table on the one-point and there they are arranged.

And in this game the pieces do not hit one another. And any roll that one player should be unable to use; the other is to use it. And he who first should bear off from that table where they should be arranged wins the game. And this game is now newly found and it does not agree with the name according to the other ancient authorities.

[fol. 78v] **This game they call in other lands the *buffa cortesa* (courtly *Puff*)**

There is another game of tables that they call in other lands the *buffa cortesa* and it is like the game that they call *pareia* (*de entrada*) in bringing the pieces around and in bearing them off and in all ways except that it has such an advantage that the rolls that one player cannot use that the other player uses it.

And of these there is another smaller version that is played with twice dice.<sup>869</sup>

And these are the greatest and most significant games of tables that the ancient players found. And from these can be taken from now on

<sup>866</sup> This game and *cab & quinal* are unusual in the “Libro de las tablas” in terms of the personification of its pieces.

<sup>867</sup> I have translated this French-sounding name *laquet* or *laquete* in terms of Scholasticism’s “quæstio.”

<sup>868</sup> Manuscript has “and.” “la quinzena en la casa dell as & la otra quadra que esta en derecho della” (fol. 78r).

<sup>869</sup> Unlike the two varieties of *cab & quinal* in the *LJ*, the smaller two-dice variant of *buffa cortesa* is not described and it is not the same game as three-dice variant called *buffa de baldrac* which follows it and the premature summation (see the next note).

however many they would like according to what understanding he has who wishes to play.<sup>870</sup>

[fol. 79r] **This game they call the *buffa de baldrac* (common *Puff*)**

There is another game that they call the *buffa de baldrac* and it is played with three dice. And they roll battle<sup>871</sup> and he who wins the battle plays first. And both players are first to enter the pieces in their halves of the pair of tables on one side of the board, according to the rolls of the dice.

And afterwards each one has entered his pieces into the tables as we said, they bring them around according to the rolls of the dice, the one against the other through all the tables of the board. And if they meet and they are found unprotected they can hit each other if they wish. And the piece that is hit is to return to the table where it was first entered.

And in this way, the players bring their pieces in contrary motion, until they pass each other, to the other table of the board across from where they were first placed (on the same side of the bar).

And if they should roll numbers on the dice that may not be taken completely, they use the largest number they can.

And this game is played with three dice and both players are to hold their pieces in their hands and according to the rolls of the dice, thus place the pieces.

[fol. 79v] **This game the Romans call *reencontrat* (*rencontre*)<sup>872</sup>**

This is another game that the Romans call *reencontrat* and it is played with three dice. And they first roll battle<sup>873</sup> and he who wins the battle plays first.

And the black pieces in this game are placed in the table of the board to the right hand of he who is to play with them on the other side of the board.

And the whites are set up also on the opposite side of the board on the right-hand side of he who is to play with them.

And the players are each to bring their pieces around through the tables of the board to where they shall put them, in the table on the opposite side of the board across from where they were first placed. And if they meet and hit each other the piece that is hit is to return to the table where it was first placed.

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<sup>870</sup> This summation, similar to that found at the end of the “Libro de los dados” (fol. 71v), seems to indicate that the “Libro de las tablas” originally was meant to end here but that further variants were found and included.

<sup>871</sup> See the note on the opening roll to determine the first player under the translation of the dice game *par con as*.

<sup>872</sup> From the French for clash or collision, as in between two armies in a battle.

<sup>873</sup> See the note on the opening roll to determine the first player under the translation of the dice game *par con as*.

And in this game no two pieces can occupy the same point until after they have passed the middle of the board as in the game of the emperor.<sup>874</sup>

And the strength of this game is in knowing how to double up the pieces well after the piece is past the middle of the board, according to the rolls of the dice.<sup>875</sup>

And this is the explanation of this game and this is the diagram of its arrangement. [fol. 80r] (diagram) [fol. 80v] (blank)

#### 1.4 “The Book of Large Games”

The fourth treatise of the *LJ* (fols. 81r-85v, with fols. 86r and 86v left blank) contains information on these four games: great chess, eight-sided dice for great chess, seven-sided dice for decimal chess, and tables based on the number seven for play with decimal-chess dice.

Great chess is played on a board with one hundred forty-four squares, twelve on each side. Its pieces include the usual king, rook, and pawn, and five exotic animals with unique moves that fancifully imitate their real-life movements. The giraffe is a runner similar to a horse with an adaptation on the *cauallo*'s move, the crocodile is deceptive hunter who moves diagonally, the lion a fierce leaper, the rhinoceros overwhelmingly powerful, and the fantastic and mythical anka replaces the fers with a very powerful move based on its legends. The realistic representations of the majority of these animals seem to have been drawn by an artist who had actually seen them and recall *Cantiga* 29<sup>876</sup> with its central figure surrounded by beasts of air, land, and water and all drawn to

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<sup>874</sup> This rule is not explicit in the text for the game of emperor, which may be why it was included here later in a game with a similar rule.

<sup>875</sup> This is the second of only two strategy hints offered in the *LJ*. The first is mentioned above in a note for the comparable game of emperor.

<sup>876</sup> Cf. Richard P. Kinkade, “Myth and Reality in the Miracle of *Cantiga* 29,” *La corónica* 28.1 (1999).

life. This realism argues for a similar likeness in human portraiture discussed in this dissertation's second chapter.

Because of the frustration of the medieval player in general, and Alfonso in particular, with the slowness of chess the eight- and seven-sided dice needed to speed the play of great chess and another larger variant are included here, similar to an explanation in the first treatise of how the six-sided dice speed regular chess. Finally, a tables variant whose board is based on the number seven (rather than six) with seven points per table for a total of twenty-four is presented to be played with the seven-sided dice.

This treatise is the first one to break the order of the latter-day title indicating the three primary games of chess, dice and tables but it continues this theme in its organization by presenting larger variants of all three types of games. Since all four games presented have in common that they are larger than those presented in the first three treatises and because they are set apart by blank folios 80v, 86r and 86v, I have chosen to group them together and call this treatise "The Book of Large Games." Chess variants of all sizes remain popular from antiquity through the present, modern role-playing games require dice of many different sides (e.g. six-, eight-, ten- and twelve-sided dice) and there are even several modern backgammon variants which use boards of differing dimensions.

The *Oxford Companion to Chess* has an entry for what it calls the Alfonso manuscript which is accurate except that it says that fols. 81r-85v contain "14 fairy problems, and descriptions of several unorthodox games, including forms of great chess

and must-capture chess.”<sup>877</sup> While great chess does appear here, there are no problems for it. The separate entry for must-capture chess indicates that the *iuego forçado* or *iuego de las donzellas* found on fol. 5r is the game referred to and not a game from the fourth treatise.

Just as the greatest number of folios in the *LJ* are dedicated to regular chess, the greatest number of folios in the fourth treatise are dedicated to this chess variant (fols. 81r-82v). However the most compelling reasons for great chess’s presence in the *LJ* are the unique beauty of its pieces and the role it plays in the *LJ*’s hierarchical arrangement of games. While some people somewhere may have played *grant acedrex*, I seriously doubt Alfonso’s interest in this game actually extended to playing it frequently.

Alfonso repeatedly shows himself to be impatient with the regular 8x8 chess and much less a larger variant with more and more complicated pieces. As with regular chess, Alfonso feels the need to use dice for the purpose of speeding the play of great chess to such an extent that he himself is compelled to invent them.<sup>878</sup> It is this very line of reasoning that leads me to conclude that the dice themselves are where Alfonso’s principal interests in great chess lay. One can imagine Alfonso learning of this variant, sitting down to play it, immediately becoming frustrated if not overwhelmed with it and coming to the conclusion that dice were definitely needed for it. Once the dice had been created, I believe they themselves became the point of interest for Alfonso, rather than the play of great chess, as well as the starting point for the structure of the remainder of the *LJ* after the first three titular games of chess, dice and tables.

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<sup>877</sup> *New Edition* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1992) 11.

<sup>878</sup> “**P**Or que este *grant Acedrex* se iuega muy de uagar & tardan mucho en el; por ende nos Rey don Alfonso mandamos fazer dados con que se iuegue este *Acedrex* mas ayna” (fol. 83r).

With great chess as the point of departure for the creation of the eight-sided dice, Alfonso must have begun to wonder if there were not then a chess variant which might require and justify the invention of, not surprisingly, seven-sided dice, a game he or his compilers subsequently found in *acedrex de las diez casas* or decimal chess. As with the *Libro del ajedrez de un autor árabe desconocido* studied by Felix M. Pareja Casañas, I believe Alfonso's source for decimal chess was incomplete thus accounting for the *LJ*'s vague treatment of it. However, the lack of details does not matter because it is not the playability of decimal chess that was important, just as it was not important for great chess. Rather it is that decimal chess has seven unique pieces, whatever their contradictory or unknown names or movements might be, which would require and justify the invention of seven-sided dice.

As evidence for my hypothesis, I offer the following facts: that endgame problems are not presented for this or any other chess variant in the *LJ*; that the eight-sided dice are accorded a miniature equally as splendid as great chess; that decimal, i.e. 10x10, chess is mentioned only in passing and solely in the context of Alfonso's seventh and final complaint about the slowness of the game and the aforementioned seven-sided dice needed to speed it up;<sup>879</sup> and, finally, that the seven-sided dice pertaining to decimal chess are also accorded a miniature equal in grandeur to those given to great chess, eight-sided dice, base-seven tables, astrological checkers and astrological backgammon.

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<sup>879</sup> “**E**T por que este Acedrex ha mester dados pora se iogar mas' ayna; por ende mandamos fazer dados con que se iuegue” (fol. 84r).

### 1.4.1 *Grant acedrex* or Great Chess

The miniature on fol. 82v with its realistic and finely detailed animal pieces shows *grant acedrex*, or great chess, to be one of the most beautiful games in the *LJ*. Alfonso attributes the invention of *grant acedrex* to India to imitate how the kings of old there used to arrange their armies in order to show their power and control over strange beasts. However, the animals and river named in the game's description strike both Brunet y Bellet and myself as more African than Indian.<sup>880</sup> Basic rules for great chess are the same as for regular chess as described in the first treatise. The unique pieces for this game, their moves and captures, are explained below. Due to the absence of playability as a requirement, however, the descriptions of two great chess pieces present some problems. The description of the rhinoceros's move is so bizarrely worded as to be nearly unintelligible and that of the lion is so laconic as to have sparked a friendly debate between myself and fellow researcher Jean-Louis Cazaux.<sup>881</sup>

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<sup>880</sup> Brunet y Bellet 417-18.

<sup>881</sup> Scientist, board game enthusiast and author of *Guide des echecs exotiques et insolites* (Montigny-le-Brettonneux, Fr.: Chiron, 2000) and *Du Senet au Backgammon: les jeux de parcours* (Montigny-le-Brettonneux, Fr.: Chiron, 2003), co-author of *L'univers des echecs* (Paris: Bornemann, 2000) and *The Anatomy of Chess* (Pfulligen, Ger.: Promos, 2003).

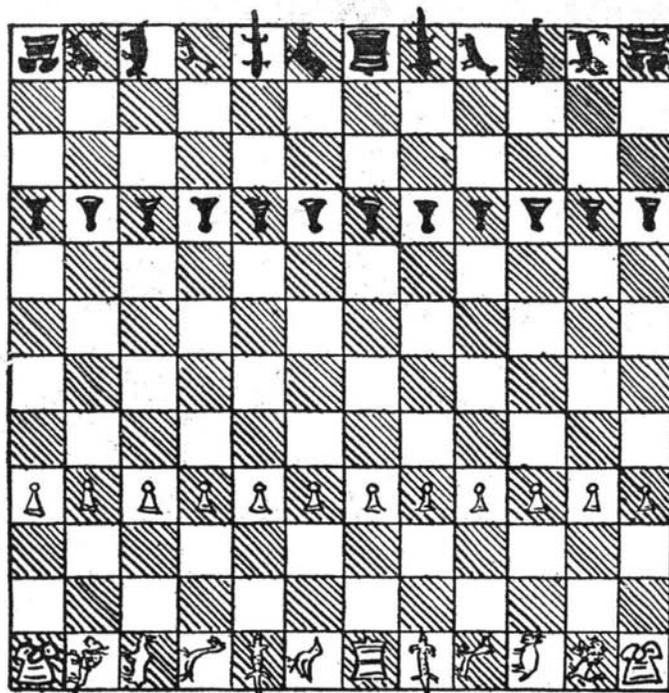


Fig. 147. *Grant acedrex* (description on fols. 81r through 82r and diagram on fol. 82v).<sup>882</sup>

Inventory:

♁g1 AANCA f1<sup>883</sup> ♁a1 ♁i1 LION b1 LION k1 RHINO c1 RHINO j1  
 GIRAFFE d1 GIRAFFE i1 CROC e1 CROC h1 ♁a4 b4 c4 d4 e4 f4 g4 h4 i4 j4 k4 l4  
 (24)

♁g12 AANCA f12 ♁a12 ♁i12 LION b12 LION k12 RHINO c12 RHINO j12  
 GIRAFFE d12 GIRAFFE i12 CROC e12 CROC h12 ♁a9 b9 c9 d9 e9 f9 g9 h9 i9 j9 k9  
 l9 (24)

<sup>882</sup> Drawing of *grant acedrex* from J. B. Sánchez Pérez 1929: 14. This image is rotated to show white's opening array at the bottom; the original shows white at right.

<sup>883</sup> The *aanca* appears on a square of its same color in the opening array, the same as the modern "queen on her color" rule.

The opening array of *grant acedrex* puts “castles” and lions in four corners showing the things at Alfonso’s command per its description as being made to show off a king’s holdings and mastery over animals “por amostrar *sus poderes & que los temiessen mas sus enemigos*. E otrossi de como mostrauan estando en las huestes. aues & bestias estrannas por que los obedeciessen mas de grado los omnes & los touiessen por muy mas nobles” (fol. 81r). Given the differences between the *LJ*’s *grant acedrex* and other surviving examples known as Timur’s chess and the unknown ethnicity of the men in curved hats, perhaps this represents a personalization of a game from a similar Near East source.

Brunet y Bellet’s article “Sobre el juego de ajedrez,” offers his own accurate drawing of the board’s opening array and a list of the names of the pieces. Quoting from the description of great chess, he opines that Alfonso speaks of it as a recent invention perhaps introduced during one of the Moorish invasions of the time. However, he disagrees with those who would say that this game is *chaturanga* because of the animal playing pieces, the lack of the use of dice and the different number of players needed: two for great chess as compared with *chaturanga*’s four. The nature of the animal pieces cements Brunet y Bellet’s unusual conviction that chess originated in Egypt and that Egypt is what Alfonso understood, or should have, by *India mayor*. Indeed, the lions, giraffes, crocodiles, and *unicornios* which he offers as rhinoceri or hippopotami are all associated with Africa and found in Egyptian artwork. Were this a game from India, Brunet y Bellet astutely suggests, there might be found instead animals such as

elephants,<sup>884</sup> tigers, king cobras, turkeys and peacocks which are unique to that place. Many other more recent and modern chess sets portray a variety of animals, including, the German sets whose king is Reynard the Fox (Keats 1985: 66, 94-95), a Swiss bear set (Keats 1985: pl. 131) and a Chinese rat set (Keats 1985: pl. 48). Brunet y Bellet firmly believes that *grant acedrex* game represents a cousin of Tamerlane's chess.<sup>885</sup> He offers his sketch of the board for the Alfonsine great chess as his diagram no. 1.

Murray presents great chess in Ch. XVI, "Chess in Asia, Part I Games from Muslim and Indian Chess" of *A History of Chess*. This is one of the rare instances in which Murray did not offer a diagram to show the opening arrangement of a chess variation, probably due to the difficult nature of reproducing the pieces as shown in the manuscript. Owing to this same difficult and my lack of a font, in the above figure I use J. B. Sánchez Pérez's excellent drawing of the great chess board with animal pieces from

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<sup>884</sup> *Alffiles* are indeed elephants, perhaps pointing toward an Indian origin of the game of chess. Brunet y Bellet acknowledges that the Egyptians also had elephants but does not appear to connect the name of this traditional piece with the animal, Indian or African (418, 429n5).

<sup>885</sup> García Morencos (*Libro de ajedrez, dados y tablas de Alfonso X El Sabio* [Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 1977]) concurs with Brunet y Bellet that *grant acedrex* has marked similarities with Tamerlane's chess and that *alquerque* is related to checkers (47). According to Keats "Ibn Arabshah recalls seeing among the possessions of Timur or Tamerlane a round chess board . . . , an oblong one . . . and an enlarged one . . . . These various boards were designed by Tamerlane so that the playing pieces could represent the various different forms of battle more accurately and realistically" (2: 87). Such realism is in keeping also with Alfonso's goals in the *LJ*, also containing round and enlarged chess variants. Timur's enlarged variant contained twelve different types of chessmen, with each player having 28 for a total of 56 (Keats 2: 126-27). According to Gollon's *Chess Variations*, Tamerlane's chess is played on a larger than usual board of 10x11 squares, with one extra square that serves as a citadel at the right end of each player's second row which is called a *hisn* (plural, *husun*). "The usual eight major pieces are used in this game. In addition, each player has one Vizir or Wazir (whichever name one prefers), two Zarafahs [Giraffes], two Taliahs [Pickets], two Jamals [Camels], and two Dabbabahs [War Engines]. There are eleven pawns" (73). Given the inclusion of the *dabbaba* piece, I believe Tamerlane's chess may also or instead be related to the *LJ*'s decimal chess variant. According to the *Oxford Companion to Chess*, Tamerlane, Timur, Timur-Leng or Timur the lame (1336-1405) was the Mongol emperor who was known to play both larger and round Chess variants. He named one of his sons Shah-Rukh (Check-Rook) and his Persian lawyer and historian Aladdin at-Tabrizi (Aladdin of the children's stories) was known as Ali ash-Shatranji because of his skill at chess (423). His grandson Iskandar-Sultan ibn Umar-Shaykh (1384-1415) had a horoscope painted which bears strong artistic resemblances to the *LJ*'s *escaques* (see Sec. 171 and fig. 167).

the title page of his *El ajedrez de D. Alfonso el Sabio* (Madrid: la Franco, 1929). J. B. Sánchez Pérez also describes the pieces and the game's play (1929: 13-14). Trend briefly describes the board, the pieces and their moves. John Gollon describes and offers a sample game of great chess in Ch. 11 of his *Chess Variations: Ancient, Regional and Modern* (1968: 90-94). Arnald Steiger and Paolo Canettieri offer modern German and Italian translations of the original text. Parlett briefly describes the game and pieces (313). Jean-Louis Cazaux,<sup>886</sup> Hans Bodlaender<sup>887</sup> and Ed Friedlander<sup>888</sup> have websites dedicated to the game. Keats presents a detail of fol. 82v.<sup>889</sup> A full-page image of this same detail of fol. 82v appears in Keats without a caption, connection to the surrounding material, or listing of any kind either in the list of illustrations, table of contents or the index (1: 359). Trend also offers possibly the first transcription of fols. 81r-82r of the manuscript.

#### 1.4.1.1 The Great Chess King

Located at g1 and g12, the king in great chess leaps like the fers to any square two steps forward on its file or the diagonals on which it stands, even if the intermediate squares are occupied, or moves to any adjoining square on the file, rank or diagonal(s) on which he stands. The medieval Spanish terms in the *LJ* for these diagonal and orthogonal movements are respectively “en su derecho” and “en sosquino” (fol. 81r, see also this

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<sup>886</sup> “Alfonso X’s *grant acedrex*” ed. Jean-Louis Cazaux 1 Mar. 2005  
<<http://history.chess.free.fr/acedrex.htm> as of 03/01/2005>.

<sup>887</sup> “Grand Acedrex” ed. Hans Bodlaender 18 May 2005  
<<http://www.chessvariants.org/historic.dir/acedrex.html>>.

<sup>888</sup> “Grand Acedrex” playable applet by Ed Friedlander 1 Mar. 2005  
<<http://play.chessvariants.org/erf/GrandAce.html>>

<sup>889</sup> His Figure 20, with the caption: “The Great Chessboard of Timur. (Described by Thomas Hyde). The above illustrations from *Juegos de axedrez, dados y tablas* 1283. Also see Chapter[ ]16” (Keats 1: 62). While Brunet y Bellet also makes this comparison, the game of *grant acedrex*, though a variant of chess played on a larger board, shares little other relationship with Timur’s chess

dissertation's section 1.1.2.1 on the equipment for regular chess). For the fers or promoted pawn of regular chess this leap is only an option for its first move and cannot be a capture. The text is not entirely clear as to whether the king's fers-style leap is only an option on his first move or at any time during the game or whether it can be a capture but presumably it is the same as for the fers.

Murray,<sup>890</sup> Canettieri, Gollon, Calvo (1987: 141), Cazaux and Bodlaender reverse the positions of the king and the *aanca*, kings f1 and f12, *aancas* g1 and g12; otherwise their descriptions of the opening array are correct. Murray (1913: 348), Trend, Gollon, Calvo (1987: 141), Keats (1: 195), Parlett, Jean-Louis Cazaux and Hans Bodlaender concur, but do not mention that the leap cannot be a capture. Calvo only gives the opening locations for white but locates the king incorrectly on f1 instead of g1 (1987: 141). J. B. Sánchez Pérez (1929) says only, and incorrectly, that the great chess king plays the same as the usual king in the *LJ*. Trend explains that castling had not yet been invented and Bodlaender specifies that there is no castling. Friedlander says incorrectly that the king moves as in modern chess by FIDE rules, that it is a royal piece and that there is no castling. Steiger's German (337) and Canettieri's Italian (123) concur with my English translation.

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<sup>890</sup> Inferred from Murray's incorrect list of possible squares for the king's initial leap: d1, d3, f3, h3 and h1 (1913: 348). Gollon offers these same squares. Bodlaender offers the same list and adds incorrect options for black: d12, d10, f10, h10, or h12.

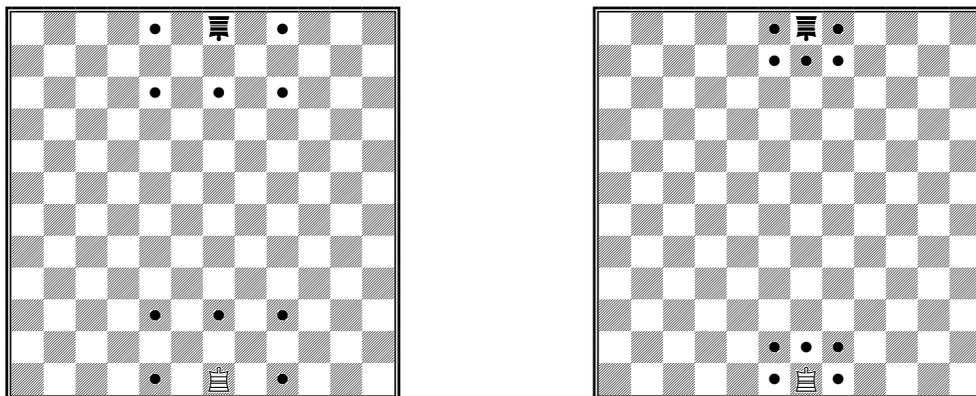


Fig. 148. The Great Chess King's Leap (left) and Move (right).

#### 1.4.1.2 The Great Chess *Aanca*

Located at f1 and f12, the great chess *aanca*'s move is composed of two different steps. First, like the fers, it makes one step of one single square to any adjoining square on the diagonal(s) on which it stands. The *LJ* expresses this diagonal movement as “en postpunta” (fol. 81r), as it does for the fil in regular chess (fol. 3v). The *aanca* can remain on that square or may also continue to any square on the file or rank of that square, maintaining its movement in the same direction away from its starting square. The *LJ* expresses these vertical and horizontal orthogonal movements respectively as “en derecho” as for regular chess and for great chess, uniquely, as “entrauiesso” (fol. 81r). If the *aanca* begins on a black square, then it will move one step of one square of the same color along the diagonal like the fers and then continue straight ahead as far as it likes. And if it begins on a white square, it moves in a reciprocal way. Starting on a black square, it may not enter the four white squares that surround its starting square and likewise if it begins on a white square it may not enter those four surrounding black squares. The *aanca* belongs to a class of chess pieces known as bent riders owing to their

composite moves. The knight is the only bent-rider in regular chess while the *aanca* is one of three in great chess, the others being the rhino and the giraffe.

As mentioned above, Murray (1913: 348), Canettieri, Gollon, Cazaux and Bodlaender reverse the positions of the king and the *aanca*, which Trend calls griffin, Gollon calls gryphon and Bodlaender calls griffion. Keats merely says that the king and the *aanca*, which he also calls the gryphon, occupy the two center files (1: 195). Cazaux agrees with me that the *aanca* is on its color on the f-file.

Descriptions of the move by Murray (1913: 348), Trend, J. B. Sánchez Pérez (1929), Gollon, Keats, Parlett, Friedlander and Bodlaender do not indicate that motion must always continue in the same direction away from beginning square and that therefore the four surrounding squares of the opposite color cannot be entered. Gollon does specify that the *aanca* “may not pass over occupied squares” (92). Brunet y Bellet, and J. B. Sánchez Pérez after him, calls this piece a *ganso*.<sup>891</sup>

Steiger’s German (339) and Canettieri’s Italian (125) concur with my English translation. Calvo describes the *aanca*’s movement correctly but, due to his placement of the white great chess king on f1, also reverses its position with the *aanca* and incorrectly places in at g1 (1987: 141). Cazaux, who calls the *aanca* the elephant bird, gives a perfectly accurate description of the move. Bodlaender, who calls this piece a griffion, notes that the *aanca* can remain upon the first square it leaps to and that the

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<sup>891</sup> (Sp. goose). Brunet y Bellet 27; J. B. Sánchez Pérez 1929: 91-92. However, Brunet y Bellet criticizes Thomas Hyde [1636-1703, author of *De ludis Orientalibus* (1694)] for ridiculing the 12x12 board, Duncan Forbes [1798-1868, author of *A History of Chess* (1860)] for confusing the crocodile/swordfish of great chess with a goose and the belief of unnamed others that these animals represented the zodiac. Oddly, Brunet y Bellet identifies the bull here as one of the pieces for great chess, perhaps intending a reference to the *unicornio* (424-25).

“unobstructed path must start with the diagonal movement.” According to Pennick, the princess, by which I think he might possibly mean the *aanca*, “[i]n Great Chess, has the powers of *bishop* and *knight* combined and is known as a *wazir* in eighteenth-century Persia” (242).

Trend gives the etymology of *aanca* as “Sp. *aanca*, Ar. ‘*anqâ*, ‘long-necked’” (11). Steiger, in his glossary, states that the word *aanca* derives from the white band around the bird’s neck (388). Supporting both Trend and Steiger is the entry in *E. J. Brill’s First Encyclopedia of Islam*, which states that the

‘ANḲĀ’, [is] a large legendary bird, which is said to have received its name from its long neck or, according to others, from a white collar on the neck. (The name of the biblical ‘Anākim is derived from the same root). The further accounts of Arabic authors suggest both the griffin and the phoenix, and legend connects the ‘anḳa’ with the *ashab al-rass* [q.v.] mentioned in sura 25, 40 and 50, 12. Although it is generally assumed that the bird only existed in the remote past, Ibn Khallikhan (quoted by al-Damiri) claims to have read in the historian al-Farghani, that an ‘anḳa’ was to be seen among other strange animals in the zoological garden of the Fatimite caliph. The description which he adds indicates that he alludes to a species of waders (herons) occurring in Upper Egypt). *Bibliography*: Kazwini (ed. Wüstenf.) i. 419 *et seq.*; Damiri, *Hayat al-Hayawan* s.v.; Freytag, *Proverbia Arabum*, ii. 25; Lane, *The 1001 nights*, chap. 20, note 22.<sup>892</sup>

Murray (1913: 348), and many others surely following him, have translated the *LJ*’s term *aanca* to that of another legendary bird, the gryphon (also variously griffin, griffon, griffion), a composite mythological beast having the body of a lion and the head of a bird of prey, often an eagle. However, neither the rendering of the *aanca* piece on fol. 82v the lengthy textual description of its qualities on fol. 81r suggests such a

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<sup>892</sup> E. J. Brill and M[artijn] Th[eodoor] Houtsma, *E. J. Brill’s First Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden, NY: Brill, 1987) Vol. 1 A—Baba-Beg: 356.

composite creature in any way but instead both have marked similarities to the fabulous roc. I feel that the *aanca* is a creature entirely separate from the gryphon chosen by other translators and that given the prominent mention of elephants in its description,<sup>893</sup> that it was likely either the legendary roc of Arabic tradition or the roc's probable inspiration, the real but now extinct elephant bird, the *vouron patra* of Madagascar.

A description of the roc can be found in four Eastern collections: the *Kalila wa Dimna*, whose relationship to the diffusion of chess has already been discussed and which Alfonso ordered translated as a prince, where the *simtir* (also *simurgh*) or *anka* is called the king of birds; the tales of Sinbad in the *Libro de los engaños*, commissioned to be translated by Alfonso's brother Fadrique in year 1253 and which would therefore have been known to Alfonso; the later *Travels of Marco Polo*, where it was described as having a sixteen-foot wingspan;<sup>894</sup> and in four stories in the *The Thousand and One Nights*, two with Abd al-Rahman and two with Sinbad, who described it as so large that when it flew it blotted out the sun's light. Given these literary similarities, I considered translating the *aanca* as roc (also spelled *rukḥ*, from the Arabic *rukḥḥ*) because it too was a "gigantic legendary bird, said to carry off elephants and other large beasts for food"<sup>895</sup> but decided against this term both in order to avoid confusion with the similar-sounding rook piece and moreover because none of the other *grant acedrex* pieces are mythological animals.

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<sup>893</sup> "Ca ella es tan grant que lieua ell Eleffant a su nio & todas las otras bestias grandes que falla" (fol. 81r). Keats offers a description of the roc in which it is said to carry off rhinos instead of elephants (2: 154); this may be significant since both rocs and rhinos are pieces in the *LJ's grant acedrex* (2: 154).

<sup>894</sup> *Travels of Marco Polo*. Kinkade's *Desarrollo de la novela antes de 1500: Historia y antología de textos* 3 vols. (Tucson, AZ: Dept. of Spanish and Portuguese, 1997) 3: 474-97.

<sup>895</sup> "roc" *Encyclopædia Britannica* <<http://search.eb.com/eb/article?eu=65584>> [Accessed July 8, 2002].

Instead I wondered if perhaps the bird which was meant by *aanca* was the real elephant bird or *vouron patra*<sup>896</sup> (*Aepyornis maximus*) of Madagascar, now extinct, who was likely the roc's inspiration.<sup>897</sup> While the other *grant acedrex* animals are certainly exotic and would have been especially so in the thirteenth century, even the mythological name unicorn describes a real African beast, the rhinoceros. The very realism of the other animals's renderings is evidence arguing for the likelihood that the *aanca* refers to a real animal even if some of its traits are fancifully exaggerated.

One of the only contemporary European accounts of this short-legged giant bird was penned by the first French Governor of Madagascar, Étienne de Flacout, who wrote, in 1658, '*vouropatra—a large bird which haunts the Ampatres and lays eggs like the ostriches; so that the people of these places may not take it, it seeks the most lonely places.*'"<sup>898</sup> The final part of this description is oddly reminiscent of what Alfonso says about the *aanca*'s habit of only roosting in the tallest peaks it can find, although he gives different reasons for this saying that it always wants clear and clean air and that its long legs and wings—not to mention its flightlessness—prevent it from taking off from a low place.<sup>899</sup>

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<sup>896</sup> The *vouron patra* is an extinct member of the flightless genus Ratitae, which also includes the ostrich, emu and kiwi birds. It was the largest known bird, averaging ten feet in height despite rather short legs, one thousand pounds in weight and a two-gallon egg nearly three feet in circumference (Amy Balanoff, 2003, "Aepyornis maximus" (On-line), Digital Morphology. Accessed May 2, 2006 at [http://digimorph.org/specimens/Aepyornis\\_maximus/](http://digimorph.org/specimens/Aepyornis_maximus/)) and "Vouron Patra" 7 July 2002 <<http://users.aristotle.net/~swarmack/patra.html>>.

<sup>897</sup> "Aepyornis," *Encyclopædia Britannica*. 2006. Encyclopædia Britannica Online. 2 May 2006 <<http://search.eb.com/eb/article-9003865>>.

<sup>898</sup> "The Elephant Bird," *Steve's Book of the Not-So-Grateful Dead*, ed. Steve Warmack, <<http://users.aristotle.net/~swarmack/patra.html>> 17 May 2006.

<sup>899</sup> "E esta aue cria siempre en las mas altas pennas que falla. & fazelo por dos razones. la una por que quiere *siempre* ayre claro & limpio. E la otra por que a las piernas pequennas & las alas muy luengas &

Finally, Alfonso says that the *aanca* is known by many names in several languages, but unfortunately does not specify any of these alternate names. Other birds I have considered as possibly having inspired the *aanca* include the more Oriental garuda on whom Vishnu rides,<sup>900</sup> the most powerful bird of prey in the Indian tradition, also called the *lamaguyal* and the *ngan tacka* or enemy of serpents of Thailand.<sup>901</sup> Borges's description of the garuda closely matches that of the *LJ*,<sup>902</sup> being a giant bird of red, gold and white coloring that is sometimes presented wearing a spiked diadem.<sup>903</sup> Despite the fact that Alfonso attributes the origin of *grant acedrex* to India, the African origin of the remainder of the animal pieces leads me to favor the African vouron patra bird.

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non se puede leuantar de logar baxo. & cada *que quiere mouer se pora bolar alliuiasse como qui quiere saltar & depues ua derecha a aquella parte o quiere yr*" (fol. 81r).

<sup>900</sup> <http://18.1911encyclopedia.org/P/PH/PHONETICS.htm>

<sup>901</sup> The latter two birds are both described in the video *Creatures Fantastic: Birds and Things with Wings* directed by Abdul Latif Salazar (N.p.: Dorling, 1998). The lamaguyal has a golden body, white face and red wings and the ngan tacka is said to represent the battle same Manichean battle as does chess, between light and dark, air and earth, good and evil. The bird, i.e. the heavenly forces, triumph.

<sup>902</sup> “& esta aue es muy fremosa. ca los pechos & la garganta reluzen le todos como si fuessen dorados. & las cuestas & las alas ha ialdes. E los pies & los oios & el pico ha uermeios como ell escarlata. & ha las unnas muy negras. & ha en la cabeça una corona rededonda de pennolas assi como diadema” (fol. 81r).

<sup>903</sup> Jorge Luis Borges and Margarita Guerrero, *The Book of Imaginary Beings* (New York: Avon, 1969) 109.

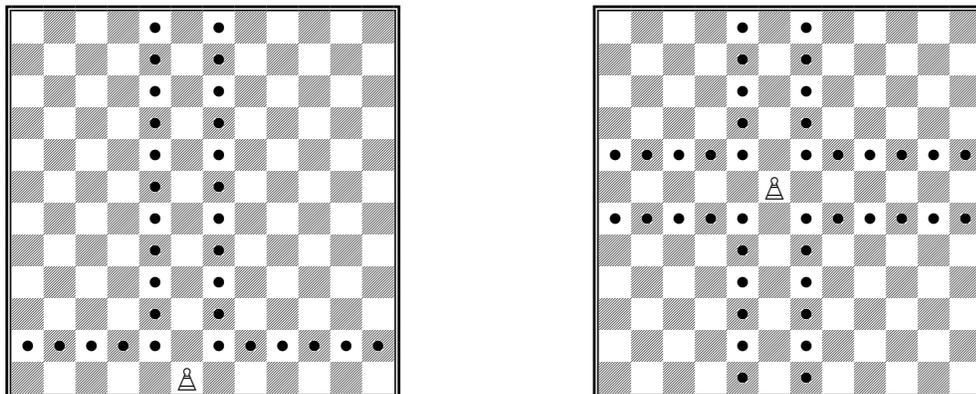


Fig. 149. The Great Chess *Aanca*'s Move and Capture—from its position in the opening array (left) and from the center of the board (right).<sup>904</sup>

#### 1.4.1.3 The Great Chess Crocodile

Located at e1, h1, e12 and h12, the great chess crocodile moves like the modern bishop to any square on the diagonal(s) on which it stands. The *LJ* expresses this diagonal movement as “en sosquino” (fol. 81v). If it begins on a black square, then it moves only on the black squares and cannot occupy a white square; likewise the one which begins on a white square cannot occupy a black square.

Murray (1913: 348), Trend, Gollon, Keats (1: 195), Friedlander and Bodlaender say simply that the crocodile moves like our modern bishop. Parlett also concurs, saying that this piece anticipates the development of both the courier in courier chess and the modern bishop. Steiger's German (339, 341) and Canettieri's Italian (125) concur with my English translation. Calvo describes correctly both the crocodile's placement for white and its movement (1987: 142). Cazaux gives the correct movement for this piece and says that it is notable that this forerunner of the modern bishop should appear in

<sup>904</sup> Since I do not have an icon for the *aanca*, I use a pawn to represent it here.

Spain where modern chess is to be born two centuries later. He also notes Alfonso's complaints about the slowness of great and regular chess, saying that advanced positions of the pawns and the powerful and mobile pieces of great chess, such as the *aanca*, rhino, crocodile and rook, made this game less slow than the normal one.

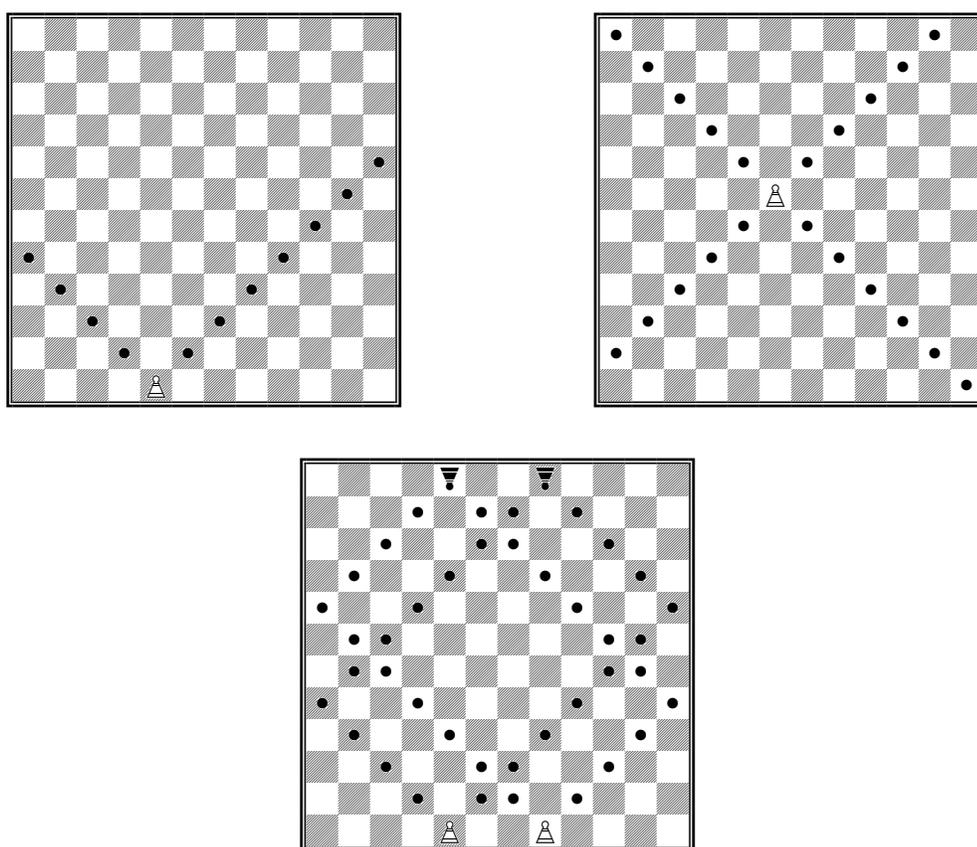


Fig. 150. The Great Chess Crocodile's Move and Capture—from its position in the opening array (upper left), from the center of the board (upper right) and from both opening positions (bottom center).<sup>905</sup>

<sup>905</sup> Since I do not have an icon for the crocodile, I use a pawn to represent it here.

#### 1.4.1.4 The Great Chess Giraffe

Located at d1, i1, d12 and i12, the great chess giraffe moves similar to the modern knight but on a greater scale. If the knight's move is considered as an *L* with three squares on the long side and two squares on the short, the giraffe's move is a larger *L* with four squares on the long side and three on the short. The manuscript is somewhat confusing on this point, stating that the giraffe leaps to any square three steps on the diagonal(s) on which it stands but also so that when it begins on a black square it moves to a white one. As with the knight in regular chess, the *LJ* expresses the giraffe's movement in two halves: first making a sideways, i.e. orthogonal, leap ("entrauiesso" on fol. 81v) and then moving to the fourth diagonal square. This count of four includes the initial square on which it lands after the first part of its movement (expressed as "en sosquino" on fol. 81v). Bland's description of the camel's move agrees with my explanation of the giraffe's.<sup>906</sup> Steiger (341) and Canettieri (125) give German and Italian translations respectively that concur with mine.

Murray describes its move as a "[d]iagonal leap to opposite corner of a rect[angle] 5 by 2" adding that it changed the color of its square with each move (1913: 348). J. B. Sánchez Pérez says, as mysteriously as the original text, that it jumps four squares but arrives at a square of a different color than the one it left (1929: 13). Trend compares the

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<sup>906</sup> Bland's description of complete chess in as-Suli's "Lib. Arab. De Shahiludio, Autore Al Sûli," also has camel and giraffe pieces whose two-step moves combine straight and diagonal movements. Bland evidently found these too confusing to present with certainty, saying only that for each it "resembles that of the Knight, as combining the Straight and Oblique movement, and the proportionate strength of the two more powerful pieces in that class may be inferred to be the privilege of clearing a greater number of squares, but to what extent, is a subject for further inquiry" (Bland 12 and 12n1). However, he does hazard a diagram of the camel's move, though with a question mark (Bland pl. 2 [fig.] 1). His uncertain suggestion for the camel's movement results in a Y-shape, with the piece moving from e7 to either d10 or f10, and presumably h8, h6, d4, f4, b6 and b8.

giraffe's move to that of the knight but inaccurately gives the move, as does Parlett, as one square diagonally and four squares straight. Gollon described the move as "an exaggerated knight's move, moving three squares straight and one diagonally," adding that it could pass over occupied squares (92). Murray's and Gollon's descriptions are two ways of expressing the same idea. Calvo (1987: 141) incorrectly locates the white giraffes at e1 and i1 rather than d1 and i1 to start, and gives the same movement as Murray. Keats correctly describes the positions of the other pieces in the array but omits any mention of the giraffe. He does, however, offer a description of the giraffe piece in Tamerlane's chess which, while it does not include a specific movement for the piece, does hint a similar long-reaching move which may include leaps as possibly deriving from its name, meaning "he jumped up and went quickly forward" (2: 145-48).

According to Pennick, the giraffe "[i]n Great Chess, [is] a leaper with the power of moving 4,1. In some versions of Great Chess, the *giraffe* has the power of moving one place diagonally, then orthogonally as far as possible" (241). Cazaux, while offering a description similar to Murray, is I believe more accurate. He says that the giraffe leaps to the opposite corner of a "3x4 rectangle, leaping over occupied squares if any. This move is also made by stepping 1 square orthogonally, then 2 squares diagonally."<sup>907</sup> Cazaux goes on to explain that Murray errs on a point he himself had already explained well, that the counting of squares begins with the square the piece occupies. Canettieri interprets the text as meaning a leap to the opposite corner of a 2x5 rectangle. My description of the giraffe's move is based on his and simply gives the move from a different perspective.

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<sup>907</sup> "Acedrex," *History of Chess*, ed. Jean-Louis Cazaux, 5 Aug. 2005, accessed 17 May 2006, <<http://history.chess.free.fr/acedrex.htm>>.

Friedlander, similar to Trend, calls the giraffe a “1, 4 jumper”; while I admire his succinct terminology if the knight is a 1, 3 jumper then it would be more correct to say the giraffe is a 2, 4 jumper. Bodlaender comes at this same idea from yet another direction calling the giraffe’s move “a kind of stretched knight-move” which is true but then inaccurately counts “one diagonal and then three squares horizontal or vertical ... e.g., from the opening setup, the giraffe on d1 can jump to e.g. c5.”<sup>908</sup> From the opening array, the giraffe can jump to a3, b4, f4 and g3 but cannot jump to the c-file.

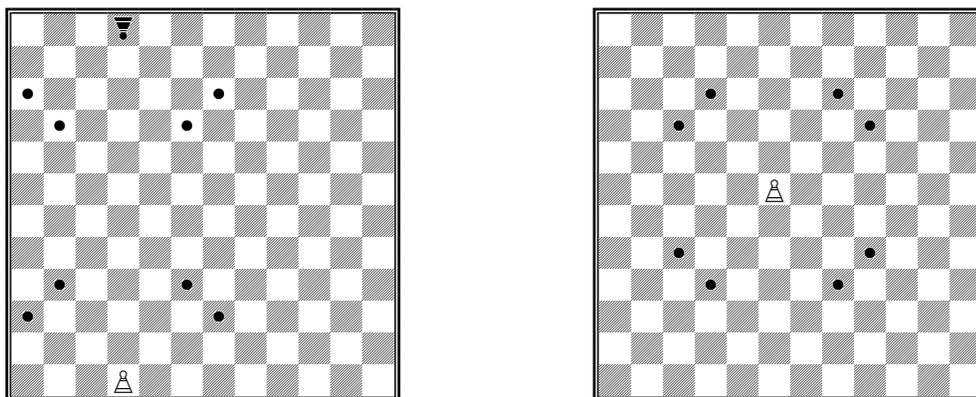


Fig. 151. The Great Chess Giraffe’s Move and Capture—from its position in the opening array (left) and from the center of the board (right).<sup>909</sup>

#### 1.4.1.5 The Great Chess Rhinoceros

Located at c1, j1, c12 and j12, the great chess rhinoceros has a move composed of two different steps. First, it leaps like a knight. It may land and remain on this square if it wishes or may also continue to any square on the diagonal(s) of that square, maintaining its movement in a forward direction from that square. The *LJ* expresses this movement in two halves: the first half being “el primer salto como cauallo” (fol. 81v) and then moving

<sup>908</sup> “Grande Acedrex,” *Chess Variants*, ed. Hans Bodlaender. 23 Aug. 2004, accessed 17 May 2006, <<http://www.chessvariants.org/historic.dir/acedrex.html>>.

<sup>909</sup> Since I do not have an icon for the giraffe, I use a pawn to represent it here.

diagonally, expressed as “en sosquino” (fol. 81v). Murray, who translates the piece’s name to unicorn, describes its move with the same two steps but adds that the first part of the move cannot be a capture (1913: 348). I do not see any such specification in the original text but it would stand to reason that if such a capture occurred the piece would then perforce remain upon that square and not be able to advance along a diagonal. J. B. Sánchez Pérez (1929) and Parlett give its move correctly except that they omit the specification that its bishop-like movement must only be in a forward direction. Trend says that it begins like a knight and then continues like a bishop with the condition “that it could not capture another piece until the first part of its move had been completed” (12).

Steiger’s German (341) and Canettieri’s Italian (127) concur with my English translation. Gollon was confused by the two-step movement and instead divided them into an initial knight-like move and its regular bishop-like movement thereafter (91-92). Calvo calls this beast a grey unicorn with a body and legs like an elephant, correctly giving its beginning positions for white and correctly describing its movement (1987: 141). Keats notes the combination of the knight’s and bishop’s move, but then follows Murray’s limitation saying, “it can make a capture on the destination square only” (1: 195). Cazaux gives a perfectly accurate description of this piece’s move.

While the term in the *LJ* is *unicornio* and some translators use the cognate, I feel that the description of a two-horned, pig-eared, ruby-eyed-when-angry, powerful grey beast the size of an elephant is much more that of a rhinoceros than a unicorn. Steiger points to definition of *unicornio* in Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco’s *Tesoro de la*

*lengua castellana o española* (Madrid, 1611): “animal feroz, de la forma y grandor de vn cauallo, el qual tiene enmedio de la frente vn gran cuerno, de longitud de dos codos” (XXVIII). The *DPCRAX*, but not the *TDMS*, includes the rhino as one meaning of this word.<sup>910</sup> The rendering of the rhino’s piece shows that the artist had probably never seen one perhaps because he was not a virgin which most unicorn legends state is a requirement. It is not among the animals seen in *Cantiga 29*.<sup>911</sup>

Despite Gollon’s assertion that “[i]n this variation of chess more than in any other, the original connection with warfare was forgotten” (90) in favor of fantastic animals, one cannot help but marvel at the attacking power of this sheer military machine of a chess piece.

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<sup>910</sup> Cf. *DPCRAX* 1824.

<sup>911</sup> For a discussion of Richard P. Kinkade’s “Myth and Reality in the Miracle of *Cantiga 29*” (*La corónica* 28.1, 1999), see Chapter II.

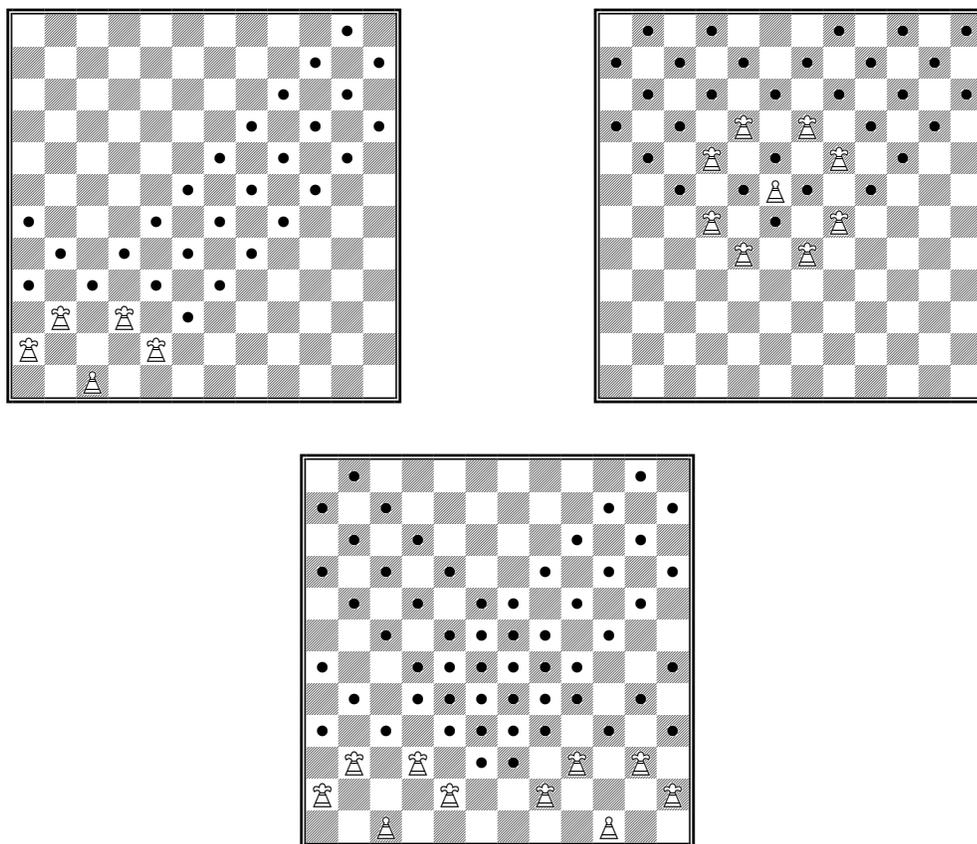


Fig. 152. The Great Chess Rhinoceros's Move and Capture—from its position in opening array (upper left), from the center of the board (upper right) and from both opening positions (bottom center).<sup>912</sup>

#### 1.4.1.6 The Great Chess Lion<sup>913</sup>

The location of the great chess lion, at b1, k1, b12 and k12, is clear enough but the laconic textual description<sup>914</sup> makes its move much less clear. My best reading<sup>915</sup> is

<sup>912</sup> Since I do not have an icon for the rhinoceros, I use a pawn to represent it here in its initial position and the promoted pawn symbol for the beginning point of the second half of its two-part move.

<sup>913</sup> As shown in the miniature, the lion is very realistically drawn. Known in 13<sup>th</sup>-century Spain, this piece is not just a duplicate of León's symbol. A realistic lion also does appear in *Cantiga 29*.

<sup>914</sup> “E el Leon es bestia otrossi muy fuerte & salta mucho en trauieso o en derecho; mas que otra bestia quando quiere tomar alguna cosa. E a essa semeiança lo pusieron aqui & salta a quarta casa la una en derecho & las dos en trauieso” (fol. 81v).

<sup>915</sup> This lion is also a very strong beast and it jumps a great deal (distance) both sideways and forwards (for a total of three directions: front, left and right), more than any other beast when it wants to

that the great chess lion leaps to any square three steps away, either vertically along its file (“en derecho” [fol. 81v]) or else horizontally along its rank (“en trauiesso” [fol. 81v]). However, I concede that since the description of the giraffe’s move is also so poorly worded as to be nearly unintelligible perhaps this precedent gives us reason to suspect that the lion’s move is not accurately or completely described. For example, the text does not address what happens should the lion survive long enough to get to the opposite side of the board if it is unable to turn around.

Murray makes the same error with the lion as he does with the giraffe, forgetting that the original counts as the starting square and thus saying that the lion leaps to the fourth square in straight directions (1913: 348). J. B. Sánchez Pérez (1929) makes this same error for the forward move, saying it leaps to the fourth square in front and then interprets the rest of the move to mean a leap to the second diagonal square. However, J. B. Sánchez Pérez’s reading does not fit the lion’s description specifying that he jumps further than all other animals because a three-square move is indeed the furthest but a two-square move does not hold true. And while some dictionaries say that *entrauiesso* can mean obliquely, i.e. diagonally, I do not believe that *entrauiesso* can mean diagonally here because the terms used for this in the *LJ* are *en sosquino* and *en pospunta*. *Sosquino* is the term used in the descriptions of the fourth treatise and in this game for the moves for the *aanca*, crocodile, giraffe and unicorn. The combination of *entrauiesso* and *en derecho* is used to describe the *aanca*’s move in this same section and in the same way as I interpret the lion’s move. The tendency of Alfonso to specify that sideways includes

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attack something. And in this way they put it here and it leaps to the fourth square (counting the beginning square, what we would now call the third square), the one (of three possible squares, three steps) in front and the two (other possible squares, three steps) to the sides.

two directions, left and right, can also be seen in Law XI of his *Setenario*<sup>916</sup> as well as the description of the move for the regular chess rook: “**Los** Roques iuegan en derecho quanto pueden yr antessi o a çaga o a diestro o a siniestro” (fol. 3v). Trend and Canettieri make the same error as Murray. Steiger’s German (341) and Canettieri’s Italian (127) concur with my English translation. Calvo gives the correct initial locations for white’s lions and, without modernizing his translation to reflect the *LJ*’s counting of chess squares, correctly describes their movement as “saltan por encima de las otras piezas hasta una cuarta casilla en línea recta. Por ejemplo, de k1 a h1 o a k4” (1987: 142). Pennick incorrectly yet vaguely says that the lion “[i]n Great Chess,... moves any distance along ranks, files and diagonals to capture any piece on a square any distance beyond an intervening piece of any colour [and c]annot be moved unless it jumps” (240-41). Keats says that the lion jumps “to the fourth square” (sic) but correctly understands this to mean the third square (1: 195). Parlett says that the lion leaps to any third square along its rank or file without noting that it cannot move backwards. Gollon and Bodlaender give the correct move for the lion (92) as does Friedlander who calls the lion a “three-square orthogonal jumper.”

Jean-Louis Cazaux offers a much more attractive move which combines both the forward and sideways elements into one and which I present because I prefer its

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<sup>916</sup> “Otrosy fallaron que todas las cosas naturales han ssiete maneras, que sson éstas: ssuso yuso adelante atrás a diestro a siniestro en derredor. Suso, ssubiendo contra arriba toda vía a lo más alto; e yuso, baxándose, desçendiendo a lo más baxo; adelante, ffaziendo ssu mouimiento derecho, yendo toda vía por él; atrás, mouiéndose contra çaga; e tornando a diestro e a ssiniestro; enssanchando cada vno destos mouimientos en la ladeza cada parte; a deredor, ffaziendo çerco ygal” (Kenneth H. Vanderford, ed., *Setenario*[Barcelona: Crítica, 1984] 28).

playability even though I cannot strictly support it textually.<sup>917</sup> He understands the text to mean that the lion makes a jump three squares away either in straight line or by moving two squares straight and then one square aslant, i.e. the opposite corner of a 2x4 rectangle. This results in twelve possible moves from any given square, making the lion a rather strong piece.<sup>918</sup> He argues convincingly that it is a very difficult exercise to write rules with no possibility of wrong interpretation due to the human brain's amazing ability always to find another way of understanding something.

Cazaux's interpretation of the lion's jumping "to the fourth square, the one straight and the two to the sides" to mean a row of three contiguous squares does not fit with my understanding because the language of the remainder of the *LJ* leads me to feel

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<sup>917</sup> "The Lion (b1, k1) moves 3 steps orthogonally or 2 steps orthogonally followed by 1 diagonal step (jump to the opposed square of a 2x5 rectangle). It leaps over occupied squares." He further states that: "Concerning the Lion, the Spanish text clearly gives 2 possibilities for the move, first is straight (*derecho*) once, second is aslant (*trauiesso*) twice. Murray simply ignored the second one, which is very surprising, and had a very weak Lion. The Lion moves at the 4th square, that means moving 3 squares. On this, Murray agrees. For the aslant part of the move, which was omitted by Murray, I do not agree with Musser who saw a step to the 2nd square behind (so, 1 step behind). The number '2', *dos*, means 'two' squares and contrasts with *una*, 'one' square, upper in the same sentence ; it does not mean a number of cells. So, that oblique (*trauiesso*) move is a 'moving 3 squares' again. But how? There are two interpretations: a) a diagonal jump b) an aslant jump to a square 3 step away. If a) is chosen, then the Lion can go to 8 possible squares. Then it is not stronger than the Crocodile and, also, it would be strange that Alfonso did not use the word *en sosquino* as he did for all diagonal movements. If b) is chosen, the Lion can reach 12 possible squares and this respects the text which says: 'jumps more than any other beast'. Also, a software like Zillions finds now the Lion stronger than the Crocodile at the beginning of the game. For b) there are 2 possibilities again. I have discarded the squares reachable by the Giraffe. Then, the remaining as the squares illustrated on the diagram where the Lion jumps to the cell 3 squares straight ahead or to both side cells which are 2 straight + 1 diagonal steps. In short, both Murray's and Musser's interpretations do not fit with Alfonso's text even though this text is not fully clear per itself. In contrast, the move proposed here is consistent with the whole information." "Alfonso X's *grant acedrex*," ed. Jean-Louis Cazaux, 1 Mar. 2005, <<http://history.chess.free.fr/acedrex.htm> as of 03/01/2005>.

<sup>918</sup> For example, per Cazaux a lion at e4 could move three steps away in a straight line to any of b4, e7, h4 or e1; or two squares straight and then one square aslant to any of b3, b5, d7, f7, h5, h3, f1 or d1. "Alfonso X's *grant acedrex*," ed. Jean-Louis Cazaux, 1 Mar. 2005, <<http://history.chess.free.fr/acedrex.htm> as of 03/01/2005>.

that this idea would have been expressed another way.<sup>919</sup> It is indeed puzzling that Alfonso specifies that the lion ranks in value after the rook, technically the most powerful piece in traditional *LJ* chess, but I believe there may be a political explanation as well as a personal one. Alfonso is after all King of Castile and León (literally lion in Spanish) and this personal and territorial connection to the symbolic animal might indeed warrant such preferential ranking over such exotic but lowly beasts as the rhino, crocodile and giraffe which do not even have a small Iberian region bearing their name despite their more powerful great chess moves and general exotic appeal. Personally, it is my strong conviction that Alfonso's interest in this game was not its actual play, although it may well have been played by others, so much as its curiosity due to the beautiful animal pieces and how well it completed and fit into his hierarchical outline for the *LJ*. For without *grant acedrex*, there is no reason to invent an eight-sided die and therefore to introduce another variant which requires the invention of a corresponding seven-sided die. The importance of this seven-sided die cannot be overstated as it both symbolizes Alfonso's numerological purposes for the *LJ* as well as being needed to play the final two

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<sup>919</sup> At no point does the text indicate that the lion's move is a two-partner in the same way other two-part moves are indicated. Compare the move description of the regular chess knight: "Los cauallos saltan a tres [total # of squares] casas contando las dos en derecho dessi; & tomando la tercera en sosquino a qual parte quiere" (fol. 3v); the great chess *aanca*: "& dessa guisa ordenaron aqui so iuego que desque salta como alfferza; en postpunta a una casa; ua depues [second half word] en derecho quanto puede yr. & entrauiesso [same combination of derecho/entrauiesso as lion]. fata cabo del tablero; o hata que falle que tome" (fol. 81r); and the great chess rhino: "& corre mucho desque comiença & faze ante en salto entrauiesso. como cauallo & assilo establecieron en este acedrex que anda el primer salto como cauallo & depues [second half word] en sosquino como la cocatriz fata do quisiere; o que tome. E daquela casa o salta non puede tornar a tras si non yr siempre adelante" (fol. 81v). Given these models for the phrasing of two-part move, I would hypothesize a phrasing for Cazaux's suggestion would have read something like the following: salta [primero] a quarta casa (omitting "la una") en derecho & [ua depues a una de] las dos en trauiesso [de esa primera]. Or even possibly: salta a quarta casa (la una) en derecho (&) [o a una de] las dos en trauiesso. However, I simply do not see that sort of language there or enough precedent to allow me to conclude that it is implicit.

astrological games that underscore this same astrological symbolism in which the numerology is rooted.

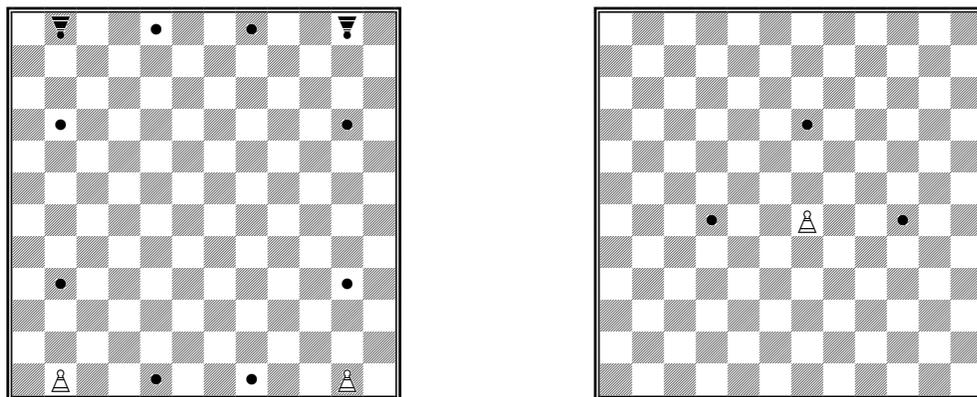


Fig. 153. The Great Chess Lion's Move and Capture—from its position in the opening array (left) and from the center of the board (right).<sup>920</sup>

#### 1.4.1.7 The Great Chess Rook

Located at a1, l1, a12 and l12, the great chess rook moves and captures exactly the same as its modern counterpart. Murray (1913: 348), Gollon, Calvo (1987), Keats (1: 195), Parlett, Friedlander, Bodlaender all concur; however Gollon in error gives the Spanish name of the piece as *rogue*. Since the moves of both the rook and the pawn have already been described and diagrammed, I will not repeat that information here. See section 1.1.2.1.

<sup>920</sup> Since I do not have an icon for the lion, I use a pawn to represent it here.

#### 1.4.1.8 The Great Chess Pawn

Located on a through k of the fourth and ninth ranks, the great chess pawns move and capture exactly the same as their modern counterparts.<sup>921</sup> Promotion is more like modern chess, where the player may chess from any of the major pieces except the king, than the regular chess described in the *LJ*. In the latter pawns can only promote to ferses but in great chess pawns promote to the piece in whose square they promote, a detail which Parlett omits. A pawn that promotes in the king's square on the g-file, becomes an *aanca*. Murray (1913: 348), Gollon, Calvo (1987: 142), Keats (1: 195), Parlett, Friedlander and Bodlaender all concur except to note that there is no double step for the first move. I see neither a physical limitation preventing a two-square move for great chess pawns nor language in the original to back up this conclusion because pawns in great chess are described as playing exactly as pawns in regular chess which are permitted this move.<sup>922</sup> Cazaux gives the correct movement for great chess pawns without mentioning the issue of the initial double step.

#### 1.4.1.9 Other Variants Called Great Chess

Great chess is sometimes a generic term used to describe any chess variant played on a board larger than the traditional sixty-four squares. Charles K. Wilkinson also mentions two different variants he calls great chess.<sup>923</sup> One was played on a board of

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<sup>921</sup> Bland's diagram of as-Suli's complete chess in "Lib. Arab. De Shahiludio, Autore Al Sûli" shows the pawns on the third and eighth ranks (pl. 1).

<sup>922</sup> "E los peones son fechos a semeiança del pueblo menudo & iuegan dessa manera como desuso dixiemos" (fol. 81v); "Pero bien a y algunos que usan a iogar delos peones a tercera casa la primera uez. & esto es fasta que tomen ca depues no lo pueden fazer" (fol. 4r).

<sup>923</sup> Charles K. Wilkinson, Introduction. *Chess: East and West, Past and Present; a Selection from the Gustavus A. Pfeiffer Collection*, by Dennis Jesse McNab (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; distributed by the New York Graphic Society, Greenwich, CT, 1968) vii-xxxvi.

eleven by ten squares and became known as Timur's or Tamerlane's chess. After the death of Timur in 1405, another variant played on a thirteen by thirteen square board became popular and was known into the nineteenth century in Turkey (xi). Gollon describes and praises the playability of the first version and also presents the *LJ*'s great chess with a sample game.

#### 1.4.2 Eight-Sided Great Chess Dice

Alfonso claims the invention of the eight-sided dice with or without which great chess can be played.<sup>924</sup> They are made up of eight triangular sides and these eight faces indicate which piece should be moved as well as their relative hierarchy: 8 for the king, 7 for the *aanca*, 6 for the rhino, 5 for the rook, 4 for the lion, 3 for the crocodile, 2 for the giraffe and 1 for the pawn.<sup>925</sup> Calvo correctly notes the great chess pieces's relative hierarchy (1987: 142).

The manuscript also explains how three of these eight-sided dice can be used to play all the dice games presented in the "Libro de los dados." Rolls of twenty through twenty-four and three through seven are naturals; points are taken from eight through nineteen. Fol. 83v's miniature shows three eight-sided dice reading eight, seven and six, from left to right, for a total of twenty which would be an instant win.

Calvo correctly describes the use of the eight-sided dice, except for his omission of the low naturals three through seven. However he argues ably that the reason of slowness given for the invention of these dice is unconvincing because of the possible

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<sup>924</sup> Fols. 83r and 83v. Citing no archeological evidence, Pennick claims that "[o]ctahedral dice, numbered from one to eight are known from ancient Egyptian tombs" (35).

<sup>925</sup> Murray's list contains a typographical error which lists omits the rhino and lists the lion twice (1913: 348).

combination attacks from the major pieces, which he rightly calls a “*pesadilla de ajedrecista*” (1987: 142). Instead he suggests logically that the popularity of the game *grant acedrex* faltered due to a lack of literature and study of its tactics. Still such an argument is only true for someone with enough chess skill to wield an attack with its pieces, so Calvo’s observations indirectly support my conclusions, discussed below, that the decimal chess referred to only by its dice was not originally included. If the true reasons for the inclusion of the eight- and seven-sided dice is not solely as purported, to speed games not much played by Alfonso, then they owe their presence to an argument other than the primacy of the chess games. I present below my theory for the inclusion of these larger dice as well as the concurrent and intentional omission of the decimal chess in opposition to Canettieri’s argument for its loss.

According to Culin, an oblong eight-sided die called a “Long Lawrence” and its play, popular at Christmas (*Korean Games* 78), is similar to that of the Jewish dreidel, popular during Chanukah, or the year-round Mexican game *toma todo*. While the “Long Lawrence” does not resemble fol. 83v’s eight-sided dice, it is in fact a very short conceptual leap from here to the lower grouping of oblong seven-sided dice shown on fol. 84v.

### **1.4.3 Decimal Chess**

Another large chess variant, which the manuscript calls “*Acedrex delas diez casas*” (in the rubric for the heptahedral dice, fol. 84r) and which I will refer to as decimal chess, is mentioned but not presented in the *LJ*. By its name, we know it was played on a board of ten by ten squares for a total of one hundred squares. However, neither a

description of the game's play nor a miniature of its opening array is given. Its only elucidating reference occurs through the names of the chessmen as assigned to the values of the 7-sided dice which could be used to speed its play. This hierarchy shows that it contains the usual six pieces: the king, fers, fil, knight, rook and pawn of the first treatise plus a *juyz* as the seventh piece whose movement is not described but its value placed between that of a knight and a fil.<sup>926</sup> Suggesting that perhaps Alfonso indeed invented the *LJ*'s seven-sided dice, is the fact that its hierarchical division of the pieces differs substantially from that given by Bland in his description of a the Persian encyclopedic work *Nefāis ul Funún (Treasure of Science)* which offers "two [different kinds of chess] which are unknown to us from any other sources."<sup>927</sup> One variant uses both a 10x10 board, with extra fort or safety squares for the king, and dice to play, but without a roll assigned to the *dabbaba*: 6 = king, 5 = fers, 4 = fil, 3 = knight, 2 = rook and 1 = pawn to be played (Bland 32).

Murray's description of the *LJ*'s mention of this variant, in Ch. XVI, "Chess in Asia," Part I, "Games from Muslim and Indian Chess" of *A History of Chess*, concurs with my description above (1913: 348). He also noted the lack of a proper description and diagram of the 10x10 chess in his 3 Mar. 1903 letter to John G. White regarding Fraser's

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<sup>926</sup> *Juyz* (Sp. literally, judge). The *DPCRA*X offers a fourth sense of *juez* as "pieza del juego de ajedrez" (1066) but would be more correct to specify that it is not a piece of regular 8x8 chess but rather of the *LJ*'s decimal chess, i.e. "pieza del juego del ajedrez de las diez casas." The *TDMS* merely cites that a variant of the word *juez* occurs in the *LJ* (396). The ranking of these seven pieces by the sides of the 7-sided dice is as follows: "E por que el Rey es mayor & meior iuego que los otros. ha los siete puntos. E ell alfferza los seys. E el Roque los cinco. E el cauallo los quatro. E el Juyz los tres. E ell Alffil los dos. E el peon ell uno" (fol. 84r).

<sup>927</sup> N. Bland, "On the Persian Game of Chess," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 13 (1850): 1-70, citing from 31.

hand-written transcription.<sup>928</sup> An interest in improving the game of chess in the 1930's, by reducing the chance of a draw, moves Trend to be particularly concerned with the larger chess variants of the *LJ*. He wonders why, with all the suggestions being made, no one refers to Alfonso's manuscript which contains "a game played on a board of 100 squares, with two additional pieces (*juyz*, 'judge') on each side, and two additional pawns."<sup>929</sup>

The scant information regarding this decimal chess variant and its unusual *juyz* piece forms a tantalizing puzzle for both the game player, who lacks exactly those bits of concrete detail which would allow him to play this game, and the literary historian, who questions why it does not appear in the Wise King's encyclopedia of games. This section of the dissertation will seek to answer the following questions regarding decimal chess and the *LJ*: 1) What was the opening array for decimal chess, i.e. where did the additional *juyz* pieces appear in that opening array? 2) What were the powers of movement and

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<sup>928</sup> This letter is bound with Cleveland Public Library's *Libro del acedrex* Q 789.092M AL28L. However, Murray's inventory is based solely his incorrect counts of games diagrams in original versus the copy. As he conjectures, some of the difference is explained by the fact that not all the miniatures are depictions of games. Murray feels that there should be 109 miniatures related to chess in the *LJ* but that the copy is incomplete because it has only 105; this is explained by the fact that fols. 1r through 3v contain five miniatures which do not show games. Murray feels that the copy is incomplete because it does not show any of the twelve dice miniatures from fols. 65r to 71v; this is likely because these miniatures are not truly diagrams, not being technically required to understand the play of the games described completely in the text. Murray miscounts the number of miniatures in the "Libro de las tablas" (fols. 72r-80r) as 15 when it should be at least 16 by any one's count or 17 by mine, since I consider fol. 77v as having two separate miniatures. Finally, Murray miscounts the number of miniatures in the final four treatises as 14 when I count only 13 total game variants described and the same number miniatures show. In sum, Murray feels that the copy falls 18 short of his expected total of 150 miniatures, but five of those are accounted for in the "Libro del acedrex," 12 in the "Libro de los dados," at least one in the "Libro de las tablas" and one in his incorrect tally in the remaining treatises.

<sup>929</sup> Trend states in a footnote that "The description of chess on 100 squares has been omitted from the MS. Fol. 83b gives an account of the dice which might be used with 'Great chess' on 144 squares" (11n1). It is fol. 83r that gives the textual account of the dice used for great chess; fol. 83v shows these same eight-sided dice that are used with great chess. I agree with Trend's intuition that the 100-square chess simply did not interest Alfonso as much as great chess and that this is one of many possible arguments in favor of its purposeful absence as opposed to its loss, a theory preferred by Calvo.

capture pertaining to the *juyz*, especially such that would rank it between the powerful knight and the very restricted *fil*? 3) Were there folios originally planned or even executed on which the description and miniature for the *LJ* decimal chess variant appeared which were either abandoned or have been lost? While this latter question has been addressed by Grandese (1988, I refute his arguments in the next section 1.4.3.1), I will address all three questions in the order outlined because the answers to the first two issues shed new light on the final topic in terms of why the description and diagram of the decimal chess may never have been meant to be included in the *LJ*.

Some insight into the first two questions may be derived from studies of earlier Arabic decimal chess variants and the comparable and roughly contemporary Arabic chess source, the Rich manuscript. Van der Linde and Murray offer several complementary details about an Arabic decimal chess variant which dates from the mid-tenth century.<sup>930</sup> Bland's and Van der Linde's studies may provide the answer to the first question about the opening, the latter showing the array with his diagram for the "Arabisches Belagerungsschach" (113, fig. V), which places the seventh type of chess piece to either side of the king and the fers (i.e. d1, g1, d10, g10). This diagram of his along with Bland's textual description from a Persian work forms the basis of my diagram for the opening array of the chess variant mentioned in the *LJ* (see fig. 155 below). Van der Linde also offers some additional information as to the age of this variant's source, dating the diagram as tenth-century and in his chart comparing several larger chess variants, he provides the more specific date of 959 and gives the piece's

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<sup>930</sup> Antonius van der Linde, *Geschichte und Literatur des Schachspiels* (Leipzig, 1874).

name in the form of his German translation of it, *Belagerungsdach* (115). The importance of this name will become clear in comparison with the name assigned to the seventh piece by Murray and Pareja Casañas below.

According to Murray, ar-Ristami's account of the provenance of chess as paralleling that of *Kalila wa Dimna*, replaces the usual 8x8 chessboard with one measuring 10x10 (Murray 1913: 341). "Complete chess," as it is described, contains an additional piece called *dabbaba* whose relative value is between that of the *ruk* (rook) and the *faras* (knight). Murray's sometimes questionable sources are supported indirectly here by the more authoritative *Oxford Companion to Chess*, which says that "[t]he Arabian historian al-Masudi, writing c. 950, mentions a piece ... which was used in a form of great chess and called a *dabbaba*."<sup>931</sup> The Arabic word *dabbaba* now means tank but earlier meant the sort of war engine called a mantlet. An example of such a device and proof that this item was known to the illuminators of Alfonsine texts, may be seen used by the sultan in the *CSM*, *Cantiga* 28 panel 3 (Keller and Cash pl. 20). This is the term employed by Keats to describe a piece in Tamerlane's chess (2: 151-52). While van der Linde does not provide the original Arabic of the word he translates as *Belagerungsdach*, the Latin war-making, belligerent roots coupled with the German word for *roof* of his translation point clearly towards their connection.

No answer to the second question regarding the movement of the *juyz* is found in either van der Linde or Murray. Calvo tentatively offers without explanation that the move for the *juyz* is "tal vez saltando en línea recta a una tercera casilla" of the 10x10

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<sup>931</sup> Murray 1913: 244. Great chess is used here to mean any variant larger than 8x8 and not specifically only the *LJ*'s 12x12 *grant acedrex*. Some researchers use the name Timur or Tamerlane's chess but since there is no definitive tie to this individual I use the descriptive terminology.

board he says is based upon the Hindu “desapada” rather than the 8x8 board called in Sanskrit the “ashtapada” (1987: 142). Given his description of the lion’s move, this would mean a two-square orthogonal or diagonal jumper who, for example, could leap from c1 to a1, c3 or e1. This suggestion matches that offered by Bland from the work he calls the *Lib. Arab. De Shahiludio, Autore Al Sûli*: “its move is like the Pil [fil], in four directions, but straight instead of diagonal, ... being able to go on every square of the board” (11 and pl. 2 [fig.] 1). Keats only says that its movement in Tamerlane’s chess is necessarily slow, owing to relationship of its name, which derives from the verb *to creep* (2: 152).

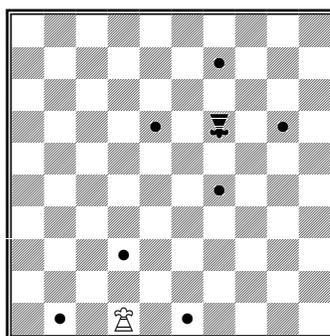


Fig. 154. Bland’s and Calvo’s Suggested Movement for the *LJ’s Juyz*.<sup>932</sup>

Calvo’s suggested move for the *juyz* would perpetually grant it the powers only available to the fers or promoted pawn as an optional first move (1987: 142). In other words, this movement creates a unique piece which would be capable of attacking up to four squares of same color as its starting square at any one time. With such limited leaping powers as compared to the knight, which attacks up to eight squares of the opposite color, it would seem to me that Calvo’s suggested *juyz* move would rank it only

<sup>932</sup> Since I do not have an icon for the *juyz*, I use a promoted pawn to represent it here.

a fraction above those of a fil, and that Calvo's suggestion therefore meets the *LJ*'s prescription of a piece whose value was between that of a knight and a fil. However, while his description of the pieces and their relative value are accurate, including those of the judge, there is simply not enough information known about the game to confirm or refute Calvo's suggestion. Moreover, the question cannot be settled there because the *Oxford Companion to Chess* describes the *dabbaba* as having several different powers at differing points in its evolution.

The first movement described under the entry for *dabbaba* in the *Oxford Companion to Chess* is that of a two-square orthogonal leaper, the same as Bland's and Calvo's suggestions above.<sup>933</sup> However, its description continues, saying that

[t]he name was also used to describe pieces that moved in other ways. In the 10<sup>th</sup> century a *dabbaba* on a 10x10 board was moved like a Mann [‘the German name for a piece used in the courier (a thirteenth-century chess variant of Ströbeck, Germany played on a 12x8 board). A Mann may be moved one square in any direction, like a king with no royal characteristics. The Arabian historian al-Masudi, writing *c.* 950, mentions a piece with similar powers of movement which was used in a form of great chess and called a *dabbaba*’ (*Oxford Companion to Chess* 244)], in a 14<sup>th</sup>-century game like a bishop, and in an 18<sup>th</sup>-century game like an empress [combining the powers of a rook and a knight, per Pennick, presented below]. *Dabbaba* means sow, a movable structure to protect soldiers advancing upon a fort. (101)

Here is yet a third reference to a mid-tenth century Arabic decimal chess variant and its mysterious seventh piece, in addition to those already presented by van der Linde and Murray. A fourth is found in Bland who also offers a description from a 1257 work

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<sup>933</sup> According to its first definition of a *dabbaba*, the *Oxford Companion to Chess* describes it as “a leaper used in several versions of great chess. The co-ordinates of its leap are 2,0 and the length of its move is the [square root of] 4. Standing on d4, it attacks b4, d6, f4, and d2” (101). Such a movement makes it the equivalent of an orthogonal fil, which leaps two squares along any diagonal, just as a rook is the orthogonal equivalent of a modern bishop which moves diagonally.

where the *dabbaba* is assigned a king-like movement.<sup>934</sup> If that piece did move like a German *Mann*, i.e. like a king one square in any direction and thus attacking up to eight surrounding squares at any given time, such a power of movement would also meet the prescribed relative power for the *LJ*'s decimal chess pieces (fol. 84r), placing the *juyz* between the powerful knight and the very limited *fil*. Van der Linde's diagram of "Arabisches Belagerungsschach" may refer indirectly to this king-like power of movement since of all possibilities he chose to represent this piece with an inverted king.

Pennick also offers several movements for the *dabbaba* which correspond to Calvo as well as the undated first move, the tenth-century king-like move and eighteenth-century last move offered by the *Oxford Companion to Chess*, described above.<sup>935</sup> The multiplicity of movements of ever-increasing power assigned to the *dabbaba* at various moments in history gives testament to an evolving chess piece whose status was most likely in flux during the thirteenth century as well as to a game which was played enough to permit such an evolution. A similar fluid state of the powers of a particular chess piece has already been seen in the *LJ* regarding the pawns movement, how some people in Alfonso's time played using its optional first movement power of moving two squares and some did not (fol. 4r). It is these very contradictions which make these early chess

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<sup>934</sup> Bland 28, on the work he describes as "contained in the British Museum Library [...] named Al Shatranj ul Basri, Basrian Chess, from Hasan al Basri, its author. The full title of the work is 'The Book of Chess, its positions and beauties'" (Bland 25), and wherein the *dabbaba* is also assigned a value of one half or one third of a *dirhem* but, unfortunately, its value relative to the other pieces cannot be determined because Bland does not list values for those. Bland also includes another conflicting and much stronger rook-like movement for the *dabbaba* described in the *Nefäis ul Funün* (32).

<sup>935</sup> "In unorthodox Chess, moves one square in any direction, but also in some versions has the power of leaping 2,0" (240) and that sometimes a piece known as the empress who "[h]as the powers of rook and knight combined" (241).

works, like the *LJ* and the Rich manuscript, such vital documents in the study of the evolution of these games and their variants.

The last evidence I shall present regarding the movement of the *juyz* also extends to the final issue of whether the *LJ*'s decimal chess is missing or intentionally absent. Pareja Casañas reveals that the decimal chess variant presented the slightly earlier Rich manuscript (1257) has a similarly problematic presentation which causes him first to compare the Rich manuscript's *dabbaba* and the *LJ*'s *juyz*<sup>936</sup> and second suspect scribal omissions or copying errors to the incoherence of the passage (248n3). The Rich manuscript's brief and contradictory account of its decimal chess variant offers two moves for the *dabbaba* and ranked it somewhat higher than the *LJ*'s *juyz*. The two moves were 1. that it moves like the king but unlike the king it can be captured; 2. it moves like the knight but with the addition of one square. However, no specification is given for the direction of that extra square added to the knight's move. Regarding the hierarchy of the pieces, the Rich manuscript's *dabbaba* ranked fourth of the seven types of pieces, between the rook and the knight, whereas the *LJ*'s *juyz* was fifth out of the seven, falling between the knight and the fil. Notably, Murray gives this same name and value for the tenth-century *dabbaba* he describes as does Pareja Casañas does for the one from the thirteenth-century Rich manuscript.

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<sup>936</sup> Pareja Casañas (II: CI) offers the Spanish translation *testudo* or *mantelete* for this piece's name, which further confirms a connection with van der Linde's *Belagerungsdach*, and defines this object as "un instrumento bélico usado de antiguo en el asedio de ciudades y fortalezas, construido a modo de casa sin suelo, con techumbre muy reforzada y montado sobre ruedas, bajo el cual se resguardaban los soldados de los tiros arrojados del enemigo, cuando lo iban acercando hacia el muro, para combatirlo a mansalva con el ariete, o socavar con menos riesgo sus cimientos" (II: C). His description of this war-making roof matches the image in *Cantiga* 28, panel 3.

Given that the three separate sources of the *Oxford Companion to Chess*, Pennick and Pareja Casañas suggest the earliest known phase of movement for this piece was the king-like movement of one square in any direction, coupled with the fact that the majority *LJ*'s chess problems are drawn so directly from those earlier Arabic sources, I believe that it is most likely that the *LJ*'s decimal chess *juyz* derived from the game described by al-Masudi and therefore the *dabbaba* upon which it was based, and thus the *juyz* piece itself, most likely moved one square in any direction.

Following both Bland and van der Linde's suggested opening array for a pre-Alfonsine Arabic decimal chess, I offer the following array for the *LJ*'s decimal chess based upon the former's textual description and the latter's "Arabisches Belagerungsschach."<sup>937</sup> Bland suggests that the *dabbaba*'s "form is like an inkstand ... six-sided with a knob on top" (Bland 11). However, having no font for it, I denote the *LJ*'s *juyz* in my diagram by the lobed pieces (i.e. promoted pawns) to the right and left of the king and the fers (d1, g1, d10, g10).

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<sup>937</sup> Bland describes a work, dating from 1257 and "contained in the British Museum Library is named Al Shatranj ul Basri, Basrian Chess, from Hasan al Basri, its author. The full title of the work is 'The Book of Chess, its positions and beauties'" (Bland 25). In it is a larger chess variant resembling the *LJ*'s decimal chess is complete chess, played upon a 10x10 board with four additional *dabbabah* pieces, which were placed between the king and his bishop and the fers and its bishop (Bland 28). His (pl. 3 [fig.] 3) shows the 10x10 board described in the *Sháh Námah*, which does not contain *dabbabas*, but which shows the pawns on the second and ninth ranks.

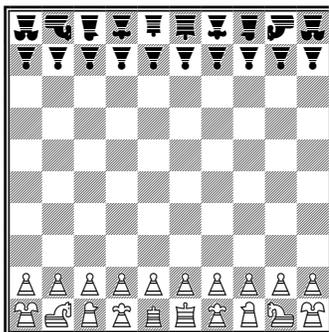


Fig. 155. Suggested Opening Array for the *LJ*'s Decimal Chess.<sup>938</sup>

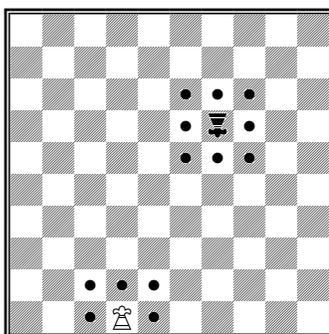


Fig. 156. My Suggested Movement for the *LJ*'s *Juyz*.<sup>939</sup>

Finally, in answer to the third question of whether or not the *LJ*'s decimal chess description and miniature have been lost... the fact that two contemporary manuscripts, the *LJ* and the Rich manuscript, have similar accounts of a decimal chess which are both brief to the point either of non-existence in the former or incompleteness in the latter, combined with the fact that the earlier Rich manuscript's description of the move is confused enough to be useless to any serious player, argues powerfully against any decimal chess folios missing from the *LJ*. Alfonso's compilers may have been working from the same or similar source text(s) as used for the Rich manuscript, or even from the

<sup>938</sup> It is interesting to note that the board's dimensions result in the fers not being placed upon a square of its same color, as is the rule for modern chess queens and the standard followed in all other *LJ* chess diagrams, even *grant acedrex* (fol. 82v).

<sup>939</sup> Since I do not have an icon for the *juyz*, I use a promoted pawn to represent it here.

Rich manuscript itself, and thus either did not have any description or image to include or else did not deem what material they did have to be worthy of inclusion.<sup>940</sup>

What Alfonso does do, that the Rich manuscript does not, is to justify the inclusion of at least a reference to this decimal chess via his personalization of the game by changing the piece's name after his own personal inclinations, and in addition, inventing dice following his tendency to desire to speed the game's play. Despite the incongruence of the Alfonsine piece's name as a translation of *dabbaba*, the Wise King's juridical interests, as evidenced by the *Siete Partidas* and his other numerous works of law, make "judge" not an unusual name for Alfonso to choose. As mentioned earlier in the discussion of Problem 25, the famous tenth-century blindfold player Said ben Jubair took up the game in order to make himself ineligible to be appointed as a judge; thus, the mutual exclusivity of the game chess and judgeship could therefore be considered Alfonso's legal apology of the game in much the same way as his prologue is a Christian apology of games in general. Nor is it unusual that he might have chosen to rename a chess piece whose original source, name, movement or appearance was unknown, problematic, in transition between one or more steps in its evolution or even irrelevant. Having invented eight-sided dice for *grant acedrex*, the inclusion of this decimal variant despite an insufficient source text permitted Alfonso a convenient pattern for the next logical step of inventing dice with a number of sides equal to his favorite number, seven, and which would ultimately be necessary for the play of other, more deeply symbolic games also based on that number, base-seven tables, astrological checkers and

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<sup>940</sup> Rather than showing the placement on pieces on the boards, most Arabic manuscripts including the Rich manuscript indicated a piece's placement with its name written within a particular square.

astrological backgammon. That the variant in question was unplayable from his source's description or even his own work may have been unimportant since perhaps Alfonso would not even have enjoyed such a game because it would have seemed tediously slow to him.<sup>941</sup>

The casual treatment of the game does not mean, however, that the Alfonsine decimal chess variant description, albeit solely in terms of its dice, is without finesse. As expressed twice in the *LJ*, the savvy player of any chess variant must know the relative value of the chessmen, so as not to sacrifice a greater piece for or to a lesser one.<sup>942</sup> If the *juyz*'s movement is as either Calvo or I suggest, then in terms of chess skill the *LJ*'s presentation of its decimal chess is superior to that of the Rich manuscript variant because of its more logical lower ranking of the additional piece: the *juyz* as fifth most valuable of the total seven pieces or the *dabbaba* as fourth of seven respectively. No known movement described for this piece before the fourteenth-century would rate ranking this piece above the nimble knight, as the Rich manuscript inexplicably does. Rather, the *LJ*'s placement of its *juyz* hierarchically between the knight and the feeble *fil* is more fitting.

It is, of course, remotely possible that Alfonso's original intent was to include this chess variant and that it was later forgotten, abandoned due to lack of quality source material or that it has been lost from between the sections on the 8-sided dice for *grant*

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<sup>941</sup> See note in section 1.1.3.1 on Alfonso's complaints about slow games.

<sup>942</sup> These expressions come in the explanation of the *iuego de donzellas* and in the eight-sided dice for *grant acedrex*: "E por ende an a seer sabidores; los quel iogaren. que non pongan los trebeios meiores; en logar que los ayan a dar por los menores; & mas uiles. Ca en esto yaze toda la ssabiduria deste iuego" (fol. 5r) and "la meioria que an los unos iuegos sobre los otros por que el que con ellos iogare que los connosca que non de el meior iuego por el raffaz" (fols. 81v-82r).

*acedrex* and its own 7-sided dice. However, there is no evidence of tearing along this section of the manuscript which might make such a case for the latter. The numerological evidence also argues against its inclusion. The total number of games in the *LJ* totals 144, a number that like the other symbolically significant numbers in the manuscript cannot be an accident. Seven-sided dice are so quintessentially Alfonsine, fitting perfectly into the seven-based structure of the *LJ*, that their omission from it would have been a greater cause for surprise than a lapse in his encyclopedic coverage of games resulting in the absence of a decimal chess. More likely then, Alfonso wished to display his many gaming inventions based on his favorite number seven, ranging from the seven-sided dice to the base-seven tables variant with which they are played. As discussed in the next section 1.4.3.1, there is also no wording evidence for the existence of the supposedly missing game variants because these are never referred to as having been “described above” as are all other games which are fully described. Therefore, I believe that the manuscript is most likely intact and the decimal chess variant was never meant to be included. It was used merely as a methodical point of introduction for the other two games more to Alfonso’s liking and its inclusion would have thrown off his purposeful count of one hundred forty-four.

#### **1.4.3.1 Grandese and the Allegedly Missing Folios**

Both the strength and weakness of Piero Grandese’s article consists of his scientific study of the manner in which the folios of the *LJ* were grouped and bound in

*fascicoli* or gatherings.<sup>943</sup> They are his work's strength because no one else has studied the composition of the codex in this manner but also its weakness when comparing his conclusions with the *LJ*'s context.

Grandese says that the first ten gatherings of the *LJ* each contain eight folios, as does the last gathering of fols. 91r-98v, but that fols. 87-90 do not form a gathering as evidenced by the fact that fols. 87 and 88 have begun to become detached at their tops. The remaining fols. 81r-86v form a smaller gathering of only six folios instead of eight. It is precisely this smaller gathering that leads Grandese to question if something is missing from the manuscript and it is here, I believe, that his study encounters some difficulties. A discussion of Grandese's theory about a missing pair of folios will be discussed later. I reproduce, below, his excellent chart of the structure of the *LJ*'s gatherings (1988: 173) which he divides into five groups based on the number of folios per gathering. Independent of the seven sections of games and even their twelve groups of folio headings, the most notable feature is that there are twelve gatherings.

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<sup>943</sup> Piero Grandese, "Sulla Composizione del Libro dei Giochi di Alfonso X El Sabbio," (*Annali di Ca'Foscari*) *Rivista della Facolta di Lingue e Letterature stranieri dell'Universita di Venezia* 27 (1988): 171-81.

Table 5. Translation of Grandese's Gathering Structure Chart.

fol.	1r-2r	general prologue	gatherings I-VIII
	2v-64r	8x8 chess	
	64v	blank	
	65r-71v	6-sided dice	gatherings IX-X
	72r-80r	24-point backgammon	
	80v	blank	
	81r-82v	12x12 chess	gathering XI
	83r-83v	8-sided dice	
	84r-84v	7-sided dice	
	85r-85v	28-point backgammon	
	86r-86v	blank	
	87r-88v	4-player chess	4 loose folios
	89r-89v	4-player backgammon	
	90r-90v	blank	
	91r-93v	mill games	gathering XII
	94r-94v	blank	
	95r-96v	astrological chess	
	97r-97v	astrological backgammon	
	89r-89v	blank	

Based on Grandese's original chart (1988: 173), I have developed another chart which includes additional information vital to understanding the complex structure of the codex as a whole. To grasp the *LJ*'s structure, we need to accept the importance of numerology for the medieval mind and realize that the work has a dual structure based on the richly significant numbers seven and twelve. Our consideration of the structure here will not deal with the symbolic ramifications which will be analyzed separately in Ch. III of this dissertation. My chart combines the information from Grandese's study of the gatherings with a closer examination of how these gatherings contain the content of the

book in terms of its seven-fold structure in the second column and its twelve-fold structure in the third column.

The seven-fold structure is based upon the sections of the book set as determined by types of games and, generally, the blank folio(s) that separate them: 1. chess; 2. dice; 3. backgammon; 4. large variants; 5. four-player variants; 6. mill games; and 7. astrological games. The twelve-fold structure is based upon the headings at the tops of the folios plus counting the introduction as a separate section. The headings “LIBRO DEL ACE DREX,” “LIBRO DE LOS DA DOS” and “LIBRO DE LAS TAB LAS” repeat throughout the codex as befits the type of game discussed while the “LIBRO DE ALQUER QUE” has its own unique heading. Curiously, the chart reveals that the structure of the book is not directly dependent on the gatherings, that is chess problems and even games of separate types overlap the gatherings. The chart also reveals that eight of the gatherings are dedicated to 8x8 chess, which is  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the gatherings. Additionally, two of the four gatherings which do not present 8x8 chess are the smallest two gatherings so that over two-thirds of the codex (127 out of 186 folios which are not blank, or 68%) treats 8x8 chess.

Table 6. Revision of Grandese's Gathering Structure Chart.

Fol.	#/7	#/12	Content	Heading	Gathering
1r-2r		i	introduction and chess origin myth	"LIBRO DE ACE DREX"	gathering I <sup>944</sup>
2v-4v	I	ii	8x8 chess rules	"LIBRO DE ACE DREX"	
5r			8x8 chess, <i>iuego de donzellas</i>	"LIBRO DE ACE DREX"	
5v-8v			8x8 chess, Problems: 1-5, start of 6	"LIBRO DE ACE DREX"	
9r-16v			8x8 chess, Problems: end of 6, 7-17, start of 18	"LIBRO DE ACE DREX"	gathering II
17r-24v			8x8 chess, Problems: end of 18, 19-30, start of 31	"LIBRO DE ACE DREX"	gathering III <sup>945</sup>
25r-32v			8x8 chess, Problems: end of 31, 32-44, start of 45	"LIBRO DE ACE DREX"	gathering IV <sup>946</sup>
33r-40v			8x8 chess, Problems: end of 45, 46-59, start of 60	"LIBRO DE ACE DREX"	gathering V <sup>947</sup>
41r-48v			8x8 chess, Problems: end of 60, 60-75, start of 76	"LIBRO DE ACE DREX"	gathering VI <sup>948</sup>
49r-56v			8x8 chess, Problems: end of 76, 77-90, part of 91	"LIBRO DEL ACE DREX"	gathering VII
57r-63v			8x8 chess, Problems: end of 91, 92-103	"LIBRO DEL ACE DREX"	gathering VIII
64v			blank	none	
65r-71v	II	iii	6-sided dice	"LIBRO DE LOS DA DOS"	gatherings IX-X
72r-80r	III	iv	24-point backgammon	"LIBRO DELAS TABLAS"	
80v			blank	none	
81r-82v	IV	v	12x12 chess	"LIBRO DEL ACE DREX"	the smaller gathering XI
83r-83v		vi	8-sided dice	"L DE LOS DADOS"	
84r-84v			7-sided dice	"L DE LOS DADOS"	
85r-85v		vii	28-point backgammon	"L DELAS TABLAS"	
86r-86v			blank	None	
87r-88v	V	viii	4-player chess	"LIBRO DEL ACE DREX"	4 loose folios
89r-89v		ix	4-player backgammon		
90r-90v			blank		
91r-93v	VI	x	mill games	"LIBRO DE ALQUERQUE"	gathering XII
94r-94v			blank	none	
95r-96v	VII	xi	astrological checkers	"LIBRO DEL ACE DREX"	
97r-97v		xii	astrological backgammon	"LIBRO DELAS TABLAS"	
98r-98v			blank	none	

Returning to our analysis of Grandese's article, we find that he first began to suspect a lacuna while reading Steiger's 1941 study because of "alcune incongruenze

<sup>944</sup> Textual evidence for this gathering is seen at the lower right foot of fol. 8v where the catchwords "go darla," which matches the beginning of the text on fol. 9r, mark the joining of the first and second gatherings.

<sup>945</sup> The marginal Roman numeral .iii. in the bottom center margin of fol. 17r marks the joining of the second and third gatherings.

<sup>946</sup> The number four in the bottom center margin of fol. 24v marks the joining of the third and fourth gatherings.

<sup>947</sup> The word "cinco" at the top center margin of fol. 40r and the Roman numeral .vo. at the bottom center margin of fol. 40v mark the joining of the fourth and fifth gatherings.

<sup>948</sup> A marginal Roman numeral, likely .vj. to mark the joining with the sixth gathering, has been nearly lost due to trimming at the bottom center of fol. 48v.

testuali e strutturali” (1988: 172) which awakened his curiosity. He believes that his close examination of the codex confirms his suspicion that the *LJ* is not complete, as has always been believed, and that, indeed, two folios are missing which would form part of and complete the smaller gathering XI. Grandese recognizes that the book can be subdivided in two ways based on two criteria, explicitly by the headings and implicitly by the presence, though not always, of a blank page at the end of a book. However, Grandese miscounts the headings and finds only ten books based on this structure; his and Canettieri’s preference for round numbers will become apparent again below in his arguments on 100-square or decimal chess. Then, despite his correct count of seven sections based on the blank folios at the ends of treatises, Grandese reduces this count to the decimal-based number of 5 by grouping the games into the “main games,” “their variations” and “other games”—1. 8x8 Chess; 2. 6-sided Dice; 3. 24-square Backgammon; 4. Variations; 5. Other games. At this point, Grandese makes the supposition that the fifth section of other games was not part of the conceptualization of the projected codex when the general prologue was written because these games do not fit into the narrowly defined list of games given on fol. 1v as the most beautiful games of “acedrex (o açedrex)<sup>949</sup> e dados e tablas” (1988: 174) and the book on *alquerque* games opens on fol. 91r with the explanation that “since we have spoken in the previous books of the all the ways of playing chess, dice and backgammon ... we now wish to speak about other games that men invented later *that do not belong to those named above*” (my

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<sup>949</sup> Grandese gives this option not included in the text, indicating that he does not realize that “açedrex” with the cedilla appears much less frequently than *acedrex* without the cedilla in the *Libro del acedrex*. As discussed in this dissertation’s introduction, I believe the omission of the cedilla is correct and intentional.

translation of Grandese 1988: 175, with his emphasis). Instead, Grandese believes that the original concept for the *LJ* was to include only chess, dice and backgammon in all the known variations played at that time and that later, while the work on the codex was in progress, it was decided that other types of board games should be added to the volume. From here, Grandese defends *Libro de los juegos* as a less authentic title for the *LJ* than *Libro de ajedrez, dados y tablas* that summarizes the passage from fol. 1v but one which better describes the encyclopedic spirit of its content.

While I can see Grandese's point regarding the title, my intuition about the original plan for the *LJ* is somewhat narrower. Given the introduction's chess origin myth taken together, as this text must be, with the illuminations that illustrate it, I feel that originally the concept was probably only to include chess, dice and backgammon in their traditional forms, i.e. 8x8 chess, 6-sided dice and 24-point backgammon. In the search for sources for chess problems to fulfill a plan to cover sixty-four folios, I believe that the other variants, such as 12x12 chess, 10x10 chess, 4-player chess and backgammon, mill and astrological chess were happened upon and while they may not have been as widely played, were curious and beautiful enough to merit inclusion.

Based then upon Alfonso's love for the beauty of the games but frustrated by his impatience with the lengthy play, he, as he proudly states in the manuscript, invented dice to speed their play. The invention of the 8-sided dice to speed the 12x12-square *grant acedrex*, I believe, sparked Alfonso's creative mind to desire a reason to invent the probably then unimagined 7-sided dice in order to have such symbolic dice with which to play the astrological games which were based on that same number. Having then

invented the 7-sided dice, it would have been a short leap for Alfonso to invent a backgammon game which would use those dice and be based on the number seven even as its traditional counterpart is based on the number six and uses 6-sided dice.

Once it became apparent to Alfonso that he had more than three sections, I believe he worked to organize the *LJ* in a progressive, didactic manner to achieve a total of seven treatises (as in *Siete Partidas* and *Setenario*) which showed how these games related to and expanded upon one another in both literal and symbolic dimensions to further illustrate the vital allegory of the introduction's chess origin myth. The answer to the Indian king's question about which is better, brains or luck, is the third game of backgammon because it teaches the player the importance of knowing how best to play in good fortune or bad. This is as true in life as in the game and, by extension, accounts for Alfonso's apparent preference for backgammon variants in spite of the larger number of folios dedicated to chess. Alfonso invents two variants of play for the traditional (or base-six) tables with 24 points, 7-sided dice to play the larger (or base-seven) tables with 28 points, and though the work does not explicitly state this, probably the 28-point backgammon itself as well as the final game in the *LJ*: the astrological backgammon. The penultimate game of astrological checkers, for all its symbolic and geometric beauty, is somewhat tedious in its detail for play and its Arabic source is known; no known source has yet been found for astrological backgammon leading me to believe that Alfonso concluded his work with a beautiful and symbolic game of his own invention. In this regard, Alfonso's work is, as Grandese notes, different from the Arabic treatises which

may have been his models because these placed the noble and ennobling chess and the lowly and vicious *nard* in opposition.

Indirectly regarding the supposed lacuna, Grandese attempts to “fare un passo indietro nel tempo e nello spazio, ripercorrendo a ritroso la storia degli scacchi” (1988: 175). He explains how the rules of *shatranj* limited the movements of the fers and the fil compared to today’s rules for the queen and the bishop and how the *LJ* represents an important document in the evolution of the game towards its modern status because it shows timid modifications in the moves of the fers and the pawn. Grandese notes Alfonso’s desire to speed game play with 6-sided dice and that such use of dice also occurred in France, although probably rarely, according to Tassilo von der Lasa’s *Zur Geschichte und Literatur des Schachspiels* (Leipzig, 1897: 116; cited in Grandese 1988: 176n5). The “Libro de los dados,” then, in spite of its games’s lesser status, forms a logical nexus for Grandese between the “Libro del acedrex,” its antithesis, where the use of dice is optional, and the “Libro de las tablas” where they are required to move the pieces. Grandese notes the vulgar appearance of the dice players in the miniatures and the book’s relative brevity, but not its lack of a final blank folio which would have originally given it the numerologically significant number of six folios. He notes that dice games could not have enjoyed Alfonso’s greatest favor given that in 1276 he had commissioned Maestre Roldán to write the *Ordenamiento de las tafurerías*, “un codice giuridico volto ad affrontare e mitigare le perniciose conseguenze del gioco d’azzardo” (1988: 177). Gathered around this nexus, then, we find the principal triad of games that Grandese sees

as based upon the number six because there are six types of chess pieces which can be played with the 6-sided dice, as can tables with six points in each of its four tables.

To this triad based on six, Grandese connects the larger variations based on the numbers eight and then seven. At this point, Grandese's argument begins to fall apart for me because, while these observations are true, they do not coincide with the hierarchical structure of which Alfonso was explicitly so devoted. Had it been Alfonso's goal to connect these games on the basis of a "root" number, he would have organized them in descending order (eight, seven, six, etc.) as he explicitly does with the chess problems (fol. 5r) and the mill games (fol. 91r). However, continuing with Grandese's argument, these game variants based on the numbers eight and seven spur the invention of dice with similar numbers of sides. The problem for Grandese is that the version of chess which would use the 7-sided dice, that is decimal chess, "has disappeared" (1988: 178) and he wishes to open for discussion the question of the integrity of the codex. Its absence is the very structural and textual "incongruence" of which Grandese spoke at the beginning of his article. Rather, I believe, as I will argue below, that the game is consciously and intentionally not presented due to incomplete source material and the game's relative lack of importance.

Grandese finds at the root of this "incongruence" "un certo disordine interno all'opera stessa" (1988: 179) which in his opinion reveals the exclusion of some material in the following sequence: traditional chess, dice, backgammon—larger chess, dice, dice, backgammon—astrological chess, backgammon. While his order is accurate, the point I believe he narrowly misses is one he hinted at earlier but failed to see due to his lack of

appreciation for the importance of the numerological aspects of the *LJ*. My chart, based on his, explains the order behind this apparent disorganization in terms of the work's seven- and twelve-fold structure as a whole. Grandese wonders how 10x10-square or decimal chess, supposedly so in vogue in the Arab world of the time, could be omitted from the Alfonso work which says that it talks about *all* kinds of these games.<sup>950</sup> Alfonso appears to have been fascinated by the beauty and meaningful levels of chess, but not to have been the strongest player. As will be seen in Chapter II, he shows himself being beaten at the game, a rare image indeed for a king or future king. Again and again, Alfonso indicates that the slowness of the game is a frustration. Why he would choose then to omit a second longer and therefore slower, and likely less aesthetic, version of a game that is not his strength should be abundantly clear.

From the supposed absence of decimal chess, Grandese construes on the basis of his system of triads the supposed absence of a corresponding variant of tables that would be played with the 8-side dice and be based upon the number eight, having eight points in each of its four tables for a total of thirty-two, and presumably nineteen men per side. However, the original triad that forms the Scholastic argument with which the *LJ* begins is not the fixed structure of the entire book; it is only the point of departure that leads the reader on a sequential journey. From the Scholastic introduction's triad, the *LJ* plays with and expands upon the same theme in increasing numbers—increasing numbers of squares, playing pieces, players and sides of dice. Grandese admits that textual clues supporting his thesis are scarce, citing the plural of *tableros* on fol. 85r in the passage that

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<sup>950</sup> I am not certain to what passage Grandese refers here although it may be the introduction to the "Libro del alquerque" (fol. 91r). Even so, while the rules of the game are not presented, the game itself is spoken of, if only indirectly, thus satisfying this condition.

describes how the *barras* at the edges of the board are to be scalloped so that the pieces better fit into them, “as with the other boards.” I do not feel that this passage supports his conclusion at all. Alfonso is here, clearly in my opinion, referring back to the passage describing the manufacture of 24-square backgammon boards which are to have the scalloped *barras* (fol. 72r). These boards, shown multiple times for the multiple variants, are the plural boards to which the passage refers and not a missing backgammon variant. In subsequent variants such as the 12x12 *grant acedrex* which is present, the *LJ* describes how the board might vary from the original description in one of the first books but the same particulars of construction are not repeated (fol. 81r).

What strikes Grandese as most peculiar is that in a work where Alfonso has so demonstrated the base nature of dice he would show a variant of dice and then not show the variant of backgammon which uses them. This is odd to him because he is not considering the importance of the number seven. Alfonso mentions the 12x12 chess probably because of the beauty and symbolism of its animal pieces which his artists take amazing pains to reproduce as in *Cantiga 29* and which are described at great length in the text. The dice are necessary because of the considerable length of time such a game would take to play and the fact that they have eight sides is determined entirely by the number of types of pieces in *grant acedrex*. However, as I explained above, once one sets about making dice of an unusual number of sides, why not make, and find an excuse for making, dice of a number of sides equal to one’s favorite number? I feel that the 8-sided dice are not only mentioned as a necessary adjunct for *grant acedrex*, the larger tables variant and the astrological games but also to show Alfonso’s cleverness in claiming their

invention and, more importantly still, as a bridge to mentioning 7-sided dice. Alfonso is nothing if not methodical. He would not simply say “And here are some other dice we thought of” when he could follow his already established pattern and show his knowledge of yet another chess variant, all to be able to get to use his favorite-numbered dice on a backgammon of his own invention that is also based on his favorite number.

Still, Grandese continues with an attempt to impose a “struttura rigidamente ternaria (‘acedrex, dados e tablas’)” (1988: 180) on the entire work. To begin with, such an imposition is problematic because its stated source is a title that was imposed at a later date and most likely by someone who seems not to have analyzed the entire work’s complex structure before assigning it. While it is true that the title could also have come from a part of the *LJ*’s introduction, Grandese himself asserts that this introduction does not project well the whole plan of the work’s contents. The weaknesses of his “rigidly tertiary” structure reveal in his own outline (1988: 180) that the structure is, in fact, not rigidly tertiary:

- 1) 8x8 chess
- 2) 6-sided dice
- 3) 24-square backgammon
- 
- 4) 12x12 chess
- 5) 8-sided dice
- 6) 32-point backgammon (proposed by Grandese)
- 
- 7) 10x10 chess (mentioned but not presented)
- 8) 7-sided dice
- 9) 28-point backgammon
- 
- 10) Four-player chess
- 11) Four-player backgammon

Not only is this scheme neither applicable nor applied to the entire work, as the table ends with fol. 89v of 98 folios, omitting the most symbolic games in the *LJ*, this rigidly tertiary structure oddly resolves itself into eleven (not a number divisible by three) points. Grandese explains this away by saying that the invention of new dice for playing the four-player games is unnecessary. While true, this fails to explain either how eleven is rigidly tertiary or the supposed trinity of the remaining folios. The penultimate section above (his numbers 7 through 9), however, is where Grandese feels that the two missing folios or four total pages would be located. He assumes that between fols. 83 and 84 there would be the two “missing” folios containing the following: two pages for the 10x10 chess explanation for only one new piece (the *juyz* or judge) and corresponding miniature, one page for the base-eight tables explanation and corresponding miniature, and one page blank to follow the pattern for ending a book as found in the rest of the codex. Grandese correctly notes that in the earlier “Libro del acedrex,” fols. 1r-64v, the text and corresponding illuminations often occupied the *verso* of one folio and the *recto* of the next so that any missing material would be immediately noticed, while in the latter portion of the book, due to the spacing provided by blank pages, sections tend to occupy the whole of any folios and thus their absence could go unnoticed.

Grandese’s final argument for the two missing folios is numerological. While he admits it would be painful to have to say that part of the work is irreparably lost, the harmony of the structure of the book is interrupted as it now stands. In other words, ninety-eight existing folios plus the two he affirms are missing would equal a total of one hundred, a number he feels is “certamente più ‘cumplido’, più aderente al concetto di

decoro formale tipico dell'Età Media, e conveniente perciò a un codice regio di Alfonso el Sabio" (1988: 181). I find this the weakest argument of all because it is the structure of the work itself, as shown in my chart, and the emphasis on the importance of the numbers seven and twelve which drive the *LJ*'s harmonic composition. Neither seven nor twelve is a factor of one hundred nor is one hundred a number favored by Alfonso in any of his works. Seven is a factor of ninety-eight, being twice seven squared, and the total number of games is one hundred forty-four or twelve squared. Alfonso's predilection for the number seven is clear in nearly every aspect of the *LJ* as well as his other, "more serious" works such as the *Siete Partidas* and the *Setenario*. Adding two more folios and two more games would make these carefully orchestrated and symbolic details meaningless.

Paolo Canettieri recognizes the symbolism of the zodiac signs in the number of twelve gatherings but not that of seven or its multiples in the *LJ*. In his *Il libro dei giochi* he agrees with Grandese's theory that the absence of the rules for the decimal chess game indicates that two folios have been lost between the current fols. 83 and 84, and his suggestion that if they were added to the eleventh gathering, they would bring the existing 98 folios of the codex to a more perfect number of 100. Once inserted into Grandese's theoretical reconstruction, Canettieri finds this structure "rigidamente ternaria."<sup>951</sup>

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<sup>951</sup> Paraphrasing from Canettieri 11-12, 21-22. The main flaw of this structure is that it does not address the entire *LJ* as a book of seven treatises but only the first three treatises as one unit and then the fourth and fifth treatises, each as three separate units and wholly ignoring the fact that the sixth and seventh culminating treatises do not fit into such a rigidly or at all into a tertiary scheme. However, Canettieri's units work insofar as he applies them based on the three games in the order presented in the prologue's *exemplum*: chess, dice and tables.

In any case, Canettieri's primary assertion that the inclusion of these two "missing" folios would then raise the total number of folios in the manuscript to the more "perfect" number one hundred is somewhat suspect. While one hundred is admittedly a rounder number to a modern mind accustomed to the decimal system, it is not a number that appears anywhere else in the *LJ*. In fact, the only case where it would appear, that is in this decimal chess whose 10x10 board would have a total of 100 squares, is where it is supposedly missing. This perfect number, then, is therefore conspicuous only by its absence. Numerology, as will be seen in Chapter III of this dissertation, is of prime importance to Alfonso in this as in most of his works. However, the numbers that appear time and again in various multiples in the *LJ* are seven and twelve. The total of ninety-eight folios at first appears odd but further consideration reveals it to be twice the square of seven ( $2 \times 7^2 = 98$ ) a fact that certainly would not have been lost on the medieval mind accustomed to looking for such symbolism.

The secondary argument of a convincingly tertiary structure is not persuasive either. First, it does not follow the descending numerical order hierarchy adopted by Alfonso in his organization of both the 103 checkmate problems and the types of alquerque. Second, it indicates a lack of not only the decimal chess description and miniature but also the same two items for a version of tables based on the number eight to go with the 8-sided dice created for *grant acedrex*. Such a game is never mentioned in the *LJ* at all and eight is not a key number in this work. More importantly, it is difficult to imagine that two descriptions and the accompanying miniatures of such complex games would only take up two folios, especially if we consider that the description for a single,

comparable game, *grant acedrex*, occupies two folios all by itself. The imposition of this erroneous and anachronistic triplicity upon the structure of the *LJ* seems to originate from the title *Los libros de axedrez dados e tablas* which, as evidenced by the spelling of the word for chess, was added in a later century and only takes into account the introduction and not the work as a whole. This tertiary structure, like the anachronous title, does not reflect four out of the seven sections of the work, specifically those on dice, four-player games, *alquerque* and the astrological games.

A further and more concrete argument against missing folios is a textual analysis. In the *LJ* when games or their components are mentioned again after their initial presentation there is always formulaic language such as “as we have said above” with the notable exception of this very case. Due to the fact that the *LJ* never refers explicitly to the existence of a section presenting the rules for decimal chess, I believe it acknowledges, *argumentum ad silentium*, that, indeed, nothing is missing. Beginning with the “Libro de los dados,” Alfonso using the royal “we” says, “Pves que delos iuegos del açedrex que se iuegan por seso auemos ya fablado; lo mas complidamiente que pudimos; queremos agora aqui contar delos iuegos delos dados” (fol. 65r) and for the “Libro de las tablas,” “Pves que auemos y hablado delos dados lo mas complidamiente que pudimos; queremos agora aqui fablar delas tablas” (fol. 72r). Most interestingly, when describing the 8-sided dice for *grant acedrex*, Alfonso says, “E con estos dados destas ocho llanas pueden fazer tantos iuegos cuemo con los otros delas seys quadras que desuso auemos contado en este libro.” This language, however, is entirely absent from the presentation of the 7-sided dice for the decimal chess. In fact, a reference is made

back to a game that does appear, *grant acedrex*, to explain that the 7-sided dice work for decimal chess as the 8-sided do for the former. That this omission is not a change of style or even an inadvertent slip is shown by the very next section of text explaining the *Tables game* with which these 7-sided dice are played. The language is absolutely clear that the dice themselves have been discussed, both how they are made and how they can be used to play the decimal chess, but the decimal chess itself is deliberately not spoken of in this manner. The manuscript reads: “Pves que uos ya mostramos los dados deste Acedrex delas diez casas de como son fechos & de como pueden con ellos iogar este Acedrex segunt que desuso dixiemos, queremos uos agora aqui mostrar el iuego delas tablas que conuiene a estos dados” (fol. 85r). This same referencing of games previously discussed continues with the four-seasons tables modeled after a related chess variant which has already been shown: “Pves que auemos dicho del tablero delos quatro tiempos dell anno. segundo lo ordenaron los sabios antigos; agora conuiene que mostremos el tablero delas tablas que se iuega segund aquella manera” (fol. 89r). The same pattern continues for the sixth book on *alquerque* and the seventh on the Astrological games. The absence then of such language in the one instance where a game mentioned is not presented completely cannot be accidental and leads me to conclude that Alfonso and his scribes were conscious of the fact that the decimal chess was indeed never discussed. So why mention it at all? For the very reason stated in the introduction to the *tablas del acedrex de las diez casas*, that these dice with the number of sides that happens to be Alfonso’s favorite number were used to play both a variant of chess and the variant of tables also based on Alfonso’s favorite number seven, as Murray indicates (1913: 569). More importantly and

not noted by Murray, the astrological games at the end of the *LJ* also require these 7-sided dice.

Finally, the numerological symbolism of the structure of the book is in every way intentional and convincing. No number of folios, games or elements is accidental. No damage to the manuscript exists indicating the folios were violently removed. However, it is not possible to say whether the two folios were lost from when the work was rebound. My analysis of the book's purposeful, didactic and symbolic structure will be fully discussed in Chapter III of this dissertation, but the most absolutely convincing detail for me that there are no missing games is the fact that the total of games present is twelve squared or 144. To add one or two would make this number illogical and defeat the careful progression of the entire *LJ* and the symbolic messages it contains.

In sum, Grandese's physical description of the manuscript as well as his description of its provenance is excellent and his study of the gatherings as presented in his chart is vital, original work. Despite the thoroughness and precision of his observations, however, I disagree with his argument for the missing folios for a number of reasons. While it is harder to make a case for the absence of nothing than the absence of something, I feel that 1) the textual evidence does not support his conclusions because the supposedly missing game variants are never referred to as having been "described above" as are all other games which are fully described; 2) the numerological evidence does not support them because Grandese's "rigidly ternary" structure is unsupported and his view of the work's structure misplaces emphasis on 5, 10 and 100 rather than 7 and 12; and 3) he does not recognize the larger symbolism of either the games or the work's

ordered, rational and not at all casual structure which resonates as a whole within the context of Alfonso's larger literary production. This said, he is a great fellow and wonderful backgammon and chess player.

#### 1.4.4 Seven-Sided Decimal Chess Dice

The special dice created by Alfonso for these games show both ingenuity and a dedication to the games (fols. 84r and 84v). Not satisfied with adapting the more common six-sided cubical dice to his purpose, Alfonso strove or had his dice-makers strive to create special materials for each game's physical and symbolic needs. The eight-sided or octahedral dice are fairly simple in construction and are common enough today for various role-playing games such as TSR's *Dungeons and Dragons*, where they are known as d8s. But the seven-sided, heptahedral or septahedral, dice are a truly unique invention which show ingenious creativity put towards the task of creating a usable die with an odd number of sides. Only recently has the game manufacturing company Chessex offered a d7 for sale.<sup>952</sup> The fact that Alfonso had a seven-sided die made for a game of chess he does not even present is significant. The fact that he then discovered another way to make them or that they had been made elsewhere and included that description along with the first one, but at a later time is even more impressive.

Two different shapes are described for seven-sided dice in the *LJ*, one apparently discovered and added to the text later than the other. The first consists of a seven-sided cylinder with pointed ends. Each rectangular side of the cylinder has a number from one

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<sup>952</sup> These dice strongly resemble the second type of seven-sided dice described in the *LJ*, having two pentagonal faces with Arabic numerals for six and seven on each and five rectangular faces. These rectangular sides solve Alfonso's problem of having each die face up with two numbers visible by placing the numbers one rough five on the spines of the rectangles with differently colored pips for each number. My loving gratitude is owed to Harry Shiflett for his innumerable gifts to me, including these dice.

through seven. Because of the uneven number of faces, each die lands with one face flat down and the spine between two faces showing upwards. The *LJ* explains that it is the uppermost side facing the shooter which is his roll and that if a number cannot be clearly determined, the die is rolled again until it can. The second type of seven-sided dice is like a five-sided cylinder with flat ends. Each rectangular side of the cylinder bears a number from one through five and the ends bear six and seven. This second type of dice would also show spine up for numbers one through five and be played as the first dice described. Fol. 84v's miniature shows a total of six seven-sided dice, in two trios. The uppermost trio reads five (?),<sup>953</sup> seven and one from top to bottom, each respectively shown on a rectangular, heptagonal (perhaps an artistic error for pentagonal) and another rectangular face. The second trio is more difficult to read, as it shows two faces up and unclearly divided by an understood, but invisible, spine as well as due to apparent loss of some of the black paint for the pips. The uppermost die of the trio appears to have two pips clearly showing with possibly a third having been lost on one face, and on the second face three very faint pips. Since both faces cannot read three, my best guess is that the side facing the player at right is meant to be a two-face. The leftmost die of the two dice below the first one seems to me to show three on one face and four on the other, with the three-face being closer to the player at right. And the final die, at right, seems to have shown the same thing before suffering greater paint loss than the second. Thus, I read the second dice grouping as showing two, three and three for a total of eight.

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<sup>953</sup> The pip arrangement is more like the modern arrangement of six but with one of the central dots missing. However, the manuscript specifies that the six-face is one of the pentagonal sides so I conclude that this is most likely a five-face.

Seven-sided dice are used to play the base-seven tables variant which is presented after them on fols. 85r and 85v as well as both astrological games in the seventh treatise of the *LJ*. They might also be used for playing the dice games of the “Libro de los dados” like the eight-sided dice, but naturals and points are not specified for the heptahedral dice in the text. Six-sided dice use the four highest and lowest sums as naturals (fifteen through eighteen and three through six); eight-sided dice use the five highest and lowest sums (twenty through twenty-four and three through seven). Logic would dictate that seven-sided dice would use four or five of the top and bottom sums, but the odd number makes it difficult to distribute the sums equally between high naturals, low naturals and the middle point numbers in a way that does not result in very easy or difficult odds for any given set.

An even more compelling mathematical puzzle than the odds distribution of seven-sided dice is the question of their dimensions. My theories are presented below in response to the 1949 study of J. A. Sánchez Pérez.

#### **1.4.4.1 Sánchez Pérez’s Geometrical/Mechanical Problem for the Dimensions of Seven-Sided Dice**

José Antonio Sánchez Pérez’s article “El dado de siete caras” (in *Murgetana* 1, 1949: 143-46) gives a description of the *escaques que se iuegan por astronomia* or astrological checkers and poses what he calls a simple and fun geometrical and mechanical problem regarding the optimum dimensions for the seven-sided die with which this game is played. His description of the game is beautifully clear and accurate except in two details. First, he says that *escaques* is the last game contained within the *LJ*;

the *tablas que se iuegan por astronomia* or astrological backgammon is the final game and *escaques* the penultimate. Following the game's description, J. A. Sánchez Pérez praises the attractiveness and interest of the game saying that it would probably be marketable today, given that it is a sort of goose game. I believe that it is perhaps more similar to a goose descendant, Monopoly. The final five paragraphs contain what J. A. Sánchez Pérez gives as his true motive for this article, the seven-dice with which the game is played.

The second error regards these seven-sided dice and the orientation of the points upon them. According to J. A. Sánchez Pérez, the two miniatures in which the dice are seen show them as a pentagonal prisms, with the top and bottom ends representing the rolls of one and of seven and the sides being the rolls two through six.<sup>954</sup> The description of these dice on fol. 84r states that the ends are the rolls of six and of seven, and the five sides are the rolls one through five. Fol. 96r mentions these seven-sided dice for use in the play of astrological checkers, but does not specify upon which faces any points are to be located. Fol. 85v shows three seven-sided dice, pentagonal prisms, used to play the 28-square backgammon variant. One is shown with a rectangular face with five points and two are shown with heptagonal (oddly not pentagonal) faces showing six and seven points. Although this appears to be either a misunderstanding by the miniaturist or his

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<sup>954</sup> I am not sure to which two miniatures J. A. Sánchez Pérez (1949) is referring and he does not specify. In fact two varieties of seven-side dice are described and shown in three miniatures in the *LJ*. Fol. 96v which shows the game J. A. Sánchez Pérez describes in this article does not show the dice in question. However, seven-sided dice are seen on fols. 84v (their illustration), 85v (base-seven tables) and 97v (astrological backgammon). Fol. 84r describes two separate manners of making the dice, one apparently written in at a later time judging by the different hand and ink. The accompanying miniature on fol. 84v shows two trios of seven-sided dice; the upper grouping appears to be the earlier version of pentagonal prisms and the lower grouping appears to have been added to the miniature later and to be the heptagonal prisms described second in the different hand and ink.

attempt to portray literally seven-sided dice without perspective, it does support the conclusion that the non-rectangular faces of the dice were the ones marked six and seven. Fol. 97v shows another trio of seven-sided dice, two rectangular and one accurately pentagonal. The two rectangular faces show the numbers one and five while the pentagonal face reads seven. This miniature also supports the conclusion that the non-rectangular faces were numbered six and seven and that these faces were pentagonal, not heptagonal. Additionally, the miniature also supports the conclusion that the number one of the seven-sided pentagonal prism dice was drawn on a rectangular face and not a pentagonal one. Finally, Alfonso's specificity regarding the placement of points on six-sided dice on fol. 65r supports the conclusion that such an important detail would not have been arranged haphazardly and not outside of a strict hierarchical order. On six-sided dice the lowest and the highest rolls are on opposite faces, but this may be because they total the favored number seven and to prevent cheating. No one noble enough to have studied astrology would be the sort to make loaded dice.

Returning to J. A. Sánchez Pérez's geometrical and mechanical problem concerning these dice, he wonders about the precise measurements that they must have in order to fall on each face with equal probability. If they are too tall or long like a pencil then they would never fall on the two pentagonal ends. If they are too short or thin like a coin then they would never fall on the five rectangular sides (1949: 146). J. A. Sánchez Pérez does not answer his own question but rather poses the problem to his reader.

In response to J. A. Sánchez Pérez's challenge, I have attempted to calculate what I believe the most likely ideal measurements of these dice. At the first, two possibilities

exist: either the faces of the pentagons are larger in surface area than are the rectangular faces or vice versa. After careful examination of the miniatures which show these dice and which tend to attempt physical realism in most details, I have decided to opt for the second possibility of the rectangular faces having more surface area than the pentagonal ones. Below are my calculations and reasoning.

The pentagon of a pentagonal prism has five interior angles, each  $72^\circ$  ( $360^\circ / 5 = 72^\circ$ ). Each of the exterior angles of the pentagon is then  $108^\circ$  ( $180^\circ - 72^\circ = 108^\circ$ ). The area of a regular pentagon is equal to the sum of the areas of the five equilateral triangles it contains. Their internal angles are  $72^\circ$ ,  $54^\circ$  and  $54^\circ$ . In order to find the area of each triangle, we first calculate the height. To obtain the height, we take the tangent of the opposite  $54^\circ$  angle or 1.3764819. Tangent is equal to the length of the opposite side (height) divided by the length of the adjacent side (outside edge). If each outside edge side of the regular pentagon equals 2 cm,<sup>955</sup> then the height of triangle is 1.3764819 cm. The area of each triangle (base x height / 2) is then 1.3764819 cm<sup>2</sup>. So a regular pentagon with 2 cm sides has an area of 6.8819096 cm<sup>2</sup> ( $1.3764819 \times 5$ ). Finally, in order for each of the five rectangular sides of the pentagonal prism to have equal area to that of the pentagonal ends, they would have the dimensions of 2 cm in width by 3.440998 cm in length ( $2 \text{ cm} \times 3.440998 \text{ cm} = 6.8819096 \text{ cm}^2$ ). However, I suspect that in addition to the surface area of the faces, the angles that connect them also play an important role in the

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<sup>955</sup> The measurement of 2 cm is chosen for the mathematical simplicity of having one side of the triangle used in solving for the height equal to a measurement of one increment (one half of the length of the 2 cm side). Any other number and standard of measure can be substituted, provided that the remaining calculations are then adjusted in proportion.

probability of each side landing face up. I am not certain how to compensate for the angle disparity with differing surface area but I have two theories as follows.

Since the angle between the pentagonal face and any rectangular face is  $90^\circ$  but the rectangular faces have  $108^\circ$  exterior angles between them, this means that the juncture of two rectangular faces are closer to flat ( $180^\circ$ ) than the juncture between a square and a pentagonal face. Any one of the seven faces has an equal chance (1:7) of hitting the surface first. However due to its shape, once the die hits the surface it loses momentum with each successive tumble. No matter what shape side hits the surface first, the next side to come in contact with the surface will almost always be a rectangular side. Once on a rectangular side, it will tend to rolling along the easier angle to another rectangular side. In other words, being  $18^\circ$  closer to flat would mean a die that landed first on a rectangular face would be more likely to come to rest on another rectangular face because it would not tend to have the momentum to roll up the  $90^\circ$  angle. However, a die that landed first on a pentagonal face would be more likely to be able to roll off that  $90^\circ$  angle and then necessarily land on a rectangular face. This would give the two pentagonal faces a significantly lower probability of remaining face up and a significantly higher chance of rolling a rectangular face.

To compensate for the  $18^\circ$  or 5% difference in angle (since  $18^\circ$  is 5% of  $90^\circ$ ), my first theory is that the rectangular faces should be 5% larger in area than the pentagonal ones. The added weight or mass to those longer faces might propel the die equally as well end-over-pentagonal-end as it rolls side-to-rectangular-side. So, adding 5% to a rectangle

with an area of 6.8819096 cm<sup>2</sup> would result in an area of 7.2260058 cm<sup>2</sup>, with dimensions of 2 cm in width and 3.61300245 cm in length.

My second theory is compensates for this same difference in angles by increasing the length (rather than the total area) of the rectangular sides 5% over the widest span of the pentagonal sides. I calculate the height of the pentagon to be 2.9179337 ( $1^2 + 1.3763819^2 = 2.3763819^2$ ; square root of 2.3763819 is 1.5415518 (length of inner side of triangle) + 1.3763819 (height of opposite triangle) = 2.9179337). 5% longer than 2.9179337 is 3.063830385. This would yield five rectangles each with an area of 6.12766077 cm<sup>2</sup>.

The end result of my first theory would be a pentagonal prism whose pentagon ends would have 5 equal sides, each measuring 2 cm; the five-sided prism would be 3.61300245 cm long. My second theory would yield a stubbier version of the same basic shape, with a five-sided prism which is 3.063830385 cm long. A difference of more than half a centimeter can mean a great deal in the production of a reliable die. Unfortunately, I do not possess the carving, carpentry or manufacturing capabilities at this time to test the dimensions of my seven-sided dice to determine which theory, if either, produces one that would fall an equal number of times on each of the seven faces.

#### **1.4.5 Base-Seven Tables**

Fols. 85r and 89r discuss games related to tables but played on different boards. *Las tablas del acedrex delas diez casas* has a board based on the number seven in the same way that the usual tables or backgammon board is board on the number six. The traditional board has six points or *casas* per table, matching the highest number on its dice. Base-seven tables

has one more point per table for a total of twenty-eight, matching the high roll of seven on each of its dice. Each player has seventeen men or *tablas*. Any games that can be played on the normal backgammon board can be played on this one.<sup>956</sup>

The twenty-eight-point board for tables that Alfonso likely invented truly evidences both his personal preference of tables and his numerological purposes carried to a natural and beautiful conclusion. In this larger board, unique to the *LJ*, the symbolism of tables discussed above and which will be further discussed in Chapter III is taken to the next level. It is said that the twenty-four-point board is a temporal metaphor for the number of hours in a day and that the pieces are half dark and half light for night hours and daylight hours. The total number of thirty pieces is said to represent the number of days in a month, half dark for moonless nights and half light for moonlit ones. However lovely, this is an inexact metaphor when compared with the *LJ*'s base-seven tables board. With twenty-eight points, his board is a larger metaphor for time because it represents days instead of hours, twenty-eight being the number of days or houses of the moon in each lunar cycle. His total of thirty-four pieces shows a true backgammon-player's mentality because he understanding the number of pieces necessary for creating a prime or blockade to win (fol. 85r). Just as traditional backgammon is played with enough pieces so that each player may fill one whole table with two pieces per point and have three left over ( $6 \times 2 + 3 = 15$ ) so can each player of base-seven tables ( $7 \times 2 + 3 = 17$ ).

The miniature on fol. 85v shows a trio of seven-sided dice reading from top to bottom seven, five and six, each on a hexagonal (perhaps an artistic error for pentagonal),

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<sup>956</sup> Musser 1995: 39-40.

rectangular and hexagonal face respectively. Since type of seven-sided dice shown here and on fol. 97v for astrological backgammon are the second type described on fol. 84r and the one which was apparently added in later, it may be assumed that the more recently invented, flat-ended seven-sided dice were preferred to the original form with pointed ends.

Brunet y Bellet's diagram no. 2 shows his sketch of 28-square backgammon with the dice reading seven, five and six from left to right. He does not know what to call this game or even whether it is properly a chess or a backgammon variant owing to his confusion over its description because the manuscript's rubric for this game depends upon the chess for which 7-sided dice were created. These dice were introduced in the previous section for the decimal chess which is not presented and the game is therefore called the backgammon of the decimal chess.

Calvo gives a very brief description of the number of points and pieces used in the larger tables variant, noting simply that the manuscript says that all the other tables games described can be played upon it (1987: 142).



Just as the common chessboard is divided into 8(x8) squares, they divided this one into 12(x12). And just as the other chess they put 16 pieces on each side for total a total of 32, they put in this one 24 pieces on each side for a total of 48. And as the other 16 chess pieces can be moved according the rolls 6-sided dice, so can these 24 in this chess move according to an 8-sided die.

And in this game there is a king who is as the head and lord of his whole army, he leaps two squares like the fers or moves to the first orthogonally or diagonally as he wishes. And he captures, is shielded and is safe from check unless there is another piece in between.

And he has then next to him a bird who is lord over all other birds. And although this bird is known by many names according to the languages of different peoples, in India especially where this game was first made, it is called *aanca*,<sup>959</sup> which means a beautiful and fearsome bird.

Because as the wise men tell in their books wherever this bird flies no other bird dares to take off, and those which are in trees and caves and dare not to leave them but rather strive to hide as well as they can because it is so large that it carries the elephant and all the other large beasts it finds to its nest. And this bird is very beautiful because its chest and neck shine as though they were gilt. And it has yellow sides and wings. Its feet, eyes, and beak are red as scarlet and it has very black claws. And it has on its head a round spiked crown, like a diadem.

And this bird rears its young in the highest peaks it can find and it does this for two reasons. First, it always wants clear, clean air and second, because it has short legs and long wings and so cannot take off from a low place. And whenever it wants to move to fly, it raises up as if to jump and then flies straight to where it wants to go. Thus they ordered that its move is composed of two different steps. First, like the fers it makes one step of one single square to any adjoining square on the diagonal(s) on which it stands. It can remain on that square or may also continue to any square on the file or rank of that square, maintaining its movement in the same direction away from its starting square until the end of the board or until it captures.

Its jumping movement is such that if it begins on a black square, then it will move one step of one square of the same color along the diagonal like the fers and then continue straight ahead as far as it likes. And if it begins on a white square, it moves in the same way. Starting on a black square, then it may not enter the four white squares [fol. 81v] that surround its starting square and likewise if it begins on a white square it may not enter those four surrounding black squares

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<sup>959</sup> See the discussion of the *aanca* in this section's piece commentary.

And the other piece and other side of the king, to his right,<sup>960</sup> resembles a crocodile, which is a beast and a fish made like a lizard. And it lives in fresh water, notably in the great river called the Nile. And it is so powerful that having its two hind feet and its tail in the water there is nothing that it grabs on land that can escape no matter how strong it may be. And when it wants to grab something it pretends that it is looking somewhere else to lull it into a false sense of security and then it turns quickly and obliquely and goes after it until it captures it. And in this way they made that its piece play in this chess. It moves to any square on the diagonal(s) on which it stands. And if it begins on a black square, then it moves only on black squares and cannot enter a white square; likewise the one which begins on a white square cannot enter a black square.

And the giraffe is a large beast shaped like a deer. It has a very long neck and a small head with very beautiful eyes. And its front legs are very long and the hoof cloven like a deer's. And it has a short tail and a long black mane. And it runs marvelously fast and before it begins to run it gives a sideways jump and thus is fashioned its movement in this chess after its gait. It leaps to any vacant square three steps on the diagonal(s) on which it stands so that when it begins on a black square it moves to a white one.<sup>961</sup> And the other giraffe on the other side moves in this same manner.

And the rhinoceros<sup>962</sup> is a very large and very strong beast with two horns—one on its forehead and one on its nose, and the one on its nose is longer than the one on its forehead. And the horn on its nose is so powerful that it can spear an elephant in the gut and lift it from the ground. The forehead horn is very sharp and cuts powerfully. And the body of this rhinoceros is as large as an elephant and the color is like ash. And it has ears like a pig and when it is angry its eyes turn as red as a ruby. When it begins to run, it runs far after it gives a jump like a horse and thus they established it in this chess. The rhino's move is composed of two different steps. First, it leaps like a knight. It may remain on that square if it wishes or may also continue to any square on the diagonal(s) of that square, maintaining its movement in a forward direction from that square as far as it likes or until it captures.<sup>963</sup>

And the lion is also a very strong beast and it jumps a great distance sideways or forwards, more than any other beast when it wants to

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<sup>960</sup> This directional description of the array is true for the white army; the black army is arranged in its mirror image as in modern chess.

<sup>961</sup> The *LJ*'s description of the giraffe's move is so bizarre as to render it nearly unintelligible; no truly diagonal move can result in a change of square color. What is meant here is an expanded knight's move of three squares in one direction and two in another. I am indebted to Jean-Louis Cazaux for his help with my translation of the moves for the giraffe, rhino and lion.

<sup>962</sup> The manuscript uses the term *unicornio* despite the beast's two horns. See discussion of the rhinoceros in section 1.4.1.5.

<sup>963</sup> Again, I thank Jean-Louis Cazaux for his help with my translation of the rhino's move.

capture something. And in this likeness they put it here and its piece leaps to any square three steps away on its file or on its rank.<sup>964</sup>

And the rook resembles the ranks of soldiers and it plays just like the rook in the other chess.

And the pawns are made like the common people and play in that same way as we described before. And when a pawn is promoted in this chess it becomes like the piece which is in the square where it was promoted and if it is promoted in the king's square, it becomes an *aanca*. And the pawns are set up on the fourth rank.

And we want to show you the hierarchy where some of the pieces have over [fol. 82r] the others so that he should play with them not sacrifice the greatest piece for the least. And the king is the best and greatest piece as we said above. And beneath the king the *aanca* is the next best, better than the rhinoceros. And the rhinoceros is better than the rook. And the rook is better than the lion. And the lion is better than the crocodile. And the crocodile is better than the giraffe. And the giraffe is better than the pawn.

And this hierarchy is shown best by the dice, which are made as we shall describe later in this book, when they shall be wanted to play with them. And this is the figure of the board, the pieces and how they are set up on it, and the explanation of them. [fol. 82v]

[fol. 83r] **Here it speaks of eight-sided dice and how they are made.**

Because this great chess is played very slowly and they take a long time with it, therefore we, King Alfonso, ordered dice to be with which to play it faster and which show the hierarchy of the pieces by the rolls of the dice.

And the dice are made in this way: that there are eight faces on them and each face is triangular so that it has three edges because they could not be made in another way and belong this game. Because however the figure is uneven, it must perforce fall with the flat side facing down; because if it were even it would have to fall with an edge facing up. And so these dice were made with eight sides for the eight types of pieces.

And on the first side there are eight pips, on the next seven, and so on down to one. And because the king greatest and best he has the 8, and the *aanca* the 7, and the rhinoceros the 6, and the rook is 5, and the lion is 4, and the crocodile is 3, and the giraffe is 2, and the pawn is one as we said above on the hierarchy of the pieces.

And the same games can be played with these eight-sided dice as for the other six-sided ones, as we have already told in this book.

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<sup>964</sup> Jean-Louis Cazaux disagrees and offers a more appealing move, discussed above, which I very much like but which I cannot reconcile with the original text. Alfonso X's *grant acedrex*," ed. Jean-Louis Cazaux, 1 Mar. 2005, <<http://history.chess.free.fr/acedrex.htm> as of 03/01/2005>.

And it is shown thus that as for six-sided dice that we use the high naturals 18, 17, 16, and 15. And the reciprocals of these that are 6, 5, 4, and 3 are also naturals. And points are taken from under 15 and over 6. Thus for these eight-sided dice, naturals are 20, 21, 22, 23, and 24; and the reciprocals of these numbers which are also naturals, which are 7, 6, 5, 4, and 3. And from under 20 and over 7, points are taken. And from here on they can with these dice play whatever game they wish. And this is the explanation of these dice and this is the diagram of them that is painted here. [fol. 83v]

[fol. 84r] **Here it shows of how the dice for this decimal chess<sup>965</sup> are made and how many pips they have**

And because this chess needs dice so that it can be played more quickly, we ordered dice to be made with which it be played. And also to show by the rolls of them, the hierarchy of the pieces.

And these dice are made in this way: they there are seven sides on them and the highest roll on them is seven, because otherwise they could not be made to belong to this chess game.

And because the shape of this die is uneven it must perforce fall edge up, and rolls showing two sides. And the side that falls facing whoever throws them is his. And they should fall longways so that the rolls cannot be distinguished, which is the roll of him that threw them, he is to throw them until it can be easily determined.

And as in the other larger chess the twelve pieces are moved by an eight-sided die, in this chess the ten pieces are moved by the rolls of these, their seven-sided die. Because it has seven pips on the first side of these dice, and six on the other, and thus the pips on these dice go on descending and decreasing until there is no more than one.

And because the king is the greatest and best pieces than the others he has the 7, and the fers the 6, and the rook the 5, and the knight the 4, and the judge the 3, and the fil the 2, and the pawn the 1. And this is the explanation of these dice and this is their diagram.

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<sup>965</sup> Decimal chess or *acedrex de las diez casas* is so named because each side has ten squares, for a total of one hundred. This chess is not described in Alfonso's book except indirectly through the seven-sided dice Alfonso ordered to be invented to speed its play. The move of the additional seventh type of piece, the judge, is not described. Al-Masudi's tenth-century decimal chess variant, which may have been Alfonso's source, moved the *dabbaba* piece as a modern king, i.e. one square in any direction. (See discussion of this piece above in this chapter.) It may have been part of Alfonso's original plan to include this larger-board variant of chess here in descending order after *grant acedrex* (of 144 squares) but was eliminated in order to keep the count of total games at 144. It may have been included indirectly on purpose as a way to introduce dice of the significant number seven and the following tables board that uses seven as its base number and these dice. It may merely be missing, but the textual passages do not do not support this due to a lack of references made back to a previous section as most others do when a previous section contains related information. (See discussion of Grandese and the Allegedly Missing Folios in Sec. 1.4.3.1 above.)

And also there are other dice with the same number of sides as the ones we describe above.<sup>966</sup> And this is the difference that there is between these from the others: there are on them two flat ends, so that if they fall with seven on the upper end with seven then the lower one has the six. And these faces are five-sided and if these dice fall on the other five faces that remain that cannot but fall edge up with a spine on top. And for these five sides the distinction is the same as for the other dice we described before. And this is their diagram and how they are made. [fol. 84v]

[fol. 85r] **Here begins the game of tables of decimal chess (base-seven tables) and it is played with seven-sided dice.**

Since we already showed you the dice for decimal chess, of how they are made, and of how they can play this chess with them as we were saying above, we want to show you here now the game of tables that belongs to these dice.

The board is to be square with bars around it like the other boards and with points on which the pieces are placed as we already said. And in each quarter it is to have seven points, because that many pips is the highest roll of these dice, and they make twenty-eight points in all.

And these pieces are to be round and the points onto which they are placed are to be carved out in the manner of semi-circles so that they fit into it better. Also half of the pieces need to be of one color, and the other half the other so that they can be distinguished from one another, and they are to be 34 pieces in all. Seventeen of one color and seventeen of another, so that in one quadrant of the board they can put two pieces on each point and have three left over outside in order to make a prime or tie the game when it be necessary because without these three pieces it could not be done. And for this reason they put the pieces in pairs because as in this game of chess which a piece is found alone from the other pieces so that it does not have anyone to guard it and it can be taken, take it as we said before.

Also in this game of tables if they are not doubled up as we said, the other who throws that roll which corresponds to that point and should find a piece alone, he is to take it since it has no one to defend it.

And the prime of them is when one player takes so many of the other's pieces that he then does not have points on which to enter them and therefore loses the game.

And on this board for tables they can play as many games as on the other board which uses six-sided dice, as we said above, keeping in mind that just as on the six-sided die they consider six pips as the highest roll and on the dice of great chess also eight pips is the highest roll of them, that they consider on these dice that seven pips is the highest. As so

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<sup>966</sup> This paragraph in the second column appears in a different hand and seems to have been added in a later time when a second way of making the seven-sided dice was found.

from the other lower or higher rolls, they can make whatever games they may wish, according to the rolls of the dice.

This is the explanation of this game and this is the diagram of its arrangement and of how the Emperor [i.e. Alfonso himself] plays on this board and therefore his figure<sup>967</sup> has been shown here. [fols. 85v-86v]

### 1.5 “The Book of Four-Player Games”

The fifth treatise of the *LJ* (fols. 87r through 89v, with fols. 90r and 90v blank) presents information about *acedrex de los quatro tiempos* (four-seasons chess) and four-seasons tables. Both games are for four players and are based on the four-fold symbolism of the cyclical interrelationships between these four groups of four: the colors of players (green, red, black, white), the seasons of the year (spring, summer, autumn, winter), the elements in cosmos (air, fire, earth, water) & the bodily humors (blood, choler, melancholy, phlegm). They are in short cosmographs of all that medieval European man knew and believed about himself as a microcosm of his world at that time.

Alfonso does not name his source for this section, citing merely *sabios antiguos* as he does in other sections of the *LJ*. In all probability his sources for some of this section are Aristotle and Ambrosius as cited in Isidore of Seville’s *De natura rerum*. This work has a total of forty-eight chapters, but significantly the ones Alfonso draws from are “VII. De temporibus (On the seasons)” and “XII. De caelo et eius nomine (On the heavens and their names).” In Ch. VII of Isidore’s work he gives a diagram and explanation of the qualities of the seasons of the year. And in Ch. XII, Isidore presents a diagram and explanation of the interrelationships between the four seasons, elements and

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<sup>967</sup> This is the rare instance where the text explicates the identity of a person presented in the miniature. While this passage might also be translated “how (the game) *emperador* is played upon it,” that is not the game shown. Instead, a seventeen-man version of *doze tablas* is shown, leading me to believe that a person rather than the game is meant by the term *emperador*. See Chapter II for a full discussion of this miniature.

humors which strongly resemble the four-seasons tables variant. While many of the diagrams in *De natura rerum* are reminiscent of game boards, none is more so or more directly connected to the *LJ*'s text than these two. In keeping with the tenor of symbolism through the *LJ*, Alfonso avoids the euhemeristic Christian allegory employed by Isidore. Instead he opts for a more holistic, cosmic view.

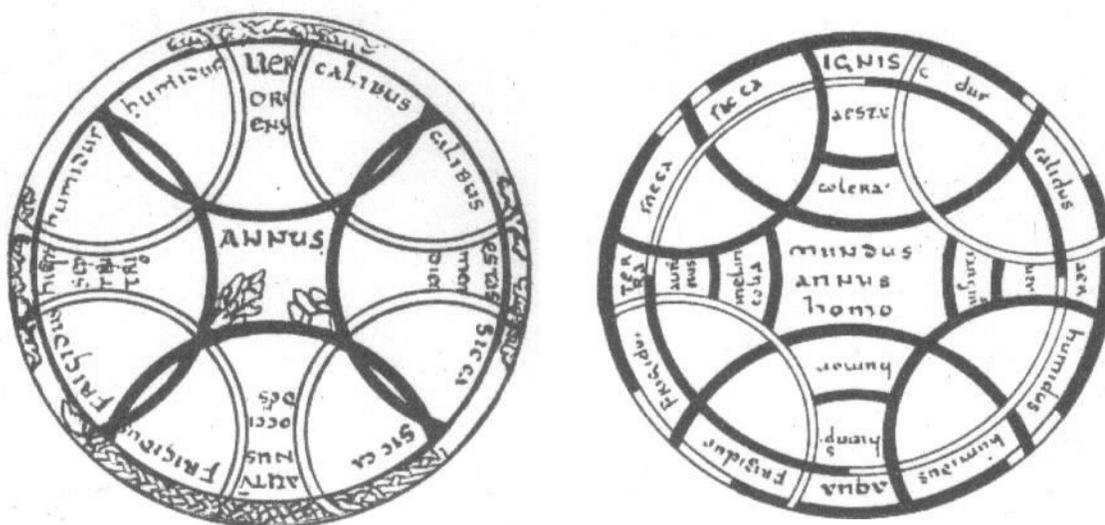


Fig. 158. Isidore of Seville's Seasons (left) and Corresponding Elements and Humors (right).<sup>968</sup>

A textual comparison of Isidore's presentation of the seasons, elements and humors to the *LJ* reveals their strong similarities. Isidore's depiction of the seasons, elements and humors contains the following textual correspondences: "Quorum distinctam communionem subiecti circuli figura declarat: Mundus annus homo. Siccus calidus ignis: aestas, cholera rubea. Calidus humidus aer: uer, sanguis. Humida frigida aqua: hiemps, phlegma. Frigida sicca terra: autumnus, melancholia."<sup>969</sup> These same

<sup>968</sup> Left: *Isidore de Seville: Traité de la Nature*. Jacque Fontaine, ed. (Bordeaux: Féret, 1960) 202 bis (fig. 2). Right: *Isidore de Seville: Traité de la Nature*. Jacque Fontaine, ed. (Bordeaux: Féret, 1960) 216 bis (fig. 5).

<sup>969</sup> *Isidore de Seville: Traité de la Nature*. Jacque Fontaine, ed. (Bordeaux: Féret, 1960) 218.

associations apply directly to the interrelationships expression by Alfonso in this game of chess of the four seasons. Murray describes *acedrex de los quatro tiempos* or four-handed chess in Ch. XVI Chess in Asia, Part I Games from Muslim and Indian Chess (1913: 348-49) and offers the following useful table of correspondences. Compare the Latin above to Murray's useful chart:

Table 7. Murray's Table of Correspondences for Four-Seasons Chess (1913: 349).

Seasons.	Elements.	Colours.	Humours.
Spring	Air	Green	Blood
Summer	Fire	Red	Choler
Autumn	Earth	Black	Melancholy
Winter	Water	White	Phlegm

Compare also the *LJ*'s calendar-based definition of the seasons:

El primer tiempo es el verano & comiençasse mediado março; & tiene fasta mediado Junio. El segundo tiempo es ell estio. & comiença mediado Junio; & tiene fasta mediado Setiembre. El *terçero* tiempo es ell Otonno. & comiençasse mediado Setiembre; & tiene fasta mediado Deziembre. El quarto tiempo es ell yuierno & comiença mediado Deziembre; & tiene fasta mediado março. (fol. 87r)

with the following passage from Isidore:

Quorum temporum haec sunt principia: uernus exoritur VIII kl. martias, permanens diebus LXXI; aestas incipit VIII kl. iunias, diebus LXXI; autumnus sumit principium X kl. septembris, diebus LXXIII; hiemps inchoat VII kl. decembirs, diebus LXX.<sup>970</sup>

Finally, compare Alfonso's description of the qualities of the seasons:

Et ell estio que es caliente & seco mas que los otros tiempos. pusieron lo a semeiante del fuego que es dessa natura; ... Ell Otonno es seco & ffrio por que es dell Elemento dela tierra. & esmas temprado que ell Estio ca tira mas ala friura que a la calentura. ... Et ell yuierno pusieron por ell elemento dell agua que es fria & humida ca en aquella sazón faze los grandes frios. & eladas & nieues. & grandes aguas de lluiias. & por que el su elemento es ell agua; por endel pusieron de color blanca. (fol. 87r)

<sup>970</sup> *Isidore de Seville: Traité de la Nature*. Jacque Fontaine, ed. (Bordeaux: Féret, 1960) 203.

with Isidore's:

Ver quippe constant ex humore et igni, aestas ex igni et siccitate, autumnus ex siccitate et frigore, hiemps ex frigore et humore. Vnde etiam sunt tempora a communionis temperamento dicta, cuius communionis haec esta figura. (201, 203)

and “Hinc causa oritur ut hibernis flatibus nimia uis niuium pluuiarumque fundatur” (199). Ultimately, these correspondences in Alfonso's and Isidore's texts may be rooted in Aristotle, who said that all sublunar substances “were either hot or cold, wet or dry (fluid or solid)... The four elements were determined by the primary qualities as follows: Hot Dry = fire, Hot Wet = air, Cold Wet = water, Cold Dry = earth.”<sup>971</sup> Aristotle's cosmology also resembles the astrological games in the seventh treatise.

### 1.5.1 Four-Seasons Chess

Four-seasons chess (fols. 87r through 88v) is played by four players on the traditional 8x8 chess board. For this game, the only modification to the board is the addition of two intersecting lines in the inner sixteen squares of the board, on the diagonals c3-f6 and c6-f3, as guidelines to indicate the forward movement of the pawns.<sup>972</sup> There are a total of thirty-two pieces as in the first chess described in the *LJ*, but here they are divided equally among the four players. Thus each player has eight chessmen: one king, one rook, one knight, one bishop and four pawns. No player has a fers unless and until one of his pawns is promoted. Each player's chessmen are distinguished by a color thereby denoting also the season, element and humor to which

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<sup>971</sup> *Medieval and Early Modern Science. Vol. 1. Science in the Middle Ages: V-XIII Centuries.* Garden City, NY: Doubleday-Anchor, 1959.

<sup>972</sup> This cross is also very similar to the vestigial markings on the Malay chess board shown by Murray (1913: 97).

his pieces symbolically correspond.<sup>973</sup> Play begins with the green pieces of the player of spring and passes to the right or counterclockwise around the board (green, red, black, white) through the natural order of the seasons (spring, summer, fall, winter). For the first move each player attacks the player whose season follows his, guarding against the coming attack of the player whose season precedes his own. After the first move, players may attack any other season at will. Bets are involved in four-seasons chess, and paid when a piece is captured, player is checked or mated and for pieces remaining on the board at defeat. Once checkmated, a player removes his king from the board and his remaining chessmen are appropriated by the player who gave mate. The ultimate winner is the last player remaining. That players might opt to use six-sided dice also to play this chess, as in ancient *chaturanga*, may be inferred from a passage in the four-seasons tables variant which refers to them.

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<sup>973</sup> The relationship between the year's seasons and man's bodily humors is made explicit in two works described by Bland. As-Suli's sixth of ten advantages of chess relates directly to the *LJ*'s fifth treatise of four-seasons games and its elemental qualities, and employs chess as medicine to counteract imbalances of the four humors in players (Bland 8). The fourth chapter of *Anmúzaj ul Catál (Exemplum rei militariæ)* of 1446 also treats the four temperaments associated with the king, queen, fil and rook pieces and the medicinal properties of the game of chess (Bland 30).

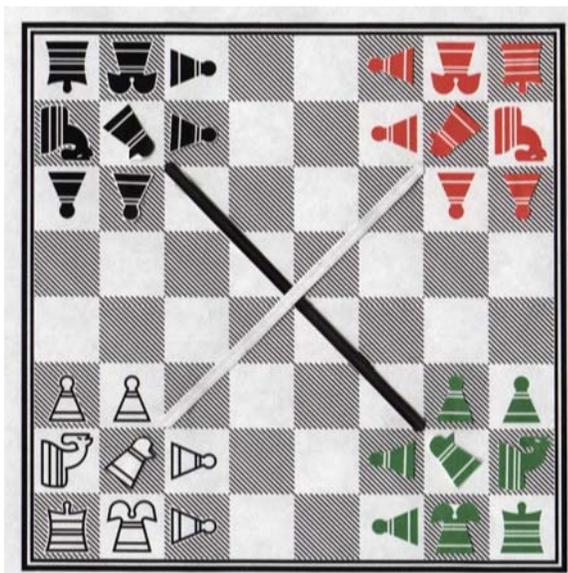


Fig. 159. Diagram of the *LJ*'s Four-Handed Chess after the Four Seasons (description on fols. 87r through 88r and diagram on fol. 88v).<sup>974</sup>

Inventory:

(Spring) ♖h1 ♗g1 ♕g2 ♜h2 ♙f1 f2 g3 h3 (8)

(Summer) ♜h8 ♖g8 ♕g7 ♜h7 ♙f7 f8 g6 h6 (8)

(Fall) ♜a8 ♖b8 ♕b7 ♜a7 ♙a6 b6 c7 c8 (8)

(Winter) ♜a1 ♖b1 ♕b2 ♜a2 ♙a3 b3 c1 c2 (8)

Brunet y Bellet's third diagram, the first fold-out, and diagram no. 4 is of four-seasons chess which he identifies as one and the same as *chaturanga* but with a more logical placement of the pieces. In the latter game, he says that the kings are placed at the far end of a row where they are directly threatened by enemy pawns. He notes that Alfonso does not attribute this chess variant to India as with *grant acedrex* and that Alfonso neither compares the game to a battle as is traditional for chess. Rather, Alfonso

<sup>974</sup> Based on fol. 88v. As with all chess boards in the *LJ*, this board is rotated so that a white square is at the lower right-hand corner in keeping with modern diagrams; the original shows the green pieces at top right. I am indebted to my sweet mother and her former friend and colleague Judy Neff for their creative and tireless assistance in the creation of this four-seasons chess board.

compares it to the four seasons of the year. Brunet y Bellet misunderstands the lines crossing the four-seasons chess board as indications of alliances between pairs of players (red which he calls toasted yellow allied with white, green with black) rather than, as the manuscript explains, indications for the forward movement of pawns.

In addition to the chart shown above, Murray's *A History of Chess* gives a correct diagram of the opening arrangement and an accurate explanation of the game's play (1913: 349). Murray, Gollon and Bodlaender all discuss the varying alliance possibilities between the four players and their merits.

J. B. Sánchez Pérez accurately describes four-seasons chess in his 1929 article, previously mentioned. He compares the game to *chaturanga* and offers his own drawing of the opening array that is nearly the same as that shown in the original manuscript, except that white is shown at the lower left, probably so that the board has a white square at the lower right, and the positions of the knights and rooks are reversed.

Trend mentions the existence of four-seasons chess but offers no details, saying that it merits its own separate study (12).

Gollon describes and offers a sample game for four-season chess in Ch. 12 of his *Chess Variations: Ancient, Regional and Modern* (1968: 95-100). He presents the same chart as Murray, a diagram of the board without pieces and a chart of the opening array that is rotated 180° from my own so that white is at the top right. Gollon gives an accurate description of the game's play except that he specifies that there is no initial

double-step for the pawn<sup>975</sup> and is incorrect in his guess that a bare king must continue to play until his opponent had mated him.<sup>976</sup> The *LJ* contains many examples of bare king problems in the “Libro del achedrex.”

Bell offers a description of four-player *shaturanga*, mentioning Duncan Forbes’s translation but not the *LJ*.

Both Calvo (1987: 143) and Canettieri offer an accurate description of the game but no diagram.

Hans Bodlaender has a webpage dedicated to the game.<sup>977</sup> Bodlaender’s description is based on Murray’s and Gollon’s. He is uncertain whether the diagonal guidelines on the board influenced play, suggesting that they may either be ignored or used “them to divide the board into fields which may not be crossed by any piece.” He, like Gollon, gives a correct description of the opening array, but rotated 180° from my own so that white is at the top right. His descriptions of game play and the piece moves are correct, including specification of the direction of pawn movement even though he misunderstands the intersected guidelines for them above, and except that he like Gollon also specifies that there is no initial double-step for the pawn. In explanation pawn promotion, here Bodlaender calls the fers and general. He also suggests play with one or two dice, the two-dice option allowing a player a choice between two pieces to move.

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<sup>975</sup> “todos los trebeios an de iogar a qual parte quisieren segunt su andamiento assi como andan en ell otro Achedrex que es mas usado” (fol. 87v); “Pero bien a y algunos que usan a iogar delos peones a tercera casa la primera vez. & esto es fasta que tomen ca depues no lo pueden fazer” (fol. 4r).

<sup>976</sup> The *LJ*’s introduction to chess explains checkmate in a way that hints at the bare king win “& esto fizieron por acortar el iuego. Ca se alongarie mucho. si todos los trebeios ouiesen a tomar; fasta que fincassen amos los Reyes solos; o ell uno dellos” (fol. 3v). See the following *rey robado* problems: 76, 80, 84, 93 and 94.

<sup>977</sup> “Four Seasons Chess,” *Chess Variant Pages*, ed. Hans Bodlaender 3 Feb. 2005  
<<http://www.chessvariants.org/historic.dir/4seiz.html>>

Parlett says that the *LJ*'s four-seasons chess appears to have evolved from the Indian four-handed dice chess game he calls *chaturanji* (what Bell called *shaturanga* and others call *chaturanga*)<sup>978</sup> and gives an accurate presentation of the *LJ* game's play but an inaccurate presentation of the board's opening array with respect to the positions of the white and red rooks and knights.<sup>979</sup> While Parlett situates white's men at lower left and with a black square at the lower right as in the *LJ*, I rotate my diagram in order to follow the modern rule of having a white square at the lower right corner of the board.

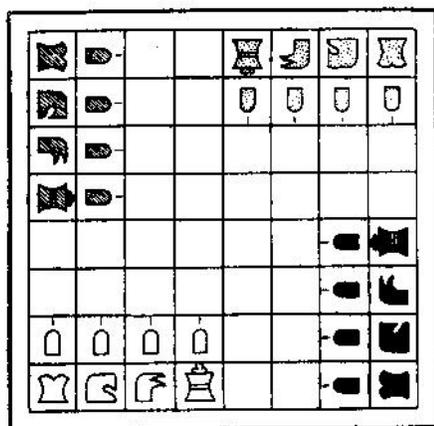
#### 1.5.1.1 Other Historical Variants of Four-Player Chess

Murray presents two other four-handed chess variants, one after al-Beruni and the other after Raghunandan in *A History of Chess*. Both are very similar to the *LJ*'s four-seasons chess but, like *chaturanga*, differ in that each player's pieces are arranged in a 2x4 rectangle. Bland shows the "Board of Chautranga, or Hindu Chess" with a four-player arrangement similar to that shown by Murray after Raghunandana (1913: 69) but with a color scheme which also aligns with the *LJ*'s four-seasons chess: green, red, black and yellow, rather than white (Bland pl. 2 [fig.] 2).

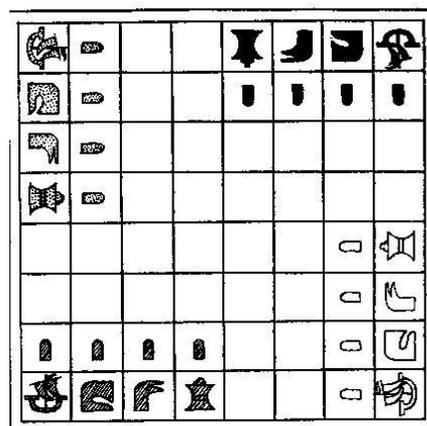
<sup>978</sup> From an excellent reconstruction of he what he calls "The Chess Group Shaturanga" (Bell I: 51-70).

<sup>979</sup> Parlett, 326-27. Table 8. Comparison of Opening Positions Given for Four-Seasons Chess.

	white ♖	white ♗	green ♖	green ♗	red ♖	red ♗	black ♖	black ♗
Musser	a2	b1	h2	g1	h7	g8	a7	b8
Parlett	b1	a2	h2	g1	g8	h7	a7	b8



Four-handed chess. After al-Bērūnī.



Four-handed chess. After Raghunandana.

Fig. 160. Murray's Diagrams of Four-Handed *Chaturanga* (1913: 58 and 69).

Falkener describes dice-driven *chaturanga* as the oldest type of chess where ships take the place of bishops (119) and lists the colors of its four armies as red, green, yellow and black (124). He cites from the Indian epic poem *Mahabharata* which gives the game's rules and assigns each roll of the dice, from two to five rather than the *LJ*'s six to one,<sup>980</sup> to a particular piece: 5 a foot-soldier or the Rajah, 4 the elephant, 3 the horse and 2 the ship. Falkener also describes various types of ranked wins for *chaturanga*, which are similar to those for modern backgammon (127).

Botermans et al. present a recent German two-player chess game called gala (124), also known as farmer's chess. Played on a 10x10 square board, both players split their armies into halves for the opening array so that the pieces occupy the four corners in a way similar to that for four-seasons chess.

Modern variants of four-handed chess abound. Some examples include: Doubles Chess and its sibling Doubles Checkers by the company Doubles Chess Partnership, Ltd.,

<sup>980</sup> "E pusieron el seys que es la mayor suerte del dado; al Rey que es el mas onrrado iuego del tablero. E el cinco all alfferza. E el quatro al Roque. E el tres al cauallo. E el dos; all alffil. E ell un punto que llaman as al peon" (fol. 4v).

Chess 4 by Wow Toys, Inc., Fouray Chess by Wood Expressions, Inc. and Chess in the Fourth Dimension by Jonathan Bilowus.

Chris Zalewski's *Enochian Chess of the Golden Dawn* treats the modern creation of a four-player chess game derived from the Enochian tablets of the Renaissance magician John Dee.<sup>981</sup> Sections I and II of the book describe how to make your own board and pieces as well as how to play the game. The pieces are based on ancient Egyptian gods and goddesses which are played on a 4x4 board. Each of the 16 squares is then diagonally subdivided into four triangles, each of a different color, making for a board of 64 triangular spaces. The number four, present in every aspect of the board from squares per side, triangles per square and color scheme shares almost the same symbolism as Alfonso's four-player games. When used for divinatory or magical purposes within the sect of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, discussed in Zalewski's Sections III and IV, the symbolism of the four elements, astrology and Tetragrammaton are used to interpret the meanings of the various game positions that result.

The four elemental boards are in fact broken down into the following categories: the large Central Cross which binds the four quarters together represents the refined power of the planets in the astrological signs. The cross bar of this Central Cross then gives the Holy Name or controlling influence or force of the entire tablet. The four smaller crosses in each quarter mainly represent the energies of the planets, while the four squares above each smaller cross are the incorporeal elements. The squares below the small crosses are dubbed the Servient Squares and relate to the 12 signs of the Zodiac and the four elements proper. These are the squares used to construct the Enochian chessboard. (5)

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<sup>981</sup> Chris Zalewski, *Enochian Chess of the Golden Dawn: A Four-Handed Chess Game* (St. Paul, MN: Llewellyn, 1994).

Zalewski explains that game evolved loosely from the ancient four-handed *chaturanga* and gives an origin myth for the latter which is reminiscent of Alfonso's purpose for creating the *LJ*, the learn through games patterns for better living.

Some noted chess historians have attributed the invention of the game to Sita, a concubine of Ravanna, king of Ceylon (or Sri Lanka as it is now known). As tradition has it, she used to watch the warlords of the king plan their strategy to defend the city of Lanka against the onslaught of Rama, her former husband. Each day miniature troops were moved into their attacking positions and the king would order counterattacks. Ravanna noted a pattern forming that could be detected. Using the prospects of chance to find the outcome of the battles, a die was used. She began by modifying certain aspects of army strategy that she had learned. She found, with great accuracy, that she could predict the outcome of the ensuing battles around her. The pattern was then set, using dice and miniature pieces to predetermine the outcome of battles in much the same manner as war games are played today. (11-12)

### 1.5.2 Four-Seasons Tables, a.k.a *El mundo*

*El mundo* or the world (fols. 89r and 89v), a kind of four-handed tables in the round, contains twenty-four points arranged in a circle. The twenty-four-square board echoes the twenty-four hours of the day, in the temporal symbolism mentioned in four-seasons chess, and logically also that of early clocks like the one painted in 1443 by Paolo Uccello (see section 3.2.4) inside Florence's cathedral and discussed in this dissertation's third chapter. I offered following description and drawing in my thesis:

On fol. 89[r], the game of the four seasons ... is described and it is shown on the verso of the same folio. It is like a twenty-four point backgammon board in the round for four players: green, red, white and [black]. Each player has twelve men of his color which start off the board and play moves to the right after rolling to see who goes first. Each bears off on the opposite side of the board from where he began. Unusable rolls or portions of rolls also pass to the right. Players may hit blots and send each other back. This game has much in common with [pachisi], in the essential roundness of the board, the number of players, the uniformity of direction and the hitting of blots. Differences include twelve instead of four playing pieces per player,

unusable rolls, double rolls and number of points on the board. It also resembles a modern game called Dodec[c]amente [Dodeccamentia International, 1989] which was recently put out by a small game company. As the name implies, each player (from four up to six) has twelve men, there are twenty-four points on the board, players bear off on the opposite side from where they started and three six-sided dice are used. However, in [Dodeccamente] while play goes to the right and player may move his men in either direction back or forth. (Musser 1995: 40)

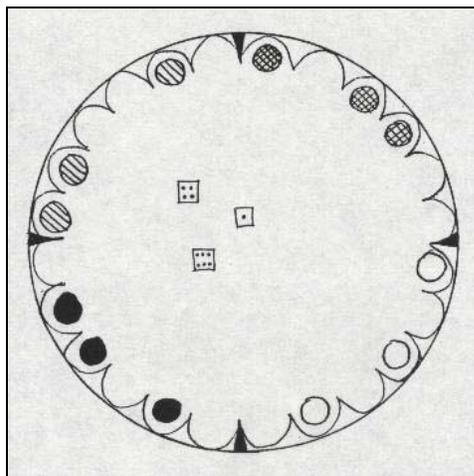


Fig. 161. *El mundo*'s Board (description on fol. 89r and diagram on fol. 88v): where the diagonally-marked pieces at upper left are red and the cross-hatched ones at upper right are green.<sup>982</sup>

Brunet y Bellet's diagram no. 5 shows the board for four-seasons tables. Here he gives the correct colors: red, green, black and white. Brunet y Bellet believes that this game and the preceding chess variant must be related but ponders which came first, preferring the chess as the most ancient game since Alfonso says that it was invented by the *sabios antiguos* and the pieces recall the character of those found in Thebes. He then wonders if four-seasons tables could be the early board game that transformed into *chaturanga*. This appears to me to be a contradiction, either tables predates chess or it does not. In any case, and perhaps because the *LJ* provokes exactly these musings, Brunet

<sup>982</sup> Drawing based on fol. 89v (Musser 1995: 21).

y Bellet notes that future researchers of the origins of chess would find it worthwhile to study the *LJ*.

Indeed, the rounded board of four-seasons tables and its method of play displays a strong connection with the related game of pachisi which may have evolved from *ashtapada*, a four-player race game played on a specially-marked chess-type grid board. This dissertation will suggest in Chapter III that both the war-game chess and the race-game backgammon evolved from the same board called an *ashtapada*.

Canettieri offers a description of the game, comparing the play of it to *doze canes*, but no diagram. He errs in his specification of the area from which each player is to bear off. His concept is correct; each player is to bear off from the side of the board which is opposite to him but he gives the wrong colors.<sup>983</sup> Probably his confusion arose from the manuscript's description of the opposite player as the third one away, Canettieri not realizing that the tendency here as in the "Libro del acedrex" and in the counting of zodiac signs in astrological checkers includes the current area. So red and white bear off in each other's starting areas, as do black and green respectively.

The four-handed tables variant in the *LJ* also partially resembles the modern games of Circle Gammon by Parker Brothers, Dodeccamente by Dodeccamente International, Inc., Gammon<sup>4</sup> by Wow Games, Inc., Quadragammon: Backgammon for Four by John N. Hansen Co., Inc., and Quadrogrammon by Quadrogrammon L.L.C.

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<sup>983</sup> "(il verde nel comparto del bianco, il rosso in quello del nero, il bianco in quello del verde, il nero in quello del rosso)" (62).

### 1.5.3 English Translation of the “The Book of Four-Player Games”

[fol. 87r] **Here begins another chess that was made after the four seasons of the year, which the ancient wise men divined.**

There is another chess that the ancient wise men<sup>984</sup> made after the four seasons of the year and it was organized in this way: The first season is spring and it begins in the middle of March and holds through the middle of June. The second season is summer and it begins in the middle of June and holds through the middle of September. The third season is autumn and it begins in the middle of September and holds through the middle of December. The fourth season is winter and it begins in the middle of December and holds through the middle of March.

And these four seasons they divided after the manner of the four elements. Spring is element of air; summer is element of fire; autumn is element of earth; winter is element of water.

And because in the first season, spring as we said above, all things grow and men are refreshed and the trees and plants turn green, because its element is air because it clearer than in any of the other seasons; therefore they gave this season green. And the summer which is warmer and drier than the other seasons they made it like fire, which is of this nature. And therefore they gave this season red, because of its element which is also. The autumn is dry and cold because it is of the element of the earth; and it is more temperate than summer because it tends more toward the cold than to the heat. And the things that get burnt in summer, are born and refreshed in this season. And because its element is the earth, and its quality coldness and dryness, therefore they gave this season the color black. Winter they gave the element of water which is cold and wet because in that season there are great spells of cold, ice, snow, and great downpourings of rain. And because its element is water they gave it the color white.

And this similarity they gave them according to the four humors that grow in the body of man, such as the blood, which they gave to spring; and choler, to summer; and melancholy, to autumn; and phlegm to winter.

#### **Of the humors which grow in each season**

Of these four seasons we have spoken above, the first is spring and the blood grows in it more than in all the others. And in the summer, choler; and in the autumn, melancholy; and in the winter, phlegm.

The seasons are divided in this manner: spring is temperate because it is between winter which is very cold and summer which is very hot. And according to the ancient wise men, it tends more towards

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<sup>984</sup> See the comparison of passages from this treatise with Isidore’s *De natura rerum* in the preceding section 1.5 “The Book of Four-Player Games.”

warmth than cold because it takes more from summer which is coming than from winter which is passed. Summer is hot and dry because it takes from the warmth of the spring that passed and receives also some of the warmth of the coming autumn. Autumn is temperate and tends more towards cold than warmth because it is between summer which is [fol. 87v] very hot and winter which is very cold, and it takes more from the coming season than from the past. Winter, which comes between autumn and spring, is very cold because it took cold from the autumn which passed and it receives also some of the cold from the coming spring. And in this way these four seasons take from one another.

And after the manner of these four seasons and these four humors they divided the pieces of this chess into four parts, each of its color as you heard above, which belongs to each season.

**Of how this four-seasons board is made and of how many colors are its pieces and of how they are arranged on it**

This board should be made in this way: square and on each side it is to have eight spaces, which are sixty-four in all. It is to have on it four lines in the shape of an “x” that goes from the second square and goes to the second square diagonally across.<sup>985</sup> And the other line does the same. And the one that goes through white squares is to be black and the one that goes through black, white so that they make a distinction between the one side and the other. And these lines that cut through the squares indicate in which direction the pawns are to move first, because those that are to the right are to move to its right and likewise for those that are to the left. And in moving they capture diagonally forward as pawns are to capture.

And these pieces are in total thirty-two and are to be set up in the four corners of the board. And there is to be in each arrangement eight pieces that are a king, and a rook, and a knight, and a fil, and four pawns. And all pieces are to move wherever they wish according to their movement in the other chess that is more common.

And their arrangement is this: the kings are placed in the furthest corner squares of the board, and the rook on one side of the king,<sup>986</sup> and the knight is on the other, and the fil in front of him. And the two pawns that face one corner of the board and the other two face the other. And in this chess there is no fers until it is made from the pawns.

And in has in it four kings and four men are to play in it each one with his pieces of his color.

And the colors are these four that we have said which correspond to the seasons. The pieces of spring are green; and those of summer, red; and those of autumn, black, and those of winter, white.

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<sup>985</sup> The four squares referred to are b2, b7, g2 or g7.

<sup>986</sup> Due to the mirrored positions of the four colors, for white and red the rook is to the right of the king; for black and green it is to the left.

### **On how they are to begin to play with these pieces**

The player that has the green pieces is to play first and he begins to the right, towards the other player who has the red pieces, just as spring moves into summer. And he who has the red pieces should play that same way towards the other player who has the black<sup>987</sup> pieces, guarding himself from who he has the green so that he does not harm him. The one who has the black pieces is to play also to the right, towards he who has the white,<sup>988</sup> still guarding himself from the other player who has the red so that he does not harm him. And he who has the white pieces should do this same thing, guarding himself from he who has the so that he does not harm him also. [fol. 88r] And afterwards each player may move according to his will.

And so these four players playing take from one another like the seasons of the year which also receive from one another.

And these four players should make make an opening wager, before they begin to play. And thereafter for each piece that that one player takes from another, he must give him one stake and for each check that they give to a king, also one stake.

And if it were checkmate, he must give him who gave him checkmate as many stakes as he has pieces and then remove his pieces. And of the three players that remain thereafter, the first to be defeated leaves on the board as many stakes as he has won there and plus as many (as) pieces as remain to him when he is defeated. And of the two players that remain, the one who should win should take all the stakes that are on the board. And plus as many pieces as remain to the loser, he must give him that many stakes.

And this is what the board and pieces look like and this is their arrangement, which is painted here. [fol. 88v]

[fol. 89r] **This is the board of the tables of the four seasons of the year, which they call the world, which begins like this:**

Since we have told about the board of the four seasons, as the ancient wise mean ordered it, now it is fitting that we show the tables board that is played after that same manner.

This board is square and the borders are arranged in a circle. And the circle is divided into four parts; and in each part it has six points that are carved out in semi-circles into which the pieces may be fitted.

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<sup>987</sup> The manuscript says white in error. Autumn (black), not winter (white), follows summer (red).

<sup>988</sup> The manuscript says black in error. Black, whose move is being described, cannot play towards himself. However, it is interesting to note that the two words used for black are different. In the first treatise, the “Libro del acedrex,” the word used for black is always *prieto* whether describing the black pieces or the black squares on the board. In this fifth treatise of four-player games the word used to refer to the black chess pieces is always *negro* while the black squares are described with *prieto*. In four-player tables the word used for black’s pieces is once again *prieto*. In the seventh and final chapter on astrological games, the word used for Saturn’s black piece is *negro* in both the *escaques* and the tables.

And on this board four men are to play, each one with his pieces of his color according to the colors of the chess pieces that we have named. And each one of these players is to have twelve pieces of the colors of the aforementioned chessmen which are these: green, red, white, and black—and they are forty-eight in all. And they are played with the [6-sided] dice of this same chess and they are to roll battle and he who wins the battle plays first. And then the other who is next to him on the right hand side and thus it goes all around.

And he who should begin first is to enter his pieces as the rolls of the dice should happen to indicate just as in *doze canes*, and all the others likewise.

And once they all have entered all their pieces each one is to bring his pieces to where the third player first entered his which is directly opposite his own, by playing all his [pieces] around to the right according to the rolls of the dice.

And he who should throw a dice roll that he cannot use, let the player who is next to him on the right use it. And if this one cannot, the third. And if he cannot, let the fourth one use it. And also in this game if a roll is made that can reach the pieces of the two players to his right, and he should find one of them uncovered, he is to hit it. And that one whose piece it was, is to return it to where it was first entered.

And they are not to bear off any piece until where they have entered them into the third table which is opposite each one as is stated above.

And the player who first should bear off his pieces will beat the player to his right and so on around.

And this is the explanation of this game. And this is the diagram of the board and of the pieces and of their colors and of the arrangement.<sup>989</sup> [fol. 89v]

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<sup>989</sup> The arrangement show is a position achieved very early in the game when each player has so far only entered one roll's worth or three pieces. The roll of 6-4-1 shown has not yet been played but since green plays first it must be his turn to enter his pieces with these values.

## 1.6 “Libro del alquerque”<sup>990</sup> or “The Book of Mill”

The sixth treatise of the *LJ*, “Libro del alquerque” (fols. 91r to 93v, with fols. 94r and 94v blank) presents five related games played on a total of three slightly different boards. Four of these mill variants are battle games: *alquerque de doze* or twelve man’s morris, *alquerque de nueue con y sin dados* or nine men’s morris with and without dice, and *alquerque de tres* or three men’s morris. The fifth is a hunt-style game which uses the same board as *alquerque de doze*: *cercar la liebre* or corner the rabbit.

The inclusion of what at first seems to be a totally new kind of game at this point in the *LJ* seems at first rather unexpected and out of place because no mill games have been mentioned or presented before in the prologue or in any of the sections of the manuscript. However, as will be explained in greater detail in the Chapter III on symbolism, it is the very diagonal dimension and its astrological connections that justify its place here between larger and multiple-player games and the astrological ones because the mill family of games combines elements of both chess and backgammon, as Alfonso’s introduction explains, while adding a third diagonal dimension. This third dimension forms a necessary conceptual link between the microcosmic symbolism of the four-player, four-seasons games of the fifth treatise and the astrological, seven-player games of the seventh treatise.

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<sup>990</sup> Manuscript: *alquerque*. The *DPCRAX* defines *alquerque* as “*sust.* 1. El juego llamado ‘tres en raya.’ *ACE* (1283) fol. 91r28 ... 92r5. *Unidades pluriverbales*: alquerque de doce 1. Variante del juego de tres en raya en el que cada jugador utiliza doce piezas. *ACE* (1283) fol. 91r26 ... alquerque de nueve 1. Variante del juego (sic) de tres en raya en el que cada jugador utiliza nueve piezas. *ACE* (1283) fol. 92r2 ... alquerque de tres 1. Variante del juego de tres en raya en el que cada jugador utiliza tres piezas. *ACE* (1283) fol. 93r3 ...” (128). The *TDMS* similarly offers “alquerque [*ár.* al-qirq] s. juego parecido al tres en raya, *Aaj* 91b1” (44). This word may also be related to the term *alcorque*, which according to the *DRAE* online derives “Del ár. hisp. *alqúrq*, y este del arameo *qarqā* o *qurqā*” and means either, the unrelated, a type of cork-soled sandal or, the likely related, holes made around a plant to retain water.

Brunet y Bellet only mentions *alquerque* briefly, hoping to treat it separately at a later time (429n7). He relates it to modern *tres en raya* and the Catalan game *marro*.

Murray presents the *alquerque* accurately games in the appendix to his Ch. VI “The Mediæval Problem,” with two exceptions. First, for *alquerque de tres* he says that once all three of each player’s pieces have been placed they then may move about the board (1913: 614). And, secondly, he gives the modern huff rule for *alquerque de doze*, which according to Covarrubias is a feature of seventeenth-century play but which is not explicit in the *LJ* (1913: 615). Confusion on both these points can be traced into most later studies.

R. C. Bell’s *Board and Table Games from Many Civilizations* (1969) divides the mill family of games into two separate categories based upon each variants mode of play and game goal. In the war games of his second chapter he presents the checker-like game that Alfonso calls the *alquerque de doze* that is played with all its pieces. The remaining mill games that Alfonso groups together all as *alquerque* games, Bell places with the games of position in his third chapter. These positional mill games include three-, six- and nine men’s morris. For the three men’s morris, Bell does not mention the *LJ* and says that each player only has four men whereas the *LJ* gives each player no piece limit. He does offer the carving of game boards for three men’s morris into cloister seats as evidence that the variant was widely played in England *c.* 1300. Six-men’s morris does not appear in the *LJ* and so I do not compare Bell’s comments here. In his presentation of nine men’s morris, Bell mentions the board engraved on the rooftop at Kurna *c.* 1400 B.C., the *Kitab al-Aghani*, the *Civis Bononiae* manuscript and Alfonso’s *LJ*. The rules he

gives differ somewhat from those in the *LJ*'s text, by including the anachronistic huffing rule for pieces which fail to make possible captures, and incorrectly stating that the "rules from the Alfonso manuscript are not sufficient to play a game" he suggests some additional rules to improve playability as well (47-48).

Grunfeld presents *alquerque de doze* as shown in the *LJ* along with two other variants, *peralikatuma* played in Ceylon and *awithlaknannai* played by the Zuni Indians of New Mexico. Later he presents nine men's morris as shown in the *LJ*. For both games Grunfeld uses miniatures from Alfonso's work to illustrate his own.

The Provenzos present nine-, six- and three men's morris as Bell does, along with the addition of a game called *achi*, a central African variant of nine men's morris. The subsequent *alquerque* section presents *alquerque de doze* as seen in the *LJ* as well as variants of the game played by the Zuni Indians in New Mexico, the island of Madagascar and the island of Ceylon.

Ruth Oakley describes *alquerque de doze* accurately except for the addition of the anachronistic huffing rule.<sup>991</sup> She describes nine men's morris accurately (10-13).

Calvo lists without documentation examples of these games of ancient origins as far back and as far away as 500 B.C. in China as well as more recent examples from Egypt, Crete, Greece, Roma, as well as nearly of Europe, Asia and Africa (1987: 143). He also notes that the board's outlines are assigned magical powers like seals in Sri Lanka and the Middle East. Finally, Calvo gives correct descriptions of the sixth

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<sup>991</sup> Ruth Oakley, *The Marshall Cavendish Illustrated Guide to Games Children Play around the World* (New York: Cavendish, 1989) 27-28.

treatise's organization, boards and games except for his inference from Covarrubias of the modern huff rule which is not explicit in the *LJ*.

Botermans et al. open their chapter "Modern Board Games" with several versions of mill, including the *LJ*'s nine men's morris under "Games of Alignment and Configuration." Also included are three- and twelve men's morris but the *LJ*, which does contain these variants, is not mentioned. The miniature for fol. 92v is used to illustrate this section with the caption, "Two Spanish noblemen playing nine men's morris in the 13<sup>th</sup>-century court of Alfonso el Sabio (The Learned) in Seville. They are playing with gaming dice, which were eliminated from later versions of the game" (106). "The Alquerque Group of War Games" in the same chapter, discusses the *LJ*'s presentation of twelve men's morris. "The Alquerque Group of Hunt Games" presents "catch the hare" or what it calls the *LJ*'s "De cercar la liebre."

Botermans et al. present several *LJ* mill variants under "Games of Alignment and Configuration" including the relative trio of noughts and crosses, tic-tac-toe and three-in-a-row (103); as well as five- and nine men's morris (104); and twelve men's morris and nine men's with dice (106); subcategories of these games into battle, territorial and blockade games (112); with *alquerque (de doze)*, *fanorona* and a related Zuni game *zamma*, *hnefatafl*, *tablut*, *seega*, *gala*, chess, etc. as all being war games (114 ff.).

Parlett correctly observes that "[w]hat Alfonso calls *Alquerque de Tres* is the Smaller Merels or Three Men's Morris ..., while *Alquerque de Nueve* is the equivalent of Nine Men's Morris played on the triple mill" (121). He also explains the rules for the optional variant of the latter to be played with dice. Parlett's description of the *LJ*'s

*cercar la liebre*, played on the *alquerque de doze* board, is found under his “Corner Your Fauna” chapter of chase games where he discusses its probable Moorish origins and evolution into Mexico’s coyote and chickens. He also notes that these games are played on a variety of board from checkerboard-type boards to those used for alquerque.

### 1.6.1 The Games of the “Libro del alquerque”

The *LJ*’s introduction to the mill games points out their connections with the other games presented in the manuscript. Mill compares to chess in that mill games are played with pieces that resemble chess pawns and, referring back to the prologue’s exemplum, the non-dice mill variants are played by skill or brains alone without the element of luck.<sup>992</sup> *Alquerque de nueue* is connected to the “Libro de los dados” in that one variant uses six-sided dice for part of its play. Even those that do not use dice for play, also contain a small luck element in that a die is rolled to determine who plays first. Finally, all mill games resemble the games in the “Libro de las tablas” because of the possibility of ties and that their different boards are similarly marked with lines, rather than squares as in chess.

Although Alfonso emphasizes the connections between *alquerque* and the three principal games of the *LJ*, there is also an important distinction between them which he does not mention. In *alquerque*, players play their pieces on the intersections of the lines and along those lines whereas in chess, pieces are played within the squares the lines

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<sup>992</sup> A mill game similar to *alquerque de nueue* presented in the *LJ* also appear among Culin’s study of Korean games under the name of *Sam ki* or three chess because of the goal of forming a row of three pieces (*Korean Games* 102). The Korean game’s triple-mill board is also connected by diagonals from the four corners to the board’s central square.

define.<sup>993</sup> This fundamental difference marks the mill games as belonging to a game family with a different origin. Tables as shown in the *LJ* does not have lines but rather spaces demarcated by the scalloped edging. Today tables are usually marked by triangular points; but the name of their ancestral game of the *duodecim scriptorum* reveals their line-playing historical roots. Notably, all games that are played within the squares can be played on variant board using the same number and arrangement of intersections but the reverse is not also true.

Pennick describes the mill family as an ancient game which “appears to have originated in ancient Egypt in a game whose ancient name is unknown, but which is known now as *Zamma*, of which a board survives among the roof-slab scribings at Kurna (c. 1400 BCE)” (Pennick 212). He believes that the “Spanish/Arab game of *El-Quirkat* or *Alquerque [de doze]*” is a descendent of *zamma* with a smaller 5x5 board. Pennick, like Bell, also notes that this game was mentioned in the tenth-century Arabic *Kitab al-Aghani* as well as the *LJ* (Pennick 213) and cites whole and fragmented nine men’s morris boards that have been found in the Godstad Viking burial ship (c. 900), in the cloisters and choir-stalls of several post-Conquest English cathedrals, several English castles and one in the Kölnische Stadtmuseum in Cologne, Germany (Pennick 169-70).

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<sup>993</sup> Falkener observes that Egyptian and African games tend to play the pieces in the holes or on the squares while Oriental games tend to play the pieces on the intersections of the lines (98). See also Botermans et al. 118, 122 and 148.

### 1.6.1.1 *Alquerque de doze*<sup>994</sup>

The *LJ* explains that, similar to the organization of chess problems in the “Libro del acedrex,” the “Libro del alquerque” is arranged with the variants with the largest number of playing pieces to the smallest. Thus, it presents *alquerque de doze* (fols. 91r and 91v).

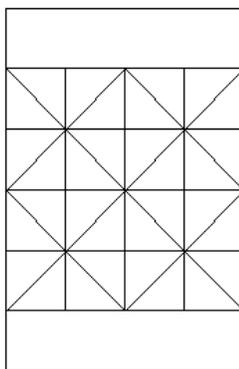


Fig. 162. *Alquerque de doze* Board  
(description on fol. 91r and diagrams on fols. 91v and 92r).

Twelve men’s morris is played on a board of twenty-five points, arranged in a 5x5 square and all connected by horizontal, vertical and diagonal lines. The rectangular area above and below Alfonso’s game boards were not used in play and, like modern backgammon boards, may have been used to hold pieces not in play. Each individual quarter of this board of the playable center of the board is the same as the one used for playing *alquerque de tres*. This four-fold expansion of the *alquerque de tres* playing surface to form that of *alquerque de nueve* is not so unusual when one considers that

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<sup>994</sup> 12 men’s morris’s 5x5 board is closely related to the 5x9 one used for the modern game of *fanorona*, the national game of Madagascar. Both have in common the diagonal connections, in addition to chess’s horizontal and vertical lines, and the fact that playing pieces are all equal in rank and placed upon the intersections of the lines rather than within the squares. Twelve men’s morris is a war-game much like checkers where the goal is to capture as many of the opponent’s pieces as possible by hopping. In contrast, *fanorona* is much more like Chinese checkers where the goal is to hop, without capturing, and exchange positions on the board. This particular variant appears to be unique to Alfonso’s *LJ*.

there is also a quadruple *alquerque* variant which uses a 9x9 board (see Parlett 246 where this Saharan and Moroccan game is called *zamma* or *srand*). Each player has, as the game's name indicates, twelve men or pieces for a total of twenty-four which begin on the board, each color placed on one half with the center point unoccupied. A die is rolled to determine who plays first. The first player has the disadvantage of being forced to play in the unoccupied center point for his first move. The second player then jumps with one of his men along the lines on the board to the vacant space left by the first player, and thus captures the first player's piece. Captured pieces are removed from the board for the remainder of the game. Turns alternate with each player moving his pieces in order to capture those of his opponent while at the same time guarding that his opponent does not capture him. The object of the game being to capture all your opponent's pieces, so the one who least knows how to protect his pieces from capture loses them faster and thus loses the game. If both players are equally matched a tie will often result.

Murray, in his fourth chapter "War-Games" of *Board-Games Other Than Chess*, gives the same description and play for this game except that includes several features not explicit in the original text.<sup>995</sup> First, Murray allows for the possibility of multiple jumps and captures in one turn, as in modern checkers. Second, he notes that in some games capture is compulsory and that according to Covarrubias, "capture is compulsory, and any failure to take is penalized by the *huff*" (1952: 65). The term *huff* derives from the

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<sup>995</sup> Murray divides his discussion of the variants of the family of games that Alfonso places within his sixth book, the "Libro del Alquerque," on the basis of whether each variant is a game of capture or alignment: presenting *alquerque de doze* in his fourth chapter "War-Games," *cercar la liebre* under his fifth chapter "Hunt-Games," both types of *alquerque de nueve* and *alquerque de tres* in his third chapter "Games of Alinement and Configuration." Alfonso's *alquerque de tres*, which Murray calls the smaller *merels* or three men's morris (1952: fig. D on 38, described on 40).

modern game of checkers. According to Millard Hopper's book *Win at Checkers* the huff, also known as puff or blow, is the removing of any one of your opponent's pieces that should have jumped, and further that the huff does not constitute and move.<sup>996</sup> However, "[i]n the laws amended by the American Checker Assn. the 'Huff or Blow' is considered obsolete, the players being compelled to make all jumps" (102).

Bell presents the same rules given by Murray as well offering the following suggested additional rules since, in his opinion the "rules from Alfonso are insufficient to play the game" (I: 48).

1. No piece can move backwards; only forwards, diagonally forwards, or sideways.
2. No piece may return to a point that it has been on before.
3. A piece reaching the opponent's black line is unable to move except by making a capture by a short leap over an enemy piece.
4. The game is over when:
  - a. *One player has lost all his pieces.* He then pays two points for losing the game and two points for each of the victor's pieces left on the board.
  - b. *A player cannot move any of his pieces.* He then pays two points for losing the game and a single point for each enemy piece on the board in excess of his own. Should the loser have more pieces on the board than his opponent, he pays two points for the defeat, minus one point for each piece he has in excess of the winner. (I: 48)

Grinfeld's description of *alquerque de doze*'s rules concern with mine except that he adds, like Murray, the possibility of multiple jumps or captures in one turn (38).

The Provenzos's presentation of *alquerque de doze* is the same as mine except for the addition of the possibility of multiple jumps or captures in one turn and the huff rule.

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<sup>996</sup> See also the note on *Puff* or *Puffspiel* in section 1.3.6.12 *Buffa cortesa*.

Canettieri gives an accurate description, noting that per Covarrubias on *soplar* the idea of the huff must belong to a later game than shown in the *LJ*. Canettieri also rotates his diagram 90 degrees counterclockwise.

Parlett presents rules in agreement with mine but also offers the additional rules proposed by Bell (243-44). He later discusses the lack of promotion in the *LJ*'s *alquerque* variants, the resultant frequency of ties and the later evolution of checkers from this family of games (257).

Chico Picaza calls these games *alcorque*.<sup>997</sup> The possible relationship of this term to *alquerque* is presented in the etymological footnote at the beginning of this section.

A modern descendent of this mill variant may be the Egyptian game *seega*. *Alquerque de doze* has the same format and beginning arrangement as *seega* but the play is different: in *alquerque de doze* the pieces jump each other and *seega* plays more like the modern Chinese alignment game called *go*.

One of my personal favorite modern descendents of *alquerque* is a game called *cops & robbers* by Golden (Western Publishing Co., 1956 and 1963). This deceptively simple-looking game with only five spaces is really a miniature version of the cagey second half of some mill variants. Each of two players has a pair of pieces which they place in diagonally opposite corners, then they take turns moving one piece at a time into the open space with the goal of immobilizing the opponent. During the second phase of

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<sup>997</sup> María Victoria Chico Picaza, "El scriptorium de Alfonso X El Sabio," *Memoria de Sefarad* (Toledo: Centro Cultural San Marcos, 2002-2003). This article is available online, under the chapter "Judíos, moros y cristianos bajo la autoridad del rey," at <[http://www.seacex.com/documentos/06\\_autori\\_1\\_sefarad.pdf](http://www.seacex.com/documentos/06_autori_1_sefarad.pdf)> accessed 1 Apr. 2005.

play of some mill games, players slide their pieces trying to form rows. Cops & robbers requires the same skills of knowing how to move your men well in a limited area.

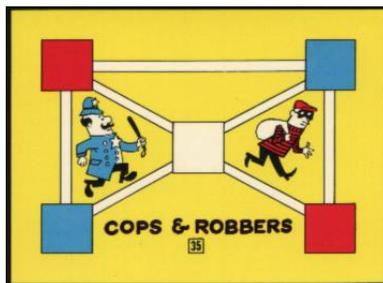


Fig. 163. Cops & Robbers Board.

### 1.6.1.2 *Cercar la liebre*<sup>998</sup>

*Cercar la liebre*, literally “corner the rabbit” (fols. 91v and 92r) is played on the same twenty-five point board as *alquerque de doze*. In this game, each player’s piece or pieces has different moves and powers. One player plays the rabbit who only has one piece which begins at the center point of the board. The rabbit can move to any adjacent point at a time and also has two special powers. First, is the only piece in this game that can capture its opponent’s pieces by jumping as in *alquerque de doze*, over that piece to an unoccupied point and removing that piece from the board for the remainder of the game. Second, it is the only piece in the game safe from capture. The rabbit’s opponent

<sup>998</sup> As indicated by the castle and lion shields in the miniature’s border as well as the beautiful red and yellow back for holding the pieces, which hangs from the board, the game of *cercar la liebre* was popular among Castilian royalty. A very similar game called fox and geese, which is played on a similar but cross-shaped board was the favorite of a young Queen Victoria of England in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Leopards and tigers, an ancestor of this game, is played on a triangular shaped board. The rules of placement of the leopards is the same as for *alquerque de nueue* and *alquerque de tres*, and the moves of the pieces and objective are the same as for *cercar la liebre*. It is also notable that all these variants of this hunting and trapping game use animal names. Pennick ascribes these hunting games to Norse origins, saying that they are known from the thirteenth-century Grettis and Vilmundar Sagas (c. 1300 and 1450-1500) but that they also bear strong similarities with the Egyptian game of *zamma*, the modern Egyptian name of *alquerque*.

may have any number of pieces, from ten to twelve, as agreed upon by both players before the game begins. At the beginning of the game, these pieces are arranged in a row at the bottom of the board. These pieces move one unoccupied point at a time, chasing the rabbit with the goal of cornering him in a place from which he cannot move or escape. The rabbit, on the other hand, must capture his opponent's pieces until he has reduced them to nine in number, for then the manuscript says the nine remaining cannot corner him and win.

Murray, calls the game catch the hare or “De cercar la liebre,” confusing the customary section title “De” for part of the name, and presents it in his fifth chapter “Hunt-Games” of *A History of Board-Games Other Than Chess* rather than in war- or alignment-games. He identifies *cercar la liebre* as “the earliest example of a hunt-game” giving only the option of twelve hunters, but noting that the *LJ* “says that this is possible even if the number of hunters is reduced to ten, and that a good player can give his adversary odds of one or two men” (1952: 98).

Calvo follows Murray's inclusion of the initial preposition in this game's name and offers a partial sample game (1987: 146).

Canettieri gives an accurate description and again rotates his diagram 90 degrees, this time clockwise.

Pennick identifies this *LJ* mill variant as part of the *tafl*<sup>999</sup> family of games which, played on various boards ranging from 7x7 to 19x19 in size, with the common feature of having an “odd number of squares or spaces on the boards, giving a central square upon which the king piece is set at the beginning of the game” (Pennick 175). Usually, one side is composed of a king piece and his defenders and the other side is a group of attackers, always double the number of defenders. However, in the *LJ*'s game the piece with special powers is just the one rabbit without any defenders against a various number of enemies who attempt to contain him.<sup>1000</sup>

Parlett briefly sketches the game *cercar la liebre* which he like Murray calls catch the hare. Oriental hunt games of the mill family with animal pieces, similar to the *LJ*'s *cercar la liebre*, also include Nepal's bag chal or tiger moving game<sup>1001</sup> and leopards and tigers<sup>1002</sup> played in India, Indonesia, Sri Lanka and Thailand.

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<sup>999</sup> The etymological relationship to the word *table* is obvious and there may even been a relationship to the word and letter *tau*, whose x-shaped form contains the central crux point necessary and common to these variants. Other members of the *tafl* family of games include the Lappish game of *tablut*, English *tawlbwrdd*, Irish *brandub* and Welsh *fidcheall*. *Tablut* is played on a 9x9 board with one king, who stands on the central square called the *konakis*, and his eight defenders against sixteen Muscovite attackers. The Dimetian code (tenth century) makes several references to *tawlbwrdd*, also known as *dawlbowrd* and *tawlbord*, which all mean *throwboard*. The Irish *tafl* variant is also known as *frandubh*, *brandul*, *brannaib*, *buanfach*, *cennchain* and *conchobar*. Both it and the Welsh variant, also known as *fidchell*, are played on a 7x7 board with one king, in Irish he is called the *branán* or *brenin*, defended by four knights and besieged by eight attackers (Pennick 177-78).

<sup>1000</sup> Pennick, like Murray, only offers the number of hunters in *cercar la liebre* as twelve (208-9).

<sup>1001</sup> Played by two players on a 5x5 grid. One player has four tigers which begin at the corners and can either move one step at a time or capture his opponent's pieces by leaping over them; his goal is to capture five or more goats. The other player has twenty goats which begin off the board and are placed one at a time; once all goats are placed they then move one step at a time with the goal of evading capture and leaving the tigers no valid movement. See also Parlett 193-95.

<sup>1002</sup> A game for two players on a triangular board of ten points. One player has a single tiger and the other has seven leopards. The tiger begins at the top of the pyramid and his goal is to capture all the leopards by leaping over them to an occupied space. The leopards are placed on the board one at a time and strive to immobilize the tiger. Once the tiger has captured four leopards, the remaining four are no longer able to trap him (Micro Games of the World by Alpi International, Ltd. Oakland, CA 94608).

### 1.6.1.3 *Alquerque de nueue con y sin dados*<sup>1003</sup>

*Alquerque de nueue con dados* (nine men's morris played with dice, fols. 92r and 92v) is played on a unique board called a triple-mill, which has three concentric squares whose midpoints are connected by vertical and horizontal lines for a total of twenty-two playable points.<sup>1004</sup> The term triple-mill distinguishes *alquerque de nueue*'s board from that used for the non-*LJ* variants of five- and six men's morris which are played on a double mill of two such squares. As the name suggests, each *alquerque de nueue* player has nine pieces for a total of eighteen. After deciding who plays first, the players take turns rolling three six-sided dice. Rolls of 6-5-4, 3-3-6, 5-2-2 or 1-1-4<sup>1005</sup> allow a player to place three pieces on the board in a row or mill,<sup>1006</sup> each mill formed also then entitles that same player to remove one of his opponent's pieces from the board. Calvo says that this variant was sometimes called "Vetula" or "Vieja" (1987: 147).

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<sup>1003</sup> Nine men's morris, played without dice, is arguably the best-known variant of the mill family. The first variant in the *LJ*, which is played with the aid of dice, appears to be unique to this manuscript. Alfonso's impatient nature is underscored by his use of dice to speed the play of every game, even if they must be invented to have the right number of sides to do so and in spite of his disdain for players who rely solely upon their *suerte* or luck without the advantage of *seso* or brains. The castles and lions that border the miniature are set in diamond shapes, rather than the squares of the previous two folios and which emphasize the dynamic, rotating nature added by the third diagonal dimension of this family of games.

<sup>1004</sup> In some cases, but not in the *LJ*, the corners of the three concentric squares are also connected by diagonal lines which do not increase the number of playable points but which do allow for greater ease of mobility between the twenty-two points.

<sup>1005</sup> It is curious to note here that the winning dice combinations for *alquerque de nueue* are not the same as those for any of the dice games given in the *LJ* but that they are all rolls for multiples of the number three, i.e. fifteen, twelve, nine and six respectively. Pennick gives the first two of these four mill-breaking rolls correctly but he incorrectly renders the final two which are not multiples of three: 3-5-2 and 2-4-1 (168).

<sup>1006</sup> The *LJ*'s term for mill, *ferido*, does not reflect the shape of this row of three pieces, like the arm of windmill, but rather indicates the injury inflicted upon the opponent of the removal of one his pieces. The *DPCRAX* lists this usage of *herido* among its *definiciones indeterminadas* (998). The *TDMS* merely cites that an instance of this word occurs on fol. 92v of the *LJ* (337).

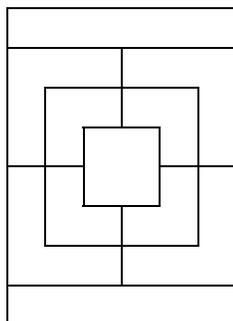


Fig. 164. *Alquerque de nueve* Board  
(description on fol. 92r and diagrams on fols. 92v and 93r).

*Alquerque de nueve* (nine men's morris) is the same game as described above but here it is exclusively a game of skill without the use of dice after the initial battle roll to decide who plays first.<sup>1007</sup> As with *alquerque de doze*, the first player of *alquerque de nueve* is at a disadvantage, in this case because he must be the first to reveal his strategy by his placement of his first piece and his opponent always has one more piece to play than he does by virtue of playing second. The goal in this *alquerque de nueve* is the same as in the previous one, to form mills or rows of three pieces, each mill permitting a *ferido* or the removal of any opponent's piece from the board.

Murray presents both variants of *alquerque de nueve* in his third chapter of *A History of Board-Games Other Than Chess*, "Games of Alinement and Configuration," saying that this game is also known as *real* or *castro*, and *marro* in Catalan. He complains of the lack of textual clarity but gives the same description as I give above, adding also two elements that are not explicit in the original. First, throws other than those specified may enter a single piece man. Second, that once all pieces are entered, dice are no longer used in play which then continues as in the variant without dice.

<sup>1007</sup> See the note on the opening roll to determine the first player under the translation of the dice game *par con as*.

Grunfeld presents only *alquerque de nueue* played without dice the same as I have given them, noting that “[s]ome players agree to let the last three pieces move ‘wild,’ that is from any point to any other point” (59-61).

Bell’s incorrectly describes the use of dice in *alquerque de nueue* in his *Board and Table Games from Many Civilizations* saying, “throws of 6, 5, 4 or 6, 3, 3, or 5, 2, 2, or 4, 1, 1, gave the caster the right to break into an enemy mill and capture a piece, in addition to introducing one of his own pieces on to the board, and if a mill was formed with this pieces he removed two of the opponent’s men” (I: 94). Like Murray he also added that any other roll entered a single piece and that once all men were entered “the dice were discarded and the game continued in the usual way” (94).

The Provenzos dedicate another entire chapter to mill games, presenting nine-, six- and three men’s morris along with another game called *achi*. Their presentation of nine men’s morris is the same as the *LJ* game played without dice. Six men’s morris uses the same board as the nine-man version but with one less concentric square on the board.

Klutz offers a total of three variants of *alquerque*, including *alquerque de nueue*, as one of the greatest board games of all time. Their version offers the optional wild rule, also described by Grunfeld (60), which they call “flying” in order to give him something of a chance: “[a] player who has only 3 pieces remaining is allowed, on a turn, to move any one of his pieces to any vacant space” (34).

Canettieri gives an accurate description of the game and presents a diagram of the board without pieces.

Parlett presents the larger merels or nine men's morris with the same rules as Murray but without any mention of the *LJ* (118-20). He states that *alquerque de nueue* is the equivalent of nine men's morris which is played on a triple mill and also notes that *alquerque de nueue* can be played with dice and that four rolls, given correctly but in a different order from the original, "entitle the thrower to enter three in a row and make a capture" (121).

#### 1.6.1.4 *Alquerque de tres*<sup>1008</sup>

The board for *alquerque de tres* (three mill, fols. 93r and 93v) consists of a square subdivided into eight triangles by an eight-rayed star<sup>1009</sup> for a total of nine playable points. Each player has only three pieces and the game is played without dice. The manuscript says that the first player has an advantage to win if he knows how to play well. The goal being the first to form a mill or row of three pieces, the first player is counseled to always place his first piece in the center of the board giving him the most options to form a mill. The second player places one piece wherever he wishes and his opponent places his second piece in such a way as to force the second player to block him

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<sup>1008</sup> This very simple game is similar to two modern variants, the American tic-tac-toe [British noughts and crosses] and the Spanish *tres en raya* [or, cleverly, *tres en rana* played with frog pieces in Salamanca owing to the famous lucky frog on the sixteenth-century façade of the University there, founded in 1243 by King Alfonso IX of León, Alfonso X's grandfather—the number of frog-themed tic-tac-toe games sold on the Internet further attest to common association of the pieces with frogs due to their hopping from one point to another]. However, it is even more limited a game than these two and the intermediate ancestor three men's morris because each player only may place three of his pieces or marks and they may not be moved after this initial placement. Fittingly, the boys shown playing it are nearly infants and by far the youngest people shown in the *LJ*. See also Appendix D5 showing details of the miniatures which show children being taught to play a game, illustrating the *LJ* as a dial of princes and princesses.

<sup>1009</sup> Compare the fact that four of these same boards arranged together in a square form the board needed to play *alquerque de doze* and *cercar la liebre* to Murray's observation that five of these boards arranged in a cross shape form the board for playing *cercar la liebre*'s descendant game of fox and geese. From a similar observation, Calvo inexplicably concludes that the *alquerque* board "acaba dándonos un tablero de ajedrez" (1987: 145).

from forming a mill.<sup>1010</sup> If the second player somehow misses the obvious and does not block him, the first player forms a mill and wins. Otherwise, he and the second player place their remaining pieces wherever they wish and the game ends in a tie. If the first player places his first piece on any point not the center point, then his opponent has a chance to win or to tie the game.

*Alquerque de tres*, like tic-tac-toe, is not a proper merels game because there is no movement of the pieces once they are placed on the board.<sup>1011</sup> Either of the two games may be played on the square board containing an eight-rayed cross shown on the *LJ*'s fol. 93v or the modern double cross outline of a nine-square grid. A related game called nine holes is played, as the name indicates, with pegs on a board with nine drilled holes or it can also "be played on the intersections of a simple quartered square" (Pennick 164). Its play is like that of *alquerque de tres* or tic-tac-toe except that the pieces once placed may then be moved to an open orthogonally-adjacent hole in order to form a mill of three pegs, making it a proper merels variant. Another proper merels variant, three men's morris, is played upon a board like that shown in the *LJ* for *alquerque de tres*. The play of three men's morris is identical to that of nine holes except that, as its board's diagonal lines indicate, pieces may also be moved to a diagonally-contiguous point.

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<sup>1010</sup> If the first player has placed his first piece in the center of the board, placing his second piece anywhere else on the board forces the second player to block him.

<sup>1011</sup> "The name *Merels* applied to board games where pieces are first entered on the board, one at a time by alternate players, then, once all are entered, used to produce alignments by subsequent movements" (Pennick 162). The names of merels of mill for this family of games have differently etymological roots: merels from the Latin name of the playing pieces "*merellus*, meaning a token, counter, or coin" (Pennick 162) and mill from the Sweden name for the row *kvarn* or *qvarn* as in the rhyme recited "Tripp Trapp Trull, min kvarn är full" (Pennick 163).

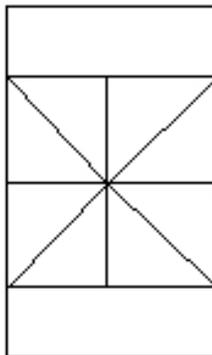


Fig. 165. *Alquerque de tres* Board  
(description on fol. 93r and diagram on fol. 93v).

Unidentified game boards shown by Falkener (364-66) may be board for a game similar to the *LJ's alquerque de tres*.

Murray presents *alquerque de tres* in his third chapter of *A History of Board-Games Other Than Chess*, “Games of Alinement and Configuration,” opening with what he calls “three-in-a-row games” and presents a description which is accurate up to the point where he says that once all the counters are placed, the men may be moved in order to make mills.<sup>1012</sup> While this is a feature of other mill games including the *LJ's alquerque de nueue*, the original manuscript does not offer this option and, since Murray describes the smaller merels or three men’s morris as being played on a board which resembles an eight-rayed asterisk in a square, the game Murray describes is properly three men’s morris but without acknowledging the comparative limitations of the *LJ* description (1913: 614).

<sup>1012</sup> “Two players, each with three men in hand. The men are entered, one at a time, in alternate turns of play, each play endeavouring to form a row along one of the eight marked lines of the board. When all men have been entered without a row being formed, the game proceeds by alternate moves in which a man can be moved one step along any line through the point on which it stands to a neighbouring empty point. The player who first makes a row, wins. The game is fully described in Alf. 93a, where it is shown that the first player has a forced win if he enters his first on man on the central point b2” (1952: 40).

The first section in Bell's third chapter on "Games of Position" is on morris games. He presents three men's morris (I: 91-92) exactly as Murray does. In the second volume of this same work by Bell, he presents the game *achi* under morris games in his third chapter "Games of Position" (II: 55-56). His presentation of *achi* is exactly the same as the *LJ's alquerque de tres* except that the players of Bell's *achi* each have four markers.

Bell in his *Board and Tables Games from Many Civilizations* says that *Alquerque de tres* is mentioned in Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* and in the 1300s was so popular in England that "visitors to the cathedrals of Norwich, Canterbury, Gloucester, Salisbury, and Westminster Abbey can see boards cut into the cloister seats by monks who found their long devotions tedious" (I: 92). It was not however limited to the Western world because Bell notes that "Hyde tells us that on the other side of the world the Chinese were playing the same game, *Luk tsut K'I*, in the time of Confucius, *c.* 500 B.C" (I: 92).

Calvo's offers a sample game and a description which strangely includes the possibility of movement of the pieces after their placement on the board, possible for the variant called three men's morris not present in the text as a possibility for the Spanish game of *alquerque de tres* (1987: 148). He notes the game's antiquity, citing Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*, "Parva tabella capit ternos utrinque lapillos / In qua vicisse est continuasse suos."<sup>1013</sup>

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<sup>1013</sup> Calvo 1987: 148. Also according to Pennick, this game was "played in China 2500 years ago in the time of Confucius, where it was called *Luk Tsut K'i*, and is popular today in Ghana, where it is called *Achi*" and in Spain also called *castro*, in Catalonia *marro* (Pennick 165). Pennick in error equates *alquerque de tres* exactly with three men's morris.

The Provenzos present three men's morris as played on a board of four squares, in other words the same as the board shown on fol. 93v of the *LJ* but without the diagonals. Most interesting is the Provenzos's presentation of *achi*, which is played on a board identical to that seen in the *LJ* for *alquerque de tres*. The Provenzos describe *achi* as a central African game played by young children and give the same rules as Murray does for the lesser merels or three men's morris: after each player has placed all four men on the board, he then endeavors to be the first to make a mill by sliding his men to vacant spaces.

Botermans et al. present the Maori game *mu torere* which shares a similar eight-ray star board with the *LJ*'s *alquerque de tres*.<sup>1014</sup>

Canettieri gives an accurate description of the game, except for the common error of allowing, as in three men's morris, that once all pieces are placed they may then move around to form mills, and presents a diagram of the board without pieces (64).

Parlett presents the smaller merels or *alquerque de tres* as I have above, but adding erroneously that after all six men are placed they may be moved to a vacant point along the same line (116-17).

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<sup>1014</sup> Botermans et al. 143-45. This two-player game somewhat similar to the *LJ*'s *alquerque de doze* in that each player begins with his pieces on one half of the board and moves via the open center space. It is also somewhat similar to the *LJ*'s *cercar la liebre* and its hunt game relatives, in that the object is to trap your opponent so that he cannot move. "Played by the Maori tribes of New Zealand, Mu Torere dates at least to 1840, and perhaps as far back as 1350! [...] The object of the game is to immobilize your opponent's playing pieces. Each player places his four pieces on four adjacent points on the board. The center spot begins open. There are three types of moves: A piece may move from a point to the center, provided that one or both of the points adjacent to the point moved from are occupied by an opposing piece. A piece may move from a point to an unoccupied adjacent point. A piece may move from the center to an unoccupied point. Only one piece is allowed at a time on any point or on the center. Jumping is not allowed. Black begins" (game instructions, Micro Games of the World by Alpi International, Ltd. Oakland, CA 94608).

The ease of *alquerque de tres*'s descendant, tic-tac-toe, is matched by its continued popularity. Because it is so popular but limited by its simplicity, many modern games have been made by adding a twist to the original children's version. Modern branded-name games evolved from mill variants include Connect Four,<sup>1015</sup> Pente,<sup>1016</sup> Qubic,<sup>1017</sup> Quixo<sup>1018</sup> and Score Four.<sup>1019</sup>

For more on the game of *yih* which plays like three men's morris on a board like that for *alquerque de tres*, see this dissertation's third chapter as well as Botermans et al. (35) and Murray (1952: 36).

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<sup>1015</sup> Connect Four (Milton Bradley) is a two-player game which uses a vertical board to limit players's moves on the basis of gravity. Each player has a large number of pieces which he may drop on his turn into one of seven slots. Each vertical slot contains six spaces. The players take turns dropping their pieces into slots to form, as the name indicates, a row of four pieces. I also own several non-branded versions of this game which measure nine slots of six spaces, seven slots of six spaces and six slots of five spaces.

<sup>1016</sup> Pente (Parker Brothers) is a game of alignment played on the intersection of a board of, technically, an infinite number of lines, but generally one that is 20 x 20. Each player has a large number of pieces or winks of his own color which they take turns placing on the intersections of the board with the goal of placing five in a row or capturing five or more pairs of enemy pieces.

<sup>1017</sup> Qubic (Parker Brothers) adds complexity by moving tic-tac-toe into the third dimension by using four stacked boards of 4 x 4 squares each to form a cube of 64 squares. Two to six players, singly or in teams, may play using different colored pieces. Each player or team tries to make a row of four pieces horizontally, vertically or diagonally along any of the three planes of the cube.

<sup>1018</sup> Based on an idea by Thierry Chapeau, Quixo (Gigamic 1994, 1995) is a tic-tac-toe variant that increases the level of difficulty by requiring a row of five (instead of three) to be formed by sliding whole rows of cubes. It is a game in which frustratingly rapid changes of fortune are the norm. Two to four players play with twenty-five cubes arranged in five rows of five. Each cube has four blank sides and one side each bearing an X and an O. "1. Initially, the top faces of the cubes are all blank. 2. The players choose their symbol: cross or circle. In turn, each player: 3. takes a blank cube, or one with his/her symbol on it, from the board's periphery; 4. then replaces it with his/her symbol on the top face, pushing one of the ends of the incomplete row [horizontal or vertical which included the cube the player has chosen]. 5. The winner is the first player to make a horizontal, vertical or diagonal line with 5 cubes bearing his/her symbol" (game instructions).

<sup>1019</sup> Score Four (Lakeside 1978) like Qubic is a self-described "'4 in a row strategy' game in 3 dimensions." It is a game for two players and played on a board with sixteen pins, arranged in four rows of four. Each player has a large number of light or dark beads. "On each turn place a bead on any pin. Score winning lines by placing 4 beads in a straight line. [Vertical] lines win. Horizontal lines win. Diagonal lines win. 3-D diagonals win" (game instructions).

### 1.6.2 The Etymology of *Alquerque*: The Name of the Game

Murray, and many others such as Bell following him, dates the earliest usage of the word *qirq* as before 967 in the *Kitab al-Aghani*, where it is grouped as in the *LJ* with the other games chess and *nard* (1952: 37). He says that “[*q*]*irq* is not derivable from any Arabic root and must have been borrowed from some other people, presumably with the game itself,”<sup>1020</sup> theorizing that *qirq* may have simply meant a lined board and compares the one sense of the word *alquerque*, i.e the game, to another sense used to name that “part of the oil-mill in which the bruised olives are laid out, which has channels or grooves to catch the oil” (1952: 37 and 38). Parlett suggests a different etymology “*qirq* < *querque* < *calculus* ‘stone, playing-piece’.”<sup>1021</sup>

I believe that the name *alquerque* (and its root *qirq*) used in the manuscript is both a nod to its Moorish origins and its probable etymological link to the Greek κύκλος (“circle”) and the Sanskrit *chakra*.<sup>1022</sup> Murray suggests Greek κίρκος and Latin *circus* but since this is not the name of a game he does not pursue the thread (1913: 613). Alfonso may have been aware of the Indian roots of the word via the Indian stone called *querc* which appears in his *Lapidario*.<sup>1023</sup> A further argument for this relationship can be made by comparison to the name *chikkiri* that Murray gives for the same game in parts of Japan (1952: 39). Another name for this same game family, mill, also suggests something that

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<sup>1020</sup> Murray also notes that the game is now called *dris* in Arabic (1952: 38).

<sup>1021</sup> Parlett (274n6) cites Alberto Zamboni, ‘Etimologie Friulane e Venete’, in *Studie linguistic Friulane*, cited by A. van der Stoep, *A History of Draughts* (Rockanje, 1984). This idea supports my idea about the Indian stone *querc* in Alfonso’s *Lapidario*, discussed in the next paragraph.

<sup>1022</sup> Chakra as used in Yoga philosophy denotes any one of the seven wheel-like centers of energy in the human body.

<sup>1023</sup> Alfonso X, Rey de Castilla, *Lapidario* (Madrid: Odes nuevos-Castalia, 1968) 51-52. *Querc* is rock number 49.

spins like a wheel in much the same way as the Arabic term *al-dulabiya* for the circular water-wheel chess problems of the “Libro del acedrex.” All these related words denote things which revolve as well as things which resemble or reflect the visual image of the game with its diagonals. It is precisely this third diagonal element or dimension that these games possess over the two-dimensional games of chess and tables.

In English, the *alquerque* variants are variously known as mill, merels or morris games. The several names reflect the games’s popularity in many regions. The mill names such as German’s *Mühle*, French *moulin* and Swedish *qvarn* refer to each player’s goal, the row of three pieces because it resembles the arm of a windmill. In Italian, the game is called *filetto* for similar reasons. Though Parlett claims with no evidence that merel derives from the Latin word for coin (109), it is, in fact, derived not from Latin *nummus* but from the Old French *méreau*, a “rock” or “stone” used as a token. The term morris would seem to indicate its Moorish or Northern African origins.

No matter what the name preferred, mill is a family of games that uses a variety of differently-sized lined boards. Each board uses a smaller or larger number of playing pieces according to its size. These size variations result in variants of the game that are named for the number of playing pieces used: nine men’s morris, five-penny or five men’s morris,<sup>1024</sup> and three men’s morris. The smaller the board, the simpler the game all the way down to the modern U.S. variant called tic-tac-toe.

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<sup>1024</sup> The board for 5 men’s morris is a double mill, i.e. two concentric squares with twelve playable intersections, or sixteen if the corners of the inner square are counted, whereas the *alquerque de nueue* triple-mill board has three concentric squares with twenty-four playable intersections. All pieces begin off the board and are placed one by one in turns. Once placed they may move to any adjacent open point with the goal of forming a mill, three in a row and removing an opponent’s piece from the board. The goal in the smaller variant is to capture three of your opponent’s five pieces (Micro Games of the World by Carlisle. Mount House, Nevada 89706.)

### 1.6.3 Mill History and Evolution

*Alquerque* can seem like an odd inclusion in the *LJ* since it is mentioned neither in the work's name or prologue. However, its presence as part of a trio of board games was seen as early as the 10<sup>th</sup> century's *Kitab al-Aghani* as well as in the *Bonus Socius* and *Civis Bononiæ*. Bell clarifies the connection in the construction of game boards at that time saying that “[t]riple-purpose boards built in the form of a shallow box with a hinged lid were popular in Europe from the fourteenth century onwards. When closed, one surface was used for chess, and the other for Nine Men’s Morris; when open, the interior displayed a backgammon table” (I: 95). Mill’s timeless popularity is hard to deny, “[o]ver the years, and throughout the world, Nine Men’s Morris has been a ‘fad’ countless times. If ever there were an all-time classic game, this would have to be it” (Klutz 34).

The roots of *cercar la liebre*, like those of chess, appear to lie in the Orient from a somewhat later period. According to Murray,

[t]he hunt-game is a later development than the war-game and the earliest example of a hunt-game occurs in the Alfonso MS. of 1283, where it is included among the *alquerque* games and is played on the *alquerque* board (Fig. 27). This suggests that the Spaniards obtained the game from the Moors and that the game was an Arab game, although I have found no mention of a hunt-game in the older Arabic literature. The diffusion of hunt-games in Asia, and especially its spread to southern India and Indonesia, coupled with their non-existence in Africa, supports an Asiatic invention” (98). Parlett compares *cercar la liebre* to an Icelandic game of equal antiquity, *hala-tafl* or the fox game from the *Grettis Saga*.<sup>1025</sup>

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<sup>1025</sup> Murray 1952: 90. The *Grettis Saga*, “(c. 1320), [is among the] latest and one of the finest of Icelandic family sagas. Its distinction rests on the complex, problematic character of its outlaw hero, Grettir, and on its skillful incorporation into the narrative of numerous motifs from folklore [including games and magic]. Its theme is summed up in the gnomic style of the sagas: ‘Good gifts and good luck are often worlds apart’” (“Grettis saga,” *Encyclopædia Britannica*. 2006. Encyclopædia Britannica Online. 16 May 2006 <<http://search.eb.com/eb/article-9038073>>).

As for *cercar la liebre*'s sharing a board with *alquerque de doze*, it is not unusual that two or more different games and indeed even different types of games be played on the same board. According to Murray, "Most Asiatic peoples who play a war-game also play a hunt-game on the same board" (1952: 98). This dissertation will suggest in Chapter III that both the war-game chess and the race-game backgammon evolved from the same board called an *ashtapada*.

The locations of some of the earliest boards found for this game hint at their magical astrological connections to the wheel of heaven. According to Bell, mill boards have been found carved into temple roofs at Giza and Kurna in Egypt,<sup>1026</sup> and Mihintale in Sri Lanka where it is also a symbol used as a charm against evil influences. According to Grunfeld, more mill boards have been found in the first city of Troy and at a Bronze Age burial site at Cr Bri Chualann (Bray,) County Wicklow, Ireland (59). Morris boards have been found in the ruins of ancient Troy and in a burial Viking ship from around 900 A.D. It is mentioned the Arabic *Kitab al-Aghani* from the 10<sup>th</sup> century<sup>1027</sup> and the Talmud,<sup>1028</sup> one of the works that Alfonso translated but whose translation is now lost. Alfonso does not cite a source for these game variants; perhaps he learned of this different family of games through the Talmud. Continuing the religious connection, Nigel Pennick argues that these gameboards were also magical sigils. The simplest variant is

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<sup>1026</sup> Murray, "More important are the many diagrams of board-games which are incised on the great roofing slabs of the temple at Kurna on the western side of the Nile at Thebes, the erection of which was begun by Ramses I (1400-1366 B.C.) and completed by Seti I (1366-1333 B.C.), which Parker (pp. 579, 644) describes. These were all probably cut by the masons who were shaping the slabs before they were finally placed in position on the roof, for three of the diagrams were partly cut away when the edges of the slabs were trimmed to make them fit against the adjoining slabs" (1952: 18). Murray refers to H. Parker, *Ancient Ceylon: An Account of the Aborigines and of Part of the Early Civilisation* (London: Luzac, 1909).

<sup>1027</sup> Bell I: 47.

<sup>1028</sup> Grunfeld 59 and Murray (1952) 46, citing Hyde 203.

the same grid of nine squares used for feudal land division in ancient India, the I Ching divination tool of ancient China and division of the night sky in medieval Arabic astrology. The symbolic significance of the shapes of the game boards is treated at length in Chapter III of this dissertation.

Keats discusses the difficulty of translating the games appearing in the Talmud. Rashi, Rabbi Shelomo Yitschaki (d. 1105), “renders *nardshir* by the word *escaque* (chess).”<sup>1029</sup> The “game of *iskundrée*”<sup>1030</sup> was variously rendered as draughts (i.e., checkers the game), chess or checkers (the pieces) and connected with the word “*pispussin*,” which Rashi equates with French *marelles*, i.e. mill or *alquerque* and not, as Keats has it, the later game of checkers. Keats lists various other later Talmudic scholars’s interpretations of the game as chess, dice and tables. See also the note on *iskundrée* in this dissertation’s third chapter, in the section 3.3.5 Metaphysics: Four Exegetical Dimensions of the *LJ*’s Ludic Symbolism.

*Alquerque de doze* evolved into new variants in both Africa and the New World. Just as the Moors brought mill from Africa to Spain, so Bell credits the Spaniards with introducing the Zuni Indians of New Mexico to a quadruple *alquerque* game called the stone warriors.<sup>1031</sup> In his Vol. II, Bell shows the board for *mulinello quadruplo*, a nineteenth-century game of Italian invention which played like modern Pente, whose goal is to form a row of five men, but which used the same board as *alquerque de doze* and

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<sup>1029</sup> “Continued Extracts on Gnostic Elements in Chess, by Dr. Ricardo Calvo,” *History of Chess*, accessed 18 May 2006 < <http://www.goddesschess.com/chessays/calvognosis2.html>>.

<sup>1030</sup> Keats lists *iskundrée* as mentioned in Shebuoth (29a), Nedarim (25a) and Kiddushin (21b) (1993).

<sup>1031</sup> Bell I: 48-49. Cf. Stewart Culin, *Games of the North American Indians* (New York: Dover, 1975. rpt. of Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Smithsonian Institute, 1902-03. W.H. Holmes, Chief, ed. GPO: 1907) 799-800.

*cercar la liebre* (II: 57). Returning to Africa, Parlett groups *alquerque de doze* with the Malagasy Republic's *fanorona*. The Provenzos dedicate an entire chapter to *alquerque* games including the *LJ's alquerque de doze*, *fanorona* and two further variants.<sup>1032</sup> *The Book of Classic Board Games* also offers a five-by-nine point version Fandango, their version of *fanorona* which they call the national pastime of Madagascar (Klutz 2). Capturing in Fandango/*fanorona* can occur either by moving to any point adjacent to an opponent's piece or in the moving away from such a point. "As a result, the first half has a very high casualty rate, while the second half gets a good bit more cagey" (Klutz 26).

Other later mill evolutions include checkers and tic-tac-toe. Modern games and modern reconstructions of historical games sold today that are related in theory to *Alquerque* include *ceega*<sup>1033</sup> (also *seega* or *sigá*), cops & robbers, five men's morris, fox and hounds, *kono*, *mu torere*, Pente, quick cross, Quixo, star and *yote*.<sup>1034</sup>

*Cercar la liebre* also evolved into variants around the world, most notably fox and geese which plays in exactly the same way as the *LJ's* game on a board that, like *cercar la liebre* and *alquerque de doze*, comprises multiples of the *alquerque de tres* board. According to Murray, "[h]unt-games achieved a certain popularity in France and English during the Middle Ages and had their own special board, one obtained by joining

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<sup>1032</sup> They also note that the Malagasy Republic's *fanorona* is believed to have magical divinatory powers. See also this dissertation's third chapter, section 3.3.5.3 The Third Metaphysical Dimension: Tropological Ludic Symbolism.

<sup>1033</sup> *Ceega* is an ancient Egyptian game in which players attempt to capture their opponent's pieces between two of their own (see Parlett 238, 246).

<sup>1034</sup> *Yote*, also known as African checkers, is another ancient game in which players attempt to capture each other's pieces, this time by hopping over them as in modern checkers or draughts. It, like *ceega*, can be played on a 5x6 square board and each player has a dozen pieces.

together five smaller merels boards to form a cross”<sup>1035</sup> for a total of thirty-three playable points (98). Fox and geese can also even be played on a regular checkerboard.

Murray’s *A History of Chess* traces the game from the Orient through Europe to North America while his chapter titled “Hunt Games” in *A History of Board-Games Other Than Chess* presents many of these variants in detail.<sup>1036</sup>

According to Grunfeld,

[t]he earliest reference to the game in European literature appears in the Icelandic *Grettis Saga* of about 1300, but gameboards dating from the same period have been found in England and Italy. An entry in the household accounts of Edward IV, king of England from 1461 to 1483, lists ‘two foxis and 26 hounds of silver overgilt,’ i.e. two complete game sets. A later royal enthusiast of the game was the young Queen Victoria, who enjoyed playing fox and geese with Prince Albert during their courtship.... After 1600, the rules changed to limit the movement of the geese to only straight forward but increased their number to seventeen.” (92)

Grunfeld presents fox and geese along with the related games wildebeest and *asalto*.

Unlike the Arabic origins of mill, Bell attributes what he calls the *tafl* group of games to northern Europe. Tafl games, including tablut and hnefatafl, are “miniature battles fought between unequal forces [where the] smaller force has a piece, or pieces, with special powers and the larger force tries to hem them in; while the smaller force tries to break out, or destroy, the larger” (I: 75-76). Bell presents fox and geese under the *tafl*

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<sup>1035</sup> Murray 1952: 90. Compare this fact to my observation above that *alquerque de doze/cercar la liebre* board is composed of four *alquerque de tres* boards arranged in a square.

<sup>1036</sup> Murray 1913: 616-17 and 1952: 98-112.

group in his second chapter on war games along with *tablut*, *hnefatafl* and the ancient Sri Lankan game cows and leopards.<sup>1037</sup>

The Provenzos dedicate an entire chapter to fox and geese games including a more recent game very similar the *LJ's cercar la liebre*, hare and hounds.

According to Klutz, fox and geese was later to be the favorite game of Elizabeth I of England (10). They call their version of the *cercar la liebre* or fox and geese variant of *alquerque*, the Dalmatian Pirates and the Volga Bulgars which is more similar to Grunfeld's *asalto* than the *LJ's* game.

Parlett's delightfully-titled Ch. 12, "Corner your fauna," calls games like *cercar la liebre* chase-games rather than using Murray's term hunt-games in order to allow him also to include the military parlance of some of the relative variants. He refers to the boards on which they are played as mill-boards, finding Murray's use of *alquerque*-boards both too long-winded and implying an undesired speculative Arabic connection. He links the fox and geese and *asalto* games, the tiger games of Asia played on triangular boards, and the *tafl* group. Whereas Murray feels that *tafl* is a war-game because it has ranks of pieces that include a king (1952: 55), Parlett groups it with chase-games since, unlike the rules for the war-game chess, the king, when chased, can win by escaping to the edge of the board. Parlett also presents tiger and leopard games, which I believe must be connected, in this same section (194-96) right before *tafl* games.

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<sup>1037</sup> Sri Lanka's *peralikatuma* or leopards and cows is played on a board like that shown above but with four additional triangular play areas which join at each of the cardinal directions, each adding six more playable intersections (Grunfeld 40 and Parlett 195). See also Provenzo and Provenzo 80-83.

Culin found many New World evolutions of *cercar la liebre* under variations of the name *pedrería* and with modifications to the board.<sup>1038</sup> Among these American Indian games, Culin and Parlett name *pon chochotl* or coyote and chickens, played by the Papago Indians of Arizona and the Tew Tribe of New Mexico who play on the same board as Alfonso's *cercar la liebre* as well as Mexicans who play on a slightly simpler board with only two main diagonals.<sup>1039</sup> I purchased a variant of the Mexican game in El Paso, Texas, called *el coyote* by Ediciones Bob, S.A. [n.d.], which uses a similar but slightly elongated board of five by seven. All thirty-five points are connected horizontally, vertically and diagonally.<sup>1040</sup>

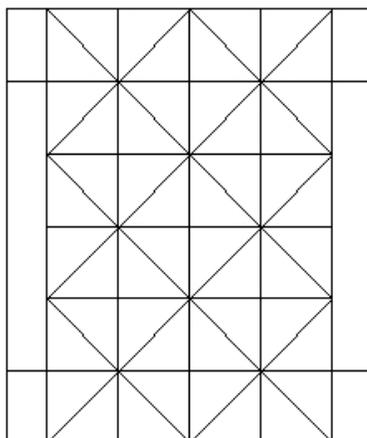


Fig. 166. Coyote Board.

Chickens are placed at the outer points of the fifth row from the top and on each of the five points of rows six and seven. According to the rules printed on the board itself:

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<sup>1038</sup> Stewart Culin, *Games of the North American Indians* (New York: Dover, 1975. rpt. of Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Smithsonian Institute, 1902-03. W.H. Holmes, Chief, ed. GPO: 1907) 791-98.

<sup>1039</sup> Murray citing Culin, *Games of the North American Indians* 794, 797 and 876. The first two pages numbers are accurate but p. 876 does not exist as the book has only 845 pages.

<sup>1040</sup> In addition, off-shoots of what would be points 6, 10, 26 and 30 are arrows pointing to wells which represent an additional hazard to the hapless chicken.

El Coyote es un juego para dos personas, una de ellas sera el coyote y pondrá su ficha en el lugar del tablero donde este se encuentra y la otra representará a las doce gallinas, cuyas fichas colocara en los lugares correspondientes del tablero. El coyote empieza pudiendo mover su ficha en cualquier dirección del tablero. Las gallinas solo pueden moverse hacia adelante y hacia los lados no pudiendo nunca retroceder, si una gallina cae en un pozo doblara la apuesta y seguira jugando. El coyote puede comer una gallina cuando ésta esté situada en el lugar inmediato a él y despues de ella haya en línea recta otra casilla desocupada hacia donde saltar. El coyote pierde si no tiene hacia donde moverse y gana si se como todas las gallinas.

As for nine men's morris after the *LJ*, Shakespeare knew of the game and mentions it in Act 2, Scene 2, line 98 of *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*.<sup>1041</sup> According to Stone, "Nine-men's morris went by several names, one of which was merels. In this game each player had nine wooden pegs. A flat board with three squares and twenty-four holes was used, and the object was to capture the opponent's pegs and to get own's own pegs in three straight rows. This game was also played outdoors using the ground for a board" (9), recalling Shakespeare's passage. Murray states that "This dice variety is not mentioned in any later Spanish works which only describe the ordinary method of play" (1952: 46). He goes on to say that

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<sup>1041</sup> "The nine men's morris is fill'd up with mud," according to Titania due to some rains provoked by other faeries's "forgeries of jealousy" (*The Yale Shakespeare: The Complete Works*. Wilbur L. Cross and Tucker Brooke, eds. [New York: Barnes by arrangement with Yale UP, 1993] line 81). "And the quaint mazes in the wanton green / are for lack of tread undistinguishable" (lines 99 and 100). This maze may be another separate sport that uses a similarly permanent outdoor fixture or structure but more likely it is a pattern of grass or hedges arranged to make a life-size morris board popular in English country gardens during Shakespeare's time. These life-size boards, like the Pachisi courtyards of the East were played with living (faeries or) children or servants for playing pieces. According to Pennick, "[t]oday, Nine Men's Morris is a popular pastime, but it went through a bad patch between the 1930s and the 1960s, when it almost died out in Britain. In *The Watney Book of Pub Games*, published in 1966, Timothy Finn noted the importance of the Stratford-upon-Avon area in the continuation of the game into modern times. He mentions that at that time, the game was still being played at the Bell inn at Shottery, the Alveston Manor Hotel and the Black Swan Inn (known locally as *The Dirty Duck*) in Stratford itself." Also he observes that large "Nine Men's Morris boards, or rather pitches, were often cut out of doors in the turf of the leys, or in the grass at the end of ploughed fields" (Pennick 171).

Nine Men's Morris reached its zenith in the fourteenth century. Superb illustrations of the game are contained in the codices of the Northern Italian Academies; manuscripts designed for the use of the court. There is an illustrated account of the game in one of the redactions of the *Civis Bononiæ*, a remarkable volume in the Victor Emmanuel library at Rome. The perimeters of the board are drawn with double lines in two colours while the pieces are dissimilar and each player controls the movements of MOONS, STARS, SHIELDS, CROSSES, SQUARES, and ROUNDS. The Moon is shown as a crescent orb, the Star has long shimmering rays, the Shield is triangular, the Cross is in the Greek form, and the Squares and Rounds are in solid color." (1952: 94)

John L. Heatwole includes a version of nine men's morris called Fig's Mill, which he says is based on the former and to me seems identical.<sup>1042</sup> The board presented looks exactly like the board shown in the *LJ* but it is stretched widthwise into a rectangle. Other irregularities in the details of the board shown by Heatwole, differing width between the playing lines from one side to another, lead me to wonder if this difference in shape is intentional or merely a limitation of his graphing program.

As Murray notes, *alquerque de tres* in Spain evolved into the game we now know as *tres en raya*, *castro* and, colloquially, *pedrería* (1913: 615). Most game historians consider *alquerque* to be an early relative of today's more popular checkers or draughts. Parlett notes that due to the forced win of the first to play, as described in the *LJ*, Parlett says that "it is traditional [in later variants], at least in France, to prohibit that opening move" (116-17).

#### 1.6.4 English Translation of the "The Book of Mill"

[fol. 91r] **This is *alquerque de doze* (twelve mill) which is played with all its pieces.**

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<sup>1042</sup> John L. Heatwole, *The Games We Played* (The Virginia and West Virginia Mountain and Valley Folklife Ser. Ed. John L. Heatwole. 2nd ed. 14 vols. Bridgewater, VA: Mountain and Valley Ser., 1997. 1999) 2: 22-23.

Since we have spoken in the other treatises above of all the manners of chess, dice, and tables games as those three wise men gave the proof to the king and then the intelligent men divided them for play, we want here now to tell about other games that men later found that are not in the account of these discussed above. However, they have a part in them just as the *alquerque* games touch upon chess, and tables, and dice. And there are such which touch upon chess and tables but not dice.

And we shall begin first with the *alquerque de doze* because it is larger than all the other *alquerques* and it is played with more pieces. And we shall tell in how many ways it is played, and with how many pieces, and for what reason chess, tables, and dice has a part in it. It has a part of chess in it because it is played by skill and *alquerque* [is] also. And the pieces<sup>1043</sup> with which it is played resemble the pawns of chess. And it has tables because of the tie which evens up the game like that of the other and because of the markings where they place the pieces. And they have their part of dice because of luck, because as they roll the dice on the board to decide whose's turn it may be, so they roll in *alquerque* dice also to decide who plays first.

And it is played in this manner: on the millboard there are to be twenty-five places where the pieces may be placed and the pieces are to be twenty-four. And they put twelve of one color on one side and the other twelve on the other in a troop formation. And there remains one empty place in the center where the move can be made. And the one who plays first has a disadvantage because he is to play first in that empty space.

And the other player puts his piece in the space where the first left empty and removes the one that was first to move, by jumping over it from one space to another as the straight lines on the board go, and over as many pieces as he should jump in this manner he will remove them all. And the other player will do that same thing.

And the one that plays first always moves first preparing in order to remove some piece from the other side. And the other player guards himself that much better from attack there, because by understanding the move that he wants to make he guards his piece better there and he does that same thing to him that the other plans to do to him and for this reason he is at a disadvantage, the one who plays first.

And the one who guards his pieces worse and loses them more quickly, is defeated. And if both players know how to play it, frequently there can be a tie. And this is diagram of the millboard, and of the pieces, and of how they are placed on their spaces.

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<sup>1043</sup> The word for pieces varies through the *LJ*. In all chess variants it is given as *trebeio*, *iuego* or *pieza*. For all tables games it is *tabla*. For mill it is once again *trebeio* or, rarely, *iuego* but not *pieza*.

[fol. 91v] **The game called *cercar la liebre* (corner the rabbit) that is also played on the twelve mill board.**

This is another game that is also played on the twelve millboard and they call it the game of corner the rabbit and it is played like this: they take one piece and place it in the center of the board and they put twelve of the other color in a troop formation beneath him, or eleven or ten as they agree upon their wager between them, those who are to play it.

And they play it in this way: that [rabbit] piece is to move first and the others, however many they are, then after him. And that single piece alone is safe from capture because they are not to remove but rather they are to trap him on one space so that there is nowhere else to go.

And he will capture as many of the others as he should be able to by jumping over them, as we said, from one line to another straight across. And once that piece has removed one of the others,<sup>1044</sup> they will not be able to trap him. But if there were twelve pieces, by removing one eleven remain, and they can carry him with them wherever they want. That same thing they will do with ten if they know how to play it well. But if of the ten one is removed, the nine that remain never can trap him in any way, and therefore they lose the game.

And this is the explanation of this game and this is the diagram of the board and of the pieces.<sup>1045</sup>

[fol. 92r] **This is *alquerque de nueue* (nine men's morris) that is played with dice and it is played like this:**

There is another game of *alquerque* that is played with eighteen pieces, nine of one color and nine of another. And it is played with dice and without them like chess. And it has in it part of tables because of the lines where they place the pieces resemble those because it has on it six and five and four and three and two and one just as on the board but they differ in their arrangements. And in the pieces. And in the play. In the arrangement they differ because of the markings where the tables pieces play, which are made around the board against those things or in those which are carved out like half of a carriage wheel. And the millboard is all markings, inside as well as around. And the pieces are different because tablemen are round and flat like a wheel or square. The others are round and long like chess pawns and these belong to *alquerque*.

In the play they are different for this reason: the first to play rolls the dice first, if the pips of them should say 6-5-4, 3-3-6, 5-2-2, or 1-1-4,<sup>1046</sup> for whichever of these rolls that he may throw, he will place three

<sup>1044</sup> This is true if they began with ten pieces on that side.

<sup>1045</sup> Here called *iuegos* instead of *trebeios* as before.

<sup>1046</sup> These rolls are all multiples of the number three, totalling 15, 12, 9 and 6, respectively. Of the ten combinations with three six-sided dice that yield a total of 15, six use these three numbers (odds = 6/216 or ~3%). Only three of the twenty-five combinations each for 12 or 9, or of the ten combinations for

pieces in a row and he will remove each time one of the pieces of the other player. And if he rolls so that he makes two mills he will remove two pieces, and this mill is to put them thus in a row as we said and as many times as that make a mill that many pieces he will remove.

And this same [fol. 92v] thing the other player will do each time that he should thus put them in a row. And in this way the game of *alquerque* is different from that of tables.

And this is the diagram of the millboard and of the pieces.

**On how nine men's morris is played without dice.**

This nine men's morris is played in another way, without dice by skill.

The players take all their pieces in their hands and they roll to determine who plays first. And he that is to play first has an advantage because in placing the pieces he always takes the first space he likes, the quicker to make a mill as we said and take one piece from his opponent each time or prepare how to trap him so that he does not have anywhere to go with any of his pieces.

And if perchance the first player should err in placing his pieces well, he is defeated because one piece remains to the other player and puts it wherever he can cause hindrance to the other and line up his pieces just as we said and thereby wins the game.

And this game they call nine men's morris because the pieces with which it is played with are nine of each color.

And this is the diagram of the millboard, and of the pieces, and this is its explanation.

[fol. 93r] **This is another *alquerque* of three (three mill<sup>1047</sup>).**

There is another *alquerque* game and they call it that of the three and they call it thus because it is played with six pieces, three of one color and three of another. In this one dice do not have a part and he who plays first wins if he should know how to play it well.

And the play of it is this: he who should more quickly place his pieces in a row wins.

And since the one who plays first should place his piece in the center of the millboard, and the other player will place his wherever he should wish. And he who played first should place his second piece in such a manner that the other player is perforce to place his piece in a row the one he has placed.

6 use the numbers indicated (odds for any one of these numbers = 3/216 or ~1.4%). Total odds for making a mill roll are then 15/216 or ~7%. See also Appendix C1 for tables of odds and combinations of dice.

<sup>1047</sup> It is important to distinguish this mill variant using three pieces from another very similar variant known by the name three men's morris. The difference between these two simplistic variants lies in the fact that *LJ*'s text does not allow for the movement of the pieces after their placement permitted by the other variant.

Then the first to play will have to play perforce lined up with those two enemy pieces and all his pieces will be placed.

And if in this way he should have placed them so that wherever the other player puts his remaining piece he loses. And if the one how plays first should not play it like this, the other will be able to tie the game or defeat him.

And because of the tie and the markings where the pieces are placed tables and chess have a part there, because of the pieces with which it is played that resemble its pawns.

And this is the diagram of the board and of the pieces. [fol. 93v]

### 1.7 “The Book of Astrological Games”

The seventh treatise of the *LJ* (fols. 95 through 97v, with fols. 98r and 98v blank) contains information about *escaques*<sup>1048</sup> or checkers and tables variants played according

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<sup>1048</sup> Manuscript: *escaques que se iuegan por astronomia*. The entry for *escaque* in the *DPCRAX* notes its relation to the word *chess* as “*sust.* 1. Juego de ajedrez. *ACE* (1283) fol. 95r14 ... *escaques* ... ” (809). Its entry in *TDMS* also notes this etymologically but more accurately and subtly defines it as: “*escaque*<sup>1</sup> (*ascaque*) [*pers.* *shah*] *m.* 1. juego de damas, *Aaj* 95a1; *Ata* 218,2; *Ase* 13,20 (*ascaques*). 2. división de un escudo o de un tablero de ajedrez, cuadro, *Mca* 63,24” (302) [*Ase* Libro Setenario, *Mca* El Libro de la caza]” Interestingly, a second definition of the same word also relates to an interest of Alfonso X: “*escaque*<sup>2</sup> [?] *s.* instrumento musical, *CBa* 71c13” (302) [*Cancionero de Baena*]. Steiger defines *escaques* as chessmen (which is true in modern Spanish where it can also mean a check, as in a square on the board) and from *axedrez* in Covarrubias, the laying out in a military camp: “los *escaques* son las castrametaciones y el lugar que cada vno deue guardar” (396). Jovellanos’s 1790 “Memoria para el arreglo de la policía de los espectáculos y diversiones públicas, y sobre su origen en España” (*Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos: Poesía. Teatro. Prosa literaria*. Edición de John H. R. Polt. Madrid: Clásicos Taurus, 1993) says that “*escaques y tablas*” (336) which he renders as *ajedrez* and, incorrectly, *damas* are mentioned in the *Historia de Ultramar* (i.e. *La gran conquista de Ultramar*). I translate the term *escaque* as checkers in order to preserve both the etymological and historical relationship with the game of chess as well as to denote that unlike chess and more like checkers all pieces possess equal powers of movement. Indeed in *escaques* the pieces move exactly as in the tables variants, driven according to dice rolls along a unidirectional track. Ulrich Schädler’s idea that the word *escaques* refers not to the game board but to the playing pieces seems to me to be the same sort of conflation that Alfonso makes with the game tables, deriving the name of the game from the pieces or vice versa rather than more correctly deriving the game’s name from its board, and may be rooted in the knowledge that ultimately the many names of chess derive from the Sanskrit name of the chess king. “In der Kapitelüberschrift zum astrologischen Schach, wo es heisst: *Este es (el) tablero de los escaques e de las tablas, que sse iuega por astronomia*, wird von dem Verfasser des Abschnitts als Bezeichnung für ‘Schachfiguren’ bzw. ‘Schach’ gebraucht, das in den anderen Teilen des Werkes stets als *açedrex* [sic] bezeichnet wird, eine dem Autor des Kapitels über die astrologischen Spiele unbekannte Vokabel” (211). However, in *escaques* there is no king piece and the pieces are not figural nor do they possess different powers of movement as in chess. Many terms are employed for the playing pieces of the games in the *LJ*, from *trebeio*, *pieza* and *iuego* in the “Libro del acedrex” to *tabla*, *pieza*, *can* and *hermano* in the “Libro de las tablas” to *trebeio* or, rarely, *iuego* but not *pieza* in the “Libro del alquerque”; however no word even similar to *escaques* is seen in the *LJ* before fol. 95r. Keats documents a similar Hebrew word which he transliterates as *escaques* or *escacques* (2: 36). A

to the rules of astrology.<sup>1049</sup> Based on Aristotle's or Ptolemy's conception of the universe, these beautiful and complex games are the culmination of the *LJ* in every sense.<sup>1050</sup> They represent the height of Alfonso's knowledge and passion for both games and astrology, his vision of the games and astrology as mirrors of life, and therefore his purpose for creating such a book of games. In their introduction, Alfonso's emphasizes that *escaques* is a very noble, exotic and beautiful game of great understanding and that it is for the use, as opposed merely for the play, of wise or educated players, especially those who know the art of astrology.

### 1.7.1 *Escaques*: Astrological Checkers

Fols. 95r through 96v<sup>1051</sup> contain the description and miniature of an astronomical game called *escaques*, which is a very literal representation of the harmony of the spheres as in the Ptolemaic conception of the universe. The seven-sided board for *escaques* begins with its outer border, showing the twelve zodiac symbols arranged counterclockwise, and within the zodiac are seven more concentric circles representing

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usage similar to that suggested by Schädler is seen in Pablo Minguet é Irol (nineteenth century) with *escachos* used synonymously with *trebejos*. Rather I think that the term *escaques* is used as meaning *acedrex* because of the board's checkered spaces (similar to the French term *exchiquier* for the game board) and possibly because of the specific humanoid figures described by the text and to which the colors of the game's square pieces allude even if the pieces themselves are to be square and not figural. The use of a different word here may indicate a different translator, scribe or source or a combination of the three from those used in the "Libro del acedrex" and, in any case, may indicate an Italian connect and therefore possibly a relationship with Frederick II's interest in astrology via the Italian term *scacchi* which the word *escaques* more closely resembles. Constable cites the similar term *esqueques*, which she feels derives from French and indicates a French origin of the text, as appearing in "[o]ne of the earliest surviving Castilian versions of the *Cuento de Tristan de Leonis*" (325n73).

<sup>1049</sup> Alfonso, whose usage usually reflects a reversal of the modern definitions of the words astrology and astronomy, uses the latter term. "In pre-scientific societies, there was no distinction between the magical and the practical. Arts which are now seen as separate, even antagonistic to one another, like astrology and astronomy, were parts of the same discipline" (Pennick 13).

<sup>1050</sup> A. C. Crombie, *Medieval and Early Modern Science. Vol. 1. Science in the Middle Ages: V-XIII Centuries* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday-Anchor, 1959) pl. I.

<sup>1051</sup> See also the Appendix D1 for a comparison of the iconographic and semi-iconographic Portraits of Alfonso in the *LJ*.

the orbits of the seven heavenly bodies around the Earth in the Ptolemaic cosmological system.<sup>1052</sup> The Earth is represented by four more concentric circles, each representing the four elements.<sup>1053</sup> The text explains that the outer circle representing fire is red,<sup>1054</sup> the next circle inwards representing air is purple,<sup>1055</sup> the third circle representing water is white,<sup>1056</sup> and the innermost circle representing earth is brown.<sup>1057</sup>

The text on fol. 95v explains that from the outside inward towards the center, these heavenly bodies and their orbits are as follows: Saturn, which is divided into 84 (12x7) squares; Jupiter with 72 (12x6) squares; Venus with 60 (12x5) squares; the Sun (shown in the illumination as played by Alfonso, of course) with 48 (12x4) squares; Mars with 36 (12x3) squares; Mercury with 24 (12x2) squares; and the Moon with 12 (12x1)

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<sup>1052</sup> While very hard to make out, two of the clearest are Cancer and Leo at the lower left. This means that the signs shown in order beginning at the top of the circular border and moving counterclockwise through the year are as they are listed in the manuscript and as follows: Aries (11 o'clock), Taurus (10 o'clock), Gemini (9 o'clock), Cancer (8 o'clock), Leo (7 o'clock), Virgo (6 o'clock), Libra (5 o'clock), Scorpio (4 o'clock), Sagittarius (3 o'clock), Capricorn (2 o'clock), Aquarius (1 o'clock) and Pisces (12 o'clock). Cf. pl. I. "Aristotle's cosmology. From Petrus Apianus, *Cosmographia per Gemma Phrysius restituta*, Antwerp, 1539" in Crombie.

<sup>1053</sup> The presentation and board of *escaques* is similar to the fifth-dynasty Egyptian vase or jar game shown in Falkener, whose board of twelve concentric circles is presented upright with a central vase or jar for holding the wagers (Falkener 19). Unlike *escaques*, however, players of the vase game entered their playing pieces from the outside and worked their way, apparently most safe in pairs like backgammon, through the concentric circles towards the central vase for which the game appears to be named (Falkener 83).

<sup>1054</sup> Manuscript: uermeio. Time has altered the color of this circle, like the alternating squares of the whole *escaques* board, to look reddish brown. Fire's color is given as red and water's color is given as white for both the astrological games of the seventh treatise and the fourth treatise for four-player chess and tables. The color correspondences for air and earth differ in these two treatises as noted.

<sup>1055</sup> Manuscript: cardeno. Time has altered this color to look blue in the original. The color correspondence of purple for air in *escaques* differs from that given in the fourth book for the chess and tables of the four seasons. In those games, air is green. Fire and water are red and white respectively in both the fourth and seventh treatises.

<sup>1056</sup> Water's color is given as white and fire's color is given as red for both the astrological games of the seventh treatise and the fourth treatise for four-player chess and tables. The color correspondences for air and earth differ in these two treatises as noted.

<sup>1057</sup> This innermost circle has been covered in gold leaf. The color correspondence of brown for earth in *escaques* differs from that given in the fourth book for the chess and tables of the four seasons. In those games, earth is black. Fire and water are red and white respectively in both the fourth and seventh treatises.

squares.<sup>1058</sup> Twice in these orbits we find the symbolic numbers seven and twelve together—in the number of squares in the first circle, i.e. Jupiter’s orbit, and finally at the end with the seventh circle, i.e. the lunar orbit containing twelve squares.

Alfonso acknowledges that the size limitations of the *escaques* board mean that scientific accuracy has been sacrificed for beauty and usability.<sup>1059</sup> The smallest total number of squares befitting this *escaques* then and the total number of squares in all the circle is 336 (12x28). Due to the regular arrangement of the squares in twelve wedges or pie slices for each sign of the zodiac, the game board is very much like a lunar calendar. Each one of the 12 slices has 28 squares, equal to the number of days in a lunar month. The total number of squares while not the number of days in a solar calendar year is indeed the number of days in a lunar year based on the zodiac.

Each of the seven playing pieces or planets bears that planet’s figure<sup>1060</sup> and color and begins in the first square of the zodiac sign with which it has the strongest

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<sup>1058</sup> Murray notes helpfully that “[e]ach house in each ring is divided into as many points as it is distant from the centre” (1952: 156). Bland describes the Persian encyclopedic work *Nefâis ul Funûn* (Treasure of Science) which offers “five different kinds [of chess] are described, two of which are unknown to us from any other sources” (Bland 31). One such variant strongly resembles the *LJ*’s *escaques*, played “on a circular board, . . . arranged to resemble the heavens, having seven stars and twelve signs. The signs, which are the spaces between the concentric circles, are divided among the stars according to their mansions, and the moves of each star are proportioned in number to the height of its heaven; so that Saturn has seven squares, and Jupiter six, Mars five, the Sun four, Venus three, Mercury two, and the Moon one” (Bland 32).

<sup>1059</sup> “Et como quiere que los Siete cielos son departidos en mas partes; & non podrien aqui caber en este tablero que fuesen apuestos; tomamos destos departimientos segunt aquella cuenta lo mas breue que conuiene a este juego” (fol. 95v). For example, the *Libro de la octava esfera* shows that the eighth sphere which the zodiac occupies in fact contains forty-eight figures or constellations. This explanation of creative intent along with the description of the game as new in its introduction, are strong indicators that this game is of Alfonso’s invention.

<sup>1060</sup> Compare with Vincent de Beauvais’s somewhat similar personification of: “Saturnus: . . . melancholicus . . . amans vestes nigras” (“Speculum Naturalis,” *Speculum Quadriplex; sive, Speculum maius* [Graz, Austria: Akademische UP, 1964-65] 1: Capvt XLV). For a more complete study of Alfonsine planetary representations, see Domínguez Rodríguez, “Libro de los juegos” 65-81.

affinity.<sup>1061</sup> Saturn's black piece begins in Aquarius and shows a thin, bent old man, naked but for his underwear and black cloak covering his head, who is sad and holds his hand to his careworn cheek.<sup>1062</sup> Jupiter's green piece begins in Sagittarius and should show a happy-faced, middle-aged man dressed in green with an ultramarine head covering and holding a book before him. Mars's red piece begins in Scorpio and should show a young man dressed all in red in the armor of ancient Greece, with a naked sword in his right hand and a freshly decapitated head held by the hair in the other.<sup>1063</sup>

<sup>1061</sup> I have attempted to discover if this arrangement corresponds to a specific date in Alfonso's life but have not yet been successful. The following table compares the opening position of the planets in *escaques* to Alfonso's natal horoscope using the computer program Astrolog, version 5.4.

Table 9. Comparison of Alfonso's Natal Chart and the Opening Position of *escaques*.

Alfonso X, born 23 Nov. 1221	Opening position of <i>escaques</i> (fol. 96r)
Saturn in Sagittarius	Saturno en Aquario.
Jupiter in Virgo	Et Jupiter; en Sagitario.
Mars in Leo	Et Mars en Scorpio.
Sun in Sagittarius	E el Sol en Leo.
Venus in Sagittarius	Et Venus en Tauro.
Mercury in Sagittarius	Et Mercurio en Virgo.
Moon in Piscis	Et la Luna en Cancro.

<sup>1062</sup> Compare to the similar posture of the Isle of Lewis queen.

<sup>1063</sup> The *LJ*'s description of the appearance of Mars is a near perfect match to his representation in an Arabic horoscope dated a little more than one hundred years later, 18 Apr. 1411 (Fig. 167). This natal horoscope was created for Iskandar-Sultan ibn Umar-Shaykh (1384-1415), a grandson of Timur the Lame. The Arabic Mars stands in the sign of Scorpio in ancient gold armor over a red tunic and holds a bare sword in his right hand and a decapitated, helmeted head with bloody neck in his left. The Arabic image of Mars is even closer to the *LJ*'s description than the example shown by Domínguez Rodríguez as a horseman mounted upon a lion from a sixteenth-century copy of the *Lapidario* ("Libro de los juegos" 71). The twelve-sectored circle-in-a-square with its counterclockwise arrangement of signs and blue background resembles *escaques* in general and the other planetary personifications share lesser resemblance to the *LJ*'s descriptions and those studies by Domínguez Rodríguez. From *Horoscope of Iskandar-Sultan ibn Umar-Shaykh* (detail), Compiled and copied by Mahmud ibn Yahya ibn al-Hasan al-Kashi, Shiraz, dated A.H. 22 Dhu'l-Hijja 813 (A.D. 18 Apr. 1411), Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper, 26.5 x 16.7 cm (10 1/8 x 6 5/8 in.) By courtesy of the Trustees of the Wellcome Trust. Notecard design copyright © 1989 by Museum Associates, Los Angeles County Museum of Art.



Fig. 167. Mars in Scorpio in an Early Fifteenth-Century Arabic Horoscope.

The Sun's yellow<sup>1064</sup> piece begins in Leo and should show a young king with a gold crown on his head, dressed in shining cloth of gold and holding an apple<sup>1065</sup> in his left

<sup>1064</sup> This piece has been covered in gold leaf.

<sup>1065</sup> Not the literal fruit but the imperial *Reichsapfel* in German or *orbis terrarum* in Latin. For a good study of the imperial apple, see Percy E. Schramm, *Sphaira-Globus Reichsapfel* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1958), especially plates 23, 37 and 38 which resemble the *escaques* board; 64b of Edward I of England; 72a and 72b of medieval Spanish emperors; and 79 of Emperor Frederick II. According to Schramm who cites *Deutsches Rechtswörterbuch I*, Weimar 1914-32 S. 802: Apfel, the term apple for this symbol goes back to the beginning of the eleventh century (2). According to *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*, the Imperial orb is an “emblem of royal power, usually made of precious metal and jewels and consisting of a sphere surmounted by a cross. The ball as a symbol of the cosmos, or of the universe as a harmonious whole, is derived from the ancient Romans, who associated it with Jupiter [not the Sun as in the *LJ*] and, hence, with the emperor as his earthly representative. Christians adapted the symbol by setting a cross above the ball to signify the world dominated by Christianity. Rulers were often depicted with the orb, but the first to hold it in hand at his coronation was the Holy Roman emperor Henry II in 1014; thereafter the “imperial apple” became an important emblem of the royal power invested in the monarch (*Encyclopædia Britannica*. 2005. Encyclopædia Britannica Online 25 Feb. 2005 <<http://search.eb.com/eb/article?tocId=9057283>>). Frederick II's wax seal shows him as a crowned and enthroned man, holding in his left hand a flowered branch or *lilienzepter* and in his right the apple. Cessolis's description of the chess king is “as clothed in purple sitting in a chair with a gold apple and sceptre in his hands” (*Copy of the Bonus socius ms. [so called] in the National Library, Florence*. Cleveland, 1893) 39. Alfonso never shows himself with apple or but does show uniquely in the miniature for this game a round pillow, checked with castles and lions, that has a deeply three-dimensional appearance like the one in Frederick's seal. In final panel of the miniature for *Cantiga 10* (Rosa das rosas) of the *Códice rico*, Mary is seated atop a pedestal covered in a 5x5 square cloth checked with castles and lions and holding a round gold item.

hand and in the other a bouquet of flowers<sup>1066</sup> as the emperors do when they are crowned. Venus's violet piece begins in Taurus and should show a very beautiful young woman dressed in violet, with long blonde hair which hangs down her back and is crowned by a garland of roses, holding in her right hand a comb and in the other a mirror. Mercury's striped multi-colored piece begins in Virgo and should show a young man dressed in many colors and writing in a book.<sup>1067</sup> The Moon's white piece begins in Cancer and should show a young woman dressed in white who holds the figure of the moon over her head with both hands.

In order to play this betting game, each player first rolls the one seven-sided die to determine which planet he is to play.<sup>1068</sup> The player who rolls seven plays Saturn; six plays Jupiter; five plays Mars; four plays the Sun; three plays Venus; two plays Mercury; and one plays the Moon. The seven players then each roll once again to determine who plays first. This player then rolls and moves his planet counterclockwise around his orbit through the zodiac by the number of squares indicated by his roll of the single seven-sided die. If he does not move enough houses, i.e. spaces, to change zodiac signs, then he neither wins nor loses any amount. The reason for Alfonso's emphasis at the beginning of this game's description that *escaques* is it is a very noble, exotic and beautiful game of great understanding for wise or educated players, and especially for play and use those

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<sup>1066</sup> Also known in German as a *Lilienzepter*.

<sup>1067</sup> This is a significant detail. Mercury, also known as Hermes or Hermes Trismegistus, is not merely a reader but an author. He is also known as the Egyptian god Thoth who is legendarily credited with works on alchemy, astrology and magic (*American Heritage Dictionary Second College Edition* [Boston: Houghton, 1982]) as well as the invention of hieroglyphics and therefore secrets hidden in written symbols. Alfonso, as an author and *aficionado* of second meanings, is hinting to the perspicacious reader that there is a meaning behind and beyond each word and game in this book.

<sup>1068</sup> For a description of this die, see section 1.4.4 Seven-Sided Decimal Chess Dice.

who know the art of astronomy, becomes clear in the complexity of winning and paying of stakes based on the number of agreed-upon amounts held by each player, described as follows.<sup>1069</sup> These amounts are given in groups of twelve, or less likely, out of a total of twelve.<sup>1070</sup> If a player enters another zodiac sign, then he wins or loses based on the aspects of the other player's planets with his own new position: sextile<sup>1071</sup> wins two of twelve, trine<sup>1072</sup> wins three of twelve, quadratures (also called squares)<sup>1073</sup> loses three of twelve, opposition<sup>1074</sup> loses six of twelve and conjunction<sup>1075</sup> loses twelve of twelve.<sup>1076</sup>

The text does not specify either how the game ends or an ultimate winner is decided but

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<sup>1069</sup> The mode of play in *escaques* strongly resembles that described by Bland in as-Sûli's work "Lib. Arab. De Shahiludio, Autore Al Sûli," whose fifth of ten advantages of chess is the game's resemblance to the heavens, relating the squares to the celestial houses, the pieces to the stars, and discussing such elements of as trines, quadrates and opposition as the *LJ's escaques* (Bland 7-8). Wilkinson cites Masudi of assigning chess the purpose of being "an allegory of the celestial spheres" (xiv).

<sup>1070</sup> The expression of money in terms of units out of twelve may be rooted in *sueldos* which were subdivided into twelve *dineros*, much like British division of shillings into twelve pence in the first half of the twentieth century. Thus, two of twelve would mean two *sueldos* or twenty-four *dineros*, three of twelve would mean three *sueldos* or thirty-six *dineros*, six of twelve would mean six *sueldos* or seventy-two *dineros*, and twelve of twelve would mean twelve *sueldos* or one hundred forty-four *dineros*.

<sup>1071</sup> Sextile is said of signs or astrological bodies with the favorable aspect of being 1/6 of the 360° circle or 60° apart. The beginning sign is counted, so for the example given in the manuscript of Aries being three steps away from Gemini the count is: Aries (1), Taurus (2), Gemini (3).

<sup>1072</sup> Trine or triplicity is said of signs or astrological bodies with the favorable aspect of being 1/3 of the 360° circle or 120° apart, as if at the angles of an equilateral triangle.

<sup>1073</sup> Quadrature or square is said of signs or astrological bodies with the unfavorable aspect of being 1/4 of the 360° circle or 90° apart, as if at the corner of a square.

<sup>1074</sup> Opposition is said of signs or astrological bodies with the unfavorable aspect of being 1/2 of the 360° circle or 180° apart, directly across from or in direct opposition to one another.

<sup>1075</sup> Conjunction is said of signs or astrological bodies within the same zodiac house.

<sup>1076</sup> Murray, an Englishman who lived in the era of shillings and old pence, converts the amounts given to the individual units by multiplying the stakes named by twelve, except mysteriously for conjunction, and so gives the following: "Each luminary keeps to its own path, but points are scored whenever a player moves his piece in sextile (i.e. 2 'houses' distant from another piece), when he wins 24 from the other player, or trine (i.e. 4 'houses' distant), when he wins 36. If, however, he play in quadrature (3 'houses' distant) he loses 36, if in opposition (6 'houses' distant) he loses 72, and if in conjunction (the same 'house' with another piece) he loses 12" (1913: 350-51; see also 1952: 157). Knutson speaks of the money only in terms of the first units, ignoring the factor of twelve, and so gives: "\* Two counters must be paid from every player whose planet is at a *sextil* (60°) from one's own (i.e. either ahead of or behind one's own house) "\* Three counters must be paid from every player whose planet is at a *trigon* (120°) from one's own (i.e. the fourth sign before or after one's own house) "\* Three counters must be paid from every player whose planet is at a *quadratur* (90°) from one's own (i.e. three spaces ahead or behind one's own house) "\* 12 counters must be paid from every player whose planet is 'in conjunction' with one's own (i.e. in the same sign as one's own)" (18-19). Knutson does not list the loss for planetary opposition.

if each player has twelve betting units of value or tokens, then one may logically presume that, as in four-seasons chess<sup>1077</sup> and in astrological backgammon,<sup>1078</sup> astrological checkers ends after other players each have lost all their money and have left one final winner, here with universal control of all seven planets and all the money. The fact that there is no predetermined endpoint to the game mirrors both the universe the game represents and the counterclockwise *noria*-style Problem 1 with which the 103 endgame chess problems of the “Libro del acedrex” begins.

The *LJ*'s diagram for astrological checkers has yet to be accurately described. The outermost circle contains the zodiac symbols arranged in counterclockwise order with Aries at the 11 o'clock position around through Pisces at the 12 o'clock. Saturn is in the first square of Aquarius, Jupiter in the third square of Sagittarius, Mars in the third square of Scorpio, the Sun in the second square of Leo, Venus in the second square of Taurus, Mercury in the first square of Virgo, and the Moon is in its sole square for Cancer.<sup>1079</sup> I have created the following diagram by using Murray's as a template while correcting the zodiac's direction and the placement of the pieces. White's drawing is more accurate than Murray's original, showing the heptagonal shape of the outside of the board, the zodiac symbols and the four concentric circles representing the elements of the earth in the

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<sup>1077</sup> “Et delos tres iogadores que fincan depues. el que *primero fuere* uencido dexe en el tablero quantos dineros y ouiere ganados. & demas quantos trebeios le fincan quando es uencido. Et delos otros dos iogadores que fincan; el *que* uenciere deue tomar todos los dineros que estudieren en el tablero” (fol. 88r).

<sup>1078</sup> “Et el iogar es desta guisa. que cadauno delos jogadores; tenga siete tantos. de qual precio se auinieren de morauedi; o de qual moneda quisieren. & si tomare tabla dell otro; no la ha de tornar. & deue tomar dell un tanto; por ella & por quantas tomare. & assi andan todos en derredor; fasta que finca todo el iuego en uno de los que iogaren. ca aquel finca por uencedor” (fol. 97r).

<sup>1079</sup> “Et por que las mas dellas han dos dos casas sennaladas en sus Signos; ponemos la en aquella que esta mas apoderada assi como. Saturno en Aquario. Et Jupiter; en Sagitario. Et Mars en Scorpio. E el Sol en Leo. Et Venus en Tauro. Et Mercurio en Virgo. Et la Luna en Cancro” (fol. 96r).

board's center. His positioning of the planetary pieces is also more accurate, except he seems to show Jupiter on the fourth square of Aquarius.

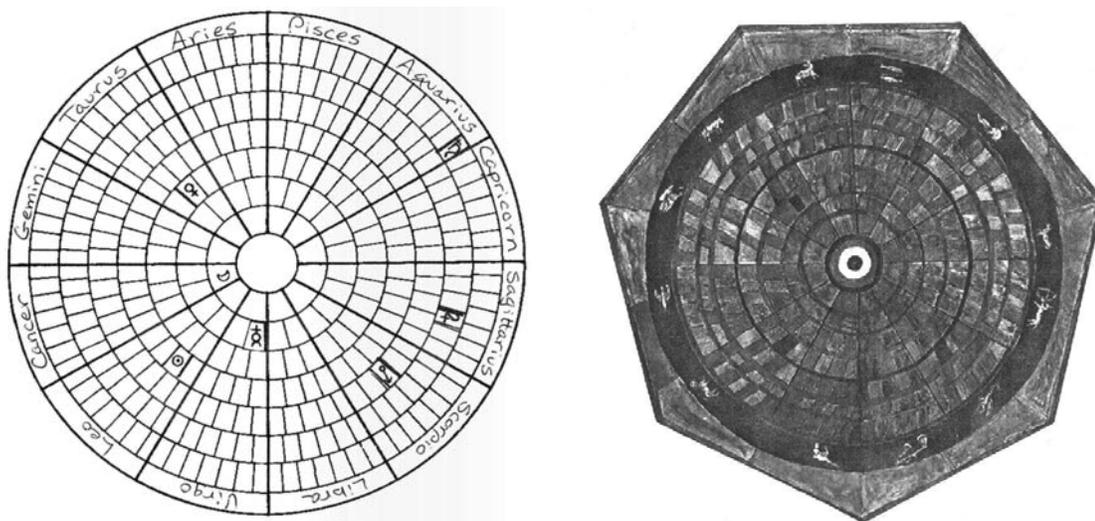


Fig. 168. *Escaques*: Astrological Checkers (description on fols. 95r through 96r and diagram on fol. 96v). My recreation (left) based upon Murray (1913: 350) and a black-and-white scan of White's colored sketch.

As for their aspects, the following planets have the following interrelationships with each other as defined on fol. 96r: Venus in Taurus/the Moon in Cancer, the Moon in Cancer/Mercury in Virgo, Mercury in Virgo/Mars in Scorpio and Jupiter in Sagittarius/Saturn in Aquarius are sextiles (which win 2 of 12); Venus in Taurus/Mercury in Virgo, the Moon in Cancer/Mars in Scorpio and the Sun in Leo/Jupiter in Sagittarius are trines (which win 3 of 12); Venus in Taurus/the Sun in Leo and Mars in Scorpio and Saturn in Aquarius are quadratures (which lose 3 of 12); Venus in Taurus/Mars in Scorpio and the Sun in Leo/Saturn in Aquarius are in opposition to one another (which loses 6 of 12); and there are no planets in conjunction (which loses 12 of 12).

Of the possible planets, it would seem mostly likely that Alfonso would play either Jupiter, the king of the gods with its roll of seven and the highest circle, or even

more likely the golden Sun with its personification of an emperor. Notably, he is playing the yellow pieces associated with the Sun in the following game, astrological backgammon.<sup>1080</sup> On fol. 96v, Alfonso seems to be holding out his right hand perhaps to roll the die, not drawn, or perhaps to claim payment from the player seated to his right. This player could be Saturn in opposition with his Sun in Leo, as indicated by the pointing finger of the player seated to Alfonso's left. Comparing Juan de Mena's description of who might be located in the Sun's circle in Stanza 116 of his *Laberinto de la Fortuna*, we find the wise, astrologers, poets and musicians among whom Alfonso might prefer to be grouped.

Allí vi grand turba de santos doctores,  
e contenplativos de aquel buen saber,  
que para siempre nos puede valer,  
faziéndonos libres de nuestros errores;  
filósofos grandes e flor de oradores,  
aquí çitaristas, aquí los profetas,  
astrólogos grandes, aquí los poetas,  
aquí quadrivistas, aquí sabidores.<sup>1081</sup>

Brunet y Bellet's second fold-out sketch (his diagram no. 6) is only the board for astrological checkers on fol. 96v. Here Brunet y Bellet confesses to not having seen or

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<sup>1080</sup> In an analogy to the warmth of marriage, the *Siete Partidas* notes that the sun is third or central in the series of seven heavenly bodies so that it may illuminate the other six planets as Alfonso here illuminates those around him: "Aqui comienza la quarta partida que habla delos desposorios & de los casamientos. [...] Et otro si como aquel que es mantenimiento del mundo & que haze a los onbres beuir vida ordenada naturalmente & sin pecado: & sin el qual los otros seys sacramentos non podrien ser mantenidos nin guardados. & por eso lo pusimos en medio delas siete partidas deste libro asi commo el coraçon es puesto en medio del cuerpo do es el spiritu del onbre onde va la vida atodos los miembros. Et otrosi commo el sol que alunbra todas las cosas & es puesto en medio delos siete çielos: o son las siete estrellas que son llamadas planetas. & segund aqueste pusimos la partida que habla del casamiento en medio delas otras seys partidas deste libro por que tambien la ley de nuestro sennor iesu xpisto que es la espada spiritu al que taia los pecados encubiertos. [...] Commo la primera partida que habla de todas las cosas que pertenesçen ala fe catolica que haze a onbre conosçer a dios por creença. [...] E por eso lo pusimos en la quarta partida deste libro que es en medio delas siete asi commo nuestro sennor puso el sol en el quarto çielo que alunbra todas las estrellas segund cuenta la su ley" (fol. 252r).

<sup>1081</sup> Juan de Mena. *El laberinto de Fortuna o las trescientas*. Edición, prólogo y notas por José Manuel Blecuá. (Madrid: Espasa, 1960) 64.

read Alfonso's book which explains his belief based on the miniature that this board is for a game that is both a chess and backgammon variant played by six rather than seven people.<sup>1082</sup> Curiously, the word *escaques* seems to have been unfamiliar to Brunet y Bellet in 1887 as he refers to it as *escagnes*, probably a type-setting error, and later the closer reading of *escagues*. Earlier in the nineteenth century, Pablo Minguet é Irol (d. 1801?) published an attractive little book which uses the term *escachos* as synonym for *trebeios* and *piezas*.<sup>1083</sup> In this word, however, Brunet y Bellet does see a relative of the word *ajedrez* and interprets Alfonso's meaning in the modern sense of "the squares of the checkered board," intentionally different from just the name of the game, and the game itself as a relative of checkers. Brunet y Bellet proposes that this game is Alfonso's own invention or modification. Alfonso himself refers to the variety of chess variants and varying board sizes which Brunet y Bellet in turn mentions by citing Rodríguez de Castro: "el capítulo LXIII de la *Crónica General* ordenada por D. Alfonso el Sabio, se intitula 'De las maneras de los axedreces e de sus juegos e de la semejança a que fueron fechos' (Biblioteca de Escritores españoles)."<sup>1084</sup>

Brunet y Bellet predicts that a foreigner will someday be the one to publish Alfonso's book and clarify doubts about these games and the miniatures that accompany them. According to Brunet y Bellet, Forbes says that the Persian encyclopedia *Nafa'is al-*

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<sup>1082</sup> Brunet y Bellet cites the manuscript's description which, in an error of anticipation, reads "Este es el tablero de los escaques e de las tablas que se iuega por Astronomia." His lack of access to the full text of the *LJ* leads him wrongly to believe that Alfonso uses the word *acedrex* to refer indiscriminately to any type of board.

<sup>1083</sup> Pablo Minguet é Irol, *Origen y reglas del ingenioso juego del axedrez; obra muy útil y provechosa tanto para los que de nuevo quisieren aprenderlo, como para refrescar la memoria de los que ya saben jugarlo* (Madrid, 18--?). See also the first note in Sec. 1.7.

<sup>1084</sup> Brunet y Bellet 423. The work and vol. to which Benet mistakenly refers is José Rodríguez de Castro, *Biblioteca Española*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Imprenta Real de la Gazeta, 1781-1786; rpt. Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1977) 2.423.

*funun* (c. 1350) by Muhammad ibn Mahmud al-Amuli (1300-1352), briefly mention what Forbes calls the *Juego de los Astrólogos* or *Uranomaquia*,<sup>1085</sup> believing that the game originated with the Arabs while Hyde touches on both astrological games. Brunet y Bellet describes the board's astrological connections in a seven-sided board according to the days of the week, the 386 squares which correspond to the twelve lunations of the year and asserts that this game has nothing to do with what we call chess.<sup>1086</sup> Brunet y Bellet hopes that future study of the *LJ* will bring answers to questions originating with what he feels are the imperfect or incomplete Hindu, Persian and Arabic manuscripts which he illogically believes are probably copies of European, especially Latin, works. He repeats his strident laments that the inaccessibility of the manuscript is a great pity for Spain and censures each of the previous governments for not having ordered a copy made for publication. In his notes, he rages with frustration at the library of the Escorial which was then allowing no copies to be made of anything while inventory was being taken of its contents. Brunet y Bellet fears that the loss of such a valuable jewel, by fire or other cause, would be a loss to the history of Spanish art, language, literature, clothing and customs.

Murray presents the *LJ*'s first astrological game in *A History of Chess* (349) as simply Los Escaques in Ch. XVI "Chess in Asia, Part I" on "Games from Muslim and

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<sup>1085</sup> A highly unusual name for this game as Uranus is not one of the planets named in this game and, since it was discovered in 1781, was unknown to Alfonso. This comparison is refuted by Murray, below.

<sup>1086</sup> Both Brunet y Bellet's arithmetic and his comprehension of the lunar year are faulty. Although the diagram appears to be correct his count of the number of squares in astrological checkers is not; there are 336 rather than 386. Perhaps he misread a three for an eight or the typesetter did. Also, there are thirteen lunations in a year instead of twelve. In Alfonso's time a lunar month was reckoned at approximately twenty-eight days ( $12 \times 28 = 336$ ). Alfonso also acknowledges the lack of space on the board for complete accuracy.

Indian Chess” as well as in *A History of Board-Games Other Than Chess* under the chapter heading “Race Games” even though it is not one (156). In both works he gives the same beautiful diagram of the board with the unfortunate error of having the zodiac signs organized in a clockwise fashion opposite to the original and the pieces always shown in a sign’s first square, as described above. In *A History of Chess* he notes that while “[i]t is singular that Alfonso gives it for name the Castilian form of the Latin *scacci*, which was elsewhere in Western Christendom given to the ordinary chess,... this game is possibly identical with the Astronomical chess named by al-Masudi and al-Amuli”<sup>1087</sup> but “[n]one of the astronomical games named in this chapter has any connection with that described in W. Fulke’s Ουρανομαχία, or *Astrologorum ludus*, which was published in London in 1571 and reissued in 1572 and 1575” (349-51). Murray presumes that the game continues as long as the players wish but also gives the following very useful chart and beautiful diagram whose order of zodiac signs, again, turns clockwise rather than counterclockwise as in the original.

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<sup>1087</sup> Per Calvo (1987: 149) these games are respectively called *Al-falakiya* and *Kawakib*. He also notes the *LJ*'s claim that this is a new game: “Et este iuego nueuo es fecho segundo los siete cielos en que estan las Siete planetas” (fol. 95r).

Table 10. Murray's Chart of Correspondences for *Escaques* (1913: 350).

No of ring.	Name.	Sign.	No. of points in each House.	Starting-Point.	Colour.
Innermost	Moon	☾	1	Cancer	White
2	Mercury	☿	2	Virgo	Parti-coloured
3	Venus	♀	3	Taurus	Violet
4	Sun	☉	4	Leo	Yellow
5	Mars	♂	5	Scorpio	Red
6	Jupiter	♃	6	Sagittarius	Green
7	Saturn	♄	7	Aquarius	Black

In his *History of Board-Games Other Than Chess*, Murray calls this the astronomical game, says it is now obsolete and cites three sources: al-Masudi, who called it *Al-falakiya*,<sup>1088</sup> the Persian al-Amuli, who called it *Kawakib* and the *LJ*. His presentation is attractive but again backwards, i.e. clockwise. Here Murray misunderstands both the betting amounts and the use of the seven-sided die, saying that for “a throw of 1 moving the Moon, 2 Mercury, &c” (1952: 156). He also footnotes a Nigerian race game also played on a board with seven concentric circles, called *ashere*, which he describes in another footnote on p. 14. In *ashere*, which appears to have no explicit astronomical connection, each player enters his single piece into the outer ring and advances it through the seven concentric rings until bearing it off.

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<sup>1088</sup> Cf. Murray (1913) 343.

The attractive diagrams in Murray<sup>1089</sup> and *Chess: A Celebration of 2000 Years*<sup>1090</sup> are identical in their errors of organizing the zodiac in a clockwise fashion and placing the piece in the first house of its respective zodiac. The latter appears with only the caption which reads: “The game known as Astronomy Chess is played on a round board. The firmament, the planets, and the signs of the zodiac were the main elements” (36). This board from Gizycki seems to be based upon Murray’s drawing because the planets are shown in the same identical locations. Instead of the heptagonal board edge framing the original board on fol. 96v, this version has a square frame with four zodiac symbols in the corners: clockwise from top left are Sagittarius, Cancer, Virgo and Scorpio. This arrangement of four larger figures surrounding a circular board recalls the miniature for the game *el mundo* on fol. 89v, Uccello’s clock discussed in this dissertation’s third chapter, and the Arabic horoscope noted above under the description of Mars.

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<sup>1089</sup> Murray’s clockwise zodiac shows all sign symbols in Aries (11 o’clock), Saturn in the first square of Aquarius, Jupiter in the first square of Sagittarius (7 o’clock), Mars in the first square of Scorpio (6 o’clock), the Sun in the first square of Leo (3 o’clock), Venus in the first square of Taurus (12 o’clock), Mercury in the first square of Virgo (4 o’clock) and the Moon in its square for Cancer (2 o’clock) (1913: 343 and diagram on 350).

<sup>1090</sup> Roswin Finkenzeller, Wilhelm Ziehr, and Emil M Bühler, *Chess: A Celebration of 2000 Years*. (Lucerne, Switzerland: Motovun, 1989) 36, picture credit (207): Jerzy Gizycki, *A History of Chess*. (London: Abbey, 1972). Gizycki presents the diagram with the following caption and game description: “The sky, planets, and signs of the Zodiac were the elements of seven-hand ‘astronomic chess’ played on a round board with concentric circles. The planetary system was that of Ptolemy; FROM THE CENTRE: Moon, Mercury, Venus, Sun, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn. In certain divisions of the Zodiac the opening arrangement of the various planet-pieces has been marked (drawing after a diagram in Murray’s *A History of Chess*)” and “‘Astronomical Chess’ was the most complicated offshoot of all. Seven players took part. The ‘men’ were the planets and the stars. The board represented Heaven and was divided into twelve zones marked by the signs of the zodiac. There were seven concentric circles, representing the orbits of the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, each the field of action of one of the players. The pieces moved according to mathematical calculations” (Gizycki 74). Thanks again due to Mark Waks for his generosity with his personal library.

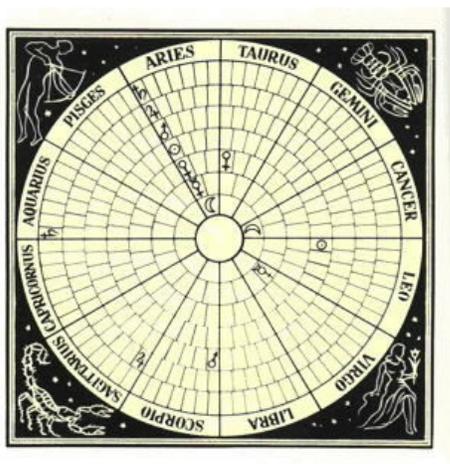


Fig. 169. Gizycki's Astronomy Chess, i.e. *Escaques*.

Calvo imitates both the accuracy of Murray's description of multiplying the wins and losses by twelve rather than counting them as so-many-out-of-twelve total (Calvo 1987: 149).

Toledano feels, as does García Morencos, that *escaques por astronomía* was probably invented in Alfonso's court because it shows "de manifiesto sus convicciones científicas y filosóficas y el verdadero del libro en su conjunto."<sup>1091</sup> While I agree with Toledano's analysis of the larger philosophical truth behind the book, I side with Murray (1913: 349-51 and 1952: 156-57) and Schädler, discussed below, who find Arabic antecedents to this particular astrological game. However, I do agree with Toledano when he asserts that the astrological backgammon game is likely of Alfonsine invention.

Parlett, like Murray, groups the game under race games in spite of the fact that he says that it "is not a race game but a stake-board game of movement, having no defined ending" (95) because of its circular movement. He feels the game's name *escaques* is misleading because he takes the word to mean strictly chess and does not note its usage in

<sup>1091</sup> Toledano 11. Pilar García Morencos, ed. Libro de ajedrez, dados y tablas de Alfonso X El Sabio (Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 1977) 11.

the seventh treatise as unique and separate from *acedrex* in the rest of the *LJ*. Parlett rather than giving a full explanation of the game's play, merely lists the planets and sketches the astrological aspects of play.

Canettieri describes the game well but at times he misunderstands that the distance between astrological signs is counted including the first sign, as are the squares in the "Libro del *acedrex*," so that he mistakenly states that quadrature is four signs away when it is three and that trine or trigon is three steps away when it is four. He gives conjunction, opposition and sextile correctly and notes Murray's errors. Canettieri offers no diagram for *escaques*.

Charles Knutson's presents two Arabic games in his column "The Compleat Gamester."<sup>1092</sup> The first, hyena, is not directly related to any game in the *LJ* and is therefore neither presented nor discussed in this dissertation though an explanation of this game may be found in Murray (1952: 143-44), Bell (I: 12-14) and Parlett (89-91). The second is *escaques por astronomia* which Knutson calls Zodiac or *al-falakiya*.<sup>1093</sup> Knutson, like Parlett, feels that the game's name is misleading for the same reason given above and says that it is actually called "*Al-falakiya* or *Kawakib* ('stars' in Iranian)."<sup>1094</sup>

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<sup>1092</sup> Charles Knutson, "Hyena and Zodiac: Arabic Games of Fun," *Renaissance* Vol. 7.3 (2002), sec. The Compleat Gamester: 18-19. This entire issue was dedicated to Islam's "Impact on Medieval Europe."

<sup>1093</sup> Knutson (18) appears to be citing from his own non-scholarly webpage called the *Alphonso* (sic) *X Book of Games: A Game Researcher's Resource*, specifically the page on fol. 96v, <<http://www.historicgames.com>> including the misspelled words "sextil" and "quadratur." He gives no bibliography for this article. The undocumented connection with the games called either *al-falakiya* or *kawakib* appears to derive from Calvo (1987: 149).

<sup>1094</sup> Knutson 18. The first word, *Al-falakiya*, seems to be related to the definition of *al-kawakib al-thabitah*, which describes the fixed stars in the first sphere beyond the planetary spheres or *al-falak al-awwal* in the Aristotelian-Ptolemaic cosmology ("Kaaf," *D[ictionary of] I[slamic] P[hilosophical] T[erms]*, Islamic Philosophy Online, 23 Feb. 2007, accessed 29 Mar. 2007, <<http://www.muslimphilosophy.com/pd/d-20.htm>>). These would be the constellations we know as the

He describes the play of *escaques* well and completely, except for his implication of royal inebriation in the game's lack of "a defined ending" where play "continues as long as the players are still sober enough to play and have money to lose" (18-19). Although the miniatures indicate that drinking and even drunkenness were a feature of most of the dice-based gambling games of the "Libro de los dados," caution must be used in suggesting that the same would be true for the noble and educated players of *escaques*.

Ulrich Schädler's article on several variants of astrological chess presents another variant by al-Amoli which is similar but not identical to the *LJ*'s *escaques*.<sup>1095</sup> Schädler says that there are three well-known descriptions of astronomical, sky or sphere chess which are those from the tenth-century Arab scholar al-Masudi, King Alfonso the Wise and the fourteenth-century Persian lexicographer, al-Amoli. The game described by al-Amoli differs substantially from that in the *LJ*. First, al-Amoli specifies that all pieces are to begin in the board's center and advance to a planetary circle (thus determining their planet) by dice rolls. The *LJ* uses the same rolls to assign the planets but does not specify their starting from the center. Second, the Arab source states that Saturn can begin in either Capricorn or Aquarius since both are ruled by that planet whereas the *LJ* only offers Saturn the option of beginning under the sign of Aquarius. Finally, the end goal for each planet in al-Amoli's version is to orbit the board completely, returning to that

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zodiac. The same website uses the term *al-kawakib* to denote any heavenly body, not limited to stars, as in *al-kawakib al-sufliyah* which means the three low planets or the planets below the sphere of the sun (i.e. Venus, Mercury and the Moon), *al-kawakib al-'ulwiyah* or the three high planets (Saturn, Jupiter and Mars), and *al-kawakib al-sayyarah* which means planets as opposed to stars which are *al-kawakib al-thabitah*.

<sup>1095</sup> Ulrich Schädler, "Sphären- 'Schach' zum sogennanten 'astronomischen schach' bei al-Masudi, al-Amoli und Alfons X," *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der arabisch-islamischen Wissenschaften* 13 (1999) 205-42.

zodiacal house where it began, and the game ends when the sun and Jupiter are together in one sign in opposition to Mars and Venus across the board. The *LJ* does not specify an end-point but rather it would seem to continue until players tire of the game or run out of money.

### 1.7.2 Astrological Backgammon<sup>1096</sup>

The tables variant in the seventh treatise of the book, like *escaques*, appears on fols. 97r - 97v and is also a betting game for seven players based upon the same seven-fold planetary symbolism. The heptagonal board is divided into seven equal triangles, each with seven spaces as indicated by the scalloped outer edges. Each player has seven pieces of the same seven planetary colors as in *escaques*: Saturn's pieces are black, Jupiter's green, Mars's red, the Sun's yellow, Venus's are violet, Mercury's are of multi-colored stripes and plaid, and the Moon's pieces are white. Neither the assignment of planets nor who plays first is specified but presumably both are decided by roll of the dice as in *escaques*. The players begin with all seven pieces on the first space of their respective triangular table: Saturn's black pieces are at the six-o'clock position and the rest continue around counterclockwise in the same order as above. The pieces then move counterclockwise around the board according to the rolls of three seven-sided dice. Single men or blots may be captured, but they are not returned to play just as men are not borne off the board. Each player has seven stakes which must be paid to whomever captures a piece. Play continues until there is only one player left on the board.

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<sup>1096</sup> I call this variant by the modern game name to avoid confusion with Alfonso's astronomical tables, the *tablas alfonsíes*.

The miniature on fol. 97v shows a trio of seven-sided dice reading from top to bottom one, five and seven, each on a rectangular and pentagonal face respectively. Since the type of seven-sided dice shown here and on fol. 85v for base-seven tables is the second type described on fol. 84r and the one which was apparently added later, it may be assumed that the more recently invented, flat-ended seven-sided dice were preferred to the original form with pointed ends.

White's drawing is very accurate, showing the heptagonal shape of the outside of the board, the central board decoration and the dice.

Murray describes the board and game incompletely, saying only that seven players play with seven men each on a seven-sided board with seven spaces per sector (1913: 351).

Calvo's description of play is correct, except for saying that, instead of captures, stakes are paid for possible captures and that men are borne off (1987: 149). He correctly notes that each player advances his pieces to the right, counterclockwise, through the seven tables of the board but incorrectly believes them to end up bearing off similar to the rules of *el mundo*, from the beginning table of the player to his left.

Parlett does not mention the tables variant of astrological games.

Canettieri describes astrological backgammon accurately, specifying that each player jumps over the barrier and first point of each successive table (where other players's pieces begin) but he offers no diagram of the game.

On the Internet, I have found much interest about the *LJ* in general and about its game content in particular.<sup>1097</sup> Mark Waks offers a fair if admittedly unscholarly online reconstruction of what he calls the *LJ*'s "relatively neglected" final game along with a problematic translation of the corresponding *LJ* fols. 95r - 97v by Sue Kronenfeld, based on the *HSMS* transcription.<sup>1098</sup> Using assumptions from other tables variants to fill the gaps in his understanding, Waks's description is accurate in terms of his interpretation of the miniature, the opening array and the game's play, where he carefully notes what is and is not textually explicit. Despite their lack of scholarship, Waks and Kronenfeld do a fair job of reconstructing this complex and unusual game.

Waks's fabric reconstruction of the board, approximately 18" per side with 2" wooden playing pieces, follows the *LJ*'s text more accurately than does the *LJ*'s own miniature, painting each player's sides of the board with his representative color(s) if not the more complex figure of the Roman deity for the corresponding planet.<sup>1099</sup>

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<sup>1097</sup> Kalamazoo's 2002 conference had a session on games in medieval Iberia. Out of that session grew the idea for the following year's session on "Material Court Culture Reflected in Fifteenth-Century Literature" (May 2003).

<sup>1098</sup> "Game Report: Astronomical Tables (aka 'Seven-Sided Backgammon')," *Medieval & Renaissance Games Home Page*, created 1 May 2002 and updated regarding the seven-sided dice 27 Mar. 2004, Mark Waks, accessed 24 Jan. 2005, <<http://jducoeur.org/game-hist/game-recon-astrotables.html>>. "The Astronomical Games," translated by Sue Kronenfeld (pseud. Roselyne l'Etrangere), *Medieval & Renaissance Games Home Page*, 2004, Mark Waks, accessed 24 Jan. 2006, <<http://jducoeur.org/game-hist/zodiac.html>>. Kronenfeld is a Ph.D. student at the University of Toronto's Centre for Medieval Studies specializing in twelfth-century education and mores.

<sup>1099</sup> Waks intentionally altered the board slightly by painting the sides of the board to correspond to each player's pieces in order "to make it easier for the players to remember what color they are playing" for two reasons. Firstly, although the image in the manuscript does not show this coloring it is indicated in the text and secondly, because he "didn't bother" to use the *LJ*'s device for this same purpose, the figure of the planet to which each color corresponds painted on that player's side of the board. He does however get the colors in the correct order around the board and creatively solves the multi-colored challenge for Mercury with a plaid pattern. "Et sobre cada un lado a de seer; figurada la planeta a que perteneçe; aquel lado pintada & colorada daquela color quel conuiene. Saturno de negro. Jupiter de uerde. Mars de uermeio. El Sol de Amariello. Venus de uiolet. Mercurio de muchas colores diuersas. La luna blanca" (fol. 97r).



Fig. 170. Astrological Backgammon (description on fol. 97r and diagram on fol. 97v): Wak's reconstruction, at left and White's sketch right.<sup>1100</sup>

The reconstruction of the seven-sided dice posed a more interesting problem for Waks. His assumption that these should be in the form of a “pentagonal prism” concurs with the second description of such dice in the *LJ*'s fourth treatise, as does his distribution of the points: the five rectangular faces forming the sides of the cylinder are numbered 1 through 5 and the two pentagonal end faces are numbered 6 and 7.<sup>1101</sup> Having found no such dice on the market, Waks molded them from various clay materials but was bothered by the fact that placing the pips on the sides causes the die to

<sup>1100</sup> With special thanks to independent scholar Mark Waks, aka Justin du Coeur <<http://www.waks.org/game-hist/>>.

<sup>1101</sup> “Et otrossi hay otros dados destas mismas suertes que desuso auemos dicho; que ha en ellos tantos puntos cuemo en esos. & este es el departimiento que ha en estos delos otros. Ha en ellos dos llanas que si caen en la llana desuso siete puntos; ha *en* la deyuso seys puntos. Et estas llanas son de cinco cantos. & si caen estos dados delas otras cinco suertes *que* fincan non pueden uenir sino agudo como espinazo en cima. Et en estas cinco suertes es el departimiento el mismo delos otros dados que desuso dixiemos” (fol. 84r).

fall showing two faces.<sup>1102</sup> Unfamiliar with the *LJ*'s reference to such dice as seven-sided cylinders, he considered them to be a failure and made a second reconstruction.<sup>1103</sup>



Fig. 171. Waks' Seven-Sided Dice (description on fol. 84r and shown on fols. 84v, 85v and 97v): his first (left) and second (right) attempts at recreating the *LJ*'s seven-sided dice.

Waks's second attempt at seven-sided dice moved the pips from the middle of the faces to span across their edges, resulting in an oblong shape more in keeping with his interpretation of the miniature. He also includes an anachronistic dice box not specified in the manuscript

Waks concludes that the game “turns out to be a fast, slightly brutal version of tables” where “[b]earing off isn't the point ... rather, the idea is to capture opposing men without being captured yourself.” To begin, he suggests that players choose who goes first or roll for it; however, based on the instructions for the previous astrological game it may be more likely that players roll to determine who plays which color (7 = Saturn, 6 = Jupiter, 5 = Mars, 4 = Sun, 3 = Venus, 2 = Mercury, 1 = Moon) and then also roll to

<sup>1102</sup> Chessex now offers such dice for sale which strongly resemble Waks reconstruction, spreading the numbers of the spines of the rectangular sides. See the note on these dice in section 1.4.4 Seven-Sided Decimal Chess Dice.

<sup>1103</sup> “E por que la figura destes dados es non par; por fuerça a de caer desuso agudo & caen en el dado dos suertes. E la suerte que cae contra aquel que los lança; es la suya. E si cayeren los dados aporluengas de guisa que se non puedan departir las suertes. qual es la suerte daquel qui los lança; ha los de lançar ffata que se pueda bien departir” (fol. 84r).

determine who plays first, highest roll winning the battle.<sup>1104</sup> He is confused by the text's explanation of how not to count either the space you begin on nor the beginning space of the player to your right, unless you can make a capture, but he gets it mostly right concluding that he thinks "that this is to speed the game up, by removing a bunch of spaces that can't be landed upon from consideration."<sup>1105</sup> All in all, a good guess considering Alfonso's expressed distaste for games that take too long to play. Another good guess on his part includes the absence of bearing off because, as Waks puts it, "[n]ot many tablemen survive long enough to bear off, anyway." Waks's presupposition "that the first player is at a very slight disadvantage (since the next player may be able to blot him immediately)" did not bear out in his play testing.

In her translator's note, Kronenfeld expresses her lack of understanding of the terms *escaques* and *tablas*. She believes *escaques* to mean only squares on a chess board and conflates *tabla* and *tablero*. Waks editorially corrects her on *tabla* for tableman and *tablero* for board, but cannot help her solve the riddle of *escaques*. She also offers two beautiful and faithful details in her reproduction of the large initials and *calderones*, both in blue and red as in the original. However, her inexplicable use of capitals, lacunae concerning key vocabulary and sometimes awkward phrasing, result in a difficult text which is, regardless of its shortcomings, strong evidence of the deep interest in the *LJ*'s

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<sup>1104</sup> "Este juego se deue iogar desta manera. que cadauno delos iogadores que lançen su suerte con un dado en que ha siete sobreffazes & ha en el puntos; duno fasta siete. por que sepa cadauno con qual planeta ha de iogar. Et el que ouiere por suerte los siete que son los mas puntos; aura Saturno. Et el que ouiere los seys; aura Jupiter. Et el que ouiere los çinco; aura mars. Et el que ouiere los quatro; aura el Sol. Et el que ouiere los tres puntos; aura Venus. Et el que ouiere los dos; aura mercurio. Et el que ouiere ell uno. haura la luna. Et otrosi lançan batalla. & el que la uenciere aura la mano" (fol. 96r). See the note on the opening roll to determine the first player under the translation of the dice game *par con as*.

<sup>1105</sup> "Et non cuenta y la casa en que estan entabladas ni la otra casa que esta a su mano diestra; que es entablamiento delas otras siete tablas. sino si fincasse y una tabla sennera que la puede tomar la casa uazia que puede y fincar; segunt le dixiere la Astronomia" (fol. 97r).

content and its relative inaccessibility all of which tend to justify the need for my translation and study as a whole.

### 1.7.3 English Translation of “The Book of Astrological Games”:

[fol. 95r] **This is the board of the *escaques* (check[er]s) that are played by astrology**

Having shown all the three kinds of games that are explained in the treatises before this one, in the play of chess as well as of dice and of tables and explained all the differences that there are in them and of how they can be played according to the most beautiful ways men found there, for understanding and use,

it is fitting now that another nature of game be shown that is very noble, strange, beautiful, and of great understanding, for learned men and primarily for those who know the art of astrology.

And this new game is fashioned after the seven heavens in which the seven planets are. And the eighth, in which are the twelve signs<sup>1106</sup> and the other fixed stars. And showing of each one how they move their movements and how they regard each other emitting rays to one another, some of aspects of love, the others with ill will. And this according to the wise men they divided the heavens into twelve sectors and they show for each of them according to the movements of the planets which is their aspect, of love or of hate.

#### **On Sextiles**

And these aspects are seven, two which they call sextile, which are favorable and which are counted from that same sign to the third,<sup>1107</sup> so if they were to count from Aries to Gemini which is the third ahead of it or from Aquarius which is the third behind.

#### **On Trines**

And also the trines are two, such as from Aries to Leo, which is ahead, or from it (Aries) to Sagittarius, which is behind.

#### **On Quadratures and on opposition**

Also there are two quadratures that are unfavorable as from Aries to Cancer or from it (Aries) to Capricorn. And there is opposition that is made from this same sign to the other which is opposite it as with from Aries to Libra or from Cancer to Capricorn.

#### **On corporal conjunction**

And beyond that there is corporal conjunction, which is the joining of two planets in one sign. And sometimes it is favorable and sometimes unfavorable. And this is stronger than any other aspect,

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<sup>1106</sup> That is, of the zodiac.

<sup>1107</sup> The manner of counting here is the same used in the “Libro del acedrex” where the beginning sign is counted as the first of the trio.

favorable or unfavorable. And after this which here and now we tell is this game fashioned.

**On the shape of the board and on how it is to be made**

This board is to be of seven sides around the outside because seven players are to play there, each one with his planet. And they are each to have twelve stakes of whatever wager they might agree upon.

And it has in it eight concentric circles, after the eight heavens. And the eighth circle is to be flat and the figures of the twelve signs put in it as they should be, which are these: Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricorn, Aquarius, Pisces. And it is divided into twelve section af- [fol. 95v] ter these twelve signs. And a line comes out from of the beginning of each sign and it cuts through the other seven circles, and continues until the circle of the element of fire. And the other seven circles are after the seven heavens, in which the seven planets are and they are slightly indented and in each one of them a square piece<sup>1108</sup> which moves around.

And on these pieces there are places where they put the figures of the seven planets when they want to play and each one of these pieces is to be of the color of the planet that they are to put on it.

And also there are to be four round circles that are after the four elements, which are inside these eight. The first is red because it is for the element of fire. The second is purple for the element of air. The third is white, for the element of water. The fourth is round in the manner of a ball and of the color brown that is for the element of earth.

**On the division of the seven circles and how many spaces there are in them**

These aforementioned seven circles, the first is divided into eighty-four spaces, the second is divided into seventy-two spaces, the third is divided into sixty spaces, the fourth is divided into forty-eight spaces, the fifth is divided into thirty-six spaces, the sixth is divided into twenty-four spaces, the seventh is divided into twelve spaces. And even though the seven heavens are divided into more parts and they could not here fit onto this board so that they were beautiful, we took from these divisions according to that the briefest count which suits this game.

**On the figures that the ancient wise men gave the seven planets & on what colors they are.**

**On the figure of Saturn** Saturn is first because he is the highest of all and they made him in the figure of an old and thin man who walks bent over and completely naked expect for underwear and wrapped in a black cloak over his head and he is sad of face and he has his hand to his cheek like a troubled man.<sup>1109</sup>

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<sup>1108</sup> Notably the word here for piece is *tabla* as in the “Libro de las tablas” and not *trebeio*, *iuego* or *pieza* as in any of the *LJ*’s chess variants.

<sup>1109</sup> This posture is very similar to that given to the queen pieces in the Isle of Lewis chessmen.

**On the figure of Jupiter.** Jupiter, which is near him, looks like a middle-aged man and of happy face and dressed in green clothes and he has on his head an ultramarine blue hood and holds a book before him.

**On the figure of Mars.** Mars looks like a young man and dressed in the armor of ancient Greece, all red, and he holds in his right hand a sword drawn from its scabbard and in the other the head of a man, hanging by its hair, freshly beheaded.<sup>1110</sup>

**On the figure of the Sun.** The Sun looks like a young king with a crown of gold on his head and he wears clothes of shining gold and he holds in his left hand a round apple<sup>1111</sup> and in the other a bough with flowers like the Emperors when they crown them.

**On the figure of Venus.** Venus has the figure of a very beautiful young woman and her hair very blond, hanging down her back and she has on her head a garland of roses and wears purple clothes and holds in her right hand a comb and in the other a mirror in which is regards herself.

**On the figure of Mercury.** Mercury looks like a young man dressed in clothes of [fol. 96r] many colors and he is writing in a book.

**On the figure of the Moon.** The Moon looks like a young woman, dressed in white clothes and she holds with both hands over her head a figure of the moon.

**On how these seven planets should be placed on the board when they want to begin to play with them**

In the first circle that is closest to the circle of the zodiac signs is to be the planet that they call Saturn. In the second is to be the planet that they call Jupiter. In the third is to be the planet that they call Mars. In the fourth is to be the planet that they call the Sun. In the fifth is to be the planet that they call Venus. In the sixth is to be the planet that they call Mercury. In the seventh is to be the planet that they call the Moon.

And in this way they are to be placed in their spaces. And because most of them each have two houses indicated in their signs, we place it in that one which is more powerful such as Saturn in Aquarius, and Jupiter in Sagittarius, and Mars in Scorpio, and the Sun in Leo, and Venus in Taurus, and Mercury in Virgo, and the Moon in Cancer.

**On how this game of checkers is to be played with one die and not with more**

This game should be played in this manner: that each one of the players that they roll their luck with one die on which there are seven surfaces, and it has on it pips from one to seven, so that each one knows with which planet he is to play.

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<sup>1110</sup> See Fig. 167 Mars in Scorpio in an early fifteenth-century Arabic horoscope above.

<sup>1111</sup> This apple represents the imperial orb, representing the ruler's power over the earth, and is a literal translation of the German term for that orb. See discussion of the orb as *Reichsapfel* in this dissertation's second chapter.

And he who should have as his roll seven which is the highest number of pips, will have Saturn. And he who should have six, will have Jupiter. And he who should have five, will have Mars. And he who should have four, will have the Sun. And he who should have three pips, will have Venus. And he who should have two, will have Mercury. And he who should have the one, will have the Moon.

And also they roll battle<sup>1112</sup> and he who should win it will play first. And he rolls the die and as many pips as it shows him, he is to move his planet that many spaces. And if he does not move enough spaces in order to leave the sign that he is in, he neither wins nor loses, but if he enters into another sign he loses or wins according to the aspect he has with the other planets. And if this planet should enter into the sextile of the other, he wins two of [the original] twelve from it. And if he should enter into its trine, he wins three of twelve. And if he should enter into its quadrature, he loses three of twelve. And if he should enter into its opposition, he loses six of twelve. And if he enters into a conjunction, he is to pay twelve. And in this way this game is to be played.

And this is the diagram of the board and of the seven planets of how they are placed on it. [fol. 96v]

[fol. 97r] **This is the board for tables, after the nature of the checkers, which is played by astrology.**

The board for these tables is to be of seven sides, just like the board for the checkers, inside as well as out. And on the part of the side that faces in it is to have seven points. And this should be on each one of the other sides. And between one side and the other it is to have a division that divides both sides. And from that divider there is to be a long line that continues until the middle of the center of the board.

And each ones of the pieces of these sides, are to be of the color of the planets. And the pieces are to be as many as the spaces. And over each side there is to be represented the planet to which it belongs, that side painted and colored of that color which suits to it: Saturn of black, Jupiter of green, Mars of red, the Sun of yellow, Venus of purple, Mercury of many different colors, the Moon white. And because the pieces belong to that planet, they are to be of its color.

And the arrangement is to be in this way: that all seven pieces be placed on the first point of the group of seven, on the left-hand side, and they are always to play to the right, according to the numbers that the seven-sided dice, as we said above, should show. And the point where they are arranged there does not count and nor the other point which is to their right because it is the array point for the other seven pieces, unless if

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<sup>1112</sup> See the note on the opening roll to determine the first player under the translation of the dice game *par con as*.

there remains one lone piece that it can take, or an empty point that he can remain there, according to what astrology<sup>1113</sup> tells him.

And play is in this way: that each one of the players have seven stakes of whatever amount they might agree upon of *maravedí* or of whatever coin they should wish. And if one should capture the piece of another, he is not to return it and he should take from him one stake for it and for as many as he should capture. And thus they all go around until the whole game remains to one of those that play it, because that one who remains the winner.

And this is the diagram of the board and of the pieces.

This book was begun and finished in the city of Seville by order of the very noble King Alfonso, son of the very noble King Fernando and of the Queen Beatriz, lord of Castile, and of León, of Toledo, of Galicia, of Seville, of Cordova, of Murcia, of Jaen, of Badajoz and of the Algarve in the thirty-second year that the aforementioned King reigned, in 1321.<sup>1114</sup> [fol. 97v] (diagram) [fols. 98r and 98v] (blank)

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<sup>1113</sup> Manuscript: Astronomia; HSMS: “??.” This word is now within the seam repairing a tear to the folio. In the original it is discernible between the stitches; in the facsimile it cannot be read. Steiger as well as Crombach and Canettieri who follow him all give a mostly logical but incorrect reading of “suerte.”

<sup>1114</sup> Spanish Era 1321=1283 Common Era.

## CHAPTER II. ARTISTIC DIMENSIONS DIMENSIONS OF ALFONSO X'S

### *BOOK OF GAMES*

In “El arte de las *Cantigas de Santa María*, vanguardia de su tiempo” José Guerrero Lovillo demonstrates the parallel provenance and destiny of the *CSM* and the *LJ*, due to the similarly high-quality art of their illuminations.<sup>1</sup> Alfonso’s will also ties the two works together, asking that after his death his books be kept near his body in the Cathedral of Seville where they would remain until another king and lover of avant-garde art, Felipe II, became enchanted by them and had them sent to the library of the Escorial in 1591.

Many studies on Alfonso X el Sabio’s *Cantigas*, such as those by Annette Grant Cash, John E. Keller and Richard P. Kinkade, have shown the wealth of cultural information contained in its miniatures.<sup>2</sup> In a similar way, this dissertation will demonstrate that his *LJ* is also a mirror of thirteenth-century Spain and Alfonso’s court whose study reveals important cultural and personal details. While almost all the 151 illuminations share the same game-board-centered format, the variation of other elements such as the players, their clothing and postures, architectural setting, furniture and personal belongings is both imaginative in variety and rich in realism. Players include royalty, nobles and commoners; men, women and children as well as Christians, Jews, Muslims, Indians and even Asians, possibly Mongols. This chapter will offer the reader a

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<sup>1</sup> José Guerrero Lovillo, “El arte de las *Cantigas de Santa María*, vanguardia de su tiempo,” *Studies on the Cantigas de Santa Maria: Art, Music, and Poetry*, eds. Israel J. Katz, John E. Keller, Samuel G. Armistead, and Joseph T. Snow (Madison, WI: HSMS, 1987) 81-94.

<sup>2</sup> John E. Keller and Richard P. Kinkade, *Iconography in Spanish Medieval Literature* (Lexington, Kentucky: UP Kentucky, 1994) and John E. Keller and Annette Grant Cash, *Daily Life Depicted in the Cantigas de Santa María* (Lexington, KY: UP Kentucky, 1998).

glimpse into the distant mirror of medieval Spanish society by examining these various players and each of the aforementioned elements as appropriate in the context of the games that they play. It cannot be overemphasized that the text and the images of the *LJ* must be considered as an integral whole in order to have a complete understanding of this work.

Our examination of the players in the *LJ* will reveal that the work contains not only examples of both genders,<sup>3</sup> all ages, a great variety of racial types and nationalities but, like the *CSM*, also comprises a gallery of individual portraits of the king himself and those who surrounded him: “Unexpected and surprising numbers of individuals or personages are mentioned in T.I.1. and F. ... Many well-known people play roles, among these Alfonso, his family, retinue, and friends.”<sup>4</sup> Other portraits seen in the *LJ* include Queen Violante and her children with Alfonso, as well as Alfonso’s *barragana* or concubine Mayor Guillén de Guzmán and their children, most especially the eldest and favorite, Beatriz Alfonso.<sup>5</sup> Although most art historians have held that individual portraiture based upon physical likeness did not exist before the fourteenth century, a close examination of this work will reveal that Alfonso X el Sabio’s *LJ* may perhaps indeed contain the earliest examples of physical likeness in medieval portraiture.

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<sup>3</sup> A quantitative study of the 463 people in the miniatures, found 391 or a little less than 85% are male and 72 or a little more than 15% are female. The gender of the people in cases of doubt has been counted as male. Fol. 38v shows two turbaned individuals whose gender is some source of debate which I believe are female. The genders of some of the younger children are also hard to distinguish.

<sup>4</sup> John E. Keller and Annette Grant Cash, *Daily Life Depicted in the Cantigas de Santa Maria*, Studies in Romance Languages: 44, ed. John E. Keller. (Lexington, KY: UP of Kentucky, 1998) 38.

<sup>5</sup> Alfonso had three *barraganas* of whom we have documented evidence, but only one had a daughter: Mayor Guillén de Guzmán, who bore Beatriz; María de León, Alfonso’s aunt and the daughter of Alfonso IX de León; and María d’Aulada, with whom Alfonso X had a son, Alfonso el Niño who died in 1281.

Other illuminations, in their presentation of the games, reveal a singular purpose of the book itself, to serve as a mirror or dial of princes. While it presents actual portraits of the royal offspring, it also shows numerous cases of adults teaching the next generation to play these games. Still other illuminations, by their players or contents, reveal figures from history and chess legend, thereby serving the dual purpose of identifying the people in the portraits as well as revealing the works that are most likely Alfonso's sources for many of his game solutions.

The purpose of identifying whether these individuals shown playing chess in the illuminations of the *LJ* are in fact portrait likenesses is to address the larger question of whether or not physical likeness was used in royal portraiture in the thirteenth century. Art historians hold that iconographic identifiers such as crowns and seating position rather than physical and facial likeness were important in twelfth century royal portraiture.<sup>6</sup> Kings are presented in one manner and one manner only: crowned and enthroned. Similarly, princes, judges, and other individuals are portrayed in other fixed manners pertinent to and indicating their station. Since these features distinguish their role as well as their identity, their facial features were considered unimportant. In the *Siete Partidas*, Alfonso himself discussed the importance of being able to identify the

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<sup>6</sup> Manuel Lucas Álvarez, ed., *La documentación del Tumbo A de la Catedral de Santiago de Compostela: Estudio y edición*, vol. 64, Fuentes y estudios de historia leonesa. León: n.p., 1997.

monarch by his rich clothing in order that he might be paid the proper respect.<sup>7</sup> He also describes the Sun in Astrological checkers iconographically as a

Rey mançebo que tiene corona doro en la cabeça. & uiste pannos doro reluzientes. & tiene en la mano siniestra una maçana redonda. & en la otra un Ramo con flores assi como los Emperadores quando los coronan. (fol. 95v)

## 2.1 Likeness in Fourteenth-Century Portraiture

Unlike their twelfth-century counterparts, fourteenth-century artists did use physical and facial likeness in the portraits of royals. However, this leaves the status of likeness in royal portraiture in the thirteenth century up for debate. Paul Binski's study<sup>8</sup> finds that the Dominican Nicolas Trivet described King Henry III of England as having the "distinct physical idiosyncrasy" of a "faulty eyelid," properly called ptosis palpebralis.<sup>9</sup> Binski compares Trivet's description of King Henry's physical appearance with the appearance of his bronze tomb effigy, executed some twenty years after his death, which shows no ocular irregularity.<sup>10</sup> Thus he argues that the gisant or recumbent

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<sup>7</sup> "Ley quinta. que el rey se deue vestir muy apuesta mente. Uestiduras fazen mucho conosçer a los onbres por nobles: o por viles & los sabios antigos. estableçieron quelos reyes vestiesen pannos de seda con oro & con piedras preciosas por quelos onbres los puedan conosçer luego quelos vieses amenos de preguntar por ellos. E otrosi los frenos & las sillas enque caualgan de oro & de plata & con piedras preciosas. E avn en las grandes fiestas quando fazian sus cortes trayesen coronas de oro con piedras muy nobles & rica mente obradas: & esto por dos razones. La vna por la significança de la claridad de nuestro sennor dios cuyo logar tiene en tierra. La otra porque los onbres conosçiesen assi como de suso diximos para venir a ellos para seruir los & onrrar los & a pedir les merçed quando les fuesse menester" (John O'Neill, ed., "*Siete Partidas de Alfonso X* [Seville, Oct. 1491] New York: Hispanic Society. Transcribed by Ivy A. Corfis [text.spo]," *The Electronic Texts and Concordances Madison Corpus of Early Spanish MSS and Printings*, CD-ROM, [Madison, WI: HSMS, 1999] fol. 81r).

<sup>8</sup> Paul Binski, "The Early Portrait: Verbal or Pictorial?," *Europaische Kunst um 1300 6 XV Internationaler Kongress fur Kunstgeschichte* (CIHA [Comité International d'Histoire d'Art]: Wien, 4-10 Sept. 1983), ed. Gerhard Schmidt (Wien: Bohlau, 1986) 211-15.

<sup>9</sup> This deformation of Henry's eye will be especially important in the identification of Alfonso, who suffered from another facial deformity, over Henry's son Edward of England, who inherited his father's faulty eyelid, on the *LJ*'s fol. 54v.

<sup>10</sup> Incidentally, however, it is not surprising that a tomb portrait or effigy would be an idealized version of the person's appearance for it is in a way a pictorial eulogy of that person then or now. Often the

figure is idealized because it does not include this irregularity. Conversely, then, a portrait which did include a similar idiosyncrasy as is found in the *LJ*'s fol. 1r with Alfonso's left eye argues for likeness in portraiture.

Binski goes on to describe a case in which a physical likeness in portrait was requested by Henry III's son and Alfonso's brother-in-law, King Edward I of England, of his prospective bride Blanche as recorded in the rhymed chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft. The passage describes the journey of the kings's messengers and their portrayal of her "en cors, en cacoun, en jambe, en mayn, en pé" (Binski 212). Although Binski admits the ambiguity of whether or not the term "refiguré" in the chronicle means a pictorial or verbal account of her appearance, he tends to feel that it is the former owing to later instances of the same sort of kingly request whose paintings we still have.<sup>11</sup> Henry VI asked that the three daughters of John IV, Count of Armagnac be painted "in their Kerttelles simple, and their visages, lyk as ye see their stature and their beaulte and colour of skynne and their countenaunces, with almaner of features" (Binski 213). Binski notes that both Edward I and Henry VI request likenesses that portray the women "completely, to the extent that something could be told about those parts of her anatomy usually politely veiled by female dress" (213). These instances of diplomatic portraiture echo Alfonso's portrayal of two of the most important women in his life and the mothers of his children: Mayor Guillén de Guzmán and Violante. Both are shown in clothing that

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person or their family would want them to be remembered at their best and not suffering the effects of illness or old age. Dr. Richard P. Kinkade is at present studying sculptures of Alfonso and his family made to the life, rather than after their death. These identified sculptures may help in future investigations to identify even more of Alfonso's family and retinue in the future.

<sup>11</sup> Hans Holbein's flattering, and therefore less than the expected realistic, 1539 portrayal of the two sisters of Duke of Cleves led to Anne's being chosen as Henry VII's fourth wife. Henry's disappointment in Anne's actual appearance is popularly recounted in his calling her the Flanders mare.

reveals their breasts, legs, hands and feet to advantage as Binski has shown in King Edward's request of a portrait of his prospective bride, Blanche.

Joan Holladay studies late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century royal gisants or tomb sculpture.<sup>12</sup> She finds that Ottokar's rhymed chronicle of about 1310 recounts how the tomb statue for Rudolf of Hapsburg (d. 1291), incidentally one of Alfonso's competitors for the Imperial title, was to be executed "*similiter sibi*" to the extent "that the sculptor was continually updating his work, adding wrinkles as Rudolf aged, and travelling from Speyer to Alsace to observe the effects of sickness and time so that these too could be recorded on the sculptural image" (Holladay, "Tomb Sculpture" 217). Holladay also shows that Bishop Heinrich of Regensburg (d. 1296) wanted his tomb sculpture to have the same "ideal of physical resemblance" ("Tomb Sculpture" 217) and that Jean de Jandun's description of 1320's Paris includes praise of the kings's statues which "*sunt ibidem adeo perfecte representationis proprietate formata, ut primitus inspiciens ipsa fere judicet quasi viva*" ("Tomb Sculpture" 217).

### 2.1.1 Likeness in Medieval Tomb Portaiture

Georgia Sommers Wright's article makes "the case the reinvented likeness, dependent upon the patron, does not develop in a predictable fashion but appears and disappears" (117) allowing for the possibility that some cases might be in evidence during Alfonso's time.<sup>13</sup> Following Harald Keller, her argument is that whether or not physical likeness arises in portraiture is largely dependent upon the patron and the milieu,

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<sup>12</sup> Joan A. Holladay, "Portrait Elements in Tomb Sculpture: Identification and Iconography," *Europäische Kunst um 1300 6 XV Internationaler Kongress für Kunstgeschichte* (CIHA), ed. Gerhard Schmidt (Wien [Vienna]: Bohlau, 1983) 211-15. Her book on the *Willehalm* codex is discussed separately.

<sup>13</sup> Georgia Sommers Wright, "The Reinvention of the Portrait Likeness in the Fourteenth Century," *Gesta* XXXIX/2 (2000) 117-34.

created by this patron in which the artist worked. In general, she explains that “medieval artists were not trained to work from nature” (117). However Kinkade’s 1999 study of *Cantiga 29* shows that indeed in Alfonso’s case his school of illuminators were requested and trained to paint the likenesses of animals from life.<sup>14</sup> By extension, then, it seems possible if not likely that Alfonso’s miniaturists painted likenesses of people as well as animals in the *LJ* as well as the *CSM*. In her examination of the works for the following four patrons: Boniface VIII, Rudolf IV of Austria, Emperor Karl IV and Charles V of France, Wright sets the following three criteria for the identification of early, i.e. fourteenth-century likeness: “they must be securely identified, they must have been produced during the lifetime of the patron, and there must be two or more that resemble one another” (117).

While Wright deals with fourteenth-century tomb effigy sculpture as portraiture, her arguments may also be extend backward in time to Alfonso’s case in the thirteenth-century. One link in the plastic arts is the sepulchre of Alfonso’s brother Felipe (d. 1274)

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<sup>14</sup> Richard P. Kinkade, “Myth and Reality in the Miracle of *Cantiga 29*,” *La corónica* 28.1 (1999).

at Villalcázar de Sirga,<sup>15</sup> Palencia, on the Camino de Santiago, which also displays realism in its portrait of Felipe with a falcon and in the lions which support the tomb.<sup>16</sup>

Wright's introduction states, "The physiognomic likeness gradually disappeared during the late antique period. Between the seventh and the late thirteen centuries, portraits of ecclesiastic patrons on church walls and of donors on their tombs were identified by costume, inscription, and later a coat of arms" (117). As stated above, Alfonso shows his awareness of this iconographic manner of representation in his laws

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<sup>15</sup> Ministerio de Cultura, Secretaria General Técnica. *Alfonso X el Sabio* (Madrid: Gráficas Marte, S.A., 1984) contains 80 color slides, an accompanying cassette tape to slides and a booklet with brief articles on Alfonso's epoch, art, science and music. Slide 60 shows the "Sepulcro del infante don Felipe." According to the tape's description: "Villalcázar de Sirga. Otra directriz importante íntimamente ligado al espíritu nacional, y de la que surgirán las mejores representaciones de la plástica medieval es el realismo. Realismo que brota de las miniaturas de las Cantigas y del Libro de los jueces o con informan los relieves del sepulcro del infante don Felipe en Villalcázar de Sirga. En los laterales de sepulcro se representan escenas funerarias delimitadas por arcos trilobulados que permiten conocer los entierros principescos de la edad media. Estos ejemplos no constituyen una sucesión dentro del arte castellano sino que señalan una corriente fundamental en el arte de la segunda mitad del siglo XIII." According to the accompanying booklet: "Otra directriz importante, íntimamente ligado al espíritu castellano, y de la que surgirán las mejores representaciones de la plástica medieval es el realismo; realismo que brota de las miniaturas del *Libro de los juegos* o de las *Cantigas* y que se instala, con un sentido dramático, en los relieves de algunos sepulcros del último tercio del siglo XIII. El más antiguo de ellos, fechado en 1274, es el del infante Don Felipe, de Villalcázar de Sirga, y parece ser el prototipo de una serie localizable en varias poblaciones del norte de Castilla como Aguilar de Campoo, Matallana, Palazuelos, etc. El centro de este taller, el más representativo de la escultura funeraria de este período, se sitúa tradicionalmente en Carrión de los Condes, y por el nombre de los escultores que han llegado hasta nosotros—Antón Pérez Carrión, Ruiz Martínez de Bureba ... - podemos autentificar su carácter netamente castellano. Aunque estilísticamente proceden de los talleres franceses de Burgos, y guardan alguna estrecha relación con los relieves del sepulcro de Doña Berenguela en las Huelgas Reales, es otro el espíritu con que se conciben las representaciones realistas de las escenas que los rodean. Con variaciones de poca importancia, los motivos, bajo arquerías, se organizan de acuerdo a un esquema narrativo de fácil lectura. A la cabecera, deudos y familiares depositan al difunto en el ataúd, mientras los ángeles elevan su alma, en forma de niño, a los cielos. De frente, se introduce el ataúd en el sepulcro con la ayuda de un obrero, quedando a un lado el obispo, que lo bendice, acompañado de sus acólitos, y al otro la familia mostrando su dolor junto a un grupo de gesticulantes plañideras, que gritan y se mesan los cabellos. Complete esta visión ritual de la muerte un poética escena a los pies, en la que los pajes conducen al caballo de su señor, que le acompaña a su última morada" (21). I thank Robert Fiore for the gift of this item.

<sup>16</sup> "Villalcázar de Sirga," *Pueblos de Palencia*, Diputación de Palencia, accessed 3 Aug. 2005, <[http://canales.nortecastilla.es/varios/pueblos\\_palencia/villalcazardesirga.htm](http://canales.nortecastilla.es/varios/pueblos_palencia/villalcazardesirga.htm)> says work done by "Pedro el Pintor en los talleres de Carrión".

and in some of his representations of himself and other types of people throughout the *CSM* and the *LJ*.

According to Wright, “[t]he reinvention of the portrait likeness after this long hiatus was contingent upon the will of patrons rather than upon the skill of artists.” She continues to explain that, “[a] likeness demanded that an artist transcribe from nature the features of an individual, hardly a normal task in the late medieval period” (117). The primary difference between her study of sculpture and the present one on the painting of manuscript illuminations is explained in her next sentence: “While the painted profile portrait might offer no great technical hurdle, the carved likeness challenged the sculptor to perform an enormously difficult task” (Wright 117). She cautions that “[w]e live in a culture so saturated with likenesses that we tend to find them in earlier cultures where none were intended” (Wright 117). Therefore, the questions that need to be asked in order to define portraiture regarding the *LJ* are: Is its patron interested in likenesses reproduced from nature? Are the images believed to be likenesses convincingly identifiable? Were they produced in the lifetime of the patron? And finally, do we have at least two such likenesses that resemble one another? The answer to all four questions is a resounding yes but that answer immediately begs the question of why, one which can be partially answered in the context of medieval Scholasticism.

### **2.1.2 The Influence of Scholasticism on Realism in Portraiture**

“Scholastic Philosophy and the Art of the *Cantigas de Santa María*” by Richard P. Kinkade quotes Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo’s description of the *CSM* as “una especie de Biblia estética del siglo XIII, en que todos los elementos del arte medieval

aparecen enciclopédicamente condensados” (95), owing to what John E. Keller calls its threefold impact: visual, verbal and musical.<sup>17</sup> Kinkade identifies Scholastic thought as the unifying factor between the *CSM* and the other three monumental creations of the thirteenth century, Dante’s *Divina Commedia*, Thomas Aquinas’s *Summa Theologiae* and Gothic architecture in general. The *LJ*, like the *CSM*, has a three-fold impact in terms of its games, its art and its symbolism.

Kinkade explains that “Scholasticism was born out of the need to reconcile pagan scientific knowledge with Christian faith” because “a reasonable individual” such as Alfonso certainly was, could not afford to ignore the scientific evidence of Aristotle and the “increasingly well-defined” observable or visible world with the invisible, faith-based world of religion (1987: 96). Logical subordination, the key element in both Aristotle’s view of the natural world and Scholastic thought, permitted by means of inductive effect-to-cause reasoning the argument that “God, himself unknowable, could effectively be known by degrees through his creation” (1987: 97). Therefore every element of that creation was a piece of a puzzle to be studied for the linked purposes of identification and categorization so that it could later be used to deduce a prior cause. Once something had a name and a place in the hierarchical order of all things, its role or movement could be studied until a pattern was discerned. This relates directly to the *LJ* and particularly to the “Libro del acedrex” since one of the chief skills necessary to excel at chess play and problem solving is pattern recognition.

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<sup>17</sup> Samuel G. Armistead, John E. Keller, Israel J. Katz, and Joseph T. Snow, eds. *Studies on the Cantigas de Santa Maria: Art, Music, and Poetry* (Madison, WI: HSMS, 1987) 7. Kinkade’s article appears on 95-109 of the same work.

Armed with an understanding of these patterns, an *hombre entendido*, such as the one for whom the most complex games of the *LJ* were designed, could rationally predict future movements or behaviour. And conversely, the ability to predict future movements or behaviour, as with eclipses, would allow an *hombre entendido* to understand what effects each thing would have on other things within the larger system as a whole. This desire to seek patterns in order to prognosticate the future combined with Alfonso's keen interest in astrological observation argues for both his astrological tables and his astrologically based games such as tables as means of foretelling the future, and perhaps even for the *LJ* as a Christian apology for the games considered controversial by so many cultures and religions. In the prologue of his *Siete Partidas*, Alfonso defends the right of the king alone to use whatever means necessary, including magic, to predict the future in order to govern best.<sup>18</sup>

“The visual manifestations of Scholasticism thus represent a dramatic departure from older, Romanesque art forms, emphasizing, as they do, a lifelike and naturalistic portrayal, reflecting a lively interest in contemporary events” and all things human (1987: 98). Kinkade says that “each miracle was skillfully illuminated by artists who took the

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<sup>18</sup> “ca los reyes sabiendo las cosas que son verdaderas & derechas fazen las conellos & no consentiran a los otros que pasen contra ellas: segund dixo el rey salamon que fue sabio & muy iustiçero que quando el rey estuuiese en su cadira de iustiçia que ante el su acatamiento se desatan todos los males. ca pues que los entendiere guardara así & a los otros de danno. & por esta razon fezimos sennalada mente este libro porque sienpre los reyes de nuestro sennorio se caten enel asi commo en espejo & vean las cosas que han ensi de emendar & las emienden & segund aquesto que fagan en los suyos. mas porque tantas razones no tan buenas como auia menester para mostrar este fecho no podiamos nos fablar por nuestro entendimiento ni por nuestro seso para conplir tan grand obra & tan buena acorrimonos dela merçed de dios & del bendito su fijo nuestro senor ihesu xpisto en cuyo esfuerço nos lo començamos & dela virgen santa maria su madre que es medianera entre nos & el & de toda la su corte çeestial” (John O’Neill, ed., “*Siete Partidas de Alfonso X* [Seville, Oct. 1491] New York: Hispanic Society. Transcribed by Ivy A. Corfís [text.spo],” *The Electronic Texts and Concordances Madison Corpus of Early Spanish MSS and Printings*, CD-ROM, [Madison, WI: HSMS, 1999] fol. 2v).

greatest pains to express every nuance and detail with utmost realism” (1987: 102). Alfonso’s works like the *CSM* and the *LJ* arose in a unique place and time steeped in Scholastic thought and this is why we find in them the particular circumstance of physical likeness in portraiture. A portrait of Alfonso had to physically resemble the person portrayed because it was a *similitudo* or analogy of that person; if it were not so, the person could not be identified and thus the meaning of the illumination would be lost upon the observer. Kinkade explains,

[t]he *similitudines* of Aquinas and the Scholastics are important elements in both literary and artistic creation whose equivalents in literature are to be found in parallel construction (*parallelismus membrorum*) and rhyme, while in painting they may be most readily observed in the qualities of symmetry and chromatic harmony” (1987: 99)

as well as in the harmony of music based upon distance ratios between musical notes.

Three clear examples of the impact of Scholasticism’s three categories of division, definition and demonstration on medieval Spanish literary production are Alfonso’s *Cantigas* and *LJ* as well as the *Conde Lucanor* of his nephew, Don Juan Manuel. Each work sets forth a unique miracle, example, game or problem with a brief prose introduction. Next, each miracle, game, or problem is sung, solved, or recounted step by step. Finally each miracle, game, or problem is summarized artistically in a painting or rhymed verses.

### **2.1.3 Keller’s “Art of Illumination” in the *Cantigas de Santa María*<sup>19</sup>**

“Fortunately for art history, Alfonso highly esteemed picture books and lavished his patronage upon them” (1985: 388). His love of stories and images to illustrate them

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<sup>19</sup> John E. Keller, “The Art of Illumination in the Books of Alfonso X (Primarily in the *Canticles of Holy Mary*),” *Thought* Vol 60. No. 239 (Dec. 1985) 388-406.

have left us two of the finest examples of medieval manuscript illumination, the *Cantigas de Santa María (CSM)* and the *LJ*. Keller's study identifies the sources for art models for the *CSM*:

The fine arts in Spain, especially in churches, palaces, and monastic houses along the Camino de Santiago, flourished and were excellent and sophisticated. ... Alfonso, an innovator in many aspects of his work, turned to the current and more fashionable Gothic style therefore, and managed to develop what may be rightfully termed 'Spanish Gothic,' a genre colored by various foreign schools. Spanish Gothic as represented in the *Cantigas* was seemingly shaped by transpyrenean illuminations, chiefly French but possibly also German and Italian, and probably too from other European areas and, it now appears quite likely, from illuminations developed in various areas of the Islamic world. (1985: 391)

Keller is careful to explain that he is

not considering those Arabic manuscripts of scientific nature filled with compasses and astrolabes and the other paraphernalia needed in navigation and astronomy, though these too surely were copied by the king's artists in his scientific works. Nor [does Keller] mean the wonderful miniatures in the *Book of Chess, Dice and Backgammon*, many of whose illuminations depict Moors and Arabs playing these games, even though this book surely contains much in art work which may stem from eastern skills in the making of miniatures. What I have in mind is picture books, like the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, actually portraying events and incidents which visualize fiction and history. (1985: 393)

This distinction underscores a key difference between the *Cantigas* and the *LJ*. The purpose of the art in the former is to tell a story through representations of a series of events in multiple illuminated frames on one page, like a comic book does today. The *LJ*, on the other hand, simply presents single vignettes to illustrate one point of a game.

While this difference in purpose did not limit the liveliness shown in the vignettes of the *LJ*, as witnessed by Janer's sometimes fanciful interpretations of them, it did affect

how the miniatures appeared on the pages of the manuscript.<sup>20</sup> Each *Cantiga* has a number of scenes, usually eight arranged in four horizontal columns of two, on a single folio slightly larger than those in the *LJ*, whereas the *LJ* usually has only one miniature per folio. Each miniature occupies from roughly one third to all of its folio. This difference is probably due to both the function of the art in each work and the eastern models of the *LJ*. Keller explains that he does

not insist that Alfonso's illuminators saw one of the colorfully illuminated books of eastern vintage; but they might have, because long before Alfonso's time such books had been brought to Spain by Arabs from the Middle East and North Africa. ... We may see these creatures in a miniature of the *Cantigas*, in what may be the first European depiction of some. One sees clearly a giraffe, a zebra, an elephant, as well as exotic birds like the ostrich and the ibis, all of which humble themselves before the Blessed Virgin. (1985: 393-94)

Another of Alfonso's innovations, according to Keller, was this very realism:

Throughout the *Cantigas* one finds examples of the fusion of realism and impressionism, which at first may seem to the reader to be an anomaly. Even so, Alfonso's illuminators were forced to work with both and to blend the two acceptably. In some pages realistic treatment of the subject was so detailed that no vestige of impressionism needed to be included. In these illustrations a kind of 'photographic' quality obtains, in which the artists painted in great detail and exactitude. The human figure, both clothed and nude, animals rendered with great attention to authenticity, buildings, plants, and seascape might almost have been photographed, so clear and realistic are they. (1985: 403)

Keller praises the enlargement of silkworms in *Cantiga* 18:

Medieval man loved nature and lived in close association with animals both wild and domestic. The artists therefore portrayed all sorts of beasts so clearly that the viewer could identify them and feel at home with them. (1985: 404)

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<sup>20</sup> See discussion of Florencio Janer's study below.

He also praises the realism of the magpies in *Cantiga* 175, the partridges in *Cantiga* 44, as well as the sow, her five piglets, pigeons in a dovecot, the rooster and the hen in *Cantiga* 148.

The surprising realism of the *Cantigas* is carried over into the artwork of the *LJ* which had no need for mystical impressionism. Notably, Keller singles out an example of realism that includes the details of a game. “The finest details emerge in some *Cantigas* illuminations: the marks on dice as gamblers play seen so clearly that one can read the score (*Cantigas* 93 and 174)...” (1985: 404).

#### **2.1.4 Kinkade’s Study of Realistic Animals in *Cantiga* 29**

The reality section of Keller and Kinkade’s study “Myth and Reality in the Miracle of *Cantiga* 29” (1999) focuses on the animals mentioned by Keller in his *Cantigas* study discussed above. First, the philosophy of the image is interpreted based on the four elements of fire, air, water and earth in much the same way as the four-player games of the *LJ*’s fifth treatise, four-seasons chess and the world:

Frederick [II] and other natural observers ... maintained the Aristotelian hierarchical order of feudal society which they projected onto the universal scheme of the four elements of nature. The arrangement of the beasts around the Virgin in *Cantiga* 29 corresponds to the Scholastic concept of natural subordination with the Virgin occupying the central and highest position in the frame. She is flanked by two winged angels whose element is fire. To the right of her hand raised in a blessing is the highest order of animals, the birds, whose element is air. At her feet, the fish whose element is water. To her left, and therefore in a more subordinate position, are the animals whose element is earth. Conspicuous among them is the tortoise, a representative of the reptiles, who occupies the lowest position among the beasts. (1999: 56)

Second, the realism of almost all the animals is such that their genus and phylum can be identified:

The thirteen birds depicted in Panel 5, with the exception of four unknown specimens, were all identified by an ornithologist [Prof. Carlos Martínez del Río of the Department of Ecology and Evolutionary Biology at the University of Arizona] as: 1) the common crane (*Grus grus*); 2) a sparrow hawk (*Falco vespertinus*); 3) two great bustards (*Otis tarda*);<sup>21</sup> 4) two flamingos (*Phoenicopterus ruber*); 5) the common coot (*Fulica atra*); 6) a curlew (*Burhinus oedichnemus*); and 7) a lesser egret (*Egretta garzetta*). (1999: 56)

This same accuracy is seen in the realism with which the animal chess pieces of the *LJ's grant acedrex* are depicted. Indeed both illuminations show many of the same animals including the giraffe and the lion.

Of the land animals in *Cantiga 29*, there is the zebra. “The giraffe... could also have been drawn from a live model since we know that one was among the animals given to Alfonso by the Sultan of Egypt around 1260” (1999: 59). A wild boar is found in *Cantigas 29*, 82 and 148. The bear is similar to the Malasian Sun Bear (*Helarctos malayanus*), and “[l]ike the zebra [and camel] which Alfonso acquired from the Sultan of Egypt, the sun bear was most likely obtained from the Arabs who traded widely with the markets of the Indian subcontinent and the Malasian Peninsula throughout the Middle Ages” (1999: 59).

Next is a lion, very like the lion in *grant acedrex* as well as the one in *Cantiga 29's* fourth panel<sup>22</sup> and one drawn from life “by Villard de Honnecourt about 1250” (1999: 59). There is the lowly tortoise which “is mostly probably a specimen of the African tortoise (*Geochelone sulcata*), the largest mainland species...” (1999: 60). Next

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<sup>21</sup> It is interesting to note that one of Alfonso's earliest poems, written in his youth, mentions the bustard known for its constant emission of gasses. “Non quer'eu donzela fea / que ant'a mia porta pea / ... / nen faça come sison” (*Historia y antología de la poesía española 1150-1650. Edición y notas de Richard P. Kinkade and Dana A. Nelson. 3ª edición revisada* [Tucson, Arizona: Department of Spanish and Portuguese, 1998] 58).

<sup>22</sup> See Keller & Cash's *Daily Life*, pl. 5.

are an African elephant (*Laxodonta africana*) with its ears much larger than those of its Indian cousin and which “was drawn by the Alfonsine miniaturists from live observation” (1999: 60). Finally, there “is the one-humped dromedary (*Camelus dromedarius*) native to northern Africa, Arabia and western Asia, and differing from its two-humped cousin, the Bactrian camel” (1999: 60).

According to the official website for Historic Royal Places, the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II gave three leopards to England in 1235.<sup>23</sup> These leopards, which were a tribute to the Plantagenet coat of arms with its three lions passant guardant, were kept in the Tower of London in the Royal Menagerie probably established during the reign of King John (1199-1216). This menagerie also included the gift of a polar bear from Norway in 1251 and an elephant from King Louis IX of France in 1255. These frequent exchanges of exotic animals show that there was an avid interest in them among European royalty during Alfonso’s lifetime. Frederick’s interest in animals, specifically birds of prey and their quarry, is evidenced by his *De arte venandi cum avibus* and may have been particularly influential with the young Alfonso who was known to keep a ferret or weasel as a favorite pet.<sup>24</sup> We also know that with Alfonso’s remains were found those of a small dog, somewhat like those of his mother whose remains were accompanied by

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<sup>23</sup> “The Royal Menagerie at the Tower of London,” *Historic Royal Places*, 18 July 2005 <<http://www.hrp.org.uk>>.

<sup>24</sup> Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor, *De arte venandi cum avibus*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Pal. Lat. 1071, ed. Carl Arnold Willimsen, ser. Codices e Vaticanis selecti, ser. minor, Codices selecti phototypice impressi. Vol. 16 (Graz, Austria: Akademische UP, 1969).

those of a small *jilguero* bird, a goldfinch or a linnet, and a “trepadora” or climbing flower.<sup>25</sup>

Alfonso’s interest in animals is shown throughout the *Cantigas* as well as on four occasions in the *LJ*. Fols. 8r and 30v show hawks and fol. 67v depict horses. More exotic animals are exhibited with exquisite miniaturized detail on fol. 82v as the game pieces for *grant acedrex*. The white pieces are from a1 to l1: the rook (*roque*), lion (*leon*), rhinoceros (*unicornio*), giraffe (*zaraffa*), crocodile (*cocatriz*), the king, anka (*aanca*), crocodile, giraffe, rhino, lion and rook (or castle). Twelve white pawns are arranged from a4 to l4 and the black pieces mirror this array on the opposite side of the twelve-by-twelve-square board. These pieces are painted with extreme care despite their small size with the white pieces outlined in black and vice versa. It is interesting to note which pieces evince true realism (the lions and giraffes) versus those which not (the rhinos, crocodiles and mythical anka). We know from Kinkade’s study of *Cantiga 29* that Alfonso’s miniaturists were accustomed to painting many animals from life. Indeed, in the miniature for this *Cantiga* we see both a giraffe and a lion, which strongly resemble these game pieces, worshipping the Virgin Mary. Conspicuously absent from this *Cantiga*’s menagerie are the very rhinos and crocodiles which do not appear to have been drawn from life for the pieces of *grant acedrex*. While the anka, as a bird which exists only in myth, could not have been drawn from a model, it does indeed resemble in a general way the birds shown in *Cantiga 29*.

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<sup>25</sup> Juan Delgado Roig, “Examen médico legal de unos restos históricos: los cadáveres de Alfonso X El Sabio y doña Beatriz de Suabia,” *Archivo Hispalense* 9.27-32 ([1948]) 135-53, on 138 and 140.

Because of these many realistic elements and other aspects treated in their study but omitted here, Keller and Kinkade declare that the artwork in this *Cantiga* and in the frame with the animals in particular is “both innovative and unique in medieval iconography.” Indeed, I believe that by extension we can say that the Alfonsine miniaturists’s artwork in the *Cantigas* and the *LJ* is both innovative and unique in medieval manuscript illumination. This uniqueness both permits and creates the realism observed from the lowest order of the animals to the highest order, man himself.

### **2.1.5 Likeness in Human Portraiture in the *Cantigas***

With such exacting realism discernible in the portraits of animals, one may reasonably expect a similar level of likeness in the portraits of humans. In his article “El retrato de Alfonso X, el Sabio en la primera *Cantigas de Santa María*,” Rafael Cómez Ramos analyzes the portrait of Alfonso X in the first illumination of the codex T.I.1 of the Escorial in relation to ten other known portraits of the king including two from the *LJ*.<sup>26</sup> These known portraits include the following: the statues of the king and Violante in the cloister at the Cathedral in Burgos; the *LJ*’s fol. 65r which opens the “Libro de los dados”; the *LJ*’s fol. 54v<sup>27</sup> where Alfonso plays chess with Violante;<sup>28</sup> Alfonso in an illuminated initial of the *Lapidario*; Alfonso as emperor in the stained glass windows of the Cathedral in León; in Tomb A of the Cathedral of Santiago; Alfonso’s statue in the main chapel of the Cathedral in Toledo; Alfonso with Violante and Fernando de la Cerda

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<sup>26</sup> Rafael Cómez Ramos, “El retrato de Alfonso X, el Sabio en la primera *Cantigas de Santa María*,” *Studies on the Cantigas de Santa Maria: Art, Music, and Poetry*, eds. Israel J. Katz, John E. Keller, Samuel G. Armistead, and Joseph T. Snow (Madison, WI: HSMS, 1987) 35-52.

<sup>27</sup> Cómez Ramos incorrectly calls it fol. 1r.

<sup>28</sup> For the later analyses of the portraits of Alfonso and Violante, it is especially important to emphasize that Cómez Ramos identifies Alfonso’s opponent here as Violante.

in a miniature of the Tombo de Toxos Outos; Alfonso in the opening miniature of Prologue B of the *CSM*; and finally Alfonso in the opening illumination of the *General estoria*. Based on his study of these portraits, Cómez Ramos describes Alfonso as “un hombre joven, con melena recortada, cara alargada y nariz larga y estrecha, tal como lo vemos en el claustro de la Catedral de Burgos” (35). He points out that the physiognomy of his portraits coincides with the description of the medical exam of his remains in 1948 by Dr. Juan Delgado Roig<sup>29</sup> who found him to be dolichocephalic,<sup>30</sup> with brown hair beginning to go grey and of a good height without being excessively tall (35). Delgado Roig also says that Alfonso’s nose was probably “larga, acabalgada y estrecha” (150) and, contradicting himself a bit, states that Alfonso’s hair was light blond (142).

Cómez Ramos underscores the uniqueness of this portrait of the Wise King in thirteenth-century miniatures, along with another of Louis IX of France in the Bible of the Cathedral of Toledo, due to the evidence of physical likeness they portray and therefore their importance as a milestone in the study of the evolution of portraiture. While he accepts that the portrait may have been influenced by Italian romanesque models or have an antecedent in the portrait of Alfonso II in the *Liber Feudorum Major* of the late twelfth century, this portrait of Alfonso X is so uniquely important because it shows him to have facial characteristics unique to himself in comparison with other faces in the same illumination and which appear to concur with expert analysis of the physical evidence of his remains. From here, Cómez Ramos argues that since the king is portrayed

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<sup>29</sup> Juan Delgado Roig, “Examen médico legal de unos restos históricos: los cadáveres de Alfonso X El Sabio y doña Beatriz de Suabia,” *Archivo Hispalense* 9.27-32 ([1948]) 135-53.

<sup>30</sup> From the *American Heritage Dictionary Second College Edition* (Boston: Houghton, 1982): “Dolichocephalic. adj. Having a relatively long head; designating a skull that is longer than it is broad, with a cranial index of 75.9 or less.”

in a youthful manner in ten of his portraits while only four show him older and bearded, that this constitutes proof of a desire to establish a particular or official image of the king and that this portrait of fol. 1r of the *CSM* is the one adopted for use in the other codices of the royal scriptorium. Carpenter also notes that Alfonso is shown beardless and in a flatteringly youthful appearance in the miniature on *LJ* fol. 65r.<sup>31</sup>

### 2.1.6 The *LJ* as a Uniquely Personal Work

Why, then, did likeness in portraiture arise in thirteenth-century Spain and specifically why did it arise in this book of games? To call the *LJ* a unique book is an understatement. It exists in only one copy and its content are unique even in the small corpus of games literature in medieval Europe. Even among the works on games, Alfonso's metaphysical view of the world as a macrocosm of these games, as opposed to religious views expressed in chess moralities, meant that the identity of the players rather than the afterlife was of fundamental importance.

The players in the *LJ* could just as well have been portrayed merely using the traditional iconographic features. However, while these are often present and help us to identify several individuals, they are not always to be found and the king, the queen and other royals and courtiers here appear in a variety of semi-iconographic and even non-iconographic clothing and seating positions. In these cases, only their physical likenesses identify them in lieu of any specific symbolic features.

In the *Partidas* Alfonso says that the king should wear his crown and royal robes for ceremonial situations to indicate his majesty and identify him to those who might not

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<sup>31</sup> Dwayne E. Carpenter, "'*Alea Jacta Est*': At the Gaming Table with Alfonso the Learned." *Journal of Medieval History* 24 (1998): 333-45, citing from 337.

know his face, but implicit in this statement is that these royal garments are not always worn. *Cantiga F 95* (“How Alfonso fell ill in Vitoria”) shows rather unrealistically the king wearing his crown even in bed. As the *CSM* were meant to be public works on display it was important that those unfamiliar with the King’s face be able to identify him in the illumination and so he is portrayed in full regalia.

Alfonso’s Arabic models for the chess problems undoubtedly showed Arabs playing chess and perhaps other games in their typical manner, seated cross-legged on the floor with pillows. In the *LJ*, Alfonso chose to have himself and the members of his court portrayed seated in a variety of ways, both European and Oriental, because it was meant to be a more personal work than the *CSM* with the result that it allows us to peer behind the royal curtain for a new, private glimpse of the king. By extension, the *LJ*’s unique nature allowed for similar distinctive circumstance with regard to individual likeness in the portraits of both royals and courtiers.

Many scholars have commented upon the manifestly personal nature of Alfonso’s works, stamped with his identity and personality. The exceptionally personal nature of these works underscore what can be perceived as Alfonso’s need to be depicted in a uniquely identifiable way. We may posit, then, that these circumstances, occasioned by Alfonso’s forceful personality and vision, gave rise to a new emphasis on likeness in portraiture.

Albert I. Bagley, Jr., argues that in his role as literary raconteur, Alfonso is much more than just a king or scholar but rather a “man of flesh and blood” who “reveals

something of his inner self.”<sup>32</sup> Maricel E. Presilla, like Bagley, underscores the personal nature of Alfonso’s portrayal:

In the autobiographical *Cantigas* dealing with his disease, we see Alfonso stripped of his intellectual and royal trappings giving free play to his emotions. Like the common people described in other *Cantigas*, he displays his fear of death, his pain, and most importantly his hope of physical recovery through the Virgin’s intervention. This most dramatic assertion of the self, which seems even more striking, in view of what we have learned about Alfonso’s disease is not devoid of political meaning, for it is precisely in these *Cantigas* that Alfonso’s goals of political and social integration are most powerfully articulated. By sharing the common man’s assumptions and fears of death and salvation—which have been expressed both verbally and visually throughout the collection—and by admitting his own vulnerability in the face of death, Alfonso was trying, primarily, to create a basis of equality between himself and his people.<sup>33</sup>

She therefore concludes her article arguing that Alfonso, ever conscious of his role as king, represented his community of believers in the expression of his self, rather than of his crown, in the *CSM*.

Citing Howard Bloch’s *Etymologies and Genealogies: A Literary Anthropology of the French Middle Ages* (Chicago: UP, 1983), Presilla describes the *CSM* as both a public and a performed text. However, she adds that the fact “[t]hat Alfonso, the individual, could still come through as powerfully as he does in the *Cantigas* dealing with imminent death, and in some of the *loores*, is a special achievement of the *Cantigas*” (422-23).

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<sup>32</sup> Albert I. Bagley, Jr., “The Figure of the Jew in the *Cantigas* of Alfonso X” *Studies on the Cantigas de Santa Maria: Art, Music, and Poetry*, eds. Samuel G. Armistead, John E. Keller, Israel J. Katz, and Joseph T. Snow (Madison, WI: HSMS, 1987) 235-45, citing from 243.

<sup>33</sup> Maricel E. Presilla, “The Image of Death and Political Ideology in the *Cantigas*,” *Studies on the Cantigas de Santa Maria: Art, Music, and Poetry*, eds. Israel J. Katz, John E. Keller, Samuel G. Armistead, and Joseph T. Snow (Madison, WI: HSMS, 1987) 403-57, citing from 439-40.

Ana Domínguez Rodríguez states that the king appears very frequently in the miniatures of his manuscripts.<sup>34</sup> He is seen sporadically both in various *Cantigas* and in the *LJ* but that he only appears systematically in two functions: first, when he presides over the prologues and second, as “rey como trovador de Santa María.”<sup>35</sup> Domínguez Rodríguez points out that in the first case the king is shown in his full majesty with iconography inherited from imperial images. As the trovador he appears to participate personally in the joys and sorrows of the Virgin and often touches the sleeves of the heavenly personages. She calls this uniquely personal portrayal part of a “renacimiento alfonsí” whose larger facet is seen in his scientific works on astrology and magic, which “buscan no sólo describir el universo sino también interpretarlo en un auténtico surgir del hombre moderno” (“Libro de los juegos” 55). She links this personal participation of Alfonso in the lives of Mary and Jesus to the Franciscans who sought a newer, more personal way to teach. In the captions to her illuminations, she describes the king’s iconographic presentation as crowned and wearing royal vestments, “la tela confeccionada es exclusiva para él en talleres de tradición islámica con redondeles y los escudos de León y Castilla” (“Libro de los juegos” 75).

## 2.2 Other Studies on the *LJ*’s Art

Florencio Janer; José Brunet y Bellet; Juan Bautista Sánchez Pérez; J. B. Trend; Arnald Steiger; Carmen Bernis Madrazo; Frederic V. Grunfeld; Ricardo Calvo; Ana Domínguez Rodríguez; Pilar García Morencos; Luis Vázquez de Parga (1987); Roswin

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<sup>34</sup> “Iconografía evangélica en las *Cantigas de Santa María*,” *Studies on the Cantigas de Santa Maria: Art, Music, and Poetry*, eds. Israel J. Katz, John E. Keller, Samuel G. Armistead, and Joseph T. Snow (Madison, WI: HSMS, 1987) 53-80.

<sup>35</sup> Ana Domínguez Rodríguez, “El *Libro de los juegos* y la miniatura alfonsí” *Libros del ajedrez, dados y tablas de Alfonso X*. 2 vols. (Madrid: Poniente; Valencia: García, 1987) 2: 30-121, citing 54.

Finkenzeller et al., Wilhelm Ziehr, and Emil M. Bühner; Héctor Toledano; Jens T. Wollesen; Paolo Canettieri; and Colleen Schafroth also offer comments on the artistic dimensions of the *LJ*. Several other medieval works provide depictions of the same games shown in the *LJ*, some more comparable and some less. These studies and works of art are addressed chronologically below and under the relevant folios in the catalogue of miniatures.

### **2.2.1 Florencio Janer (1874)**

Janer's two monographs on games in the third tome of the *Museo español de antigüedades* (1872-80) are the earliest modern studies on the *LJ*. His first monograph "Naipes ó cartas de jugar y dados antiguos con referencia á los juegos del Museo Arqueológico Nacional" covers pp. 42–63 of the third tome of the *Museo español de antigüedades* III (1874). Before addressing the invention of cards, Janer traces the roots of one of their ancestors, dice. This treatment of the history of dice culminates in a discussion of dice, dice games, dice players, and naturally, Alfonso's *Libro de las tahurerías* (1276) and the *LJ* (1283). Janer transcribes in his somewhat modernized style several portions of the *Libro de las tahurerías* including the passage which delineates the fines to be paid by various classes of society for swearing or cursing the Virgin Mary while playing dice and the myth of their invention that Janer finds curious as well as the general introduction to the *LJ*. He notes the extreme care with which the proper construction of dice is to proceed and the twelve dice games listed

-el iuego de mayores e de tanto en uno como en dos, - el iuego de la triga, - otra manera de triga, - otra manera de triga,<sup>36</sup> - el iuego que llaman azar, - el iuego de marlota, - el iuego de la riffa, - el iuego que llaman par con as, - el iuego que llaman panquist, - el iuego que llaman medio azar, - el iuego que llaman azar pujado, - el juego que llaman guirguesca.” (Janer, “Naipes” 49)

The remainder of this monograph treats cards which were invented in the century after Alfonso’s time and are thus not part of this dissertation. Unless otherwise specified, all reference to Janer in this dissertation are to his *LJ* study discussed next.

At the time of the writing of the second monograph, entitled “*Los Libros del ajedrez, de los dados y de las tablas*. Códice de la Biblioteca del Escorial mandado escribir por don Alfonso el Sabio,” covering pp. 223-55 of volume three of *Museo español de antigüedades* III (1874), Janer had been elected to be in charge of the Library of the Escorial.<sup>37</sup>

He begins his 32-page, 8-section study on the *LJ* with a pair of images from the work (fols. 72r-73r), which are strangely captioned “Lozano copio” and “Lozano copió” respectively. While he does not explain these captions further in his article, I assume that Lozano is the artist’s last name and that the difference between the two is that the first is a typographical error. In his text, Janer offers an image he describes as a “facsimil correcto,” a nineteenth-century concept which we would today refer to more accurately as “corrected” rather than correct and therefore not a facsimile at all. These images are

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<sup>36</sup> Janer does not comment on this repetition that results from a scribe’s error of entering the title too early and then reentering it again in its proper location, nor the fact that were there two more varieties of *triga* that the total number of dice games would equal thirteen instead of twelve.

<sup>37</sup> This fact is explained by a footnote that reads: “Habiendo sido nombrado por Real orden Bibliotecario de la de San Lorenzo del Escorial el autor de esta monografía, presentó la dimision de tan honroso nombramiento ántes de haberse hecho cargo de la referida célebre Biblioteca” (Janer, “*Los Libros de ajedrez*” 227).

curiously sharpened; the crenellations of the architecture have been regularized, the outlines of nearly everything have been traced boldly and the writing and tonal contrast in general have been made sharper. Even the people shown in the miniature on fol. 72r have been changed: the king's nose and mouth have been lowered and his beard made fuller; the scribes's noses, eyes and mouths have been changed and the face of the scribe at the right has been altered in such a way as to remove all Semitic features; a visage has been drawn in for the face of Sancho which is disfigured in the original and the detail of his hat has been deleted although the outline oddly remains; the other prince's face and hair have been altered; and the folio is shown without an Arabic numeral at the top right.

This final detail is notable because it may help to determine when these numbers were added. If, in fact, they were not erased by Janer then we are constrained to ask if they were added by him or someone else at a later date.

Fol. 73r is similarly changed, the writing and images are sharpened and the faces are slightly altered. The sharpening of the folio's heading accentuates the scribe's error in writing "de los" instead of "de las" and then making his *o* into an *a*. No reference is made in the text to the sharpening or alteration of the images because Janer most likely felt he was presenting the images at their best by polishing or restoring them.

Section I of Janer's study of the *LJ* is devoted to a defense, as he says, of Spain's artistic and cultural contributions as represented by works held in Spanish libraries and an attack on the disregard of foreign critics. The second section of Janer's study, which he calls "artístico-arqueológico" because it is divided into sections on the text, art, cultural and games, consists of the provenance and physical description of the *LJ* which, in his

time as now, belonged to the Escorial. Janer remarks that it shows different games and clothing of the various social classes in Spain at the time and, like the *Cantigas*, also provides a rich study of weapons, furniture, utensils, musical instruments and customs.

Janer's Section III gives the historical context of the *LJ* and notes that while the art of the late thirteenth century was less advanced than that of the Renaissance it is not to be discounted. He lists the variety of types of people shown in the miniatures, which this study will address in detail below, and asserts that the *LJ* is greatly worthy of further study. Section IV describes the miniatures on fols. 1r-64v of the "Book of Chess"; Section V describes the miniatures on fols. 65r-71v of the "Book of Dice"; Section VI describes the miniatures on fols. 72r-79v of the "Book of Backgammon"; Section VII describes the miniatures on fols. 80r-97v of what he describes as the games that follow the three main books and form a supplement; Section VIII concludes the study, leaving the rest of the analysis to future players of the games. Janer's fine observations of the rich details of the miniatures occasionally include whimsical interpretations of details hinted at or not entirely visible, including imagined conversations between the players or interpretations of previous or future movement within the scene. Like his presentation of fols. 72v and 73r at the beginning of the study, these descriptions are not strictly faithful in the modern sense. They do, however, bear testimony to the lively realism evoked in their lifelike vignettes.

### **2.2.2 José Brunet y Bellet (1887)**

Brunet y Bellet's study proposes to give some commentary of his own along with some taken from the works by José Amador de los Ríos and "D. Florencio Gener," as he

calls Janer.<sup>38</sup> In order to offer a glimpse of the importance of the miniatures in the *LJ*, Brunet y Bellet paraphrases nine of Janer's descriptions.<sup>39</sup> Significantly, he also expands upon Janer's work by identifying the people in the miniatures depicted on fols. 15r, 47v and 54v. He follows Janer's interpretation of their gestures, and in summary gives a long list of the many social types portrayed in the *LJ* as an indication of the widespread popularity of the game in Alfonso's time.

### 2.2.3 Juan Bautista Sánchez Pérez (1929)

Juan Bautista Sánchez Pérez offers descriptions of twelve miniatures.<sup>40</sup> Summarizing the remaining one hundred and thirty odd miniatures he says, "En otras pinturas se representan jugando a frailes, caballeros con hábitos de alguna orden, etc., siempre tratando de demostrar que el ajedrez solamente lo juegan personas de superior condición intelectual. Hay varias pinturas, en las que los jugadores aparentan consultar libros árabes de Ajedrez y en una de ellas se aprecia, en la hoja del libro que mira el jugador, un diagrama que debe representar la posición de un problema y debajo su solución en árabe."<sup>41</sup>

While J. B. Sánchez Pérez comments on only a small percentage of the miniatures, and I do not always agree with his identification of the portraits, his suggestions are often highly original. It is important that a scholar of his generation took

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<sup>38</sup> José Brunet y Bellet, "El códice de D. Alfonso El Sabio sobre el juego del ajedrez," *La España regional* III.17 (1887) 412-32.

<sup>39</sup> Brunet y Bellet addresses miniatures 6, 21, 22, 27, 79, 80, 85, 87 and 109 (fols. 5r, 15r, 16r, 19v, 47v, 48r, 50v, 51v and 64r).

<sup>40</sup> J. B. Sánchez Pérez, *El ajedrez de D. Alfonso El Sabio* (Madrid: la Franco, 1929) describes fols. 1r, 6v, 7r, 8r, 9r, 15r, 16r, 17v, 40r, 47v, 48r and 54v.

<sup>41</sup> Here J. B. Sánchez Pérez is likely referring to the miniature for Problem 99 on fol. 61v (1929: 10-11).

it for granted that these are in fact meant to be portraits and bravely trusted his intuition to try to identify them. Some of his research efforts suggest identities for other portraits which may well prove to be accurate. He names not only Alfonso but also Violante by her given name and not simply by her title as others have done. Others identities he suggests include Beatriz of Portugal playing with Violante on fol. 16r; either Alfonso's father Fernando III or king Louis IX of France, Alfonso's cousin, both saints whom he identifies with the haloed figure on fol. 17v;<sup>42</sup> and Louis again playing with Margarita of Provence on fol. 54v.

#### **2.2.4 J. B. Trend (1933)**

Trend emphasizes the Oriental influence in the work which he points out begins with an eastern fable, and continues with the assertion that the players are usually shown in Oriental dress, some accompanied by Oriental musicians, that, according to Zarco Cuevas,<sup>43</sup> most players hold their hands "in certain positions, as if to ward off the Evil Eye" and that the chess "problems which he gives are almost exclusively Muslim, for the chess problem is a kind of mental activity eminently characteristic of the civilization which Islam brought to Europe from the East" (9).

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<sup>42</sup> Nevermind that the fellow shown is an Arab, Louis IX of France was not canonized until 1297 and Fernando III not until 1671 so the artist of the *LJ* could not have known to portray them as saints.

<sup>43</sup> J[ohn] B[rande] Trend, "Alfonso El Sabio and the Game of Chess," *Revue Hispanique* LXXXI (1933) 5-15, citing from 9 where he footnotes "Zarco Cuevas, P. Fr. Juan, *Cátalogo [sic] de los manuscritos castellanos de la Real Biblioteca de el Escorial*. (S. Lorenzo de el Escorial, 1924-29), III, 444-45."

### 2.2.5 Arnald Steiger (1941)

Arnald Steiger reproduces forty-four of the 151 (he counts 150) *LJ* miniatures and intersperses them throughout his transcription.<sup>44</sup> He attributes the watercolor-like palette to a perhaps Persian influence and notes that like the *CSM*, also painted by Seville's miniaturists, the *LJ* offers a considerable study of medieval costume, *indumentaria* and customs with mostly dynamic and realistic figures possessed of unique facial features and lively expressions. Most importantly for my identification of Queen Violante, he notes individualized noses. Steiger generalizes that the miniatures occupy the upper third of the folios, have dark outlines and some Mudejar architectural frames.<sup>45</sup> His brief comments on these folios, which mostly follow Janer, are translated in English below and footnoted in their original form.

### 2.2.6 Carmen Bernis Madrazo (1956)

Bernis Madrazo's study is a useful reference tool for the identification and comparison of many garments shown in the miniatures of the *LJ*.<sup>46</sup> Her study is divided by century, men's and women's clothing and type of garment. Her image plates, including four images from the *LJ*, and the twenty-three from the *Cantigas*, illustrate

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<sup>44</sup> Arnald Steiger, ed. and trans., *Alfonso El Sabio: Libros de acedrex, dados e tablas. Das Schachzabelbuch König Alfons des Weisen, nach der Handschrift J. T. 6 Fol. des Escorial, mit Glossar und Grammatischem Abriss Hrsg. und Übers* (Geneva: Droz, 1941). He uses fols. 1r, 1v, 2r, 2v, 5r, 8v, 9r, 10r, 12r, 14r, 15r, 17v, 18r, 19v, 20v, 22r, 22v, 23r, 23v, 24v, 25v, 27v, 28v, 29v, 30v, 31v, 32r, 33v, 36v, 37v, 38v, 41v, 47v, 49v, 52v, 54r, 57v, 64r, 65r, 73v, 75v, 78v, 79v, and 82v.

<sup>45</sup> While this is generally true, there are some frequent exceptions. See the Excel spreadsheet titled "*LJ* Manuscript Statistics," specifically the columns denoting miniature placement, shape and frame with percentages given at bottom of the columns. I believe that the architecture is meant to vary with the cultural of the people shown and includes the miniaturists's renditions of Mudejar, Muslim, Indian and Christian architecture as well as rare outdoor scenes.

<sup>46</sup> Carmen Bernis Madrazo, *Indumentaria medieval española* (Madrid: Instituto Diego Velázquez, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1956).

many of the more common items of clothing from the period.<sup>47</sup> Her text outlines thirteenth-century fashion as follows:

Men wore a sort of undershirt garment called a *camisa* over which was generally worn a longer, but never floor-length, tunic with narrow sleeves called a *saya* or sometimes, especially in Aragon, a *gonela*. The *saya* could be loose or fitted; those adjusted at the sides with lacings were called *sayas encordadas*. Some sleeveless *sayas* were fitted with detachable sleeves called *mangas cosedizas*. A particularly rich *saya* was called a *brial*. Over the *saya* but still under a cloak a man could wear another sort of over-tunic called an *aljuba* or *cota*, a sleeved cloak of a simple Romanic cut called a *piel* or a *pellote* distinguished by its two long side openings which reveal both torso and hip. A *pellote* could be lined with fur, cloth or be without a lining. On top of all these garments, men could wear a cloak (*manto*) or cape (*capa*) which appear to have been essentially similar items of dress. Particularly common in the *LJ* are *capas con cuerda*, that is capes fastened by a cord passing twice across the chest. The *garnacha* is a special type of loose, wide garment characterized by the special cut of its short sleeves which were of one piece with the whole. Various types of long *tabardos* were worn for travel. Headwear options included the transparent or opaque close-fitting *cofia*, the cylindrical helmet-shaped *birrete*, the Robin Hood-esque *capelos agudos*, *capirotes* which were a sort of detached hood, among other *sombreros* such as those worn by pilgrims and travellers (Bernis Madrazo 21-25).

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<sup>47</sup> Berníz Madrazo shows details of the miniatures from fols. 32r, 30v, 54v and 52v, in that order.

Women, like men, wore *sayas* and *briales*. Over the *saya* or *brial*, women wore *pieles*, *pellotes*, *aljubas* or *cotas* or *almexías*, *mantos*, *garnachas* and/or *tabardos*. The *almexía*, probably just disappearing from fashion at this point, was an over-tunic with wide sleeves from the Romanic tradition. Covering their heads, women wore the *crespina* or hair net or snood, two crossed bands, various shapes of tall hats of which some had bands that covered parts of the face, and turbans (Bernís Madrazo 25-27).

Arabs tend to wear tunics with wider sleeves. A transparent tunic called a *gilala* according to Vázquez de Parga (1987: 21) seems to have been commonly worn in the bath.

### **2.2.7 Carl Nordenfalk (1960)**

Nordenfalk's Swedish article "En medeltida schackbok" offers a discussion of the origin myth and as well as nine miniatures from the "Libro del acedrex."<sup>48</sup> He gives some basic information about the presentation of the chess boards and the pieces used in the game during Alfonso's time, comparing it to the miniature from the *Carmina Burana* and a miniature from a Persian manuscript. Nordenfalk also notes how the work is a documentary of Alfonso's time in terms of the king's heraldic hats, the Moors and their turbans, black players, the furniture, the way some sit cross-legged on the floor and the half-naked women he terms *soldadeiras*. The chief value of Nordenfalk's study is his pair of daring suggestions regarding the miniatures from fols. 23r and 47v discussed later in the catalogue.

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<sup>48</sup> Carl Nordenfalk, "En Medeltida Schackbok," *Spanska Mästare (Arbok for Svenska statens konstnaringar)* 8 (1960) 20-35. He shows *LJ* fols. 2v, 3r, 22r, 23r, 31r, 42v, 47v, 48r and 64r.

### 2.2.8 Frederic V. Grunfeld (1975)

Grunfeld uses fourteen of the miniatures from the *LJ* and two from the *CSM* to illustrate his *Games of the World*.<sup>49</sup> The book's introduction, written by the renowned games historian, R.C. Bell, explains that Alfonso's games treatise serves as its point of departure. The history of the games given in Bell's introduction have already been discussed in the relevant sections of Chapter I.

### 2.2.9 Ricardo Calvo (1987)

With mixed accuracy, Calvo lists some miniatures with Arabs,<sup>50</sup> Jews,<sup>51</sup> knights of military orders,<sup>52</sup> musicians,<sup>53</sup> nuns,<sup>54</sup> pharmacists,<sup>55</sup> players pointing to significant pieces or squares<sup>56</sup> and food or drink<sup>57</sup> rewarding the winner<sup>58</sup> (1987: 130).

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<sup>49</sup> Frederic V. Grunfeld, *Games of the World: How to Make Them, How to Play Them, How to Come to Be* (New York: Holt, 1975). Grunfeld shows the miniatures from *LJ* fols. 54r, 54v, 55r, 56r, 63r, 64r, 65v, 66r, 68v, 84v, 91v, 92v, 93r and 97v; these are commented on in the catalogue.

<sup>50</sup> Calvo identifies Arab players in Problems 7, 10, 13, 18, 19, 23 and 25. I agree with the first four in his list and would add that there are many more examples. However, Problem 19 (fol. 18r) shows the very Christian Beatriz, Mayor and Violante; Problem 23 (fol. 20v) shows men I believe to be Asian and not likely Muslims; and Problem 25 (fol. 22r) shows black-skinned people like those from Northern Africa who may indeed be Muslims given their dress.

<sup>51</sup> Calvo identifies Jewish players in Problems 5, 6, 9, 12, 19, 33, 61, 62 and 65. Problem 6 (fol. 9r) shows royal Christian pilgrims. Problems 9, 12, 62 and 65 (fols. 11v, 13v, 42r and 43v) show men in the curved and pointed hats that may be meant to depict Indians. Again, Problem 19 (fol. 18r) shows the very Christian Beatriz, Mayor and Violante.

<sup>52</sup> Calvo suggests identities for the members of military-religious orders shown playing Problems 31, 32 and 34.

<sup>53</sup> Calvo talks of the musicians in Problem 42.

<sup>54</sup> Calvo identifies the players of Problem 44 as nuns.

<sup>55</sup> Calvo identifies the players of Problem 41 as pharmacists.

<sup>56</sup> Calvo addresses the pointing shown in Problems 8, 21, 24, 26, 27, 30, 31, 51, 57, 76, 79 and 98. Calvo harshly dismisses Steiger's thinking that these are gestures to ward off the evil eye. Trend is citing Zarco Cuevas; Steiger and Vázquez de Parga are following Trend.

<sup>57</sup> Calvo address the food and/or drink shown in Problems 6, 7, 8, 11, 13, 14, 28, 38, 54, 88 and 103.

<sup>58</sup> Ricardo Calvo, "El libro de los juegos de Alfonso X El Sabio," *Libros del ajedrez, dados y tablas de Alfonso X*. 2 vols. (Madrid: Poniente; Valencia: García, 1987) 2: 122-235.

Regarding the unreliable theory of spoils going to the victor, Calvo's observes that:

es tentador suponer que el miniaturista quiso simbolizar con la copa el triunfo de dicho jugador, y de hecho casi siempre que se ofrecen a un personaje manjares o brebajes o tiene a sus pies un vaso o una bebida es en el lado de las piezas que van a ganar en la combinación ajedrecística (problemas 6, 7, 8, 11, 13, 14, 28, 38, 54, 88 y 103), aunque hay tres únicas excepciones (problemas 3, 25 y 97) que invalidan esta interpretación como regla general. (1987: 131)

I find Calvo's first list of eleven problems whose miniatures indicate the winners by awarding them drinks to be nearly correct and complete for the "Libro del acedrex" with two exceptions. Only Problem 38 does not belong on this list because the piece orientations are reversed, meaning that the apparent winning player of white at left is actually the losing player of black. It is easy to suppose further that perhaps the miniaturist even meant to portray wine going to winner but was confused by the error in piece orientation. Problem 97, also has its piece orientations reversed and so it does not truly belong on Calvo's list of exceptions but rather as further positive proof of his hypothesis. Calvo's theory even holds true for fol. 68r's presentation of the dice game *riffa*, 84v's seven sided dice and probably fol. 68v's *par con as*.

However, I also find seven problems, rather than Calvo's adjusted count of two allowing for Problem 97, whose miniatures are contrary to this rule: Problems 3, 25, 38 already mentioned, 59, 85, 89 and 101. Further, Problems 5, 10 and 59 are questionable cases because both show the loser and the winner with drinks. Neither can it be said that food is consistently used to reward the winner. Food is awarded along with drink to the winner in three problems already named: Problems 6, 11 and 14. In Problem 59,

however, the winner has food while the loser has drink and three problems show food that does not go to the winner: Problems 4, 25 (along with the drink already mentioned) and 87. I also find nine books shown in game miniatures but it cannot be said that the possession of a book reliably indicates the winner. Problems 60, 63, 69 and 99 show the winners holding books but the loser holds the books in Problems 13, 54, 61, 65 and 97 (with piece orientations being reversed in the last two cases). Unfortunately, then, while it may be tempting to do so, we can neither assume that drink and food are necessarily rewarded to the winner nor that books indicate a winning advantage for the player who holds one.

Drink and food are also featured in the *CSM*. Cash and Keller's *Daily Life* treats these in the seventh chapter, saying that

[w]ine appears frequently in the miniatures, often in large pitchers placed on the floor near the table. Number 45A, 4 depicts a group of jovial young men at table, drinking wine while being fanned. Servants stand ready with pitchers. An especially well-set table with wine goblets appears in 132, 5 and in F 25, 2 (322). A large pitcher of wine placed on the floor is seen in 42, 4 .... (25)

### **2.2.10 Ana Domínguez Rodríguez (1987)**

Domínguez Rodríguez' study "El *Libro de los juegos* y la miniatura alfonsí" compares the process of producing an illuminated manuscript like the *LJ* with that of incomplete versions of the *CSM*, in which the text and the image are created at separate stages and with many different painters, as indicated by the notably different styles of portraits of Alfonso on fols. 65r and 72r.<sup>59</sup> Her study of the systematic process of the

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<sup>59</sup> Domínguez Rodríguez (1987) categorizes the *LJ* as one of Alfonso's completed illuminated manuscripts. The second segment of her first chapter, "La pintura de los libros" focuses on what is known about the painting process of Alfonsine codices based upon Gonzalo Menéndez Pidal's study of the *CSM*.

painting workshop in the context of the illuminated manuscripts of the *CSM*, *Estoria de Espanna*, *Lapidario* and *Primera Partida* as well as for the *LJ* show that the text was prepared before the image and that their relationship is explicit and integral.

In terms of the *LJ*, the text describes the problem and its solution or the game and its play and then says roughly the equivalent of “and here it is.” However the relationship is not entirely a simplistic one because neither the text nor the images can be understood apart from each other. Each contains vital information for the game’s comprehension that the other does not. For example, the text of the chess problems does not describe the initial positions of the pieces and the miniature does not describe the moves of the solution. The persons depicted in the illuminations are not mentioned or named<sup>60</sup> in the text as with the *CSM*, which indicate the order of operations in its creation—text first, then painting.

Following her lead, I find that this order of text first, miniature second can also be seen in the imitation of the text on the scribes’s notebooks in the opening miniatures for the “Book of Dice” and “Book of Tables.” Additionally, there are often appropriately playful or ludic connections between the text and the image which underscore their interrelatedness. For instance, in many of the chess problems, the players hint at the solution by pointing at a certain square; the winner, as noted by Calvo (1987), is at times served food or drink; knights playing chess hold chess knights in their hands; veiled and

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Since the *LJ* is complete, less knowledge of this type can be gleaned from it but Domínguez Rodríguez argues a similar process can be supposed. I would add that although rare there are a handful of cases of incompleteness in the *LJ*: the left side of the bench on fol. 52v, the unpainted frame corners on fol. 57v, the missing pieces and dice on fol. 80r, the unpainted cap at lower right on fol. 88v and the garment at lower left on fol. 92v.

<sup>60</sup> I would note that a rare exception occurs with the naming on fol. 85r of Alfonso as the Emperor shown on fol. 85v.

hidden piece bags indicate a smothered mate victory; a winner receives a wagered ring on fol. 40; and pip counts on dice or the payment of certain sums of money indicates the winner in other games. For the *LJ*, the text and the image are complementary and inseparable halves of a whole which speak and at times even joke with each other.

Regarding what she calls Alfonso's obsessive presence (41), Domínguez Rodríguez divides the Wise King's portraits into three groups which reflect their cultural, political and religious contexts and purposes: 1) Images of presentation or dedication of the work, and/or portraits of the author; 2) the king as the troubadour of Saint Mary; and 3) the king participating in one of his favorite pastimes or evoking a particular episode of his life. Of this last group, Domínguez Rodríguez' examples include hawking, being miraculously cured in Vitoria in the *CSM* and playing chess and astrological games in the *LJ*.<sup>61</sup>

Domínguez Rodríguez compares Alfonso's iconographic portraits in his manuscripts, other than the *LJ*, to other works whose images include a presentation, dedication or portrait of the author including the Bible of Manfredo (1258), Alfonso's *Primer Lapidario*, and his *Libro de las formas e imágenes que están en los cielos*. The Bible's portrait of Frederick II shows the emperor being handed the book by a courtier in the presence of a scribe. Also, at the bottom of fol. 1r of the Emperor's *De arte venandi cum avibus*, Frederick is presented iconographically at the left pointing masterfully while to his left are two genuflecting young noblemen. The *Primer Lapidario* shows Aristotle making what Domínguez Rodríguez calls the "gesto del filósofo" ("Libro de los juegos"

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<sup>61</sup> Domínguez Rodríguez does not note that Alfonso is portrayed playing tables on fol. 76r.

42) to his disciples, because Socrates was said in *Bocados de oro* to move his index finger when he spoke (“Libro de los juegos” 45). And the *Libro de las formas e imágenes* has a portrait of Alfonso, signaling like the others with his mandating index finger one of the pages of the codex that the three courtiers have given him. Domínguez Rodríguez interprets this gesture as indicating the king’s marked participation in the creation of his text.<sup>62</sup> These details of book and gesture are also reflected in the iconographic presentation of Alfonso on the *LJ*’s fols. 1r, 65r and 72r.

Alfonso’s presence is observed twice in the dedication miniatures of the *Primera partida*, first kneeling to offer the book to God and second enthroned and pointing before his scribe and two courtiers seated Indian style.<sup>63</sup> These iconographic images are echoed in the *LJ*’s portraits of the king in state on the opening illuminations to the first three books on fols. 1r, 65r and 72r as discussed below in the section on the king’s portraiture. Domínguez Rodríguez argues that these are the portraits of a mature king with a desire to be presented with solemn formality due to his imperial aspirations beginning around 1257 and therefore perhaps modeled on images of Frederick II, both in Manfred’s Bible and

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<sup>62</sup> Domínguez Rodríguez underscores the well-known question of the level of the Wise King’s participation in the creation of his own books, paraphrasing García Solalinde’s transcription of the key paragraph in the *General estoria* for understanding the King’s involvement (Domínguez Rodríguez, “*Libro de los juegos*” 45):

el rey faze un libro, non por quel el escriua con sus manos, mas porque compone las razones del, e las emienda et yegua et enderesça, e muestra la manera de como se deuen fazer, e desi escriue las qui manda, pero dezimos por esta razon que el rey faze el libro ... (Solalinde 286)

As a noble, Alfonso would not have worked with his hands, so he would naturally specify that he was not the one doing the actual writing of the books. Indeed, many medieval kings could neither read nor write though, as seen in this chapter’s discussion of fol. 18r there is reason to believe that Alfonso could do both. In either case, it is clear that Alfonso saw his role in creating his books as a multi-faceted one: he ideated, he guided, he gave examples, he proofread, he found the people who could deal with the languages needed and paint the miniatures. Domínguez Rodríguez finds this direct input of Alfonso’s manifested in his portraits where he is shown dictating the very book to his scribes.

<sup>63</sup> It is interesting to note here the Moorish influence on Spanish culture as presented in a book of law in addition to a book of games, whose Arabic models would make it a more expected occurrence.

with Alfonso's maternal grandfather Philip of Swabia in the *Liber ad honorem Augusti*. The two examples that Domínguez Rodríguez includes as illustrations are the opening miniatures from the *Primera partida*, notably similar in presentation and content to the *LJ*'s fols. 1r and 72r, and the *CSM*, which in turn is notably similar to the *LJ*'s fol. 65r. The same hierarchical placements, divisions of space according to rank and types of individuals are seen in each.

In the third section of her second chapter, Domínguez Rodríguez discusses the *CSM* portraits which show King Alfonso in episodes and pastimes from his daily life. *Cantiga* 142 shows him hunting heron with a falcon. Hawking is also featured in *Cantiga* 44. His love of the popular royal pastime of hunting was no doubt notably enhanced by reading the authoritative *De arte venandi cum avibus* penned by his relative, Frederick II. It is also reflected in Alfonso's translation of the *Libro de Moamyn*, an Arabic work prior to 1200 dedicated to birds of prey and their care. Alfonso's nephew, Don Juan Manuel, also displayed his passion for hawking in the *Libro de la caza*. This very same interest is reflected in the *LJ*'s fols. 8r and 30v and in the late thirteenth-century Sicilian chess king which shows a bird seated on the back of the throne.<sup>64</sup>

Finally, Domínguez Rodríguez cites Alfonso as a "gran amador de mujeres" ("Libro de los juegos" 56) as evidenced by what we know about his life as well as his presentation in the *LJ* playing chess only against women.<sup>65</sup> However, she does not believe we can accurately identify Queen Violante either in the illuminations of the *CSM* or the *LJ*. She discusses the two sides of the monarch's life as reflected in the miniatures which

<sup>64</sup> Victor Keats, *Chess, Jews and History*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Oxford Academia, 1994) 2: 113.

<sup>65</sup> I believe that the *LJ* may possibly include portraits of a young Alfonso, playing and losing chess among other games against his *ayo* Garci Fernández, on fols. 6r, 10v, 19r, 23r, 39r, 73v and 85v.

portray him with two very different women on fols. 47v and 48r. To illustrate the episodes from the king's life Domínguez Rodríguez chooses the very personal miracle told in *CSM* including the one where he fell ill in Vitoria and the miraculous healing of his mother, Doña Beatriz. The fourth section of Domínguez Rodríguez' second chapter deals solely with the presentation of the king playing *escaques* and *tablas por astronomia*. Her comments about his depiction here are presented at length in this dissertation's catalogue of miniatures, fols. 96v and 97v.

### **2.2.11 Pilar García Morencos (1987)**

Pilar García Morencos's 49-page study "Libro de ajedrez, dados y tablas de Alfonso X el Sabio" opens with the decorated initial "L" from fol. 19v of the *LJ*. Citing the famous passage from Alfonso's *General Estoria* as evidence of the king's very active role in every aspect of the creation of the works that he ordered to be made, she says that often rulers are shown receiving these same works but that Alfonso's presentation in the *LJ* is different because "aparece, no aceptando la ofrenda del libro, sino tomando parte activa en él, puesto que no es él quien recibe, sino quien ofrece, quien programa, quien ordena, quien dicta, rodeado de sus colaboradores y amanuenses."<sup>66</sup>

García Morencos describes the *LJ* as a collection, translation, arrangement and amplification of a whole series of Arabic texts which results in a work that is superior to its oriental models, some of which are beautifully reproduced in the miniatures. Her study examines the provenance, art and games of the *LJ* and includes reproductions of twenty miniatures. For each miniature there is a brief caption and a longer explanation in the

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<sup>66</sup> Pilar García Morencos, *Libro de ajedrez, dados y tablas de Alfonso X el Sabio* (Patrimonio Nacional, 1987) 22.

“Relación de ilustraciones.” The focus of her discussion of the artwork is centered on the cultural content and such aspects as race, clothing, the more strange and complex games and the details of the game board itself.

Importantly, García Morencos emphasizes that the text and the art must be considered as a whole saying that Alfonso’s miniaturists combined both the French style that was dominant at the time and the influence of the oriental models so that there is complete harmony between the text and the image which its is true reflection.

Next, she treats the other articles found illustrated in the miniatures such as furniture, books with Arabic writing, cushions, drink ware and the details in such scenes as the pharmacy on fol. 31r.

The largest portion of her section on the miniatures is devoted to a discussion of the variety of races of peoples found in the *LJ*’s miniatures, the diversity of realistic expressions on their faces as well as the rank and fashion demonstrated by the clothing they wear. Importantly, she notices the care that was taken to reproduce both racial and facial characteristics saying that it represents a “mosaico de culturas y razas, claramente diferenciadas en sus característicos rasgos” (18-19) displaying even such emotions as

las típicas miradas de los intelectuales jugadores, extasiados ante las fichas, reflexionando cuál han de mover, el airado y sañudo ceño del jugador de dados, atento a que no le engañen ... las penetrantes y agudas miradas de los jugadores judíos de aguileña nariz. (García Morencos 19)

In fact, García Morencos feels that in certain ways the miniatures are more accurate for their depiction of these details than church or burial sculptures or even original articles of

clothing such as Don Fernando de la Cerda's *birrete*<sup>67</sup> still preserved in the Monasterio de las Huelgas.<sup>68</sup> She discusses Jewish and Muslim, male and female, lay and religious clothing in some detail. Her final comment about the art of the miniatures is that in a "curiosa anomalía, cabe señalar que la figura del rey Alfonso aparece siempre joven en este códice, no en la madurez, ni en la ancianidad, que es cuando realmente se terminó este manuscrito, en 1283, un año antes de producirse su muerte" (García Morencos 22). While this observation is not entirely accurate, as he is shown with grey hair and an older Violante on fol. 47v, it is true that both Alfonso and probably the other people portrayed in the miniatures are depicted at different chronological stages that do not necessarily reflect their actual age at the time the codex was created.

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<sup>67</sup> García Morencos calls this hat a "cilíndrico bonete" (21). My friend Francisco Requena of Edilán provides the following information from a conversation with a lady at the Delegación del Patrimonio Nacional, in las Huelgas Reales de Burgos: "El birrete tiene 20 cm de alto y 20 cm de diámetro y está bordado en seda; tiene, amatis con metales, piedras preciosas y abalorios; galones con placas de oro y piedras preciosas insertadas." See also Appendix D6.

<sup>68</sup> The supreme importance of the monastery of Las Huelgas to the royal family is summarized by Bertha Collin, *The Riddle of a 13th Century Sword-Belt* (East Knoyle, Wiltshire: Heraldic Society, 1955): "Begun before the great cathedral of Burgos, and not finished until 1279, the convent was built upon a site which formed part of the royal pleasure grounds (Las Huelgas), near Burgos. It was richly endowed with lands and accorded a unique status, being ruled by abbesses, frequently of royal birth who, by its charter, became feudal rulers with extraordinary rights and privileges. Las Huelgas, thus singled out for royal favour, was to be not only a retreat for ladies of high degree, but also the setting for court ceremonies such as coronations, weddings and knightly investitures. It was also destined to be the pantheon of the royal house of Castile and as such the counterpart and precursor of the Escorial. [new paragraph] It was at Las Huelgas that the eldest son of Henry III of England, afterwards Edward I, was knighted by Alfonso X in 1254, on the occasion of his marriage to the latter's half-sister, Eleanor of Castile. Alfonso's heir, the Infante Fernando was married there in 1269, and it was to Las Huelgas that his body was carried back to be laid in the tomb after his untimely death in 1275" (4). Among those buried there during Alfonso's lifetime are Alfonso X's mother Beatriz de Suabia in 1235 and Alfonso's son Fernando de la Cerda in 1275. Weddings at Las Huelgas during Alfonso's lifetime include that of his half-sister Leonor to Edward I Longshanks of England in 1254 and that of Fernando de la Cerda and French Princess Blanca in 1269; possibly Alfonso's parents and son Juan's first marriage and son Pedro's marriage. Additional several female relations were nuns there including the Wise King's sister Berenguela (~1235-79) and daughters Berenguela (before 1253-1300, legitimate firstborn by Violante) and Constanza Alfonso (d. 1280, illegitimate by María de Aulada).

García Morencos then describes at length the king's appearance in the initial miniature of the "Libro de los dados" (see catalogue description of fol. 65r).

### 2.2.12 Luis Vázquez de Parga (1987)

Luis Vázquez de Parga offers a panorama of about half of the illuminations and reproduces color plates of seven.<sup>69</sup> Vázquez de Parga states that the *LJ* "se compone en realidad de tres libros distintos con un preámbulo común" instead of seven or twelve books. He begins by discussing the miniatures that inaugurate each of these three books, the "Libro del acedrex," "Libro de los dados" and the "Libro de las tablas." He then moves on to contrast the royal portraits with the tavernesque and turbulent atmosphere of several miniatures in the "Libro de los dados." While Vázquez de Parga describes a great many of the people in the *LJ* and attempts to identify their gender, race, and social class, he never attempts to fix the individual identity of any of them except that of King Alfonso himself.

### 2.2.13 Finkenzeller, Ziehr and Bühner (1989)

Roswin Finkenzeller, Wilhelm Ziehr, and Emil M. Bühner's *Chess: A Celebration of 2,000 Years* is most valuable for its pictorial presentation of the past two thousand years of chess.<sup>70</sup> It offers eight small images of *LJ* miniatures<sup>71</sup> including the opening

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<sup>69</sup> Luis Vázquez de Parga, "Alfonso X El Sabio," *Libros del ajedrez, dados y tablas de Alfonso X*. 2 vols. (Madrid: Poniente; Valencia: García, 1987) 2: 14-27. Vázquez de Parga does not discuss or present the miniatures from fols. 1v, 2r, 2v, 3r, 6v, 8r, 9r, 10v, 11v, 12r, 14v, 16r, 16v, 19r, 19v, 21v, 22v, 23r, 23v, 24r, 24v, 26v, 33v, 34v, 35r, 35v, 36r, 37v, 38r, 39r, 39v, 42r, 43r, 44r, 44v, 45r, 46r, 46v, 47r, 48v, 49r, 50r, 55v, 59v, or any of the miniatures from the third, fourth, fifth, sixth or seventh treatises except the opening miniature to the "Libro de las tablas" on fol. 72r and the one for *escaques* on fol. 96v. (151-78=73). He does offer color plates of fols. 1r, 67r, 13v, 17v, 30v, 72r, and 96v, in that order.

<sup>70</sup> Roswin Finkenzeller, Wilhelm Ziehr, and Emil M Bühner, *Chess: A Celebration of 2000 Years*. 1989, 1st U.S. ed., trans. Anglia Translations, Catherine Bager, Liz Crossley (Lucerne, Switzerland: Motovun, 1990). The "Index of Names" lists Alfonso X, The Wise on 15, 18, 21, 23, 24, 30, 103, 109, 152, 154, 170 (208) and gives picture credits to the Biblioteca Escorial, Madrid for 15, 21, 23, 25, 109 top, 153

array which is the same as that used today (Finkenzeller et al. 24) and lauds Alfonso's *LJ* as a vital step in the evolution of the queen's move. The work presents many other interesting and beautiful images related to the history of chess, among them images of late ninth- to early eleventh-century rock crystal knight, rook and king pieces perhaps like those mentioned in the medieval wills of the Count Ermengaud I of Urgell in 1010 and Countess Ermessind of Barcelona, widow of Ramón Borel.<sup>72</sup>

#### **2.2.14 Héctor Toledano (1990)**

Toledano's study is an article with the same title as Pilar García Morencos's book: "El libro de ajedrez, dados y tablas de Alfonso X el Sabio."<sup>73</sup> It was written on the occasion of the visit of King Don Juan Carlos I of Spain to present the librarian Daniel Cosío Villages of the Colegio de México with a copy of Edilán's facsimile edition and companion volume. The study in three parts offers representations of six miniatures from the *LJ*.<sup>74</sup> The first part is dedicated to the cultural tolerance and syncretism of medieval Spain as evidenced by the repeated allusions to kabalistic and hermetic concepts in the book which clearly originate in Arabic and Hebraic influence. Toledano examines the *LJ*'s miniatures in his second section and the games themselves in his third section.

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left, 154 bottom left, 170. However on 153 there is only one image, and on 154 the Alphonsine image is the only bottom image. I do not find any information on Alfonso on 208.

<sup>71</sup> Finkenzeller et al. use the illuminations from fols. 2v, 18r, 1r, 40r, 82v, 64r, 30v and 5r, in that order.

<sup>72</sup> See also Charles K. Wilkinson's Introduction to *Chess: East and West, Past and Present; a Selection from the Gustavus A. Pfeiffer Collection* by Dennis Jesse McNab (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; distributed by the New York Graphic Society, Greenwich, CT, 1968) fig. 8 (xxix).

<sup>73</sup> Héctor Toledano, "El libro de ajedrez, dados y tablas de Alfonso X el Sabio," *Boletín 29 editorial* (El Colegio de México: Departamento de Publicaciones, enero-febrero 1990) 5-11.

<sup>74</sup> Toledano uses fol. 30v on the title page of the periodical; then, spread throughout the article and without captions are five *LJ* miniatures from fols. 83v, 82v, 22r, 8v and 37r, in that order.

In the second portion of his study, Toledano notes that the miniatures contain a wide array of “el repertorio social ... clérigos, nobles, caballeros cristianos y musulmanes, judíos, negros, damas de la corte, el propio Rey, gente del pueblo, monjas, taberneros, prositutas...” (6) with special attention to the lowly nature of the dice players. Of the miniatures for the “Libro de los dados,” Toledano notes that “[p]arece bastante claro que el Rey no veía con muy buenos ojos los juegos de dados ni consideraba que su práctica fuera formativa” (9). He cites as proof the tavernesque atmosphere shown where the games were played and the low nature of those who played them there.

#### **2.2.15 Jens T. Wollesen (1990)**

Multiple inaccuracies of folio numbering, transcription, word choice (specifically description when he means depiction and board games when he means tables or backgammon), spelling, grammar and punctuation complicate the reading of Wollesen’s article.<sup>75</sup> However, despite my many problems with Wollesen’s analysis of the *LJ*’s art, I believe that he is absolutely on target with the main thrust of his article, i.e. the metaphysical dimensions of the *LJ*, which, along with the work of Domínguez Rodríguez (1987), forms the point of departure for this dissertation’s third chapter.

Wollesen’s comments on the artistic format, position relative to text and possible models are addressed here and in the catalogue of miniatures under the appropriate folios while his metaphysical observations are treated in this dissertation’s third chapter. He offers a rather inaccurate transcription of the *LJ*’s colophon which he incorrectly states appears on fol. 98 rather than 97r. He also gives an imprecise transcription of the

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<sup>75</sup> Jens T. Wollesen, “Sub Specie Ludi... Text and Images in Alfonso El Sabio’s *Libro de acedrex, dados e tablas*,” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 3 (1990) 277-308.

formulaic phrase found at the end of most problem and game descriptions, e.g. “Este es el depictimiento [read “departimiento”] desto iuego. & esta es la figura del entablamiento...” and then confusingly contradicts himself by “referring to the illumination that follows” (Wollesen 295). Wollesen gives partially modernized but correct headings for the first three treatises as well as the fifth, but he illogically states that some folios in the “Libro del acedrex” have been left empty (285) and the presentation of the prologue’s origin myth, translated for him by Jocelyn Hilgarth, mistakes the game of tables alternately for dice and draughts, greatly confusing the reader. As for the content of the fifth treatise or “Libro del alquerque,” which Wollesen places on fols. 91r-97v rather than on 91r-93v, he says that it contains “two full page miniatures with the caption *Libro del alquerque*” (286) whereas I count five miniatures in this treatise and none of them are full page though the final illumination is alone on the folio without any text. Wollesen also incorrectly says that after the third treatise the heading is “*Libro del ajedrex e de los dados e de las tablas*” and identifies the “main subject” of the latter four treatises as *grant acedrex* (285). Despite the fact that ancient chaturanga was a four-handed chess game employing dice, he describes the use of dice “[i]n order to speed up the game, [at Alfonso’s suggestion,] a rather strange procedure” (Wollesen 285). Wollesen misidentifies the heading of the final treatise as “Los Escaques” (286). He also shows the following thirteen *LJ* miniatures but identifies several of their locations incorrectly: fols. 88v (Wollesen calls it 87r), 96r (he calls it 95r), 1v, 2v, 12v (he calls it 7r), 30v, 49r, 70v, 1r, 85v, 62v, 66r and 77r.

While Wollesen accurately notes the bird's-eye view of the game boards he incorrectly says that the miniaturists used such a presentation "in order to demonstrate the position of the pieces as given in the text; which refers only to the situation of the games" (294). His statement is erroneous because the position of the pieces is never given textually and I do not understand the second part of his sentence. Perhaps he meant to state, correctly, that the text only refers to the *solution* of the games. Further, Wollesen conjectures that the boards may have been painted first and "only thereafter adding and assembling the figures of the player around it" (302). This seems probable to me as the precise regularity of the boards themselves suggests the use of one or more stencils which, like the blue backgrounds and various frames, may have been executed by separate and lesser artists than the ones who painted the figures.

As for the players shown in the miniatures around the upright game boards, Wollesen attempts to make two generalizations which, indeed, cannot be asserted:

The moving player, mostly accompanied by other figures, can be identified by his *active* gesture, as for example of folio 7r [his fig. 7 which is actually fol. 12v], whereas the games' winner is often offered wine. (294)

While his observations are true for fol. 12v, they do not apply to the *LJ* as a whole. There are many cases where it is clear which player is touching a piece or having just rolled the dice but there are just as many where both players make some sort of "active" gesture. Calvo's tempting generalization about spoils such as wine going to the victor has also been challenged above. Wollesen gives a listing of Arabs, Jews, knights, a musician, a monk, an apothecary, courtesans, teachers and children which is largely impossible to authenticate due to his unorthodox system of designating the folios

sometimes with, but most often without, any indication of *recto* or *verso*, or, as in the final examples, without any folio number at all (295, n. 36).

Wollesen's description of the frameworks is roughly accurate, saying that

[t]he miniatures are contained in multicolored red, blue or green frames that are often slightly overlapped by figures. Architectural settings are sometimes used au lieu of these frames, whereas other miniatures have no framing device at all (fols. 64r, 71r). (294-95)

In fact, however, the architectural frames predominate; here Wollesen is likely following Domínguez Rodríguez' inaccurate counts. His description of the architectural frameworks is also generally correct as there are both Moorish and Gothic architectural settings, but specifically inaccurate with regard to the folio which he analyzes. "The architectural background is defined by Oriental or Moorish settings (alternating with Gothic structures as on fol. 12r), which may have been derived from contemporary Eastern manuscripts" (Wollesen 294). While his observation is adequate, I am not sure to which miniature he means to refer since fol. 12r portrays a singularly Moorish architecture of horseshoe arches.

Wollesen's understanding of the arrangement of the miniatures relative to the text that describes them is also inconsistent. When he confusingly says that "[m]oreover, the miniatures found above a text do not relate to it, but to the text that follows, sometimes on the next folio" (Wollesen 295), I believe what he means to say is that, for all games except those in the "Libro de los dados," each miniature relates to the text which precedes it. Thus the *text* found beneath a given game miniature does not relate to that miniature, but rather to the miniature that follows it, sometimes on the next folio. To his credit, Wollesen does acknowledge that the arrangement of the miniature preceding the text may

be intentional in the case of the chess problems as this order logically follows how they are presented and then solved (295). Finally, I disagree with his generalization that “the miniatures cannot be seen as immediate illustrations of the text, since the latter does not mention the players involved,” citing the examples of the prologue’s Indian king and wise men, the manufacture of each game’s equipment and, especially, the case of fols. 85r and 85v discussed in the section of this chapter devoted to Alfonso’s portraits as well as the catalogue of miniatures.

To my mind, the problem for the modern reader is not so much whether a miniature precedes or follows the text which refers to it, but rather that any expectation regarding this order is disturbed when the related text and miniature are on separate pages. The pattern set up on fol. 1r, as observed by Wollesen (296) and continuing through large sections such as fols. 53v with the miniature at the top of the folios, sets up the expectation that the two must be related. Whether a particular miniature precedes or follows its related text was not so important to the medieval miniaturist or reader but is, I believe, due quite simply to the distinct phases in which the manuscript was constructed.

Arabic models like the Rich manuscript put the board between the problems’s introduction and its solution, generally all on the same page, space permitting. Wollesen notes that in addition to the different order of miniature and text, Alfonso’s studio also included figures in the miniature playing these games whereas the Arabic models do not. Perhaps it is this artistic addition of figures to the miniature that drove the change in order from the Arabic and other chess book models to the major Alfonsine artistic production of the *Cantigas*. In the *CSM*, the miracles are given first in song, with music marked in

neums and lyrics in text, and then summarized in art. When Wollesen says that “[t]here is no coherent arrangement of the text regarding the games and their illustrations by modern criteria” (296), he appears to mean that there is no order to the types of people shown because he says that the text “must originally have been produced for a different context” and then refers to his observation that the Arabic treatises do not show scenes of people playing the game but rather only the board with the written names of the pieces as in his fig. 13 of fol. 13r of the Ms. Arab. Add. 7515 (Rich) studied by Pareja Casañas.<sup>76</sup> He later says “[m]any miniatures seem to have been clumsily grafted onto to [sic] a text which does not mesh with the pictures” (Wollesen 306-7). He attributes the incoherent assembly to the difficulty of the task (Wollesen 278).

In addition to the Arabic models already mentioned, whose miniatures consisted only of boards, Wollesen traces other influences on Alfonso’s atelier to French and other various Western sources,<sup>77</sup> including Frederick II’s *De arte venandi cum avibus*,<sup>78</sup> the *Carmina Burana*, stained glass in the Le Mans cathedral and the *Manesse* codex (278).

“As previously mentioned, the idea for Alfonso’s book is [sic] strongly related to, if not

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<sup>76</sup> Félix M. Pareja Casañas, ed., *Kitab fi al-shatranj wa-mansubatihi wa-malahihi. Libro del ajedrez, de sus problemas y sutilezas, de autor árabe desconocido. Según el Ms. Arab. Add. 7515 (Rich) del Museo Británico. Texto árabe, traducción y estudio previo por Félix M. Pareja Casañas*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Maestre, 1935).

<sup>77</sup> Wollesen’s article shows a choir mosaic pavement (after Tronzo) in Piacenza’s San Savino; a wheel of fortune from Cambridge’s Corpus Christi College manuscript 66, page 66 “After Millar *English Illuminated Manuscripts from the Xth to the XIIIth Century*, 1926”; “Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 6912, vol. 1, fol. 1v. Naples 1279-82. *Havi seu continens, Faraj ben Salim interpretatio*. [...] (After: F. Avril & M.-Th. Gousset, *Manuscrits enluminés d’origine italienne*, 1984); falconers from fol. 74r, another hunting scene from fol. 69r and fol. 30v with its initial letters from *De arte venandi cum avibus* (Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Pal. lat. 1071); the Psalter of Louis IX the Saint (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 10252, fol. 2); the *Carmina Burana*’s (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4660) fol. 91v with its dice players and fol. 92r with its chess players; the *Manesse manuscript*’s (Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Palat. Germ. 848) fol. 13r with “Margrave Otto von Brandenburg mit dem Pfeile”;

<sup>78</sup> Wollesen assumes and discusses the connection with this work by Frederick II (279-80, 296-300), particularly their similar size (298).

inspired by another regal and outstanding work, the treatise on falconry *De arte venandi cum avibus* commissioned by Frederick II and known from a partial copy by his son Manfred” (296).

Wollesen traces the various vicissitudes of the hunting codex, noting some evidence that Alfonso knew of it. At first the relationship between the two works may seem distant however both works are treatises devoted to entertainment befitting nobles and both are from Arabic sources. Wollesen also compares their approximate size “(36/40 by 25/28 cm)” (298); notes the presence of falconers in both (noting *LJ* fol. 30v but neglecting the falcon on fol. 8r); and in his fig. 18 compares them on the basis of their filigree initials.<sup>79</sup>

Wollesen suggests that while innovative in many regards, the *LJ* may be part of “some prior and firmly established pictorial tradition.”<sup>80</sup> He points out the series of three illuminations in the *Carmina Burana* (c. 1230), showing the same three types of games as the *LJ*, though in different order: fols. 91r through 92v of the *Carmina Burana* present games of dice, tables and chess comparable with *LJ* fols. 5r, 66r and 76r. However,

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<sup>79</sup> Wollesen cautions that the filigree initials may not have been part of Frederick’s original but rather of Manfred’s copy of it in the latest fashion. He compares these filigree initials to “common sources, such as the Parisian manuscripts of the *Cholet*-group, and namely the *Liber regimenti auctorum* and the *Saint-Denis missal* (after 1258 or 1262)” (300) which also have similar drapery styles to those seen in the *LJ* with “shading and highlighting colour tones without the help of outlines” (301) and similar “gothicising architectures” to those seen in the “‘Royal Psalter Group’ (Branner) commissioned by Louis IX himself before 1270 ...” (302). According to Wollesen, “the more complicated gothicising architectural settings were quoted from French models that were *not* previously connected with the realm of games” (303).

<sup>80</sup> Wollesen 304. Cf. the Egyptian tomb painting (fifth dynasty) shown by Falkener with its two types of games, a grid with different types of pieces shown in profile and a round game of twelve concentric circles shown upright like the *LJ*’s *escaques* (Edward Falkener, *Games Ancient and Oriental, and How to Play Them; Being the Games of the Ancient Egyptians, the Heira Gramme of the Greeks, the Ludus Latrunculorum of the Romans, and the Oriental Games of Chess, Draughts, Backgammon, and Magic Squares* [New York: Dover, 1961] 10). Falkener also observes that Egyptian drawings of people playing games show them sitting on the ground while Greek and Roman representations of board games show the players seated in chairs (41).

Wollesen believes that the Tyrolean work is more moralizing and therefore more similar to the *Bonus socius* (303). The *Manesse* codex shows chess and tables<sup>81</sup> in two widely separated illuminations. Finally, the stained glass of the Le Mans cathedral shows two similar games, tables and checkers.<sup>82</sup>

### 2.2.16 Paolo Canettieri (1996)

Canettieri's book individually describes each miniature for the final six treatises of the *LJ*.<sup>83</sup> However, this means that because he begins his study after the first and largest treatise, the "Libro del acedrex," Canettieri only treats the final third of the manuscript and roughly a quarter of the illuminations. He lists the possible differing shapes, sizes and locations on the page of the miniatures, noting the previous observations of Domínguez Rodríguez but not correcting her numbering errors.

While recognizing that the wide variety of people brought together by the games is the most important element of the miniatures, Canettieri focusses primarily on the presentation of the games themselves rather than on the people shown playing them. In so

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<sup>81</sup> Fol. 13r of the *Manesse* codex shows Otto (von Brandenburg) IV, Margrave of Brandenburg (1266-1308) playing chess with an unidentified noblewoman. They play on an inaccurate 6x7 board, while musicians play horns beneath; Otto apparently losing, holds a knight in his hand and she holds a white rook. Fol. 262v shows Herr Goeli playing tables against an unidentified nobleman. Both these men also hold a single white piece and the heraldic cats above them are checkered black and white like a chessboard.

<sup>82</sup> Meredith Parsons Lillich dates the commission of window, which was a series of puns on the patron's name, to around 1265 to 1269 ("The Tric-Trac Window of Le Mans," *The Art Bulletin* 65:1, Mar. [1983] 23-33, pun on 31). The available images of these boards are black and white and so quite difficult to make out. However, it is clear that from a gaming standpoint their boards are inaccurate and seem to me to be meant to suggest games in general, rather than showing recognizable problems or game variants. This conjecture is in keeping with Parsons Lillich's suggestion that the game on the board of squares may be more likely to be checkers than chess due to the absence of any visible playing pieces and the needs of the pun. The game at left is shown played on a board of sixteen (4x4) unchecked squares, rather than sixty-four (8x8), with no visible playing pieces. The tables game at right does show a number of small round playing pieces but only perhaps twelve total points on the tables board, rather than twenty-four.

<sup>83</sup> Alfonso X el Sabio, *Il libro dei giochi: il libro dei dadi, delle tavole, del grant acedrex e del gioco di scacchi con dieci caselle, degli scacchi delle quattro stagioni, del filetto, degli scacchi e delle tavole che si giocano con l'astrologia*, ed. Paolo Canettieri. Bologna: Cosmopoli, 1996. Canettieri treats each individual miniature from fol. 65r through fol. 97v (67-70).

doing, his study of the *LJ* miniatures underscores the connection between these and the text, “perché interagiscono con il testo fornendo una spiegazione o un’esemplificazione del gioco ivi descritto” (Canettieri 32). He does however acknowledge that the *LJ*’s use of scenes with people playing the games shown on the boards is an advancement over the Arabic treatises which showed only the boards with written names of pieces and was perhaps even an Alfonsine invention though this seems to me unlikely given the other manuscripts which portray one or more of these same games in similar contexts discussed below. Canettieri explains this added benefit of showing the milieu in which the games were played in terms of the high quality of the manuscript Alfonso personally required.

Canettieri follows Wollesen’s erroneous assumption about the text preceding the miniature it describes for the entire *LJ*. Because he does not correctly analyze the totals shown on the dice, Canettieri says in error that

c’è da dire che nel *Libro de los dados* esse non hanno un’importanza fondamentale per la comprensione dei giochi. Mostrano infatti solamente alcuni dei punti usciti, senza indicare l’esito della partita. (32)

For tables “games of entry, piling, unpling and bearing only” he notes that most miniatures present a position for the given games which illustrates a game already in progress, whereas tables “games of movement with fifteen men variously arranged on the board” (Canettieri 32), tend to show the opening arrangement and the dice sometimes illustrate what would be the first player’s move. Canettieri holds that the chief importance of the miniatures of the “Libro del alquerque” may be found in the presentation of the different types of boards; the first two games showing an initial position and the remainder showing a game in progress.

Unlike the Arabic and Italian manuscripts such as the *Bonus Socius*, Canettieri notes the originality of the *LJ* in that it depicts not only the games but the milieu in which they were played, not only the written names of the pieces as in Arab manuscripts but figurine representations (i.e. of the chess pieces), as well as figural representations of the great variety of humans who played them.<sup>84</sup> He cites previous studies which compare the *LJ*'s art with that of several works, including *De arte venandi cum avibus*, the *Cantigas* and two Muslim treatises, that show how many aspects of Alfonso's production cannot be traced purely to French influences. He notes how Domínguez Rodríguez compares the *LJ*'s architectural framework to those produced in southern Italy like Manfred's copy of Frederick II's *De arte venandi cum avibus* as well as the *Libro de los amores de Bayad y Riyad*.<sup>85</sup> He criticizes Wollesen for ignoring the Arabic influence on the *LJ* as established by Aita, Monneret de Villard and Domínguez Rodríguez. He notes, however, that Wollesen does not exclude this possibility but rather only generalizes it as being "Oriental," which in my opinion rightly includes both Arabic and Indian sources which are somewhat indistinguishable in the *LJ*.

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<sup>84</sup> Some clarification may be needed between the adjectives figurine and figural. Figural refers to the representation of figures, in other words of human body, in art and the term figurine is from chess terminology. Used in opposition to words or letters, which vary from language to language, figurine notation refers to that which uses the symbols of the chess pieces which look like the actual pieces, and which transcend language barrier.

<sup>85</sup> *Libro de los amores de Bayad y Riyad* appears in Vat[ican] Ar[ab text] 368, fol. 22. For another comparison of these two works, see: "Courtly Culture in the 13<sup>th</sup> Century A.D." Teaching Materials: Art and Architecture in Al-Andalus. New York University's Hagop Kevorkian Center. *Bayad and Riyad*: <[http://www.nyu.edu/gsas/program/neareast/andalusia/1\\_p24\\_thumbs\\_47\\_48.html](http://www.nyu.edu/gsas/program/neareast/andalusia/1_p24_thumbs_47_48.html)> and <[http://www.nyu.edu/gsas/program/neareast/andalusia/1\\_p24\\_text.html](http://www.nyu.edu/gsas/program/neareast/andalusia/1_p24_text.html)>; *LJ*: <[http://www.nyu.edu/gsas/program/neareast/andalusia/1\\_p25\\_thumbs\\_49\\_50.html](http://www.nyu.edu/gsas/program/neareast/andalusia/1_p25_thumbs_49_50.html)> (*LJ* fols. 47v and 71v) and <[http://www.nyu.edu/gsas/program/neareast/andalusia/1\\_p25\\_text.html](http://www.nyu.edu/gsas/program/neareast/andalusia/1_p25_text.html)> accessed 5 July 2005.

Canettieri's observations follow Wollesen's both on the similarity between three miniatures from the *Carmina Burana* and on the *LJ*'s structure.<sup>86</sup> The manuscript from Munich's Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, shows players of dice, tables and chess on fols. 91r, 91v, 92r respectively and Canettieri notes the different order of the games befitting the different Goliard priorities. Canettieri compares *CB* fol. 91r to *LJ* fol. 66r but does not suggest direct comparisons for the other two *CB* miniatures. I compare the *CB*'s fol. 91v to the *LJ*'s presentation of the game *emperor* (fol. 76r) and the *CB*'s fol. 92r to the *LJ*'s *iuego de donzellas*.<sup>87</sup> Regarding this structure in the *LJ*, Canettieri rightly underscores Alfonso's personal involvement in the organization of the codex but also follows Wollesen's incorrect generalizations that the miniatures do not immediately illustrate the text (Canettieri 32). See also the discussion of these folios in the catalogue of miniatures.

### 2.2.17 Colleen Schafroth (2002)

Schafroth's *The Art of Chess* also draws upon Alfonso's *LJ* miniatures.<sup>88</sup> Her commentary on fols. 10r and 62v are discussed in the catalogue.

### 2.2.18 Oliva Remie Constable (2007)

Constable's article describes several artistic aspects of the *LJ* concerning the creation of the codex as well as the content of its miniatures.<sup>89</sup> She infers that the text was completed before the illuminations and that Muslim translators may have worked on the *LJ* from artistic details. Her observations regarding Calvo's theories about drinks going to

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<sup>86</sup> Wollesen discusses both chess and tables illuminations from the *Manesse* manuscript but only shows the chess (305).

<sup>87</sup> Fol. 5r. See Chapter II's catalogue descriptions for fols. 5r (*iuego de donzellas*), 66r (two types of wins in *triga*) and 75v (*emperor*).

<sup>88</sup> Colleen Schafroth, *The Art of Chess* (New York: Abrams, 2002).

<sup>89</sup> Olivia Remie Constable, "Chess and Courtly Culture in Medieval Castile: The *Libro de Ajedrez* of Alfonso X, el Sabio," *Speculum* 82.2 (Apr. 2007) 301-47.

the winner are correct but her counts are incomplete and unspecific (313 and 313n29). She ably describes several miniatures as well as one chess problem and she identifies several key personages, such as Alfonso and Violante. However, she also differs from my identification of other key personages, such as as-Suli and Mayor, and offers a reading of social satire where I see only frank realism.

Her inference that the *LJ*'s text was written out before the miniatures painted is rooted in her observation that the “frame of [many] a picture is slightly too large for the space allotted and was painted over top of the decorative initial below” (Constable 10). While I agree with the order of operations she suggests, I am not sure what she offers constitutes evidence of it. I find that the overlap to which she refers is the only very uppermost edge of the initial *L* and only occurs in the “Libro del acedrex.” In the remaining six treatises, when text and image occupy the same page they are generally separated by the red text of a rubric. Therefore I am not sure that this slight overlapping owes to lack of space or rather style.

Suggesting a possible Arabic model for the *LJ*'s miniatures, Constable compares the figure of the chess knights in the *LJ*'s diagrams and those in *Bayad and Riyad* (Vat. Arab. 368, Constable 308). However, I find no miniatures from this manuscript which show a chess board and so am unable to confirm this comparison. While Domínguez Rodríguez suggested that these two works were possibly related (“Libro de los juegos” 107), Constable cites her as being unusual among Alfonsine scholars for doing so while the comparison is frequent among those working principally with the *Bayad* (308n15).

Overall, I find Constable's article to be an accurate overview of the *LJ* in terms of the ludic aspects she presents and most of the artistic dimensions. However, I am confused by and disagree strongly with her interpretation of several miniatures as examples of "social commentary and satire" (Constable 305), of which she says "[m]ost elusive of all are those portraits that may have been intended as jokes, satire or caricatures of people associated with the court—a form of elite humor that was meaningful only in a particular time and place" (Constable 322). Constable cites Benjamin Liu's argument that "biting satire and sexual innuendo were common elements in elite humor in thirteenth-century Castile [and e]xactly this kind of mockery and caricature was a standard trope" for Alfonso's profane poetry (Constable 338). While this is true, I find neither satire nor innuendo in these miniatures but rather a realism consistent with the facial or corporal realism discussed in the portraits below. Her comments appear principally to address the miniature on fol. 48r where she finds a bawdy humor rather than a frank appreciation for the female body. Also seen as somehow satirical by Constable are the little people of fol. 61v and the men of professions such as moneyers and physicians. Her specific comments are treated under each specific miniature in the catalogue below.

### **2.3 Other Medieval Depictions of Games**

Alfonso's *Book of Games*, while one of the most important medieval works with images of games, is by no means the only one. The following is an alphabetical list of other early works I have encountered in my research with similar images that point to

something like the existence of a thematic tradition of games miniatures and may prove useful to future scholarship.

A mosaic in Piacenza, Italy shows an accurate and upright board between two players, a man at left and the second player only visible by his arm which reaches onto the board. According to Keats, it dates from *c.* 1120-40 (Keats 2: 98, fig. 24). The quality of his image makes deciphering the position impossible, but many of the pieces such as the split-headed rooks are clearly recognizable.

The Koninklijke Bibliotheek or National Library of the Netherlands maintains a Web site that offers digital images of illuminated manuscripts in The Hague, two of which contain somewhat inaccurate chess boards.<sup>90</sup> The first shows a man and a woman playing chess on a 7x6 board.<sup>91</sup> The second shows Ulysses playing chess on a 5x6 board in his tent while wearing full medieval armor.<sup>92</sup> I believe the illuminators desired here to represent the idea of chess, with some artistic license or perhaps infamiliarity, rather than accurately to portray chess variants which use boards of unusual dimensions.

The *Luttrell Psalter* (1325-35) from East Anglia (British Library Add. 42130, f. 76v) shows a king and a woman playing tables on an accurate board of twenty-four alternating red-and-black points in the margins of its Psalm 38.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> "Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts," the Koninklijke Bibliotheek (National Library of the Netherlands) Museum Meermano, 14 July 2005 <<http://www.kb.nl/kb/manuscripts/index.html>>.

<sup>91</sup> This image, seen on the above web site, is from fol. 9r of the manuscript The Hague, KB, 71 E 49 from France *c.* 1470-80 which contains Alain Chartier and *La belle dame sans mercy*.

<sup>92</sup> This image, also seen on the above web site, is from fol. 79r in the manuscript The Hague, KB, 74 G 27 from Burgundy *c.* 1450-70 which contains Christine de Pisan and *L'épître d'Othéa*.

<sup>93</sup> The *British Library Images Online* offers two images of this scene. The first is the full fol. 76v of Psalm 38 of the *Luttrell Psalter* (England 1325-35) on which it appears (Record no. c6141-02, Shelfmark Add. 42130). The second is a close-up of the board game only (Record no. 4605). "Psalm 38," *British Library Images Online*, accessed 29 Aug. 2006, <http://www.imagesonline.bl.uk/britishlibrary/controller/subjectidsearch?id=11467&&idx=1&startid=3205>.

The *Maastricht Hours* (1310-20) shows two men disputing a game of tables, one in a torn garment, the other shirtless and bleeding.<sup>94</sup>

The *Manesse manuscript* (1300-15) shows Margrave Otto IV von Brandenburg (1266-1309) playing chess on a 7x6 board with a lady, perhaps his wife (fol. 13r). Fol. 262v depicts Herr Goeli playing tables on a very accurate board of twenty-four black triangular points.<sup>95</sup>

*Pleasures and Pastime in Medieval England* by Compton Reeves offers an image of three tablemen with the following caption, “Gloucester tablemen. They appear to be, from left to right: Sagittarius, the Virgin, a figure with a fish and a fowl (City Museum & Art Gallery).”<sup>96</sup> Perhaps the latter two are Virgo and Aquarius or Pisces. Reeves also publishes an image of “The Romanesque Gloucester Tables Set: believed to be the world’s oldest surviving complete backgammon set, dating from about 1100 which “was found in 1983 on the site of William the Conqueror’s Castle at Gloucester.”<sup>97</sup>

Reeves also offers an image of the *Romance of Alexander* (Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms. Bodl. 264, f. 60), illuminated by Jehan de Grise (c. 1344) and depicting two ladies playing an inaccurate or fictional 6x5 chess, which he says “appear to be draughts”

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<sup>94</sup> In *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts* by Lillian M. C. Randall (Berkeley, CA: U of California P, 1966.) pl. XV, image 66. “Backgammon, men disputing: Stowe 17, f. 268v.” The work made for an unknown lady is now held in the British Library. The board over which the men are disputing is evocative rather than accurate, having only six alternating light-and-dark floriated points.

<sup>95</sup> This latter image appears at the beginning of Prince Alexis Obolensky and Ted James’s *Backgammon: The Action Game* (New York: Collier, 1969) with the caption “Manesse Manuscript (14th century): A couple playing backgammon (*Courtesy of the Bettman Archive*).”

<sup>96</sup> Compton Reeves, *Pleasures and Pastime in Medieval England* (Gloucestershire, Eng.: Sutton, 1995) 76.

<sup>97</sup> “Gloucester Tablemen,” *Gloucester City Museum*, 20 Aug. 2003 <<http://www.mylife.gloucester.gov.uk/City%20Museum/virtual.htm>>. No longer online as of 14 July 2005. According to legend, William the Conqueror once broke a chess board over the head of his opponent, the Prince of France.

(76). Also in Reeves is an image of a king and a queen with the caption, “Chess being played in a walled garden (Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodl. 264, f. 258v)” (77). Reeves has two gaming miniatures, one of a knight and a lady playing chess on a very accurate board and the other of two reclining ladies playing a mill variant.<sup>98</sup> The caption for both reads, “Two medieval board games: chess (above) and merrills (below) (Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms. Bodl. 264, ff. 112r, 60)” (78). The reclining body positions of the players in the second miniature recall those seen in the *LJ* on fols. 22r, 47v, 50v, 52v, 55v, 58v, 60v, 62v and 77r; the game they are playing appears to be nine men’s morris.

The *Kassel Willehalm Codex* (1334) contains three illuminations showing Queen Arabella and a nobleman, Willehalm, for whom the manuscript is named, playing chess.<sup>99</sup> According to Joan A. Holladay, *Illuminating the Epic: The Kassel “Willehalm” Codex* (1997), it consists of a series of

three chess scenes, which follow one another without interruption in the manuscript. The caption [from the calendar] is not entirely correct as the image illustrates closely the nearby text passage describing the discussions between the pagan queen Arabel and her husband’s captive, the noble (not

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<sup>98</sup> Botermans et al. show a marginal detail from an unspecified medieval French manuscript in the Bodleian Library with a man (right) and woman (left) playing a mill game on a triple mill board (Jack Botermans, Tony Burrett, Pieter van Delft, and Carla van Splunteren, *The World of Games: Their Origins and History, How to Play Them, and How to Make Them* [New York: Oxford, 1987, 1989] 103).

<sup>99</sup> As noted in Sec. 1.1.2.2, one image is found in *The Medieval Woman: An Illuminated Calendar* (New York: Workman, 1999) Feb. Inset above the commentary to the left of the dates, is a detail of the miniature from the *LJ*’s fol. 18r with the citation “three Moorish women playing chess (detail). The Chessbook of Alfonso the Wise from Spain. *Codex Alfonso, B1, fol. 18, Spanish, 1283. Patrimonio [sic] Nacional, Madrid. Photo: Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz.*” The commentary itself notes that, “The 13<sup>th</sup>-century chanson de geste *Huon de Bordeaux* includes an episode in which the hero Huon plays chess against the beautiful daughter of a Moslem general (an appropriate challenge, since it was the Moslems who introduced chess to Europe). The stakes are high: if he loses, he will be beheaded; but if he wins, he will win her favor and her fortune. Although she defeats him handily, the princess is so enamored of the French knight that she spares his life. [New paragraph:] While the stakes in this fictional game were unusual, real-life chess matches and other games frequently involved wagering. Although the fictional Huon escaped with his life, a real-life woman named Juliana Cordwaner was not as fortunate. London court records show that she was stabbed to death in the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century by an unidentified male in a fight over a chess game, and it seems likely that gambling was involved.”

royal) Willehalm. In these discussions over their chess games, Willehalm convinces Arabel of the advantages of Christianity.<sup>100</sup>

The rubrics for each of the miniatures are as follows: “Hi spilet der markis scachzabel mit Arabeln der kuninginnen” (fol. 22va); “Hi ceygit de kuningin den markis scach” (fol. 24ra); and “Hi leret der markis Arablen der kuninginnen den kristenden loben” (fol. 25rb).<sup>101</sup> The chess boards shown are 8x8 squares and presented upright between the two players as in the *LJ*.

On fol. 22v, the crowned and wimpled queen holds a small lapdog and Willehalm, who wears parti-colored clothing, holds a rook; their faces have either been rubbed away or were not completed. Next to the players who are seated on a bench covered with a patterned cloth and within a rectangular frame, a servant stands next to a double-leaf door to a small tower. He appears to be rattling a chain with a cuff or leg iron attached as though to remind Willehalm of his captivity.

On fol. 24r, the two players are each seated beneath five-lobed arches and again upon a bench covered with a striped cloth. The queen wears a mesh snood under her crown and wimple, somewhat like the woman at the far left of the *LJ*'s fol. 24v, and her inner sleeves echo the pattern of the Willehalm's shoes. Here the contrived position shows Black pieces only a white squares and vice versa.

On fol. 25r, the queen and Willehalm are again seated under an architectural framework of three tri-lobed arches. A similar though not royal couple is seen in the *British Library Images Online*'s bas-de-page image of a “couple playing a board game”

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<sup>100</sup> Private E-mail dated 23 Aug. 2003.

<sup>101</sup> “Willeham and the queen play chess,” “Queen Arabel teaches Willehalm chess,” and “Willehalm teaches the queen about Christianity” respectively (Holladay 1997: 99, 184-86).

(Record number 11839.tif, Shelfmark Royal 2 B. VII, fol. 198v) of the Latin text of the Queen Mary Psalter, produced in England (possibly London), c. 1310-20.<sup>102</sup>

Finkenzeller et al.'s *Chess: A Celebration of 2,000 Years*, provides several beautiful and important images of chess in art throughout the ages including "The Chess Game" by the Dutch artist Lucan van Leyden (1508), a late fifteenth-century painting by Girolamo da Cremano of Padua<sup>103</sup> (172), "A marriage content" (1552), showing a game between Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria and his wife Anna of Austria and observed by the court and the citizenry from the Duchess's treasure book by Hans Muelich (173), and a clock-face painting from around 1900 showing "Mephisto playing chess for Dr. Faust's soul" in which "[t]he clock mechanism moves the Devil's eyes" (42).

An image from *Historia Alexandri Magni* shows a man and a woman playing on an inaccurate or fictional 7x11 checkered board.<sup>104</sup> No pieces are visible but the rectangular shape of the board suggests the variant called courier chess played on a 12x8 board. See also the painting "The Chess Game" by Lucas van Leyden (1494-1533).<sup>105</sup>

A chess scene with an upright but pieceless board appears in one of three painted leather cupolas dating from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century in the Sala de

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<sup>102</sup> *British Library Images Online*, 2007. The British Library Board, <<http://www.imagesonline.bl.uk/>>.

<sup>103</sup> Jerry Mason also presents this image along with "The Chess Players" Venetian painting by unknown artist c. 1590 (Jerry Mason, ed. *The World of Chess* [New York: Random, 1974] 66-67; 70).

<sup>104</sup> "Bodleian Library, Oxford: ... Ms Laud Misc 751, f. 32r Two seated figures with empty chessboard, from a French translation of Quintus Curius, *Historia Alexandri Magni*, anonymous Flemish artist, c. 1470-80" (Pamela Norris, ed., *Through the Glass Window Shines the Sun: An Anthology of Medieval Poetry and Prose*. [Twickenham, UK: Tigerbooks, 1998], image 58 and picture acknowledgements 120).

<sup>105</sup> An image of this painting may be found at "Painting of Courier Game," *Chess Variants*, ed. Hans L. Bodlaender, 4 Jan. 2001, accessed 23 May 2006, <<http://www.chessvariants.org/historic.dir/courier/painting.html>>.

los Reyes of the Alhambra.<sup>106</sup> The image presents certain parallels with the *LJ*'s miniatures, including the following: the figure seated second from right in fol. 1r, with the natural-looking position of his crossed legs and his patterned shoes; the buttons down his sleeves similar to those on many folios of the *LJ* such as fol. 70r; the people peering out of an architectural background as on fol. 12v; and large number of birds in the trees and on the buildings somewhat similar to fol. 30v. The similarities in presentation between the women in this Alhambra painting and Mayor Guillén de Guzmán are discussed in the catalogue of miniatures on fol. 18r.

Many of the same games in the *LJ* also appear in the *CSM* as reported by Keller and Cash:

Games involving dice can be seen in *Cantiga* 6, 2, "How Holy Mary revived the little boy whom the Jew killed because he sang 'Gaude Virgo Maria,'" with both women and men throwing dice. It is a feast day, and Jews and Christians are playing. In *Cantiga* 38, 3, "How Saint Mary extended her arm to grasp that of her Son who was about to fall due to the stone which the rogue had thrown," we see the gambling den and in panel 2 gamblers are drinking and dicing. A woman draws wine from a large wineskin. At least one player is only half-dressed while another wears only a chemise. Hideous devils punish the wicked people (44) ... In *Cantiga* 72 a gambler insults Jesus and Mary and is gruesomely slain by devils. ...in 136, 2, a woman who loses at dice throws a stone at the image of the Child Jesus in his Mother's arms. For this the king has her dragged through the streets behind horses until she is dead (46, 60) ... Gamblers figure frequently in the *Cantigas*, and their portrayal in taverns and on the street enables us to see features of daily life found in such places. ... Representative *cantigas* about gamblers are *Cantiga* 24, 1, in which a novice for the priesthood dies without confession; 136 ... where we see a woman gambler; and 140, 6, where a gambling house is depicted. (51)

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<sup>106</sup> Mason 63. His work is treated more fully in the catalogue of miniatures, under fol. 18r for Queen Violante's fol. 18r red fingernails.

Finally, the *British Library Images Online* offers several European and Persian medieval illuminations of games comparable to the *LJ*. The relevant similarities of these single images are discussed with the comparable Willehalm and *LJ* miniatures from fols. 8r, 12r, 15r, 48v, 70v, 71r, 84v, 88v, 89v, 92v and 93r.

## 2.4 The *LJ*'s Identifiable Portraits

### 2.4.1 King Alfonso X's Portraits: Iconographic and Semi-Iconographic<sup>107</sup>

The portraits most easily identified in the codex are those of the king himself. He appears at least eight times, perhaps as many as thirteen, clothed in various manners and at a variety of ages, none of which reflect his chronological age. This latter point may explain why there also seems to be a span of ages shown in the other royal personages portrayed, resulting in a family album of a very personal nature for Alfonso. In addition to the Wise King's personal physical and facial characteristics, which might possibly be shared by others, positive identification is possible when he is accompanied by emblematic items such as a crown or throne with corresponding hierarchical seating position and/or Castile and León's heraldic devices of castles and lions in red and gold.<sup>108</sup> He is shown engaged in three activities: dictating segments of this book; playing chess,

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<sup>107</sup> See also previous sections discussing Cómez Ramos's fundamental analysis of a wide array of Alfonso's portraits (including the *LJ*'s fols. 54v [Cómez Ramos also identifies Violante here but calls it fol. 1r in error] and 65r, as well as my identifications of "Alfonso's Iconographic and Semi-Iconographic Portraits" and "Alfonso's Non-Iconographic Portraits" in this *LJ* in this second chapter. Iconographic portraits of Alfonso are the following: 1r, 54v, 65r and 72r, and possibly 76r; semi-iconographic: 47v, 48r, 96v and 97v; and non-iconographic: 10v, 23r, 39r, 73v and 85v. See also the Appendices D1 and D2 for a comparison of the iconographic and semi-iconographic portraits of Alfonso in the *LJ* and the possible non-iconographic *LJ* portraits of Alfonso.

<sup>108</sup> Herrero Carretero's *Museo de Telas Medievales* shows many examples of heraldic devices embroidered on royal clothing, from Alfonso VIII's (c. 1156-1214) brocade cloak whose shield-shaped devices show only castles, as he was only King of Castile (73), to Fernando de la Cerda's spurs stamped with castles and lions (37), his castle-and-lion checked *birrete* (42) as well as his *manto* (32-33), *pellote* (38-39) and *aljuba* (40-41) with shield-shaped devices which are quartered with castles and lions. See also Appendix D6.

tables<sup>109</sup> or their astrological variants; and observing women play chess. However, the king does not always win the games he is shown as playing.

Among Alfonso's iconographic portraits are those found on fols. 1r, 65r and 72r—the opening folios of the “Book of Chess,” “Book of Dice” and “Book of Tables” respectively. In each folio's illumination, Alfonso appears seated above the others in all the trappings of his royal majesty. In his first portrait of the *LJ* on fol. 1r he is seated on his throne dictating this book, a formula repeated in fols. 65r and 72r. His elevated position, his commanding index finger, his crown, his golden shoes, his throne and his beautiful robe covered in castles and lions reveal him as the most important person in the book and a king of Castile and León. Here we see a man of oval face and wavy, light-brown hair, traits confirmed by Cómez Ramos's analysis of a wide array of Alfonso's portraits as well as Delgado Roig's examination of Alfonso's remains, which will soon become familiar and recognizable in the other less conventional portraits of the king and even in the absence of regal identifiers. The whiteness in the area of his left eye seen on fol. 1r may not be an omission or injury to the manuscript; rather it may be either his own bulging eye or a bandage owing to his disease as discussed below.

The second portrait of Alfonso X comes on fol. 47v. Here we have an entirely different presentation of the king for he is neither crowned nor enthroned but rather

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<sup>109</sup> Here the word tables refers to the family of games that today includes backgammon. However, it is of note that the word phrase astrological tables can have an entire different meaning when used in another context, for example the *Tablas alfonsíes*. Chapter III of this dissertation will reveal the connection between the two meanings of the word based on their connection to the letter *tau*. This *tau* connection is the original root of the introduction's *quæstio seso o suerte* and as such is the root of all game boards. Like all first causes, this *tau* symbol refers to god, hence the metaphysical meanings behind all games.

comfortable and at home playing chess with a woman, most probably his wife.<sup>110</sup> As is customary, he is seated on the left and here his grey hair shows him as an older man.<sup>111</sup> He wears a slight beard. His face is the same oval as before.

Although Alfonso is seated Indian or Moorish style on the floor, the curtain behind him indicates his importance. His gold shoes and *birette* with red rampant lion and golden triple-towered castle match the border of his cloak; he is shown in this same cap while hawking for herons in *Cantiga* 142. These embroidered garments indicate his royalty and identity in a semi-iconographic way.

This shift in presentation from stately, aged European monarch to this man playing chess like an Arab on the floor and leaning against a cushion is markedly different from any other representation we have of Alfonso. However, the increasing informality of Alfonso's image throughout the *Book of Games* is intentional. With the exception of the beginning of each treatise, Alfonso is shown progressively more casual, relaxed and less like a European monarch than like a common man equal in final, mortal analysis—of which the games are an intentional symbol—to all others. After the game, all the pieces go back into the same bag whether king or pawn. Maricel E. Presilla establishes that “the literary *topos* of death as the leveler of mankind acquired a significant new political dimension in the *Cantigas*, for it establishes a point of contact and a basis of equality between the kings of Castilla and their people” (431). Fol. 47v

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<sup>110</sup> Falkener shows an ancient Egyptian image of a king playing a game with a woman (10).

<sup>111</sup> According to Delgado Roig's examination of Alfonso's remains, his hair at his death was “de color castaño encanecido” (150). Three hairs examined microscopically showed them to be “muy finos, de color rubio claro, presentando manchas de canicies en su extremidad distal. En la porción cortical no se encontraban sustancias pigmentófagas. El canal medular estrecho, característico de adulto y casi transparente. Esto indica que se trataba de pelos procedentes de una persona que empezaba a encanecer” (Delgado Roig 142).

proves that this *topos* also applies to the *LJ*. Alfonso, by seating himself on the floor, shows that although he is a king he understands that here he is but another player of the game.

Alfonso's third portrait in the *LJ* is like the second, semi-iconographic image on fol. 47v. Indeed, fol. 48r reveals a younger Alfonso with darker hair, the same oval face and *birrete* with castles and lions. The detailed border of his cloak, this time bluish-grey instead of red as in fol. 47r, repeats the same heraldic motif on its border. Here the king is seated higher than the other people in the illumination but it is a bathhouse bench rather than a throne upon which he sits. To his left, under the same five-lobed arch as Alfonso, is a younger man whom I feel may be either Alfonso's illegitimate son with María d'Aulada, Alfonso Niño, or, with less conviction, crown prince Fernando de la Cerda who died in 1275.<sup>112</sup> To his right under the five simple arches are the two scantily-clad ladies I believe to be his illegitimate daughter Beatriz and her mother Mayor Guillén de Guzmán. As discussed below in the context of their portraits, I believe this image in an intimate setting represents not Alfonso's royal family as seen on fol. 54v but rather Alfonso's "other" family.

Alfonso's royal family is found several folios later in connection with his fourth portrait on fol. 54v. Here, in this portrait mentioned above in the work of Cómez Ramos,

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<sup>112</sup> Alfonso Fernández, el Niño, Señor de Molina y Mesa, was, around the time the *LJ* was composed, governor of Seville and one of the king's most trusted supporters. For information on his parentage, see the authoritative and contemporary *Livro de linhagens do Conde D. Pedro*, ed. José Mattoso, 2 vols. Lisbon: Academia das Ciências, 1980: "Afonso, el Nino, filho d'el rei dom Afonso de Castela, de gaança, e de ùa dona que houve nome dona Maria d'Aulada. E houve este dom Afonso, el Nino, ùa filha que houve nome dona Isabel, que foi casada com dom Joham Nuniz de Lara, o Boo, o que filhou Gibraltar aos Mouros, e nom houverom semel" (1.10A13-14). Ballesteros, *Alfonso X*, refers to him frequently without ever identifying his mother and cites the *Anales Toledanos III*, for the date of his death in 1281 (965). H. Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso, una biografía*, claims without citing his sources that he was the son of Alfonso X and "doña María Aldonza" (109n19).

Alfonso appears rather iconographically under six equal mitered arches. From left to right, we have a prince, perhaps the eldest son Fernando de la Cerda, Alfonso, Violante with her characteristic wide-bridged nose, and a young princess. This family portrait is the one that gives use clues for identifying other family members. The king's and queen's crowns and higher seating positions indicate their royal status as well as their rich Castilian red and gold clothing.

Alfonso's fifth *LJ* portrait on fol. 65r is perhaps the most iconographic. His magnificent cloak checkered in castles and lions<sup>113</sup> along with his crown and golden shoes mark him not only as his royal majesty but quite nearly as a demigod who controls the grid of time and space.<sup>114</sup> Here, at the opening of the "Book of Dice," the king appears throned in the center of the illumination under the middle of a five-lobed, five-arched arcade. His throne is covered with a beautiful red and gold cloth somewhat similar to his robes in fol. 54v. This departure from the usual royal seating position on the left serves to demarcate the hierarchical distinction between royal left and common right.

The Wise King again inaugurates the opening of a treatise with his sixth portrait on fol. 72r, the first folio of the "Libro de las tablas." Here his portrait reveals a youthful king with very fair hair, seated on his throne and wearing a crown. His gold shoes peek out from beneath the now familiar blue-grey cloak with the heraldic border seen in fol. 48r. The format of this illumination is also quite similar to the one seen in fol. 1r. The king is seated highest on the left under the first of four three-lobed arches which,

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<sup>113</sup> This is a familiar decorative heraldic motif also found in the *CSM*, such as the King's mattress in *Cantiga* F 95 "How King Alfonso fell ill in Vitoria..."

<sup>114</sup> "Many divine beings are represented as carrying or embodying the sacred grid." The caption quoted describes an "image from an ancient Indian manuscript show[ing] the goddess as a chequerboard, with an encircled navel prominent" (Pennick 6).

incidentally, mirror the 12-side backgammon board, pointing his finger in dictation. Under the next arch are a scribe and another servant while under the third we find the defaced prince in a cap and, finally, another prince who is bareheaded and not defaced.

The final two portraits of the king appear in the last two illuminations of the text found on fols. 96v and 97v illustrating the astrological versions of chess and tables, the most complex, scholarly and beautiful games in the *LJ*. Alfonso's portraits in each are nearly identical. His hierarchical importance is confirmed both by the fact that he is situated at the top of each page, heading groups of seven players seated in a circle, and by his playing of the piece(s) representing the Sun. However, rather than sitting on a throne above the other players, he is seated like the rest of them on the floor, reclining against the couches behind him. This is the comfortable, at-home and semi-iconographic Alfonso playing in easy robes and soft cap that appears in fols. 47v and 48r. In both illuminations his gold shoes, *birrete* and cloak borders bear the castles and lions of Castile-León. In the first of the two on fol. 96v, a gorgeous pillow to the king's left mirrors the heraldic motif in nearly three-dimensional waxy red and black. In this same miniature, a servant holds a fan behind him, indicating his rank, but on fol. 97v he is lacking even this regal feature and his unadorned pillow contrasts sharply with the elegant cushion supporting an Arab on fol. 14r.

Finally, the fiddler at the right on fol. 31v whose instrument bears castles and lions may also be Alfonso. Alfonso's love of music is well known and although many fiddles and other instruments are shown in the *CSM* also, none but this one player possesses an instrument which such a heraldic detail.

### 2.4.1.1 Possible Non-Iconographic Portraits of Alfonso

Other more humble and possible completely non-iconographic portraits of Alfonso may exist in the *LJ*. Important clues may lie in the text on fol. 85r stating that this shows the emperor and how he likes to play this game<sup>115</sup> as well as in the accompanying miniature on fol. 85v. This is the sole instance in the *LJ* of a textual passage which offers a clue as to the identity of the people portrayed in a miniature. In it appears a pair of male figures, one a young blond noble and the other an older man in a grey *capirote*. At first glance, neither of the men playing tables in the miniature on fol. 85v appears to be a king or an emperor but the unique passage in the description at the end of this game prompts closer examination and reveals what may be a completely non-iconographic portrait of Alfonso.

Closer examination of the young blond man on the left of fol. 85v reveals that he does indeed bear a strong physical resemblance to Alfonso in his more iconographic portraits. After making the connection between text and image, I also noticed that there are four other illuminations which contain a similar pair of players. If the text is correct in identifying the younger blond as Alfonso the would-be emperor, then we might also posit that portraits of the blond man with the darker-haired, hooded opponents on fols. 10v, 23r, 39r and 73v may also be portraits of the monarch. Supporting this theory are the facts that both the 7-sided dice used in this game and the game itself are of Alfonso's invention and, as we have frequently observed, all indicators in the manuscript point to

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<sup>115</sup> “E este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura dell entablamiento. & de como se iuega ell emperador; en este tablero. & por esto pusieron aqui la su figura” (fol. 85r). Canettieri believes that the text refers to the game played (69) rather than the players but this does not seem to be the case as the game shown is not the game called *emperador* but rather a seventeen-piece version of *quinze tablas*.

tables as Alfonso's favorite game. Viewed together, all these small bits of information lead me to the conclusion that this could be a very relaxed and personal portrait of Alfonso himself.

Further, the uniqueness of such a portrait of Alfonso does not end in his dress or lack of heraldic presentation because fols. 10v and 23r show the blond youth humbly losing a game of chess to his older, darker opponent dressed as a scholar. The identity of the older man on fol. 85v is something of a mystery as the text is silent as to his identity but he must have been a trusted and admired friend for Alfonso to be willing to be shown losing a game of intellect to him. Perhaps he was Alfonso's tutor or *ayo*, García Fernández de Villamayor.<sup>116</sup> However, in addition to resembling the older, darker opponent on fols. 10v, 23r, 39r and 73v he also loosely resembles the darker scribe on fol. 1v and the scribes and artisans found on fols. 3r, 65r (possibly Maestre Roldán) and 72r. The young blond player finally wins a chess problem on fol. 39r. Fol. 73v, displaying the board set up at the start of game of *quinze tablas*, shows no clear winner but, coming full circle, strongly resembles the scene on fol. 85v attached to the significant text mentioned above, with its two similar players and playing pieces.

In "Alfonso X Retratado en sus 'Cantigas de Santa María,'" Joseph T. Snow remarks that in spite of the fact that Alfonso is the king, and that for eighteen years he has sought the crown of Holy Roman Emperor, he still presents himself in the *Cantigas*

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<sup>116</sup> Garci Fernández, Luciano Serrano notes ("El ayo de Alfonso 'El Sabio'," *Boletín de la Real Academia Española* 7 [1920] 571-602), is called de Villamayor by genealogists but only ever called himself de Villaldemiro (571n2). His wife, Teresa Mayor Arias, may have been Alfonso IX's illegitimate daughter by Doña Teresa Gil de Soberosa named for the wife of Teresa's brother Rui Muñoz de Guzmán, thus making her also possibly Fernando III's half-sister. Doubts arise due to lack of documentation and Teresa's unusual surname, apparently from her maternal grandfather. The son of Garci Fernández and Teresa Mayor Arias, Juan García, held the position of importance with Alfonso, that of mayordomo mayor.

“como un pecador más entre los vasallos de Dios y de María.”<sup>117</sup> This humility is key to understanding why Alfonso might be willing to be presented in unexpected, non-iconographic ways in the *LJ*. Both works show men, including kings, before the greater powers of both God and death. Many *Cantigas* are autobiographical and tell of Alfonso’s recurrent illness which five times brought him to the brink of death. The medieval concept of the “Dance of Death” is that the great equalizer comes to all men, regardless of rank, wealth or religion. The games of the *LJ* represent a microcosm of life where, at the end, all players, king and pawn alike, are laid low by the grim reaper’s scythe.

Even with the autobiographical nature of some of the *Cantigas*, the work as a whole is a more formal one intended for public view. Snow closes his brief study of the *Cantigas* saying that it was a “maravillosa oportunidad de conocer a un Alfonso X retratado como él mismo quisiera verse: en la forma arquitectónica que da a la obra, en su figuración como trovador-protagonista de la recontextualización de tan rico tesoro de narraciones marianas, y en su presencia iconográfica como devoto de la Madre de Dios en sus preciosas miniaturas.” The very personal nature of the *LJ* permits Alfonso’s presence within it to be portrayed as just another player, dressed informally and seated cross-legged on the floor.

#### **2.4.1.2 Exorbitant Problems: Alfonso’s Squamous Cell Carcinoma**

Alfonso’s left eye may also identify some of his portraits because he suffered from a cancerous tumor, a squamous cell carcinoma of the maxillary antrum, that caused his left eye to protrude and, finally, on at least one occasion in Seville, to become

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<sup>117</sup> Joseph T Snow, “Alfonso X retratado en sus ‘Cantigas de Santa María’,” *Concentus Libri* 4 (1998). 25 Apr. 2001 <<http://www.concentus.es/c024.htm>>.

dislodged. Delgado Roig's examination of his remains confirms that the Wise King's illness, which he believed to be a sarcoma, was disfiguring and explains the suffering, often described in symptoms so vague as to hinder even tentative diagnosis, in several autobiographical *cantigas* including F 95, F 71, F 235, E 279 and E 367. *Cantiga* F 95 treats "How King don Alfonso of Castile fell ill in Vitoria and had such a severe pain that he thought he would die of it." *Cantiga* F 71 is of "How Holy Mary restored health to King don Alfonso when he was ill in Valladolid and given up for dead." Other *cantigas* tell of his illnesses in Requena and Montpellier. E 279 "has no illustration and does not state the locale of his cure..." (Keller and Cash 31) and E 367 tells of his cure in Puerto de Santa María. In these *cantigas*, the king, when depicted, is supine in bed but otherwise looks rather well.

Was Alfonso, perhaps at first, sensitive about the disfigurements or symptoms of his own disease? Would he at first have felt more comfortable showing their effects on another person or even an animal? In Ch. 10 of *Daily Life*, "Health and Cures and the Human Body," Keller and Cash, following Presilla and Kinkade, treat Alfonso's illness as well as leprosy, deformities, a simpleton in *Cantiga* 41 and a case where a young girl's heart was removed in autopsy in *Cantiga* 188, 5. *Cantiga* 189 shows the red marks of leprosy on a man's face that recalls Alfonso's own malediction upon his rebellious son, Sancho, whom he cursed in the year 1282 for, among other things, referring to his father as "loco e leproso."<sup>118</sup> *Cantiga* 61 shows a man with an odd facial affliction, which appears similar to Alfonso's own suffering and is explained by the *Cantiga*'s title, "Como

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<sup>118</sup> Published by Ballesteros, *Alfonso X*, 992-98, at 994.

Santa María guareceu ao que xe lle torçera a boca porque descreera en ela.” After doubting the veracity of Mary’s slipper relic because it did not show the ravages of time, the man’s mouth suddenly became twisted so horribly that he would have terrified any who saw him. “E tal door avia que ben cuidava / que ll’ os ollos for a da testa deitava.”<sup>119</sup> *Cantiga* F 88 tells “How a good man had a mule which was swollen in all four legs.” Panel 2 of this *cantiga*’s illumination shows the animal’s idiosyncrasy in realistic detail; the mule’s affliction is oddly similar to Alfonso’s own illness recounted in *Cantiga* 367, “How Holy Mary of the Port cured the king don Alfonso of a great sickness which caused his legs to swell so much that they would not fit inside his shoes” (Kinkade 1992: 322). Finally, Delgado Roig’s examination of Alfonso’s remains shows that his heart was, like that of the young girl in *Cantiga* 188, removed, presumably following the directions of his will that it be buried in Murcia.<sup>120</sup>

Kinkade posits that Alfonso’s facial woes began in 1269 and lasted until the king’s death in 1284.<sup>121</sup> In his article on the same *cantiga* with Keller, they continue their analysis of his illness within the context of the the story of *Cantiga* 235, which they call a microcosm of the end of Alfonso’s life with a

bleak series of personal disasters for the Wise King, including the treachery of his relatives, the rebellion and renunciation of feudal obligations to the crown by many of Castile’s most powerful nobles, a cycle of nearly fatal illnesses, the abandonment of his cherished claims to the throne of the Holy Roman Empire, and the deaths in the same year of

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<sup>119</sup> Alfonso X el Sabio, *Cantigas*, ed. Jesús Montoya (Madrid: Cátedra, 1997) 140-41.

<sup>120</sup> Juan Delgado Roig, “Examen médico legal de unos restos históricos: los cadáveres de Alfonso X el Sabio y doña Beatriz de Suabia,” *Archivo Hispalense* 9.27-32 ([1948]) 138 and 147.

<sup>121</sup> Richard P. Kinkade, “Alfonso X, *Cantiga* 235, and the Events of 1269-1278,” *Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies* 67.2 (Apr. 1992) 284-323.

his son and heir to the throne, Fernando, and his youngest daughter, Leonor.<sup>122</sup>

Of particular interest to this study are the “five separate occasions when the king was desperately ill and subsequently healed by the Virgin” (Keller and Kinkade 28).

Describing the artwork in the first panel Keller and Kinkade note the embroidery or *margomadura* on the angel’s upper right sleeve, the crimson *bonete* (i.e. *birrete*) of *Infante* Manuel, a physican in a blue-gray beret (*boina*, “a four-sided, round hat with a tuft in the middle,” 32) which was a mark of mastership and another physician examining a phial of urine and “pointing to it with his left index finger” (33). These descriptions recall the embroidery found throughout the *LJ* but particularly on the upper parts of the sleeves of garments belonging to Mayor Guillén de Guzmán (fols. 18r, 40v and 48r), the *birretes* discussed in detail below, possible portraits of Manuel (fols. 51r and 96v), the berets (fols. 6v, 25v, 31r, 47r, 58v and 97v) and the physicans seen on the *LJ*’s fol. 31r who holds the phial of urine in his left hand and gestures to it with his right index finger.

Panel 2: Alfonso himself is attired in the garb of a pilgrim, not surprising since he was most recently healed by the Virgin and most likely made stops along the route he followed to honor her wherever her image may have been found. His pilgrim’s hat, here richly decorated with gold filigree, exactly corresponds to the headdress customarily worn at the time by many pilgrims. (Keller and Kinkade 34)

This image may explain three others in the *LJ*, on fols. 9r, 49v and 63r. Fol. 9r shows a group of four males, the three men all heavily adorned in gold and even the peak of the servant’s cap is gold. Three of the four wear a wide-brimmed pilgrim’s hat: the two who play chess and the harpist who entertains them. The amount of gold used in this

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<sup>122</sup> Richard P. Kinkade and John E. Keller, “An Orphaned Miniature of *Cantiga* 235 from the Florentine Codex,” *Bulletin of the Cantigueiros de Santa Maria*, Vol. X (Spring 1998) 27.

illumination and the red hose and gold shoes of the chess players indicate that these men are probably royalty. Fol. 49v shows a woman in a pilgrim's hat playing chess with a woman cloaked in ermine, probably Queen Violante who accompanied Alfonso as far as Perpignan (see Kinkade, "Cantiga 235" 302). Keller and Kinkade also mention that Alfonso was

accompanied on his journey to Beaucaire by his sons Pedro, Juan and Jaime, and his brother, Infante Manuel, plus other ecclesiastical dignitaries including his closest confidant, the future bishop of Oviedo, Frédolo, prior of Lunel, [and that] it may well be that the riders on either side of the king represent two of these individuals. (Keller and Kinkade 35)

Fol. 63r shows another probably royal male pilgrim in a gold filigree hat losing a game of chess to a turbined Muslim.

Maricel E. Presilla identifies the *Cantigas* that deal with Alfonso's illnesses as numbers 209, 235, 279 and 367.<sup>123</sup> Evelyn S. Procter and Antonio Ballesteros associate these *Cantigas* roughly with the years 1272-79, dates which correspond approximately with dates found in Kinkade's study. Presilla describes the king's symptoms as including "fever, pus formation, intense pain, changes in the coloration of the face, edema and infection in the legs."<sup>124</sup> While Presilla concedes that some of these symptoms are indeed very general and could be caused by a variety of illnesses ranging from congestive heart failure to gout, she argues quite convincingly against Delgado Roig's 1948 diagnosis of possible sarcoma. In consultation with four medical experts, she instead says that it is

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<sup>123</sup> Maricel E. Presilla, "The Image of Death and Political Ideology in the *Cantigas*," *Studies on the Cantigas de Santa Maria: Art, Music, and Poetry*, eds. Israel J. Katz, John E. Keller, Samuel G. Armistead, and Joseph T. Snow (Madison, WI: HSMS, 1987) 403-57.

<sup>124</sup> Presilla, 433. It should be noted that Alfonso's desire to depict all physical characteristics, even effects of disease, with realism is reflected in *Cantiga* F 88 "How a good man had a mule which was swollen in all four legs" discussed above. See also Antonio Ballesteros Beretta, *Alfonso X el Sabio* (Barcelona: Albir, 1984).

more likely that Alfonso suffered from a squamous cell carcinoma of the maxillary antrum. This more common type of cancerous tumor would explain all of Alfonso's symptoms as documented in the various *Cantigas*, the framed inscription in the church of Santa Ana in Triana (Seville) marking the occasion when the king's right eye was forced out of its socket.

Presilla relates Alonso de Morgado's eyewitness account of the examination of Alfonso's physical remains in 1579 that described "la frente y la cabeza grande en demasía" (434) and Delgado Roig's account of "bone changes in the entire left orbit, a perforation of the left nasal bone, and a large zone of necrosis on the superior internal edge of the maxillary bone" (435). The deforming effects of his disease led his son Sancho in 1282, two years before the king's death, to say that "[e]l rey está loco e leproso" (Presilla 437) and Presilla logically acknowledges that "[a] man with a deformed face, a protruding eye, and pus oozing from his legs or from ulcers on his cheek would probably have been considered a leper by his contemporaries" (438). This may explain the reason behind Cómez Ramos's assertion that the king wished to establish a portrait of himself as a younger man, before his physical deformities led to his description as a leper, a disease which was considered a malady of the soul as well as of the body.

Later portraits, however, may show one or more effects of the disease on Alfonso's face. On fol. 18r of the *Códice rico* a crowned Alfonso's eye seems odd and perhaps swollen shut and in several *LJ* miniature's his left eye is peculiar in one way or

another, whether in size, for lack of a pupil or in its apparent asymmetry as we find in the same codex on fol. 54v.<sup>125</sup>

#### **2.4.1.3 Calvo and Pennell on Edward I of England and fol. 54v**

Ricardo Calvo and Mike Pennell believe they have identified this couple as Edward I of England and his wife, Alfonso's half-sister, Leonor, based on several factors, including Edward's long stay at the Castilian court on the occasion of his marriage to Leonor in Burgos in 1254, his general physical description of a blond handsome man, his droopy left eyelid or ptosis palpebralis inherited from his father, the fact that Edward was a good chess player and, finally, the absence of Castilian heraldry. Yalom follows Calvo and Pennell.<sup>126</sup>

In their article, Calvo and Pennell note that the interest in such a realistic portrait of anyone in the late thirteenth century would be two-fold: historical and medical. Citing a personal communication of art history Prof. Holländer of the University of Aachen, they note that such likeness in portraiture is generally considered to have appeared only from the fourteenth century. The medical interest would lie in the exceptional case of Edward's hereditary ptosis palpebralis.

Since the European-style problem shown in the miniature does not appear in Arabic treatises, they wonder if Edward himself did not compose it. They also note the

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<sup>125</sup> Alfonso X el Sabio, *Cantigas de Santa Maria: Edición facsímil del Códice T.I.1 de la Biblioteca de San Lorenzo el Real de El Escorial, Siglo XIII* (Madrid: Edilán, 1979).

<sup>126</sup> Marilyn Yalom, *Birth of a Chess Queen: A History* (New York: Harper, 2004) Ch. 4 "Chess and Queenship in Christian Spain" gives Ricardo Calvo & Mike Pennell's theory of fol. 54v as showing Edward I of England and his fiancée, Alfonso X's half-sister, Eleanor of Castile (61).

mysterious sign on the queen's forehead which I believe may not have been intentional.<sup>127</sup>

While Calvo and Pennell's analysis is interesting, it completely ignores the previous attempts at identification of this royal couple by J. B. Sánchez Pérez (Louis IX of France and Margarita of Provence [1929: 10]) and Cómez Ramos (Alfonso and Violante) discussed above.

I do not find Calvo and Pennell's identification convincing firstly because of the reasons I have cited above which seem to indicate that these figures are Spanish, not English, particularly the female figure. Secondly, just as there are no castles or lions, neither are there any distinctive English heraldic identifiers. In fact, both people are dressed in yellow and red, colors emblematic of Castile and León much more so than of England. Thirdly, the tender age of Eleanor at her wedding, no more than 16 years old at the time, would seem to argue against realistic portraiture here because if the man is portrayed with a degree of realism that includes a detail as precise as his ocular malady then certainly one would expect some attempt to portray the queen's approximate age. For more on the identification of these persons, see the section in this chapter devoted to their portraiture. Furthermore, I am unable to conclude with Calvo and Pennell that the king wears a checked shirt but rather that his outer garment is bordered in alternating

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<sup>127</sup> "A Tribute to Dr. Ricardo Calvo—Part 3," *The Weave: Renaissance Chess Part 2* 14 July 2005 <<http://www.goddesschess.com/chessays/calvotributepart3.html>> and "Un sorprendente retrato de Eduardo I," Ricardo Calvo, 24 Apr. 1999, 14 July 2005 <<http://www.terra.es/espdep/articulo/html/dep1078.htm>>. The sample article also appears as "A discovery" by M. Pennell and R. Calvo, in *The Chess Collector* vol. VI. Nr. 2. Apr. 1997.

black and white as are many other outer garments throughout the manuscript. Finally, Alfonso as well as Edward was blond and attractive.

On closer examination and enlargement of the king's left eye, which I had previously thought to be painted with the pupil so near the blue background as to be indistinguishable, no pupil may be seen at all.<sup>128</sup> The miniaturist may have forgotten to paint it in or it may represent a drooping eyelid as Edward had or perhaps even an eye deformity like that suffered by Alfonso. See also Binski's article on Edward's father, Henry III of England, and his idealized portrait discussed above.

While the research by Calvo and Pennell endorses the importance of possible likenesses in the portraiture, it does not address the documented deformity of Alfonso's left eye caused by the cancerous tumor in his eye socket nor do these authors take into consideration the similarity of Alfonso's female opponent with other miniatures in the volume. Though the latter may well be images of Alfonso's sister Eleanor who became queen of England in 1272, how are we to account for the obvious Moorish influence of her attire and the fact that she left Spain for England in 1255, around the age of fifteen or sixteen? I am unsure what the mark on the queen's forehead is but I tend to think that it is unintentional. See other blue marks resulting from the pigment used for the background on fols. 56r, 79v and the man with blue hair on fol. 97v.

In the known and suspected portraits of Alfonso in the *LJ*, he is usually seated at left and looking in profile or three-quarter profile at his opponent, meaning that his left

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<sup>128</sup> Some or all pupils are absent from fols. 26v, 56r (Violante's right eye), 60v, 61v, 71v, 76v and 82v.

eye is shown in a somewhat unrealistic perspective.<sup>129</sup> The reversed situation occurs in two suspected portraits of Alfonso where he is seated at right and turned to his opponent, thus showing his right eye in a somewhat odd perspective.<sup>130</sup> On fol. 65r, Alfonso's front portrait reveals a decided asymmetry in his face, with his left eye shown somewhat different and considerably lower than his right eye. Even though few faces are perfectly symmetrical, since it is the same royal left eye as the one in question on fol. 54v, it may be argued that perhaps the man shown on both pages is Alfonso. Delgado Roig's Figs. 14 and 15 of Alfonso's skull and the "extorsis del ojo izquierdo del Rey Sabio" are consistent with Alfonso's facial asymmetry shown on fol. 65r.

Even if the couple on fol. 54v is not Edward I, a known chess player, and his queen Eleanor, the suggestion that they may be possible models for portraits in the *LJ* is still significant. On fol. 15r two kings are shown playing with their children and I suspect the one at left in red and yellow may be Alfonso. The king at right may be Edward, as Calvo and Pennell problematically suggest for fol. 54v, or he may be, more likely in my opinion, Alfonso's father-in-law and Violante's father Jaime I el Conquistador of Aragon.<sup>131</sup> This miniature also shows the inaccuracy of pupil placement in the depiction of the page who holds a fan at far right and who appears to suffer from exophthalmia. The subsequent miniature on fol. 16r in the codex, shows two queens with their offspring playing chess. I believe the woman at left with the distinctive profile is Violante and

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<sup>129</sup> These portraits of Alfonso include those on fols. 1r, 47v, 48r, (54v), 65r, 72r, 96v and 97v, as well as possibly fols. 10v, 23r, 39r and 85v.

<sup>130</sup> See these eyes on fols. 23r and 73v

<sup>131</sup> See similar miniature of these two kings together in *Cantiga* 169, panel 4. Jaime is identified within the text of the *cantiga*.

perhaps her adult opponent is Eleanor, as this would make lovely symmetry. Fol. 76r shows two crowned men; perhaps the one at left is either Jaime or Edward.

#### 2.4.2 Queen Violante's Portraits

Many women appear in the *LJ* and *CSM*. Alfonso's respect for womankind likely accounts for the frequency of their presence in the *CSM* (Keller and Cash 59). This same respect is also seen in the *LJ* where women are shown as players in the same competition as men and, indeed, in the most intellectual games of the collection: chess and backgammon. Portraits of women who figure prominently in the *LJ* are the two mothers of Alfonso's children: Queen Violante and Mayor Guillén de Guzmán. This dissertation bases its identification of Queen Violante's five portraits on the illumination in fol. 54v in which she can be absolutely recognized as queen and the remaining four by comparison with the portrait in fol. 54v.<sup>132</sup>

Here Queen Violante appears with her husband the king, both crowned and flanked by their royal offspring. This portrait shows her distinctive facial features which form the basis for her identification in other illuminations. Violante has a nose that is not large but which is decidedly broad at the top between her eyes. The noses of other women and even men in the *LJ* are not shaped like this.<sup>133</sup> Also, she is shown as a pretty woman with a delicate, rosebud pout, finely arched brows and often blushing or rouged

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<sup>132</sup> Using fol. 54v as a baseline of Violante's feature, then comparing to them to fols. 47v, 56r, 16r, 18r and 49v. See also Appendix D3 for a comparison of the *LJ* portraits of Queen Violante.

<sup>133</sup> Significantly, Steiger noted that "[i]n den Gesichtern beobachten wir die individuelle Formung; die verhältnismässig grossen Augen mit den hohen Brauenbogen und den scharfen Pupillen und die oft stark geschwungenen, mit bewegtem Umriss gezeichneten Nasen verraten eine Fülle von Eizelmotiven" (xvii). My translation: "In the faces we observe the individual figuration; the drawn noses betray an abundance of single motives outlined the relatively large eyes with the brow arch swung high and the sharp pupils."

cheeks. Her hair when visible is reddish, perhaps owing to her relationship to Emperor Frederick I, Barbarossa. Using this image as a basis for comparison, it becomes indisputable that this is the same woman portrayed in fols. 16r, 18r, 47v and 56r. It is also possible that the player portrayed on the right in fol 49v, with a red cloak edged in regal ermine, is also Violante but the case for this seems less conclusive.

On fol. 47v Violante is shown as an older woman with greyed hair peeking out from under her Moorish, fringed head scarf, but the eyes, mouth and particularly the nose are almost identical to those in fol. 54v. According to Vázquez de Parga, Steiger seems to have been bothered by the fact that Alfonso's female opponent on fol. 47v does not have any sign of high rank or wealth and that she is seated *a la mora* (1987: 22). This is most likely due to his failure to recognize that in this book both iconography as well as physical likeness identify the players. Only Nordenfalk dares to suggest the possibility that this woman is the king's wife.<sup>134</sup> Iconographically, both this woman and King

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<sup>134</sup> "På några av miniatyrerna uppträder Alfonso själv som schackentusiast, lätt igenkännlig genom kronan på huvudet eller dräktens heraldiska emblem—lejonet och kastalen, León och Kastilien. Ena gången tillsammans med sin drottning Violante. De sitter stelt och värdigt mitt emot varandra. Artigt nog har drottningen fått den vinnande färgen på sin lott. Andra gången ser vi kungen i sitt privata gemak bekvämt utsträckt på en bädd spelande med en mystisk kvinna, som sitter på en golvamatta på orientaliskt manér klädd i en grön burnus—kanske konkubinen Dalanda (Daulada), en skön judinna med vilken han hade en son som han erkänner i sitt testamente" (Nordenfalk 28). My translation of Nordenfalk: "In one miniature, Alfonso himself appears as a chess enthusiast, unmistakable because of the heraldic emblems on his head and clothing—lions and castles, León and Castile. Once he is with his queen, Violante, seated formally and equally opposite one another. The queen has received politely enough the winning color as her lot [This is inaccurate as Violante is shown winning no game against Alfonso; Nordenfalk likely either means that the Queen plays black because she has won the last game or he is confused by the fact that this miniature appears on the same folio (54v) as the introduction to Problem 88 which announces that black wins]. In another one [likely fol. 47v], we see the king seated privately and comfortably stretched out on a bed [?], playing with a mysterious woman who is seated on the floor in the Oriental manner clad in a green burnoose, perhaps the concubine Dalanda (Daulada), a beautiful Jewess with whom he had a son he acknowledges in his will." Nordenfalk's assertion that Alfonso's mistress María de Aulada was Jewish is surprising, given Alfonso's position on Christians having sexual relations with Jews, by mistake or otherwise. (See this chapter's discussion of the Star of David as part of the history of marks Jews were required to wear in order to avoid precisely this type of "error" and the *Siete Partidas* passage effecting the so-called "Jew-Badge" law of Pope Innocent III.) It is also particularly surprising given Alfonso's own

Alfonso are seated at the same level on the floor, under equivalent arches, denoting to the careful observer their equal royal rank.

In fol. 56r we see a quite young Violante in a beautiful, low-cut white dress. Her complex, Moorish headdress composed of strips of white cloth is similar to that worn by the princess in fol. 54v. Here again, her eyes, mouth and singularly flat nose match those same traits found in fol. 54v. She wins this chess problem which is a variation on the famous Dilaram theme, one of four in the *LJ*.

Fol. 16r shows two crowned queens teaching two girls to play chess. The image of the queen on the left, when reversed, is once again nearly identical to the images of Violante in fols. 54v and 56r.

Finally, her portrait in fol. 18r is of particular interest and import for she appears in the bath house with her competition, Mayor Guillén de Guzmán who will be discussed

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mandate that a king must be careful where he “makes lineage” (See *Siete Partidas* Part II, Title V, Law III on how “el rey deve guardar enque lugar faze lineaie”) in order not to diminish the nobility of his position and not beget children from women not befitting his rank. However despite the tantalizing possibility, I do not find the name Dalanda or Daulada in Georges Daumet’s article cited by Nordenfalk (31n6; Georges Daumet, “Les Testaments d’Alphonse X le Savant, Roi de Castille.” *Bibliothèque de l’Ecole des chartes* 67 (1906): 70-99.), “Les testaments d’Alphonse X le Savant, roi de Castille,” *Bibliothèque de l’école des chartes* LXVII [1906] 70-99), but rather only mention of seven children within the transcription of the second Latin will. By the date of Alfonso’s second testament of 10 Jan. 1284, only ten of his sixteen total children survived. Not mentioned in this will are the three legitimate daughters Berenguela, Beatriz and Violante who were already provided for, the former as a nun at Burgos and the latter two married. Neither is Alfonso’s illegitimate son by María de Aulada, Alfonso Niño (who married Blanca de Molina), mentioned in the will transcribed by Daument because he had already died. Perhaps the source of Nordenfalk’s confusion is that Alfonso’s uncle by a similar name, Alfonso de Molina (d. 1272), is mentioned indirectly because of his daughter, whose name Inés is somewhat similar to the name of one of Alonso Niño’s daughters, Isabel (Daumet 96). Another possibility is that Nordenfalk may be referring to Daumet’s footnote explaining the identity of Martín Alfonso, abbot of Valladolid, which says only that nothing is known of his mother (Daumet 95-96) although it is now accepted that he is Alfonso X’s son by Mayor Guillén de Guzmán. Some writers called this *barragana* Dalanda and, like H. Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso el Sabio, una biografía*, refer to her as “de ascendencia mora o judía” (95) with absolutely no documentation or indication of his sources. Since the *Libro de Linhagens* states that she is, in fact, María d’Aulada, we may take this as fact and assume with some degree of certainty that the name d’Aulada was transposed to Dalanda and, faced with the fact that there is no such Christian name, subsequent authors such as Martínez have invented this wholly fanciful connection with a Jew or Moor.

next. Violante's face is clearly recognizable and she is both wearing make-up and jewelry. Her eyebrows are highlighted with kohl, her lips redder than usual, her fingernails long and painted probably to compete with the "other" woman noted for her lovely hands and feet. At her neck she wears a choker of colorful, probably gemstone, beads.

### 2.4.3 Mayor Guillén de Guzmán's Portraits

This dissertation bases Mayor's four portraits upon the illumination in which she is revealed most characteristically and with graffiti, likely from Alfonso's own hand, and the remaining three by comparison with it.<sup>135</sup> Mayor's characteristic presentation shows, rather than Violante's strong nose, a beautiful woman, scantily but finely dressed and adorned with rich, embroidered bathing gowns and wooden sandals in the Moorish style, gold bangle bracelets and necklaces but above all tiny but beautifully-formed bare feet and hands dyed with henna or with red polished nails.<sup>136</sup>

Mayor appears on fol. 18r with Queen Violante; the former is seated at the left in the first of her three portraits in the *LJ*. While both women wear bathrobes or *gilalas*, Mayor's is transparent in this as in all her portraits. In contrast, Violante's is a dull and modestly opaque grey. Mayor's face, while pretty and similar in all her portraits, does not have an identifying feature like Violante's nose except perhaps her arched eyebrows. Rather she is easiest to identify by her often hennaed hands and feet, always bare and

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<sup>135</sup> The lady in question appears on fols. 18r (middle with graffiti), 40v, 48r (far right), 58r (far right). Shown with Beatriz on fols. 18r, 48r and 58r. See also Appendices D3 and D4 for comparisons of the *LJ* portraits of Queen Violante as well as those of Mayor Guillén de Guzmán and her daughter Beatriz.

<sup>136</sup> Félix Pérez Algar says of Mayor in his biography *Alfonso X, el Sabio* (Madrid: Studium Generalis, 1997) "Se han conservado en Alcocer su sepulcro y su momia, pudiéndose adivinar en ella la perfección que tuvo su cuerpo, sus finas manos y sus minúsculos pies" (78).

prominently displayed, jewelry including omnipresent gold bangle bracelets, her charming wooden *yankas*<sup>137</sup> or sandals cast off to one side and, especially, the embroidery on the shoulder of her bathing gown. Seated to the left of the chessboard with Mayor is a young lady musician playing a lute, who is probably Alfonso's first child with Mayor, Beatriz, and perhaps indicating that these ladies shared Alfonso's love of music.

Most telling of all however is the writing in black that appears in the blue background over Mayor's head. In the only such commentary on the illuminations found in the codex, Mayor's portrait is described with the following words "esta mulher esta fremosa et sabia." This commentary cannot be instructions for the painter because you cannot paint someone to look *sabia*. This caption must then be a reaction to the portrait of a known individual, perhaps by Alfonso himself, since the word *mulher* indicates it was written by a speaker of the Gallego-Portuguese dialect as Alfonso was known to be.<sup>138</sup> Further, who else would have dared make such a written comment about the king's mistress? Indeed, she is both attractive and wise, as she wins this chess problem, indicated by the congratulatory flagon at her feet, just as she wins every other game of chess she plays except when she plays opposite Alfonso, fols. 47v and 54v.

On fol. 40v Mayor is once again in the bathhouse, in her transparent embroidered gown, with gold bangles, a necklace, fetching sandals, and pretty, petite hands and feet displayed to advantage. She plays against an older man and wins. Usually in *LJ* people

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<sup>137</sup> Vázquez de Parga 1987: 21.

<sup>138</sup> The word for woman in the rest of the text is the Castillian *mugier*. Fol. 1r contains the word *mugieres*, and fols. 95v and 96r describe each Venus and Luna, the Moon, as a *mugier manceba*.

play an opponent similar to themselves in gender, nationality and age.<sup>139</sup> Mayor only appears with important people and she is the only woman to best a man at chess in the volume; there are seven cases of women playing against men in the *LJ*; the women lose five out of the seven games.<sup>140</sup>

Fol. 48r shows Mayor and her daughter Beatriz, both severely and intentionally defaced, with Alfonso and a young man. The woman on the far right is undoubtedly Alfonso's first love, Mayor, identifiable by her beautifully presented hands and feet, fine jewelry, including the gold bangles and the embroidered cross-in-a-square *margomadura* on her sheer white dressing gown, and red painted finger- and toenails in spite of the intentional smudging of her face. The woman on the left lacks the embroidery but is otherwise very similar, with her hennaed hands and feet, sandals and bangles. However, she is smaller and seated between the king and his *barragana* indicating, perhaps, that this is their daughter, Alfonso's beloved Beatriz.

Vázquez de Parga believes that the destruction is simply deterioration (1987: 22) and most scholars have said that the women are Moors but I disagree. Without mentioning the other male at far left, Ana Domínguez Rodríguez identifies the only king in this miniature ("Libro de los juegos" 40). However, rather than seeing, as I do, that he is pointing to suggest the solution for Beatriz, she says that Alfonso plays "en compañía de dos damas muy escotadas, el color azul parece corrido pero ello se debe a la

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<sup>139</sup> Several fols. such as 64r and 71v show illuminations where people of different ethnic or religious background play each other, suggesting how these games were spread.

<sup>140</sup> See fols. 8r (Problem 4), 40r (Problem 58), 40v (Problem 59) with a lady betting and losing a beautiful gold ring with a red stone on the game of chess, 47v (Problem 73), 54v (Problem 87), 58v (Problem 94 where the piece orientations are reversed and thus the miniaturist may have intended to show the man winning but been confused by the diagram) and 62r (Problem 100).

intervención de un censor anónimo posterior que quiso borrar los pechos escotados de las dos señoras” (Domínguez Rodríguez “Libro de los juegos” 40). However, it is not their breasts which have been defaced but rather their faces, i.e. their identities. Who would have done such a thing? While we cannot know for certain, perhaps it was Violante, jealous of her rival, or one of Alfonso’s legitimate children, jealous of Beatriz Alfonso’s preferential treatment. Moreover, the wetting and smearing to this folio’s illumination is of a different nature than the more violent abrading done to Sancho’s portraits in fols. 1r and 97v leading to the conclusion that they were defaced by different individuals.

In Ch. 10 of *Daily Life*, “Health and Cures and the Human,” Keller and Cash discuss the presentation of the nude or partially nude human form without shame, particularly the breasts of women.

Alfonso el Sabio, his poets, and his miniaturists were interested in stories that caught and held attention, and therefore they included sexuality. Let us remember that the learned king fathered eleven legitimate children and four attested illegitimate offspring. ... When he was a young man, he wrote many profane *Cantigas*, known as *Cantigas de escarnio* and *canitigas de mal dezir*. Among those, many treated in satire the sexual deeds of various individuals, notably the camp follower La Balteyra. (34)

Many illuminations in the *CSM* show couples in bed, both bare to the waist and the rest of their bodies covered by the bedclothes.

I believe the woman at right on fol. 58r is also likely Mayor. The personal, jealous nature of the destruction of her face, the henna-dyed hair, like the henna-dyed hands above, the ruffled leggings and their colorful tie, and most especially the beautiful bare feet lead me to believe this must also be Mayor teaching Beatriz about the concept of the bare king victory.

### 2.4.3.1 Beatriz Alfonso's Portraits

Beatriz Alfonso's *LJ* portraits are identified by presentation similar to that of her mother, yet smaller, younger and in a more modest style. She appears along with her mother on fol. 18r (far left, playing seven-stringed instrument) and also on fols. 48r (between Alfonso and chess board), 54r (at left) and 58r (child at right).<sup>141</sup>

On fol. 18r her face strongly resembles that of her mother's and she is dressed in the Moorish fashion, but in an opaque rather than sheer gown. Fol. 48r shows her winning against chess against her mother, an accomplished player as discussed above, with some help from her father. Here Beatriz' presentation is almost identical to that of her mother, only being smaller and lacking the embroidery on the bath gown. She also appears in fol. 54r beating a blonde princess at chess; here are likely two of Alfonso's daughters, one by Violante and one by Mayor. Her less diminutive feet and beautifully hennaed hands are prominently displayed as in portraits of her mother and she wears gold bangle bracelets and collar. Finally, I believe she appears, again with her mother, as the child at right on fol. 58r. Her transparent dress with ruffled leggings is very similar to that seen on the older Beatriz on fol. 54r and both exhibit the identifying characteristic for these two women in the *LJ*, their lovely bare feet.

### 2.4.4 Portraits of Other Members of the Royal Family

Aside from the iconographic portrait of Alfonso on fol. 1r, two of the three other males who accompany the Wise King in that miniature's architectural framework may belong to the royal family. Alfonso shares the first and significantly seven-lobed arch

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<sup>141</sup> See also Appendix D4 for a comparison of the *LJ* portraits of Mayor Guillén de Guzmán and her daughter Beatriz.

with the scribe and, separated from these first two men by a column, are two princes occupying the dual arch of the arcade. That they are princes is obvious by their seating position which is midway between the level of that of the king and that of his scribe and by their rich clothing and red hose, discussed below. The prince on the left is most likely the elder given his position closer to the king. His red and green clothing will be seen time and again in this manuscript. He is most likely Alfonso's eldest son with Violante, Fernando de la Cerda (1255-75). The face of the second prince, seated at far right and wearing a cap, has been intentionally defaced. Such deliberate destruction confirms that these are in fact portraits of real people since there would, indeed, be no reason to injure particular faces if they did not belong to particular people. His secondary position, smaller size and the fact that someone disliked him indicate that he is most likely Alfonso's second son, Sancho, later to become Sancho IV (b. 1258, r. 1284-95).<sup>142</sup> Sancho and his friends are defaced repeatedly throughout the codex. Who would have assaulted his image and why?

In truth, we cannot know for certain who caused the destruction but we can surmise likely suspects based upon whose portraits are harmed. Perhaps it was Alfonso in his bitter and violent behaviour caused by the pain of his disease as described by Presilla, angrily lashing out at the son who had betrayed and cornered him showing that he had learned very well and literally the lessons in the "Libro del acedrex." Perhaps, though I think less likely, it was someone loyal to Alfonso who did not like how Sancho betrayed his father.

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<sup>142</sup> This suggestion of Sancho's identity is thanks to George Greenia.

Along with the rich, iconographic presentations of the king and queen on fol. 54v, the clothing of the younger members of the royal family is luxuriant and interesting. The prince's cloak is edged in the black and white stylization of regal ermine and the daughter's complex, Arabic-style headdress with veils shows a typical strong Moorish influence. Perhaps it is Fernando de la Cerda sitting behind Alfonso and the eldest daughter Berenguela sitting behind Violante on fol. 54v.

The miniature of fol. 72r is very similar in composition to that of fol. 1r. Aside from the iconographic portrait of Alfonso in the first of four tri-lobed arches, at least two of the four other males who accompany him may belong to the royal family. Alfonso is at far left, with a scribe and a youth who share the second arch and the two princes each under their own arch. That they are princes is again obvious by their seating position which is midway between the level of that of the king and that of his scribe and by their rich clothing and red hose, discussed below. The prince on the left is most likely the elder given his position closer to the king. Alfonso's first born, Fernando de la Cerda had died in 1275 and the *infante* here is most probably owing to the intentional defacing. The second prince at far right might then be Pedro, Juan or Jaime.

Aside from the less iconographic portraits of Alfonso on fols. 96v and 97v, the other six players in these illuminations most likely consist of his sons and other nobles. In fol. 97v, the usual defacing to Sancho's portrait in the upper left was so violent as to result in the tearing of the parchment. The faces of the two other men playing on the left side with him have also been marred to a lesser extent and might represent friends of his.

Alfonso's favorite brother Manuel may be portrayed on fols. 51r and 96v. On fol. 51r his presentation does not resemble that of Sancho's with his customary *birrete*, but the intentional defacing seems to indicate someone against whom Alfonso bore a deep, personal resentment. Manuel was Alfonso's closest brother but, in the end, he sided with Sancho against him. On fol. 96v, I suspect that the man to whom Alfonso extends his right hand may also be Manuel given their respective ages. Sancho also appears defaced in this illumination.

#### 2.4.4.1 Sancho's *Birrete*

That Alfonso knew that clothes make the man is revealed clearly in his *Siete Partidas* 2, title 5, law 5 of his *Siete Partidas*.<sup>143</sup> He establishes this hierarchy of dress on the authority of the same nameless "sabios antiguos" whom he credits with the invention of the games of the *LJ*, saying that a king must dress very beautifully in silk worked with gold and precious stones so that common men may recognize him. Silkworms, needed to make such silk garments, appear in microscopic detail in the miniatures of *Cantiga* 18. Indeed, Alfonso's final legal act as king was to order the increase in production of silk for the making of royal garments.

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<sup>143</sup> "Ley quinta[.] que el rey se deue vestir muy apuesta mente. Uestiduras fazen mucho conosçer a los onbres por nobles: o por viles & los sabios antiguos. estableçieron quelos reyes vestiesen pannos de seda con oro & con piedras preciosas por quelos onbres los puedan conosçer luego quelos viesan amenos de[ ]preguntar por ellos. E otrosi los frenos & las sillas enque caualgan de oro & de plata & con piedras preciosas. E avn en las grandes fiestas quando fazian sus cortes trayesen coronas de oro con piedras muy nobles & rica mente obradas: & esto por dos razones. La vna por la significança de la claridad de nuestro sennor dios cuyo logar tiene en tierra. La otra porque los onbres conosçiesen assi como de suso diximos para venir a ellos para seruir los & onrrar los & a[ ]pedir les merçed quando les fuesse menester. E porende todos estos guarnimentos onrrados que diximos deuen ellos traer en los tiempos conuenientes & vsar dellos a[+]puesta mente: & otro ningun onbre non deue prouar delos fazer nin delos traer. E el quelo fiziese en manera de egualar se al rey & tomar le su logar deue perder el cuerpo & lo que ouiere como aquel que se atreue a[ ]tomar onrra & logar de su sennor no auiendo derecho delo fazer. E el rey que gelo consintiese sin la grand aboleza que faria quel estaria mal eneste mundo demandar gelo ya dios enel otro mundo como vasallo que no precia la onrra quel sennor le faze nin vsa del( )la assi como deue. Pero si alguno fiziese" (HSMS "text.spo" fol. 81r).

This predilection for garments of silk with jewel work is substantiated by the hat or *birrete* found in the tomb of his eldest son Fernando de la Cerda, in the Monastery of Huelgas in Burgos. Delgado Roig's examination of Alfonso's remains describes Alfonso's body dressed for burial in a "rica túnica bordada" and a "rico gorro de color negro bordado en toda su superficie con hilos de ajorcas, corales y azabaches."<sup>144</sup> Bertha Collin describes the prince's body as "covered with heraldry from cap to spurs, including the cushions diapered with heraldry under the head" recalling the *LJ*'s many heraldic *mantos*, *birretes* and the pillow on fol. 97v.<sup>145</sup> The "mantle, super-tunic and tunic of golden tissue woven with an all-over design of the quartered arms of Castile and León. On the head was a crown-like cap of cylindrical form, richly decorated with... heraldic quarterings of Castile, the alternate fields of which are embroidered in corals and large pearls" (Collin 3, 6). Fernando de la Cerda's belt (1.94m x 0.043m) of embroidered silk and gold with sapphire beads and pearls contains ten panels of English and French coats of arms (Collin 6-14).

According to a personal email to me from Cristina García Medinilla who works at the Monastery of Las Huelgas, the hat "[E]ra el tocado característico de las clases altas en esa época y así aparece en las ilustraciones de Las *Cantigas* de Alfonso X." This particular one measures 20cm tall and 20cm in diameter and it is "[b]ordado de seda a matiz con metales, piedras preciosas y abalorios (aljófares, corales y vidrios). [Tiene g]alones con placas de oro y piedras preciosas incrustadas."

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<sup>144</sup> Juan Delgado Roig, "Examen médico legal de unos restos históricos: los cadáveres de Alfonso X el Sabio y de doña Beatriz de Suabia" *Archivo hispalense* 9 (27-32) 137.

<sup>145</sup> Bertha Collin, *The Riddle of a 13th Century Sword-Belt* (East Knoyle, Wiltshire: Heraldic Society, 1955) 1.

Concha Herrero Carretero describes the hat as a

[b]irrete de ceremonia o gorro cilíndrico armado en tela forrada de plata dorada, cuartelada de castillos y leones: los castillos de plata dorada, dibujados con cuentas negras y de colores en los fondos; los leones, bordados en seda matizada y fondos de aljófar. Cabujones y escudetes de Castilla-León, en los remates.<sup>146</sup>

García Medinilla says another similar hat was buried with *Infante* Don Felipe (d. 1274) in Villalcázar de Sirga but that it is not as well preserved.

The beautiful detail of the checkered lions and castles of Fernando de la Cerda's cap we have today from Las Huelgas almost exactly resembles that worn by the king himself in the *LJ*.<sup>147</sup> Other garments on these same folios and 65r, 71v and 72r reveals similar checked heraldry, presumably also embroidered on silk. They are likely comparable to the cap of the Archbishop Sancho and the *manto*, *aljuba* and *cinto* also buried with Fernando de la Cerda.<sup>148</sup> The *manto* and *aljuba* at the monastery at Las Huelgas are both similarly embroidered with castles and lions.

Images of similar cylindrical hats or *birretes* appear on fols. 1r, 14v, 67r, 69r, 70r, two on 71r, 72r, 83v, 88v, 96v and 97v.<sup>149</sup> Of these twelve hats, eight are red, two are

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<sup>146</sup> Concha Herrero Carretero, *Museo de Telas Medievales - Monasterio de Santa Maria la Real de Huelgas, Burgos* (Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 1988) 42.

<sup>147</sup> See similar heraldic garments on fols. 47v, 48r, 96v and 97v.

<sup>148</sup> The slide and tape set called *Alfonso X el Sabio* by the Ministerio de Cultura, Secretaria General Técnica (Madrid: Gráficas Marte, S.A., 1984), slide 5 shows the "Capa del arzobispo don Sancho" of silk embroidered with castles and lions in a checkered pattern like that of the *birretes*. According to the tape's description: "Tapicería tejida con oro y con sedas. Capa decorado con hexágonos y rombos enlazados por cintas de oro. La decoración reúne las armas de Castilla, Aragón y las águilas negras de Sicilia, símbolo emblema del imperio. Se cree que perteneció al arzobispo de Toledo don Sancho 1266-1275, hijo del Jaime I el Conquistador aunque otros autores opinan que pudo tratarse del arzobispo don Sancho tío de Alfonso X que ocupó la sede de 1259-1261. Es probable que la tela de la casulla perteneciera al propio Alfonso X, lo que explicaría los tres elementos de su decoración y que éste se la entregara a uno de los dos arzobispos. Estilo mudejar, siglo XIII, catedral de Toledo." See also the unidentified heraldry on the embroidered sashes of *LJ* fols. 8r and 71r as well as the cloak at left on fol. 76r.

<sup>149</sup> Alfonso wears a plain *birrete* on fols. 47v, 48r, 96v and 97v and a heralric one on fols. 47v, 48r, 96v and 97v, which resembles the one he is shown wearing in Cantiga 142 (Keller & Cash pl. 4). Compare

green (fols. 1r and 70r) and two are gold (fol. 69r and 71r, both at left); of the green hats, the first is too abraded to say if it shows a pattern, the second displays a pattern of alternating circles and vertical pair of dots (:) beneath a horizontal line near the top of the hat. Of the red hats, the one on fol. 14v, though there is some evidence of gold leaf remaining, is deteriorated and a pattern cannot be discerned; fols. 67r, 83v and 88v all show a sprinkling of white dots that may be arranged in circles or may be random;<sup>150</sup> fols. 71r (at right) show two sets of horizontal white bands, one near the top and one near the brow; fol 72r has a vertical pattern of stripes containing wavy lines and dots alternating with solid red; fol 96v is somewhat blurred but seems to show horizontal bands of predominantly red with smaller bands of black or perhaps green. The shape of all these hats is similar to those with castles and lions worn by Alfonso on fols. 47v, 48r, 96v and 97v.

It may be said of the wearers of these hats that all are worn by young, Christian males of high rank; at least four appear in the presence of or are playing games with the king. The individual on fol. 71r (at left, in the gold hat) may be wearing a sash, revealed by his open cloak, similar to the one at Las Hueglas combining the heraldry of Castile, Aragon and Sicily; he also displays the red hose and gold footwear worn by royalty in the *LJ*. Six of the wearers of these hats have been defaced: those on fols. 1r,

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these hats, particularly that of fol. 71r, with the one shown in *Cantiga* 300, which I believe may show Sancho playing a horn while Violante plays a drum. The tape and slide set titled *Alfonso X el Sabio* by the Ministerio de Cultura, Secretaria General Técnica (Madrid: Gráficas Marte, S.A., 1984) shows other similar hats in the *CSM*: Fol. 30v *Cantiga* 19 shows Alfonso or a prince in a *birrete*; fol. 64r *Cantiga* 44 shows Alfonso hawking in gold bonnet; *Cantiga* 49 possibly a prince in a red *birrete*; *Cantiga* 130 panels 1, 3, 6 shows perhaps a prince in red bonnet. See also Appendix D6 for a comparison of these *birretes*.

<sup>150</sup> See also Keller and Cash's pl. 49 of *Cantiga* 144 which contains a red-dotted *birrete* worn by the protagonist and many other *birretes* in the crowds. See also Appendix D6.

72r and 97v to a greater degree and those on fols. 14v, 88v and 96v to a lesser degree. All the men whose hair has not been obliterated have longish, wavy dark blond or light brown hair that falls somewhere on their neck; six of the ten images show men with mustaches and light beards around the outline of the chins while the other men are entirely clean-shaved, as on fols. 71r (at left) and 88v.

It is my conclusion that the use of this type of *birrete* was limited in the *LJ* to portrayals of male members of the royal family. Since, in the miniature on fol. 71r as well as fols. 96v and 97v, there appear two men wearing such hats, it is obvious that all men similarly hatted cannot be the same individual. On the latter two folios, one can be identified with certainty as Alfonso. It is possible that the wearer of the gold hat, at left on fol. 71r, is also Jaime of Aragon or another of Violante's Aragonese relatives, given the symbolic sash also worn by the figure.<sup>151</sup> In this image, whoever it is appears to be watching with pleasure or at least interest a game of dice, *guirguesca*, between nobles. I suspect due to this game's name that it may have originated in Hungary and may have been brought by Violante or her retainers to the Castilian court via Aragon with Jaime of Aragon's marriage to Violante of Hungary in 1235.

As for the other men wearing *birretes*, they are, in my opinion, certainly princes but whether or not they are all the same individual is less certain. It may be possible to assume that all those who both wear *birretes* and have been defaced are the same

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<sup>151</sup> Given that Alfonso's portraits show him at a variety of chronologically-unrealistic ages (hence Cómez Ramos's assertion that his youthful portraits outnumbering his aged ones equate to an attempt at establishment of a flattering official image) and since this book was compiled very late in his life, it is not unrealistic to consider that others were also shown in a way that did not necessarily reflect their chronological age but rather his memory of them since he may have been looking back towards memories of other people when they were young or younger.

individual, and if so, then it seems that this person's predilection was for a style of hat and not one single hat due to the variety of decoration on the hats of the defaced prince. My first guess as to this man's identity is Sancho because of his troubled relationship with Alfonso, particularly at the end of the latter's life which might lead him to destroy this son's images in a fit of temper. Perhaps Alfonso simply missed a few and did not destroy all Sancho's likenesses or perhaps the undefaced portraits represent a different individual or individuals. Fernando de la Cerda was known to possess and was buried with a similar *birrete* was never on bad terms with his father, although it is possible that Alfonso could have destroyed an image of his first heir in a fit of grief after his untimely death at the age of 20 in 1275.

#### **2.4.4.2 Scarlet Stockings and Gold Shoes**

Alfonso's other children are most likely also portrayed in this volume but their identification is more problematic. Many of the young blond princes and princesses look very much the same. Also, since it appears that the subjects were often painted at various chronological ages in different illuminations, as with the king, their relative ages offer limited foundations for precise identification. This age confusion also can mean that the young royals portrayed could be Alfonso's brothers or grandchildren as well as his sons or even himself. However, an article of clothing which can indeed help in beginning to identify them all is their red hosiery, as noted by Keller.<sup>152</sup>

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<sup>152</sup> "In passing, it is interesting to speculate about the profession of the possessor of the red hose [in *Cantiga* 42 panel 2 captioned "How young men were playing ball in a meadow"]. We know that only the nobility could legally wear scarlet hose, with one exception: a *jograr* could wear red hose, if a noble had given them to him. The artist of 42 gave the youth scarlet hose, surely aware of this prohibition and of the exception. Was the youth in red hose a nobleman or a *jograr*? Or at times, did youth protesting the prohibition defy the rules? Inevitably, such conjectures may lead to unexpected information concerning

Scarlet stockings are a mark of the king himself, as his are almost always visible, along with his gold shoes in both the *LJ* and the *CSM*. However, other men are also seen wearing red hose in the *LJ* and because of the sumptuary laws concerning this article of clothing, we know that those who wear them are either nobles or entertainers favored by those nobles.<sup>153</sup> Obviously the princes, as with Mayor and Beatriz Alfonso, were identifiable to someone at some time because the portraits of one young male courtier are frequently defaced.

The *Siete Partidas* speak on the privilege of some high-ranking church men to wear *sennales onrradas* that the Emperor Constantine gave to Pope St. Silvester which included red hose (*pannos bermejos*) in Law 12.<sup>154</sup> An addition to Law 21, Book I, Title 3

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aspects of daily life. (Keller and Cash 17). Red hose, shoes or both also appear frequently in the *CSM* on royalty and nobility. Fol. 64r *Cantiga* 44 shows Alfonso hawking in red hose; *Cantiga* 49 possibly a prince in a red hose; *Cantiga* 50 a crowned Alfonso kneels in red hose and differently colored shoes & cloaks; *Cantiga* 80 panels 3 & 6 a crowned Alfonso kneels in red shoes; *Cantiga* 100 panels 1, 2, 3, and 5 a crowned and cloaked Alfonso kneels in red shoes. Also gold shoes appear to denote important personages in the *CSM* as well as the *LJ*. The following are instances of gold shoes in the *Códice rico*: Fol. 4v a crowned and throned Alfonso wears red hose and gold shoes and points at scroll; fol. 5r a crowned and throned Alfonso wears red hose and gold shoes and points at book as in dictation, the musician at right wears red hose also; fol. 7r panel 3 a crowned and standing Alfonso wears red hose and gold shoes; fol. 18r panel 6 a crowned Alfonso kneels in red hose and gold shoes before Mary's altar, his eye seems odd and perhaps swollen shut; fol. 44r *Cantiga* 29 panel 1 a crown Alfonso points and stands in red hose and gold shoes with nobles and prince(s) at left; *Cantiga* 70 a crowned Alfonso kneels in red hose and gold shoes; *Cantiga* 90 panel 1 on Alfonso; *Cantiga* 97 panels 3-6 a crowned, throned and cloaked Alfonso wears red hose and gold shoes; *Cantiga* 110 panels 1, 3, and 5 a kneeling, crowned Alfonso wears red hose and gold shoes; *Cantiga* 113 a kneeling, crowned Alfonso wears red hose and gold shoes; *Cantiga* 130 panels 1, 3, 6 a crowned Alfonso stands or kneels in red hose and gold shoes; *Cantiga* 160 panel 1, 2, 5 a crowned Alfonso stands and kneels in red hose and gold shoes; *Cantiga* 170 panels 1, 3, 6 a crowned Alfonso kneels in red hose and gold shoes; *Cantiga* 190 panels 1, 2, 4, 5, 6 a crowned Alfonso stands and kneels in red hose and gold shoes.

<sup>153</sup> “Las calzas de escarlata eran propias del rey y de la nobleza que le rodeaba. Las ordenanzas las prohibían a las demás clases sociales, y una ley sunitaria dictada por Don Jaime I en 1234 extendió esta prohibición a los hijos de los caballeros que no fuesen recibidos tales. Por el contrario, se permitían a juglares y bufones, quienes las recibían en obsequio de aquellos señores ante quienes lucían sus habilidades. Al clero, le eran prohibidas las calzas de colores” (Guerrero Lovillo 292).

<sup>154</sup> “Antiguamente quatro fueron las yglesias en que ouo patriarchas la primera fue constantinopla. La segunda alixandria. La terçera antiocha. La quarta ierusalen. Pero otras dos ay que son patriarchadas. la vna de aquelegia. la otra de grandeser. mas las quatro que son primeramente han mejoría en dos cosas mas quelas otras. La primera es quel primero delos patriarchas destas quatro yglesias pueden dar palio asus

of the new ordinances mandates that the paramours of all cleric wear a piece of red cloth the width of three fingers on their hats, somewhat like Hester Prin nearly six hundred years later in Nathaniel Hawthorne's *Scarlet Letter* (1850).<sup>155</sup> Segunda Partida, Title 21, Law 18 addresses how young knights should dress, including ancient authority's prescription of brightly colored hose in red, yellow and green in order to make them both attractive and happy. However these colors were prohibited by sumptuary laws to members of other religions.<sup>156</sup>

If more than one of the figures shown in a miniature wears red hosiery, gold shoes often help to single out the highest ranking among them. Alfonso is shown wearing gold shoes in all eight of his iconographic and semi-iconographic portraits but in only three of his five suspected non-iconographic portraits on fol. 10r, 73v and 85v. While both kings

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arçobispos despues quellos fueren consecrados & lo ouieren ellos reçevido del papa. la otra es que puedan traer cruz ante si saluo en la çibdad de roma o en otro lugar qual quier enque fuesse el apostolico o algun cardenal o a quien diesse su poder o le mandase que traxese **las sennales onrradas quele dio el enperador constantino a sant siluestre papa assi como los pannos bermejos** o el palafren blanco o la tienda que tiene sobre si mas los otros dos que se llaman patriarchas delas yglesias sobredichas no han poder de fazer estas cosas saluo si el apostolico las otorgase a alguno dellos sennaladamente porsu preuilejo” (fol. 16v, emphasis mine).

<sup>155</sup> “Adicion. La ley .xxj. libro .j. titulo .iij. delas ordenanças nuevas dize & manda que todas las mancebas delos clerigos de todas las çibdades & villas & lugares destos regnos agora & de aqui adelante cada vna dellas **trayga por sennal vn prendedero de panno bermejo tan ancho como tres dedos encima delas tocas publica** & continuamente en manera que se paresca & la que no traxere la dicha sennal & fuere tomada sin ella que pierda todas las vestiduras que troxere vestidas & gelas tome el alguazil o merino dela çibdad villa & lugar donde esto acaesciere & se parta en tres partes. la vna para el acusador & la otra para el alguazil o merino dela çibdad villa & lugar donde esto acaesciere & la otra para el reparo delos muros del dicho lugar: & si el dicho alguazil o merino fuere negligente & no le quisiere tomar la vestidura que pierda el oficio & peche en pena de seysçientos marauedis & que sean partidos en la forma susodicha pero que la parte quel alguazil o merino deuia auer que sea para los dichos muros” (fol. 30r, emphasis mine).

<sup>156</sup> In Jan. 1258, at the courts of Valladolid, Alfonso declared “Que ningun judio non traya penna blanca nin çendal, en ninguna guisa, nin siella de barda dorada, nin calças bermeias, nin panno tinto ninguno, sinon pres o bruneta prieta o ingles o enssay negro, fuera a aquellos que lo el Rey mandare... Manda el rey que los moros que moran en las uillas de los christianos que anden çerçenados aderredor o el cabello partido sin copete, e que trayan las baruas luengas como manda su ley, nin trayan çendal nin penna blanca, nin panno tinto, sinon como sobredicho es de los judíos, nin çapatos blancos, nin dorados e el que lo fiziere que se a merçed del rey” (Ballesteros 204). Ballesteros adds that this law expressed nearly verbatim another from the courts in 1252 (204).

on fol. 15r wear gold shoes, only one of the emperors or kings on fol. 76r has shoes which are visible and they are, indeed, of gold. Red shoes, like those seen on fols. 14v, 54v and 72r, seem to indicate an intermediate rank beneath those wearing gold shoes but superior to the most common shoe color, black.

#### **2.4.4.3 Teaching Royal Children to Play Games**

Part of the function of the *LJ* as an *espejo de príncipes*, as discussed in Chapter I, is reflected in the seven different illuminations showing adults teaching children to play various games.<sup>157</sup> Each such miniature reinforces that the games are didactic. Fol. 15r shows two crowned kings, flanked by servants with fans similar to the image on fol. 96v, and teaching two young boys, probably princes, to play chess. The king on the left wears red and gold and is therefore probably Alfonso given his customary position and the Castilian colors. The king on the right may be his brother-in-law Edward I of England. Fol. 16r shows fol. 15r's antithesis, with two crowned queens teaching young princesses to play chess. See also the discussion of the portrait of Violante contained in this illumination, discussed above.

In a convent setting rather than a royal one, Fol. 33r shows two more women teaching young girls to play chess. The woman on the left who wears a fringed headscarf wrapped in a Moorish style is teaching a girl to play chess against a girl tutored by a woman in a wimple. The dark and light hair, respectively, of the youngsters they teach also seems to indicate their different heritage. This coming together of cultures in the context of the games sheds light on how they were spread: the Arabs brought chess to

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<sup>157</sup> Adults are portrayed teaching games to children on fols. 15r, 16r, 33r, 33v, 58r, 74r and 93r.

Spain and thus the rest of Europe. Fol. 33v, on the reverse of the previous miniature, shows the opposite gender in the same situation: two tonsured men teach two tonsured boys to play chess in a monastery. To be noted are the decorations in the green area to the right and left of the chessboard. Both patterns reinforce the grid motif of chess, but on the right it appears that the illuminator gave free rein to his fancy and drew a series of shapes that play with and expand upon this idea. These shapes, their symbolic meanings and connections to the games, will be discussed more fully in this chapter in the section devoted to Keat's theory of Jewish scribal signatures and also in Chapter III.

The portraits of fol. 58r are both unusual and curious. Here two women teach two children to play chess. The woman's heavily lined face indicates her advanced age. Both the woman and child on the left have grey hair and unusual dress, recalling ancient Greek or Roman clothing. The woman's headgear recalls that of Violante in fol. 56r and the princess in fol. 54v but her stripped outfit is unique. Perhaps their antique attire indicates that they are from the past, like the game itself. The pair of females on the right has red hair and the face of the woman appears to be intentionally smeared. The child wears a transparent bathrobe and the woman an opaque greyish one, with the red strings of her *gilala* hanging down below.

Two young men teach two very young boys to play *los doze canes* also known as *los doze hermanos* in the illumination of fol. 74r. The youth is very evident in the faces of the two players. The men, by their clothing and hair, are probably princes. This could then be some of Alfonso's sons and grandsons playing at tables.

Fol. 93v contains another possible portrait of Alfonso's sons and grandsons. The corners of the illumination bear crests with castles and lions indicating that the people in the illumination are royalty. The fine clothing and hair of the young men indicates that they may be the princes seen in fol. 74r and that these toddlers, the youngest people shown in the text, are their sons. It is fitting that the youngest players should be playing this, the simplest game in the collection. It is *tres en raya* or tic tac toe.

#### **2.4.4.4 Heraldry**

Castile's castles and León's lions help identify Alfonso and other members of his royal court. Alfonso is often shown in the *LJ* somewhat iconographically wearing clothing with this heraldry as on fols. 1r, 47v, 48r, 65r, 72r, 96v and 97v. See also the discussion of the often heraldic *birretes* above for examples of surviving fabrics like those shown in these miniatures. The same emblematic figures also appear on royal items in the *LJ* such as the scabbard at right on fol. 12v, the fiddle at right on fol. 31v, and the round pillow to the right of Alfonso on fol. 96v. Heraldic escutcheons appear at the four corners of ten miniatures in the "Libro del acedrex" and the "Libro del alquerque" (fols. 39v, 40r, 52v, 53r, 53v, 55v, 92r, 92v, 93r and 93v), seeming to indicate important personages even if their identities have not yet been confirmed.

Similar heraldic symbols are also found in the miniatures of the *CSM*. A comparative study with the *Códice rico* and the *CSM* shows that a large number of *Cantigas* use castles and lions in the decorative details between the panels and to indicate

royal personages and miracles with a personal connection to the crown.<sup>158</sup> The autobiographical or family related *Cantigas* may also help identify some of the royal portraits in the future.<sup>159</sup>

#### 2.4.5 Portrayals of As-Suli and Other Historical or Legendary Figures

The illuminations of the *LJ* can positively be said to show at least one important figure from the history of chess, as-Suli. The haloed and throned man second from the left in fol. 17v, whose name is embroidered in Arabic Cufic script on the sleeve of his tunic, has caused quite a bit of speculation about his identity despite being so clearly labelled. His nametag on fol. 17v along with the pillows with his name on fols. 10r and 22r are the only bibliographic nods in Alfonso's "Libro del acedrex," or even in the entire *LJ*, to its sources.

As-Suli's nimbus, after the Eastern tradition, denotes his enlightenment and great wisdom and not that he is a saint as in Christian art. He may possibly also be portrayed without the halo on fols. 10r, 14r, 36v, 37r, 44r, 45v and 55v. The only other haloed

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<sup>158</sup> Fol. 7r shows many escutcheons even midline in the text; fol. 18r Mary's altar is checked in castles and lions; *Cantiga* 10 (Rosa das rosas) contains many escutcheons even midline in the text; fol. 32v *Cantiga* 21 panel 1 shows crowned Alfonso praying in red shoes and a red robe with gold castles & lions, additionally there are escutcheons around his "dream"; fol. 46v *Cantiga* 32 panels 3 & 6 shows Mary's altar checked in castles & lions; *Cantiga* 110 panels 5 & 6 castles on Alfonso's inner tunic, *Cantiga* 66 Bishop's robe has castles; *Cantiga* 80 panels 3 & 6 a crowned Alfonso kneels in a red cloak with gold castles; *Cantiga* 100 panels 1 & 2 Alfonso wears a checked cloak of castles & lions, *Cantiga* 110 panels 1, 3, and 5 a kneeling, crowned Alfonso wears a cloak with gold castles; *Cantiga* 113 a kneeling, crowned Alfonso may have castles on his cloak; *Cantiga* 142 panels 1, 3, 5 Alfonso hunting in a *birrete* with castles and lions; *Cantiga* 170 panels 1, 3, 6 Alfonso kneels at Mary's altar which is checked in castles & lions. See also Appendix D6.

<sup>159</sup> From "El texto: Introducción histórico-crítica, transcripción, versión castellana y comentarios" (33-62) by J. Filguera Valverde in the companion volume, *Cantigas* 49: 97, 122, 142, 169, 209, 221, 235, 256, 276, 279, 292, 295, 299, 328, 345, 348, 349 (387), 361, 366, 367, 375, 376, 377, 382, 386, 388, Cfr. 324. *Cantiga* 122 may show a portrait of Alfonso's mother Beatriz of Swabia. A later medieval example of checkered garments of castles and lions can be seen in the anonymous 1431 fresco entitled the *Batalla de Hilgueruela* in the Escorial's Hall of Battles. It shows not only King Juan II arrayed in a red and white checkered outfit, gold three-turreted castles on the red and black rampant lions on the white, but also other members of his vanguard (Smith 114, 116-17).

personage in the manuscript is the similarly enlightened Indian king of the prologue's myth on the origin of games, shown twice on fols. 2r and 2v and both times with halo. Other historical or legendary figures seen in *LJ* miniatures may possibly be Said ben Yubair and his servant Ataa (fol. 22r), Dilaram (fol. 62r) and Abenámar (fol. 64r).

With regard to the eleventh-century chess master, Abu Bakr Muhammad bin Yahya as-Suli, on fol. 17v, Janer and Steiger were confused by the presentation of a throned figure with both a halo and a scepter. Janer notes the Arabic script on the sleeve but does not translate it.<sup>160</sup> Steiger translates and paraphrases Janer into German, likewise noting the Arabic script and confused by the subject portrayed. Murray is silent about this important miniature.<sup>161</sup> Vázquez de Parga also mentions the Arabic characters on his sleeve but nonetheless identifies the figure with the King of India mentioned in the prologue's origin myth and shown on fols. 2r and 2v (1987: 20). Calvo (1987: 184), and Domínguez Rodríguez ("Libro de los juegos" 35) who follows him, makes an attempt to name him but incorrectly believes him to be the eighth-century Arab chess master al-Mahdi.

Both Janer ("Los libros de ajedrez" 242) and Vázquez de Parga (1987: 20) provide us with a very interesting observation, that the presentation of the positions of important people and players in this miniature does indeed echo that of not only fols. 2r and 2v, but also Alfonso's own portrayal in various miniatures. Therefore it can be seen that Janer and Vázquez de Parga are correct in affirming that all these illuminations

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<sup>160</sup> See also this chapter's catalogue of miniatures, fol. 17v.

<sup>161</sup> H[arold] J[ames] R[uthven] Murray, *A History of Chess* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913. Oxford: Oxbow-UP, n.d.).

follow the same model. However the throned figure himself, presented as an honored Arab person of high rank or esteem and the only other one presented with a halo besides the Indian king in fols 2r and 2v, bothered Janer and Vázquez de Parga precisely because they did not pay attention to those Arabic characters displayed on his sleeve.

Despite the problems with his presentation and analysis of the problem discussed in this dissertation's first chapter, it is Calvo who comes the closest to solving the riddle of this man's identity. In his introduction, Calvo explains further that it is the miniature that gives us a clue to Alfonso's bibliography and vice versa.

La solución se encuentra en la posición ajedrecística, que era bien conocida por los árabes y que se transcribió por tanto en diversos manuscritos islámicos. Uno de ellos, descubierto por el doctor Paul Schroeder, fue copiado el 21 del mes de Ramadán del año 618 (1221 de nuestro calendario [el año en que nació Alfonso]) por Muhamed ben Hawa ben Othman, "el mueddib," y reproduce el problema con el siguiente comentario "Al-Mahdi (el padre de Harum ar Raschid) hizo este problema; no ocurrió en ninguna partida real." (1987: 132)

In spite of his next statement, that Murray cautions that the historic value of such attributions need to be treated with care because of a certain tendency to ascribe problems to famous people (Murray 1913: 195), Calvo goes on to conclude incorrectly that the "miniaturista retrata o pretende retratar al califa Al-Mahdi a quien se atribuye" (1987: 132). However, Calvo was close. Previously, he had noted that Murray found similar problems in four other Arabic manuscripts and that one of those attributed the problem to as-Suli.

Los folios 16v y 17r contienen la detallada solución. En el 17v se presenta la miniatura, que es muy interesante, ya que este problema, que el manuscrito H atribuye a As-Suli, es adscrito de la siguiente forma en el manuscrito V: "Fué compuesto por Al-Mahdi, el padre del califa Harum Ar-Raschid, y no sucedió en ninguna partida." Esta fuente, oral o escrita,

es la que atiende en su miniatura el ilustrador del rey Alfonso el Sabio, que representa conduciendo a las piezas ganadoras a un califa, sentado en su trono, con cetro de mando, y con típica aureola que aparece en numerosas figuras de la pintura islámica. Se trata probablemente de Al-Mahdi. (Calvo 1987: 184)

I was not convinced that even Calvo had correctly identified the man on fol. 17v. Concurring with Calvo, I believed this miniature represented an Arab chess master from antiquity and not, as Vázquez de Parga believed, the prologue's king of India. Following my hunch, I enlisted the help of Francisco Marcos Marín who was able to confirm my suspicion that this was as-Suli by reading the Cufic characters on his sleeve.

More than a few other cases of Arabic script appear in the *LJ*. Fol. 10r has some Arabic characters on the pillow belonging to the player on the left. Janer notes these are Moors and that one has a red cushion with Arabic characters, which he believes may express something from the Koran. Steiger, who follows Janer, notes the pillow with Arabic script and that the other cushion is also red and embroidered with gold and black flowers. Calvo says this problem was well known in the majority of Arabic chess works and originally comes from the famed tenth-century chess master as-Suli's Arabic treatise on chess "a quien quizá quiso representar el miniaturista" (1987: 174) and that it likely originated in a real game. The pillow may possibly read "as-Suli shah mat," i.e. as-Suli checkmates. Curiously, the winner of the problem is not the player of black supported by the pillow with writing but rather the player of white supported by the pillow with the floral motif and the celebratory flask at his feet. This motif, noted by Steiger, echoes the staff of as-Suli on fol. 17v and the winner of this seventh chess problem loosely resembles as-Suli with his brown beard.

Fol. 22r also shows some writing on a pillow. Of this problem, Calvo notes that the chess treatise at the John Ryland's Library in Manchester, says this problem originates in as-Suli's treatise (1987: 189). Fol. 37r shows some markings on one of the players which may be, but probably are not, Arabic. The marked man is the winner of this problem originally from as-Suli's collection according to Calvo (1987: 206). Fols. 14r, 41v and 45v have Arabic or mock-Arabic writing in books, though the writing in the latter two looks as though it was done by someone who at least had some familiarity with the appearance of Arabic script.<sup>162</sup> The one on 14r, Calvo says, is a well-known problem originating from as-Suli's work and is reproduced in several manuscripts (1987: 180). Calvo found no antecedents for the problem on 41v (1987: 212). The problem on 45v is from a position won by as-Suli in a blindfold match and Calvo wonders if the book shown is that of the Arab chess master (1987: 216). I wonder if the Arabic script in the miniature's book, which appears to begin with as-Suli's name, may possibly mention as-Suli's blindfold victory.

Finally, the beautiful Cufic script around the top of the tent on fol. 64r is a *bismillah*, meaning "In the name of Allah," found at the head of every chapter or surah in the Koran and a word uttered by Muslims at the beginning of every good act. It is not strange that it appears on what is the final game and image of the "Libro del acedrex" because if this book stood alone and were to be opened by an Arabic reader, this would be the opening page and image.

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<sup>162</sup> Joyous thanks to Francisco Marcos Marín, Vincent Barletta, Catalina Rodríguez and all who helped me to decipher all the Arabic and non-Arabic in this manuscript and specifically to identify these Arabic characters. Barletta also says that the definite article may appear before the "sin" in the fold of his garment but that the lack of a "waw" between in the "sin" and the "lam" may be problematic in positively identifying this man as as-Suli.

The *Códice rico* of the *CSM* also contains several instances of Arabic script in the miniatures. In *Cantiga 25*, fol. 89r, the curtain in panel one has Arabic script and two 6-pointed stars; *Cantiga 53*, panel 6, shows Arabic script on the bucket; *Cantiga 56* displays Arabic script on Mary's altar; *Cantiga 187*'s second page of illumination, panel 3, has Arabic script on the pennants. Arabic, then, is commonly utilized by the Alfonsine miniaturists and has important implications. Although she does not offer any translations of the Arabic script in the *LJ*'s miniatures, Constable does note that the inclusion of "legible" Arabic in several miniatures is evidence of Muslim or bilingual artists (309). Bilingual Jewish translators may also account for the Arabic script in the *LJ* and even *CSM* illuminations.

The name nametag on as-Suli's sleeve serves to identify the man in the portrait clearly and logically, and not as an Indian surrounded by Arabs with Arabic embroidered on his sleeve, wearing an Arab's turban, nor as the King of India from the prologue's exemplum whom he does not resemble, but rather as the man whose name he bears and from whose chess problems or *mansubat* Alfonso drew more than from anywhere else as indicated by the other miniatures with similar Arabic script.

Sources such as as-Suli's treatise most likely provided models for the "Libro del acedrex" not only in content but for the illuminations as well. While we cannot know now if this portrait of as-Suli presents us with his physical likeness, because no other portraits are known to survive, we can be certain that this man represents the venerable chess master because Alfonso's artists went to the trouble of writing his name in his own language. We can also surmise from the similarity of the presentation shown in the

portraits of Alfonso himself, the Indian king and as-Suli that the illuminators were likely working from Eastern models, which showed the most important person seated highest and at left and non-Christians with haloes. As Calvo says of as-Suli's portrait on fol. 17v:

Lo importante de esta miniatura es que nos demuestra que el artista alfonsino tuvo, por lo menos en ocasiones, la intención de retratar, no sólo a los reconocibles reyes y personajes contemporáneos suyos, sino a figuras del pasado relacionadas más o menos legendariamente con los problemas ajedrecísticos y conviene, por tanto, tener este hecho presente en el fondo de la mente al mirar a las miniaturas. (1987: 132)

The chief beauty of the *LJ* as well as the key to its understanding lies in seeing the textual passages in context with the miniatures that illustrate them. Many studies have analyzed them separately, but as we have seen here the miniatures can offer intriguing clues and vital information to understanding how the *LJ* came into being. Without the Arabic writing in the miniature of fol. 17v, we would not know any of Alfonso's textual or artistic models for certain. Collaboration between medieval Hispanists and Arabists will solve the other riddles proposed by Arabic script in the illuminations of Alfonso X's *Book of Games*.

Other historical or legendary figures seen in *LJ* miniatures may possibly be Said ben Yubair and his servant Ataa (fol. 22r), Dilaram (fol. 62r) and Abenámar (fol. 64r). Said ben Yubair was a famous eight-century Moorish chessplayer known for his skill at blindfold play; his mulatto servant was named Ataa. According to Calvo, fol. 22r may represent him and his servant (1987: 189).

Calvo, somewhat unconvincingly, suggests that fol. 62r portrays Dilaram playing chess against her husband in a European setting (1987: 233). One of the most famous early Arabic chess problems, the Dilaram problem is a tale of love and sacrifice that is

found time and again in early treatises. Once upon a time there was a nobleman who had many wives, but his favorite was one called Dilaram whose name means “heart’s ease.” In a high-stakes chess game against a strong opponent, the noble husband bet Dilaram upon the game’s outcome but the game was going badly and he looked sure to lose. However, the wise Dilaram saw how the game and her life could be saved and shouted to her lord: “Sacrifice your two rooks but not me!” The nobleman saw what Dilaram meant and sacrificed both rooks to checkmate with his knight. He won the game and saved his wife. And they lived happily ever after. Calvo’s whimsical suggestion is appealing but in the story Dilaram’s husband plays against a male opponent and he only wins with the help of his wise wife. Here the man and woman play against one another and she loses. Further, while everyone from Van der Linde to Calvo (1987: 233) call this the *LJ*’s fourth Dilaram problem, it is not. See my discussion of this problem in the first chapter of this dissertation.

Calvo (1987: 235), Domínguez Rodríguez (“Libro de los juegos” 40) and Keats (1: 130) wonder if fol. 64r’s scene between an Arab and a Castilian noble represents the legendary chess game played between Abenámár and Alfonso VI. According to Keats there was a famous game between Alfonso VI, King of Castile, and Abenámár, vizier of Seville, which the Arab won and with the game Alfonso’s promise to leave his territory.<sup>163</sup> While it is the Arab who wins the game shown in this miniature, more than four hundred years separate the lifetimes of the two men in question. See my discussion of this miniature below in this chapter’s “Catalogue of Miniatures.”

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<sup>163</sup> Victor Keats, *Chess, Jews and History*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Oxford Academia, 1994) 1: 130.

#### 2.4.5.1 Persons of Short Stature and Other Unusual People

Fol. 61r's illumination deserves special attention because it is the only illumination where people of unusual physical appearance are shown. The scene, a person of small stature on the left playing chess against a disfigured or deformed man at right, may be an important early case of sensitive realism in the portrayal of unusual people in art and it may begin to fill in the large gap between portraits made of such people in antiquity and the Renaissance. Much is made by art historians of the fact that Velázquez painted portraits of Felipe IV's "fools," i.e. little or unusual people, with both realism and humane sympathy and it he is often cited as the first and only one to do so. However, the *LJ*'s fol. 61r may represent an earlier and even truer case because this portrait of such unusual people shown with such respectful realism and playing the most noble and intellectual game, and indeed demonstrating a chess problem whose ordinary and European nature suggests it may be of their own invention, shows that these individuals of unusual appearance were not considered in Alfonso's medieval court to be degraded intellectually and morally, as art historians in the intervening eras might have supposed. Rather they were held to be worthy of playing the so-called game of kings, appearing in the king's personal book of games and possibly even to contribute a problem to a collection in need of more problems.

By maintaining and portraying such unusual people in his court and its art, Alfonso follows Eastern cultural and artistic models in his life as he does for the *LJ*'s prologue, structure and games. E. Tietze-Conrat traces the history of dwarfs and jesters in fifteenth- to seventeenth-century European art back to ancient Egyptian, Chinese and

even Mayan pottery and sculpture depicting little people or little gods.<sup>164</sup> However, Alfonso may also have been setting a European precedent with these painted portraits. According to Tietze-Conrat, the earliest European portraits of an unusual person that he shows are two works dating nearly two hundred years later than the *LJ*, a marble relief from about 1460 and a medal from about 1461 to 1466.<sup>165</sup> He dates the first known painting of a jester even a few years later in “1469 [when] the portraits of the Milanese court-dwarf Biasio and the court-jester Giovanni Antonio were painted on the wall of a hall of the Castello di Pavia” (Tietze-Conrat 45). Even Fernando Bouza, noting the ancient Italian precedence of keeping little people, only traces documentation of their presence in Spanish courts back to the fourteenth-century house of Trastámara though they may have been known in other European courts contemporary to Alfonso.<sup>166</sup>

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<sup>164</sup> E. Tietze-Conrat, *Dwarfs and Jesters in Art* (London: Phaidon, 1957). Spanish art includes a detail of a work showing King Carlos II attending an auto-da-fé with three little people (Francisco Rizi, 1680); two paintings of Eugenia Martínez Vallego who is repeatedly termed a “monster” in Tietze-Conrat’s text (Carreño de Miranda, c. 1680); “Aragonese Dwarf” (Vicente López, c. 1825); “Isabella Clara Eugenia with her dwarf” (a follower of Sánchez Coello, c. 1580); and “Two Kings of Spain” (Alonso Cano, after 1670). Tietze-Conrat pays special attention to the works of Dürer and Leonardo da Vinci, especially his caricatures based on real “ugly” models, and Velázquez. Of the latter artist, he shows “Man with Wine-glass” (1624), “Don Juan of Austria” (1644), “Pernia, the Buffoon of Philip IV, (‘Barbarossa’)” (finished by Carreño, 1636-38), a detail of “Prince Baltasar Carlos with his Dwarf” (1631), Aesop (1638), “El Primo” (1644), “Sebastián de Morra” (1648), “Calabacillas” (1648), “El Niño de Vallecas” (1648), and in particular the famous *Meninas* (1656). Tietze-Conrat also mentions that Velázquez’s successors, Carreño and Coello, both painted little people. As an example of the popularity of little people among the Italians, Tietze-Conrat relates that “thirty-four dwarfs, almost all deformed, served at a banquet given by Cardinal Vitelli in Rome, according to a description of one of the guests, Biagio Vignero” (14). Velázquez’s Portraits of Habsburg little people include the following: “Francisco Lezcano, el niño de Valladolid,” “El geógrafo,” “Pablillos de Valladolid,” “El bufón don Diego de Acedo, el Primo,” “Don Sebastián de Morra,” “Las meninas,” “El príncipe Baltasar Carlos con un enano” as well as Juan Carreño de Miranda’s “La monstrea desnuda,” Antonio Moro’s “El enano del Cardenal Granvela,” José Ribera’s “La mujer barbuda” shown nursing and “Retrato del bufón Perejón,” a painting by a follower of Sánchez Coello “La infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia y Magdalena Ruiz,” a detail of Francisco Rizi’s “Auto da fe de 1680.”

<sup>165</sup> Both the marble and the medal, by Francesco Laurana, show Rene d’Anjou’s court jester Triboulet’s unusual pointed “dome-head” (Tietze-Conrat 41) profile and the medal shows him bearing a staff, whether sceptre or jester’s head it is hard to determine.

<sup>166</sup> Fernando Bouza, *Locos, enanos y hombres de placer en la corte de los Austrias: oficio de burlas* (Madrid: Temas de Hoy, 1991) 13. Bouza’s work focuses on little people kept by the Habsburgs

Carl Justi documents the existence of and the courtly place held by little and other unusual people in the courts of sixteenth-century Spain as a reflection of the Renaissance interest in all things medieval.<sup>167</sup> His study of the Velázquez' numerous portraits of such people proves an interest among the Spanish royalty of the time in both their unusual physical appearance and their place in the society of the royal court. In his chapter called "The Dwarfs," Justi traces "[t]he custom of entertaining Court dwarfs ... from the East to Imperial Rome, ... [and from then] throughout medieval times down to the Revolution."<sup>168</sup> It is not surprising then to find that Alfonso's court contained unusual people.

However, other eras including the Velázquez' Spanish Golden Age and even in Justi's Age of Enlightenment equated physical defects with mental ones.<sup>169</sup> Therefore earlier works on these works of art portraying little or unusual people tend to describe them in derogatory terms such as cretin; focusing on the mockingly ironic names, such as Queen of Egypt; given to persons of small stature; and the baroque fascination with the

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through the time of the Bourbons. Alfonso VII of León and Castile (1126-57) had bufoons in San Isidoro but they are not known necessarily to have been little people. Per Elyse Martin in the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, eds. Antonio Mayor Sánchez and Juan Gil, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievals*, 71, Turnholt, 1990: 109-296. "In 1249 Eleanor of Provence, Henry III's wife, kept a dwarf fool named Jean, who had been discovered on the Isle of Wight. Only three feet tall, the fool had a special place in Eleanor's heart, since she had grown up in the company of entertainers. Her father, Raymond Berengar IV, count of Provence, was a famed troubadour" (Jerry Ellis, *Walking to Canterbury* [New York: Ballentine, 2003] 87).

<sup>167</sup> Carl Justi, *Diego Velázquez and His Times*, trans. A.H. Keane and revised by the author (London: Grevel, 1889).

<sup>168</sup> Justi 445-46. Naturally little people are discussed in this chapter, but it is not the only chapter Justi dedicates to unusual people; there is also "Dwarfs, Buffoons and Jesters" (433-45) and "The Ugly in Art" (445-47).

<sup>169</sup> Consider the pseudoscience phrenology, the study of the brain and resultant shape of the cranium, and the case of Sebastian de Morra's portrait by Velázquez. Justi describes this man as having a "bump of destructiveness," i.e. a protrusion above the ears and across the brow which phrenology held as indicating a predisposition towards criminal violence and even killing. Viennese physician Franz Joseph Gall (1758-1828) observed the crania of carnivores and a murdering highwayman and concluded that persons of this head shape possessed a penchant for murder. See similar front ridges in Velázquez's portraits "El Primo" (Don Diego de Acedo) and the philosophers Æsop and Menippus.

play of opposites seen in the juxtaposition little people present with so-called normal people, especially when painted with symbols of mock power. For example, Bouza devotes two chapters to the study of the ironically opposite and curious names given to little and unusual people during the Habsburg's reign<sup>170</sup> and Velázquez' portrait of Baltasar Carlos's dwarf shows him holding a scepter and an apple, a mockingly literal representation of the very same items that Alfonso's *LJ* says denote the image of an emperor.<sup>171</sup> In the present age, and it may be argued in Alfonso's as well, physical differences need not carry the presumption of mental deficiencies.

While many sources say that little and unusual people were kept as pets by royal families like the dogs with whom they are often shown, I believe that their role was a more important and more human one because unlike dogs and horses little people and unusual people can speak.<sup>172</sup> It is precisely the faculty of speech which makes the fool or *gracioso* such an important character in Spanish Golden Age theater because, following a classical tradition, it is only the madman who is permitted to speak the truth to his lord without fear of punishment.<sup>173</sup>

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<sup>170</sup> One passage reveals not only the curious name and distance traveled by one little person but also the tradition of sending little people from Queen Violante's native region to Spain: "Mordacheo fue un enano húngaro de doña Ana de Mendoza, cuya presencia menudea por los libros de gastos del príncipe Felipe durante su regencia de la década de 1540; hoy, las alusiones que encierra que un enano se llame así parecen oscuras, pero a mediados del siglo XVI debió ser fácil reconocer en su apelativo el eco de personajes de libros de caballerías, como el del malvado Morderec, hijo de los amores incestuosos de Arturo y su hermano Elena" (Bouza 143).

<sup>171</sup> Cf. Justí on Baltasar Carlos's portrait known as "The Child" where the prince is accompanied by a little person holding an apple (321-22). See also the discussion of the *Reichsapfel* in the section of Chapter I devoted to figure of the Sun in the game of *escaques*.

<sup>172</sup> For example, the portraits of "Giacomo Favorchi" (Karel von Mander III, c. 1650), "Granvella's Dwarf" (Antonis Mor, c. 1570), "Dwarf with Dog and Bird" (Eugène Dévéria, 1827) and "Cleopatra's Feast" (Trevisani, 1717) shown in E. Tietze-Conrat's *Dwarfs and Jesters in Art* (38-39).

<sup>173</sup> Tietze-Conrat cites an anecdote from Suetonius on the life of Tiberius wherein a little person was rebuked for his impudence in making a remark about the emperor's politics, but that the emperor "acted in accordance with the wishes of the dwarf" (15).

Why did Alfonso include an illumination of such individuals? First, the encyclopedic nature of his other works as well as the variety of people described as players of games in the *LJ*'s prologue and shown throughout the work are testament that he likely wanted to mirror the entire panorama of players of these games. These two men were probably members of his court. He had caused to be painted a whole range of thirteenth-century humanity as known to him just as he had depicted a whole range of minerals and stones in his *Lapidario*, trees in fol. 71v of the *LJ* and animals in *Cantiga 29* of the *CSM*.<sup>174</sup> Fernando III's words of advice to his son in the *Libro de los doce sabios* also offer insight into Alfonso's inclusion of these men amid the likes of himself and as-Suli:

XXXVI. En que el rey no desprecie el consejo de los simples. No desprecies el consejo de los simples, y sobre gran cosa, o a que se requiera juicio, ayunta a los grandes y a los pequeños, y tendrás en que escoger. Que muchas veces envía Dios su gracia en personas que no se podría pensar, y los consejos son gracia de Dios, y no leyes escritas. Aunque el fundamento de cada cosa sea buena razón, tan aína y más es dotada a los simples como a los letrados, a los chicos como a los grandes poderosos. Y recibe todos los dichos de los que vinieren a ti, que mientras más echan en el saco, más aína se finche.<sup>175</sup>

As a second and more practical reason for their inclusion at this point in the "Book of Chess," the stated order of problems with the greatest number of pieces to the smallest number of pieces has been completely broken beginning with fol. 46r. At the point of this miniature on fol. 61r, Alfonso and his compilers were likely close to exhausting their textual sources for problems and thus sought other sources of chess

<sup>174</sup> See Richard P. Kinkade's "*Cantiga 29*."

<sup>175</sup> "*El libro de los doce sabios o Tractado de la nobleza y lealtad* [ca. 1237]," ed. John K. Walsh, *Anejos del Boletín de la RAE*, XXIX (Madrid: Real Academia Española de la Lengua, 1975) 71-118, 15 Mar. 2005 <<http://www.filosofia.org/aut/001/12sabios.htm>>.

problems in order to bring the total number of folios for that section up to sixty-four, mirroring the number of squares on a chess board. Calvo states that the problem presented by the illumination with the two unusual men is original to the Alfonsine text and not repeated elsewhere, likely due to its imperfections and lesser caliber compared to the other Arabic classics (1987: 232). He further says that given its style it was probably composed rapidly and by a European. These two clues from Calvo lead me to think that this chess problem originated in a real game played by these two *sabandijas* of Alfonso's court and, perhaps because of its uniquely dual solution, it pleased Alfonso who chose to include it.

On fol. 61r Alfonso's miniaturist shows us the physical appearance of these two men with an unflinching realism which, like that of Velázquez, is free from scorn. Moreover, they are shown even more flatteringly than the Hapsburg household's seventeenth-century little people because they are shown engaged in an intellectual activity and as authors of a *mansuba* that definitively marks them not only as not retarded but also as learned. Here, then, we have a case of true thirteenth-century Humanism where Alfonso the Wise so esteemed a chess problem generated by his "fools," four centuries before Velázquez' more famous portraits and a great deal more flattering.

## **2.5 Other Elements for Future Study**

There are yet other miscellaneous though important elements of the *LJ* illuminations that may well be significant for future cultural or symbolic studies including the following: the presentation of Jews, six-pointed stars, swastikas and swavastikas; people of color; chivalric orders; animals; musical instruments; jewelry;

books and writing instruments; tools; weapons, the *Libro de las tahurerías* (*LT*) and destructive behavior attendant to gambling.<sup>176</sup>

### 2.5.1 Jews in the *LJ*

The *LJ* contains numerous portraits of men with Jewish characteristics in terms of their profiles, their distinctive peaked caps and their usually plain-colored clothing.<sup>177</sup>

“The Figure of the Jew in the *Cantigas* of Alfonso X” by Albert I Bagley, Jr. claims that by and large Jews are portrayed negatively in the *CSM* although it is argued that historically “Jews enjoyed their greatest freedom and well-being under Alfonso X” (235). Bagley argues that Alfonso may have operated under a double standard, pointing out the laws from the *Partidas* that treat Jews differently and subordinate to Christians, similar to what Carpenter shows about the blasphemy laws in the *LT*.<sup>178</sup> Thirty of the 426 *Cantigas* have Jews in them and show Jews, in descending order of occurrence, as the archenemies of Christianity, the minions of Satan, as symbols of avarice similar to Raquel and Vidas in the *Cantar de Mio Cid*, as traitors, and, least frequently, in a small number of positive manners such as converts. Jews in both the *CSM* and *LJ* are often identifiable by their peaked caps and distinctive profiles.<sup>179</sup> That these people in peaked

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<sup>176</sup> See also Excel spreadsheet titled “*LJ* Manuscript Statistics,” in the column called “features/articles.”

<sup>177</sup> See obvious and possible Jews on fols. 1v, 3r, 8v, 20r, 29v, 36r, 53r, 60v, 70r, 71v, 75r and 88v.

<sup>178</sup> Dwayne E. Carpenter, “Fickle Fortune: Gambling in Medieval Spain” (*Studies in Philology* 85 [1988]) 267-78; 268n4 describes the sections of the *Siete Partidas* which deal “with oaths required of Jews, Christians and Muslims in connection with lawsuits, including gambling controversies” and 276-77 discuss the different penalties for Christian blasphemy by those of other religions. Blasphemy is treated in section I of the *LT* and the religion-specific oaths in sections XLI through XLIII.

<sup>179</sup> Cf. *CSM* fol. 89r, where *Cantiga* 25 shows Jews with a trunk, perhaps an allusion to the swindle of Raquel & Vidas in the *PMC*; fol. 50r *Cantiga* 34 “How a Jew stole an image of the Virgin Mary” shows a Jew in pointed cap and distinctive profile; and *Cantiga* 108 with a Jew shown in pointed cap and distinctive profile.

caps and with carefully drawn profiles are Jews is made clear within the texts of the *Cantigas* themselves, as in *Cantigas* 4 and 19. In *Daily Life*, Keller and Cash discuss how Jews, Muslims and Blackamoors were all portrayed in *CSM* and offer color plates showing headwear that identified them.

Two symbols that are today associated, for good or for ill, with Judaism are the six-pointed star called either the Star of David or the Magen David and the *crux gammata* (i.e. made up of four Greek gammas) known as the swastika. Modernly, the star is used by the Jews themselves as a symbol of their religion and the swastika became the symbol of those who would commit genocide against the Jewish people in the twentieth century. Both these symbols appear in the *LJ* but it is necessary to understand that the star “historically was not limited to use by Jews” at this point and that the swastika was not connected with Judaism in any way at this time in Spain.<sup>180</sup>

The much discussed harmony between the three monotheistic religions in Spain during this time is, like all things, relative. While Jews were tolerated better there than in many places and even employed for their knowledge and skills by Alfonso, his laws pertaining to their hats and marks on their clothing reveal a double standard.

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<sup>180</sup> “In the Middle Ages the Star of David appeared with greater frequency among Jews but did not assume any special religious significance; it is found as well on some medieval cathedrals” (“David, Star of,” *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, <<http://search.eb.com/bol.topic?eu+29950&sectn+1&pm=1>> accessed 8 Oct. 2001). See Gershom Scholem, “The Star of David: History of a Symbol,” *The Messianic Idea in Judaism and Other Essays on Jewish Spirituality* (New York: Schocken, 1971) 257-81, particularly 268 ff. on use of hexagram as signature or part thereof by both medieval Iberian Jews and Christians and its known Jewish connection shortly after 1300.

Just as Jews and members of other groups were required to wear identifying markers in Nazi Germany, Alfonso's Seventh *Partida* discusses in Section 7, Title 24, Law 11, how the Jews should wear a distinguishing mark on their heads.<sup>181</sup>

Given the illustrations in the *LJ*, this mark is likely the conical hat worn by the men. Whether Jewish women had to wear a certain mark is not clear. Constable notes her difficulty in identifying Jewish women within the *LJ* (314 and 314n32). However, although they do not seem to wear this same cap they do often seem to wear their head wrapped in a scarf which ties at the back of the head, forming a knot like a fish tail, which Constable seems to refer to as a peculiar style of "head scarf characteristically worn by woman from Segovia" (315 and 315n37, citing *LJ* fols. 34v and 57v).

To clarify Alfonso's law, an addition was added that said that regarding Law 8, Title 3 of the royal ordinances, Book 8,<sup>182</sup> Jews were ordered to wear a clearly visible mark of red cloth on their right shoulder. However, it does not specify what shape this bit of red cloth is to have and no such red patch is seen on any Jew in the *LJ*.

It is useful to note that Alfonso was neither the first nor the only ruler to require such distinctions in dress. It was not only Christian rulers who did so. According to

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<sup>181</sup> "Ley onzena. como los iudios deuen andar sennalados porquelos conoscan. Muchos yerros & cosas desaguasadas acaesc'en entre los cristianos & las iudias & los iudios & las cristianas porque biuen & moran de consuno en las villas & andan vestidos los vnos asi como los otros. E por desviar los yerros & los males que podrian acaesc'er por esta razon tenemos por bien & mandamos que todos *quantos* iudios o iudias biuieren en nuestro sennorio que traygan alguna sennal c'ierta sobre sus cabec'as & que sea atal porque conoscan las gentes manifiesta mente qual es iudio o iudia. E si algund iudio no leuare aquella sennal: mandamos que peche por cada vegada que fuesse fallado sin ella .x. *maravedis* de oro. & si no ouiere de que los pechar resc'iba .x. ac'otes publica mente por ella" (fol. 410r). According to "Medieval Sourcebook: Las Siete Partidas: Laws on Jews, 1265," ed. Paul Halsall, 8 Jan. 2000, 18 July 2005 <<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/jews-sietepart.html>> This is an attempt to put into effect the "Jew-Badge" law of Pope Innocent III from 1215. Keller and Cash cite this same law as evidence that "Jews were required by law to wear a sign, usually the Star of David, on their attire" (18) but I find no such specification.

<sup>182</sup> *Partida Siete*, Section 7, Title 24, Law 11.

Joseph Telushkin, “[t]he oldest reference to using mandatory articles of clothing to identify and distinguish Jews from the rest of society was in 807 CE. In this year, Abbassid caliph Haroun al-Raschid ordered all Jews to wear a yellow belt and a tall, cone-like hat.”<sup>183</sup> “During the first Muslim conquest, Omar II ordered all Jews and Christians to wear a distinctive badge. Sultan Al-Hakim enforced the rule rigidly.”<sup>184</sup> In 1215 the Fourth Lateran Council of Pope Innocent III decreed in Canon 68 that:

In several provinces, a difference in vestment distinguishes the Jews or the Saracens from the Christians; but in others, the confusion has reached such proportions that a difference can no longer be perceived. Hence, at times is has occurred that Christians have had sexual intercourse in error with Jewish or Saracen women and Jews or Saracens with Christian women. That the crime of such a sinful mixture shall no longer find evasion or cover under the pretext of error, we order that they [Jews and Saracens] of both sexes, in all Christian lands and at all times, shall be publicly differentiated from the rest of the population by the quality of their garment, especially since this is ordained by Moses....<sup>185</sup>

Sexual intercourse by mistake seems to be the sort of *yerro*s, *males* and *cosas desaguissadas* to which Alfonso referred. Lipman further illustrates these circumstances:

In England [in 1217 under Henry III], the badge was in the shape of two tablets. In some communities it was a yellow badge with a red bull’s eye. In Italy, Jews were forced to wear a coarse red cape. French Jews [both men and women, under Louis IX from 1269 were ordered to round yellow patches on the front and back of their outer garment,<sup>186</sup> and later], until their expulsion, wore a red and white circle on their chests.

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<sup>183</sup> See discussion of Problem 18 and the portrait of as-Suli for more on another mention of Harun al-Raschid or ar-Raschid. “The Yellow Jewish Badge,” 24 Mar. 2002 <<http://www.history1900s.about.com/library/holocaust/aa031298.htm>> citing Joseph Telushkin, *Jewish Literacy: The Most Important Things to Know about the Jewish Religion, Its People, and Its History* (New York: Morrow, 1999) 163.

<sup>184</sup> “The Fourth Lateran Council and the Jewish Badge of Shame,” *Gates to Jewish Heritage*, ed. Rabbi David Lipman, 18 July 2005 <[http://www.jewishgates.com/file.asp?File\\_ID=95](http://www.jewishgates.com/file.asp?File_ID=95)>.

<sup>185</sup> “The Fourth Lateran Council and the Jewish Badge of Shame,” *Gates to Jewish Heritage*, ed. Rabbi David Lipman, 24 Mar. 2002 <[http://www.jewishgates.com/file.asp?File\\_ID=95](http://www.jewishgates.com/file.asp?File_ID=95)>.

<sup>186</sup> “The Yellow Jewish Badge,” *20<sup>th</sup> Century History: The Holocaust*, 24 Mar. 2002 <<http://www.history1900s.about.com/library/holocaust/aa031298.htm>>.

The most common badge was a circle of yellow cloth, at least a handsbreadth in diameter, which was called the ‘badge of shame’.<sup>187</sup>

Certainly, the move to mark Jews during WWII appears to be an intentional return to this medieval concept and custom.

I have been unable to link the usage of the Star of David with Jews before the thirteenth century and even then it does not seem to have been exclusively for this purpose. As late as the early seventeenth century this same six-pointed star was used as a decorative motif in paintings of the Mughal Period in India. For an example, see the watercolor miniature *Sahadeva brings Raja Yudhisthira news of Victory*, in the Razm-nama manuscript from 1598-99, now held in the Toledo’s Museum of Art. Perhaps these geometric symbols and designs are imitated in the *LJ* from Eastern models as most all other aspects of the work seem to be.

In the *LJ* the six-pointed star can be seen on fol. 9r on the game board utilized by Christian pilgrims; on fol. 22r on the Black Muslim’s game board; on fol. 22v on the game board of the possible Christian princes, but curiously never in an illumination with a Jew; on fol. 38r on the bag for chess pieces dangling from the board played upon by two turbaned Muslims; and on fol. 92r on the mill board used by Christian Castilian royalty.

Victor Keats repeatedly, but unconvincingly, tries to identify the sole instance of the six-pointed star on the piece bag of fol. 38r and on the fringe of the bag on fol. 40v as cryptic signatures of Jewish translators who worked on the *LJ*. He shows the same bag at

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<sup>187</sup> “The Fourth Lateran Council and the Jewish Badge of Shame,” *Gates to Jewish Heritage*, ed. Rabbi David Lipman, 24 Mar. 2002 <[http://www.jewishgates.com/file.asp?File\\_ID=95](http://www.jewishgates.com/file.asp?File_ID=95)>.

least four times as supposedly different examples of what he calls cynical signatures.<sup>188</sup>

Keats's Figure 41 shows the fringed piece bag of fol. 40v and argues that it is yet another Jewish translator's signature because of its similarity to the four fringes (*arbah kanfot*) of the Jewish prayer shawl, the *tallit*; however, I cannot reconcile his count of four with the image.

Although he makes sound connections between the *LJ* and earlier Peninsular works on chess by Jewish writers such as Moses Cohen (b. 1062) and Abraham Ibn Ezra (d. 1164), Keats frustratingly does not address any of the miniatures which appear to show more Semetic people. For example, his Figure 58 shows two blond and so more likely Christian men playing Problem 79 (fol. 50v). He even presents blond likely Christian Europeans playing with turbaned Arabs rather than Jews, as in his Figure 57 showing Problem 103 (fol. 64r), with which he oddly illustrates his presentation of Problem 76. Even more confusing is that the miniatures he shows above chess problems do not always correspond and when they do he says that they are unrelated.<sup>189</sup>

While it is a possibility that the six-pointed red star on the piece bag from fol. 38r may be a signature, I feel that may instead be merely an indication of a great Arabic chess problem and its appearance on the bag an allusion to the saying that at the end of the game all the pieces go back into the same bag. Notable among the famous problems with unusual piece bags in the *LJ* are the all white or possibly whited-out bag on fol. 41v

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<sup>188</sup> Keats 1: 141. Vol. 1's figures show details of fols. 38r (fig. 42), 38r (fig. 52a), and 38r (fig. 52b which shows the same bag twice) and 31v (fig. 56). For a complete listing of miniatures with piece bags, please refer to the "piece bag" column of the Excel file "*LJ* Manuscript Statistics."

<sup>189</sup> Keats's fig. 56 (Vol. 1) pairs the miniature for Problem 42 (fol. 31v) with his presentation of Problem 43 and the miniature for Problem 103 (fol. 64r) with his presentation of Problem 76. He does match the proper miniature with his presentation of Problem 79 but incorrectly states that the two are unrelated.

as well as this Dilaram problem with its starred bag on fol. 38v. The latter is one of the most famous from Arabic chess literature and is so indicated by the book open before the player at right and the fact that its theme is repeated multiple times in the “*Libro del acedrex*.” If it is a signature, then it is unusual that this particular translator worked on or at least signed only this one problem. Embroidery on the cushions of fols. 31r and 41r also resemble stylized hexagrams, which could be merely decorative, an attempt to imitate foreign or arcane symbols or perhaps be indicative of some sort of signature. The former shows a physician who resembles another identified in the *CSM* as Jewish and the latter two men who seem to be generic Easterners of some sort, possibly Jewish. Confusing the issue is the appearance of hexagrams together with swastikas in *Cantiga* 25 where the Jew’s bedroom shows Arabic script and hexagrams decorating his bed curtains and a swavastika, the mirror inversion of a swastika, decorating his pillow. Could these symbols both have been Jewish emblems? Is the swastika used as a symbol of the man’s prosperity or good luck? Or are they merely the illustrators attempt to use exotic designs for the bedroom décor of a man of another religious culture?

The swastika is also connected in the modern mind with the evils of the WWII period and are seen in the *LJ* on fol. 30v embroidered on the cushions and on fol. 33v with other symbols doodled beneath the young novice at right; there are also both swastikas and swavastikas on fol. 32r embroidered respectively on the left and right sleeves of the maiden at the reader’s left. The center of the board on fol. 96v also shows a six-legged swastika indicating the counterclockwise direction of play through the zodiac.

The above examples show that the six-pointed star, swastika and other geometric patterns are used in the *LJ* not to denote religious identity but rather for ornamental or symbolic purposes echoing the shapes and symbolism of the games themselves. Both the six-pointed star and the swastika/swavastika are also frequent symbols in the *Códice rico* of the *CSM*.<sup>190</sup>

### 2.5.2 People of Color

People of varying skin tones are seen throughout the *LJ*, but only the two miniatures on fols. 22r and 55r show truly dark-skinned people. Arabs in various types of turbans are depicted throughout the *LJ*. In the *CSM*, 95B, panel 1, the text confirms their identity as Moors.

### 2.5.3 Smoking Chevaliers?

Members of military religious orders are portrayed on fols. 25r, 25v, and 27r. The two crusaders on fol. 25r wearing white robes each with a red equilateral cross on their left sleeve are probably Knights Templar. Those on 25v wear dark tunics with white, equilaterally forked crosses and are probably members of the Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem. Fol. 27r shows two men wearing light clothing marked once again on the left sleeve with a red sword-shaped cross marked with a black shell. These may likely be members of the Order of Santiago de Compostela.

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<sup>190</sup> On fol. 89r in *Cantiga 25* the curtain in panel one has Arabic script and two 6-pointed stars, obviously not as a Jewish symbol and *Cantiga 187*'s 2<sup>nd</sup> page of illumination, panel 3 has 6-pointed stars. On fol. 89r in *Cantiga 25* where the curtain in panel one has a pillow with a swastika; *Cantiga 47* shows swastikas on Mary's altar; *Cantiga 78* again has swastikas on her altar; *Cantiga 84* also swastikas on the altar; *Cantiga 91* has on the cloth or *paños*; *Cantiga 118* shows swastikas in panels 1 & 3 on pillows; *Cantiga 144* again on Mary's altar; *Cantiga 152* also on Mary's altar; *Cantiga 164* again on Mary's altar; and finally in *Cantiga 188* panel 5 on the pillows.

Another common yet puzzling feature ties together these four consecutive miniatures, including the three chivalric knights above and the one miniature which interrupts them.<sup>191</sup> All four illuminations show the men with curious, dark and oblong objects which look like cigars but are more likely writing utensils. These as yet unidentified objects in the first three miniatures are lying at the top portion of the chess board; fol. 27r shows the objects in what could easily be mistaken for an ashtray. No smoke is shown and the men are not holding the objects to their mouths or even in their hands. There is no evidence that smoking was known in Spain or Europe until the sixteenth century following the discovery of the New World where tobacco is native. It is perhaps significant that three out of four of these miniatures show men who belong to military religious orders, people who might have come in contact with a foreign custom. While these knights may have been literate, the oblong objects do not resemble the writing utensils used by the scribes seen on fols. 1r, 1v, 65r and 72r.

#### 2.5.4 Other Objects

Accompanying the various portraits in the *LJ* are myriad objects such as animals, musical instruments, jewelry, books and writing instruments, as well as tools. Below is a list of where these occur and when possible reference to similar objects in the *CSM*.

The horses and weapons shown on fol. 67v are perhaps an echo of the *LJ*'s prologue, where they are used in another type of play that includes feats of arms on or off horseback.<sup>192</sup> Other hunting animals such as hawks appear on fols. 8r and 30v.

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<sup>191</sup> Members of various military-religious orders appear on fols. 25r, 25v, 26v and 27r

<sup>192</sup>“Los unos en caualgando assi como boffordar & alañar & tomar escud & lança & tirar con ballesta o con arco. o otros iuegos de qual manera quiere que sean; que se pueden fazer de cauallo. E como quiere que ello se torne en usu & en pro de fecho de armas por que non es esso mismo; llaman le iuego. E

Both hawks and horses may be connected with the *De arte venandi cum avibus* by Alfonso's cousin, Frederick II, the hunting scenes in the *CSM* and those of the *Libro de la caza* attributed to the king's nephew, Juan Manuel. Perhaps Frederick is one of the people portrayed in the miniatures with falcons. The knight's pieces or *cauallos* are finely drawn in the "Libro del acedrex." The game *grant acedrex* on fol. 82v includes the animal pieces lions, unicorns, giraffes, crocodiles and gryphons. Rabbits are in the name of the version of *alquerque cercar la liebre* but not seen on fol. 91v.<sup>193</sup> Hunters who wish to show off their skill hunt rabbits because it is the swiftest prey.<sup>194</sup> The board for *escaques por astronomia* on fol. 96v shows the zodiac in the outer circle or *octava esfera* containing clockwise from the top: the ram of Aries; the bull or Taurus; Gemini's human twins; Cancer's crab; Leo's lion; Virgo and Libra whose signs are not clear due to damage to the miniature; Scorpio's scorpion;<sup>195</sup> Sagittarius's symbol is marred; Capricorn's goat with fish tail; Aquarius's symbol is hard to make out; and Pisces's fish.

"Falconry, Venery, and Fishing in the *Cantigas de Santa María*" by Dennis P. Seniff connects the Wise King's translation of an Arabic work, the *Arte de caçar*, that

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los otros que se ffazen de pie. son assi como esgremir. luchar. correr. saltar. echar piedra o dardo. ferir la pelota. & otros iuegos de muchas naturas en que usan los omnes los miembros por que sean por ello mas rezios & recibam alegria" (fol. 1r).

<sup>193</sup> It seems Alfonso may have had a predilection for rabbits. The constellation Lepus figures in his *Lapidario* along with the other zodiacal constellations. It is the only non-zodiacal to do so. Several stones found within the head and body of the rabbit are also described in the manuscript.

<sup>194</sup> Cf. cowering rabbits in *Cantiga 44* (Keller & Cash *Daily Life* pl. 44) showing an *Infantes*'s hawk hunting partridges.

<sup>195</sup> Scorpions appear at least twice in the poetry of Prince Alfonso. The *Cancionero de la Biblioteca Nacional*'s number 476/*Cancionero da Vaticana*'s number 370 is a poem which begins "Non quer'eu donzela fea" contains the line "nen faça come alacran" (Richard P. Kinkade and Dana A. Nelson, eds. *Historia y antología de la poesía española: 1150-1650*. 3rd revised ed. [Tucson, Arizona: Department of Spanish and Portuguese, 1998] 58). The *CBN*. 480/*CV*. 63 poem which begins "Non me posso pagar tanto" contains the line "... dun bon galeon, / que mi alongue muit'aginha / deste demo da campinha, / u os alacrães son" (Kinkade and Nelson, eds. *Historia y antología de la poesía española: 1150-1650*) 59.

was once presumed lost, to Frederick II's *Arte venandi cum avebus* because its Latin translation served as the basis for the latter.

Keller and Cash's *Daily Life* treats animals in Ch. 6: "Fauna and Flora." Horses in the *CSM* are discussed in the section on domestic animals and falcons in the section on pets. In *Cantiga* 142, Alfonso is portrayed hawking for herons (23). Keller also mentions another, more unusual pet of Alfonso's, a weasel or ferret, which "he carried about with him. People kept ferrets as pets and for hunting rabbits. One day it fell from the horse he was riding as he carried it, and horses trampled the beloved animal. Of course, when he begged Saint Mary to heal it, she restored the pet to life. It is a pity that this *Cantiga*, 'How Holy Mary saved from death a little animal they call *donziña* (ferret)' ([*Cantiga*] 354) is not illustrated" (23). Delgado Roig's examination of Alfonso's mortal remains also show that he was buried with a small dog and that his mother Beatriz of Suabia was buried with a small pet bird. Alfonso's interest in animals may have originated in imitation of Frederick II whose love of them is seen in the life-like detail of them in his *De arte venandi cum avibus* (1258-66).<sup>196</sup> Animals also appear frequently in the *CSM*. Fol. 44r *Cantiga* 29 panel 5; *Cantiga* 124 panel 6 many kinds of birds surround dead man; *Cantiga* 142 panels 2, 4, 6 show a hawk hunting.

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<sup>196</sup> *De arte venandi cum avibus*, in addition to hawks, shows other animal such as a snail and a bustard, a bird mentioned in some of Alfonso's early poetry or *Cantigas de escarnio y maldecir*. This work, like the *LJ*, has text in black ink which has faded to brown with paragraph markers in red and blue and shows miniatures with architectural backgrounds and a bird perch. It also shares similarities with the *CSM* in that it shows young men in white kerchiefs and good details of rippling water.

Of the four trees on the *LJ*'s fol. 71v, the one at front left appears to be an orange tree but the other trees are less easily identified.<sup>197</sup> Vázquez de Parga calls them “un ciprés, una palmera, un naranjo y otro árbol” (1987: 25) but without specifying which is which. At front right is a fruitless tree with a bent trunk; juniper trees sometimes bend like this. At rear left, behind the orange is a tall and pointed tree which might be a cypress. At rear right is a rough-bark tree with palm-type leaves, bearing one cross-hatched fruit not unlike a pineapple but this fruit was not known in Europe before Columbus. Perhaps, rather than a single fruit, it is a bunch of dates or figs as also seen in *Cantiga 60*'s Garden of Eden.

Musical instruments are also in evidence such as the harps on fols. 9r and 22r, lute-like instruments on fols. 18r and 68r and the fiddle and waisted guitar on fol. 31v. Several different types of jewelry can be seen on fols. 18r, 40r, 40v, 48r, 54r. These adornments include a gold ring with a gold bangle bracelets and matching necklace, a gold ring with a red stone and a necklace of differently-colored stones.<sup>198</sup> The women who wear some of these precious accessories also wear cosmetics such as, red polish on their toenails and long fingernails as well as henna tattoos on their hands and feet.

Books and writing materials like scribes's pens and knives also frequently appear in the miniatures. For scribal tools see fols. 1r, 1v, 27v, 65r and 72r. For books, see fols. 2r (two, both gold); 14r (with Arabic script visible); 38r (open on easel); 41r (red with bosses); 41v (with Arabic script visible); 42v (red with bosses); 43v (red with bosses); 45v (with horizontal Arabic script visible); 60v (brown with bands) and 61v (with

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<sup>197</sup> Keller's daily life treats animals in Ch. 6: "Fauna and Flora" mentions "less identifiable" trees in the background of *Cantiga 47*.

<sup>198</sup> See similar necklace in unspecified *Cantigas* detail, Smith 82.

miniature diagram visible). As discussed above with Calvo's theory of the wine going to the winner, the possession of a book cannot be used to reliably predict the winning side of a chess problem in the *LJ*'s miniatures.

Tools used in the making of games are shown early in the first three treatises. For chess tools see fol. 3r, for dice tools see fol. 65v and for *tablas* tools see fol. 73r. Other tools are shown in the assaying shop on fol. 23r, coining shop on fol. 23v, and the physician on fol. 31r.

### **2.5.5 *LT* and Destructive Behavior**

Several destructive behaviors associated with gambling and prohibited by the *LT* are reflected in the miniatures of the "Libro de los dados." Law V addresses the following types of violence done to the dice themselves: throwing the dice away, breaking them with teeth and swallowing them. While none of these is actually shown, the production of the dice in such large numbers as seen on fol. 65v seems to indicate that dice did not have a very long lifespan. Law VI addresses physical violence among dice players including slapping, punching, hair pulling and kicking. This poor behavior is seen on fol. 67r. Law VII prohibits violence done to the gaming table by knife and stone. Miniaturists playfully reinforce the battle element of the games with bows (fols. 11v and 91v), spears (fols. 64r and 92v) and especially knives (fols. 57r, 66r, 69r, 70r and 70v). Players were not held liable however if they broke the board over their heads.<sup>199</sup> Laws VIII y IX deal with the pawning of articles for the purpose of gambling with dice. The results of just such behavior are shown on fols. 65r, 65v, 67r and 68v.

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<sup>199</sup> This somewhat comical legal exception recalls several legendary cases of such abuse of a chess board. William the Conqueror allegedly broke a chess board over the head of the Prince of France in 1060 and Renard de Montauban (Rinaldo di Montalbano) supposedly killed an opponent with chessboard.

## 2.6 Conclusions

The *LJ* may be said to approach the *CSM* in terms of pictorial richness. Both the cultural and personal content of its illuminations convey large amounts of detailed information about Alfonso personally, his court and his era. The choices of who is portrayed and the manner in which they are shown, in terms of dress and gamesmanship as well as relative folio position, reveal intimate details of Alfonso's life and pastimes and the people he lived with, ranging from Alfonso's legitimate and illegitimate families down to the simpletons of his courtly entourage. The violence systematically perpetrated upon the portraits of specific individuals also reveals the personal feelings of those who had access to the manuscript. Considering the text and images of the *LJ* together as an integral whole solves many of the doubts and confusions of previous studies by revealing important details about Alfonso's sources, artistic models and modes of production for the manuscript and game equipment as well as what may very well be an example of Alfonso's own handwriting on fol. 18r. Most valuably, surviving physical evidence supports the conclusion that these Alfonsine artworks may contain the earliest examples of likeness in medieval portraiture in realistic portraits of Alfonso and the progression of the disease which resulted in his facial asymmetry, in Violante's broad nose and Mayor's dainty feet, among others, and present non-iconographic and very personal examples of royal portraiture.

The remainder of this second chapter consists of a catalogue of the miniatures, describing each of the one hundred fifty-one *LJ* miniatures in detail, cross-referencing

important elements with other Alfonsine miniatures from both the *LJ* and the *CSM* as well as summarizing and, when needed, correcting previous scholarship.

## 2.7 Catalogue of the 151 *LJ* Miniatures

In this catalogue, I describe each miniature of the *LJ* individually noting their size, framework, the people, items and location on the folio. Each illumination's frame is rectangular, architectural, natural, or a combination thereof; heraldic devices and piece bags dangling below the game boards are also noted when these appear. For each person in the miniatures, I describe their posture with regard to the surrounding furnishings, coloring, gender, age, clothing and, if possible, their religious or cultural identity. Where applicable for the names of the clothing, I rely principally on the terms given by Bernis Madrazo's *Indumentaria*. If the game played shows a clear winner, I also identify this person and associate it with other visible cues or incidental items such as food, drinks and books.

Of the illuminations and their frameworks, seventy-seven are architectural<sup>200</sup> and within that number there are ten whose architecture extends beyond the rectangular frame in an L-shape or other irregular form<sup>201</sup> designed to to occupy the space between the text.<sup>202</sup> There are seventy-four illuminations in rectangular frames without architecture<sup>203</sup>

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<sup>200</sup> Architecturally-framed miniatures appear on fols. 1r, 1v, 2r, 2v, 3r, 5r, 7r, 8v, 10r, 11v, 12r, 12v, 13v, 14r, 15r, 19r, 20v, 21v, 22v, 23r, 23v, 24v, 25r, 25v, 26v, 27r, 28v, 31r, 31v, 32r, 36v, 37v, 38r, 38v, 39r, 40v, 41r, 41v, 42r, 42v, 43r, 43v, 44r, 44v, 45r, 46v, 47r, 47v, 48r, 48v, 49r, 49v, 50r, 51r, 51v, 52r, 54v, 57r, 59v, 60r, 62v, 64r, 65r, 67v, 68r, 68v, 69r, 71v, 72r, 73r, 80r, 82v, 83v, 84v, 85v, 88v, and 89v.

<sup>201</sup> See other L-shaped or irregular miniatures on fols. 2r, 7r, 12v, 15r, 62v, 67v, 68r, 68v, 71v and 76r.

<sup>202</sup> Domínguez Rodríguez similarly notes that rectangular miniatures occupying roughly a third of the page predominate in the *LJ* but that occasionally some occupy an L-shaped or other irregular region to take advantage of the space left available, or even the entire page. She notes that miniatures within a simple rectangular frame predominate, her count being approximately seventy-two, while those with architectural

and of those twenty-four have specially decorated corners.<sup>204</sup> Four frames in the “*Libro de los dados*” combine both architectural elements and rectangular edges;<sup>205</sup> eleven are full-folio miniatures<sup>206</sup> and fol. 93v, while not occupying the whole rectangular area, is centered alone on the folio without any text. For those illuminations with architecture, I describe the number of arches in the arcade and the number of lobes in each arch, as compared to the numerical properties or symbolism of the game being played or persons playing it and I attempt, where possible, to relate the style of architecture to the cultural of the people shown playing beneath it.

Marginal notes as well as damage, both accidental<sup>207</sup> and intentional, are noted.<sup>208</sup>

Marginalia seem to occur only in the “*Libro del acedrex*” and include a few stray commentaries on problems or portraits; catchwords at the beginning and/or end of each gathering or fascicule; plus signs [+], the letter “F,” and the hapax “Fco” on the left or

framework she counts at fifty-six for a total (72+56=128) far short of the total number of miniatures in the manuscript (Domínguez Rodríguez, “*Libro de los juegos*” 35).

<sup>203</sup> Rectangular frames appear fols. 6r, 6v, 8r, 9r, 10v, 14v, 16r, 16v, 17v, 18r, 19v, 20r, 22r, 24r, 27v, 28r, 29v, 30r, 30v, 32v, 33r, 33v, 34v, 35r, 35v, 36r, 37r, 39v, 40r, 45v, 46r, 50v, 52v, 53r, 53v, 54r, 55r, 55v, 56r, 57v, 58r, 58v, 60v, 61r, 61v, 62r, 63r, 65v, 66r, 67r, 70r, 70v, 71r, 73v, 74r, 74v, 74r, 75v, 76r (odd), 76v, 77r, 77v (double miniature counted twice), 78r, 78v, 79r, 79v, 91v, 92r, 92v, 93r, 93v, 96v, and 97v.

<sup>204</sup> Miniatures with specially decorated corners are fols. 6r (gold), 6v (gold), 9r (gold), 10v (gold), 16v (gold), 39v (castles & lions), 40r (castles & lions), 52v (castles & lions), 53r (castles & lions), 53v (castles & lions), 55r (gold), 55v (castle & lion), 61r (gold), 61v (gold), 62r (gold sides & flower corners), 65v (gold), 66r (gold), 67r (gold), 70v (gold Ls), 91v (x bordered by gold squares), 92r (castles & lions), 92v (castles & lions), 93r (castles & lions), and 93v (castles & lions). Domínguez Rodríguez offers a division of miniatures by types of framework, rectangular and architectural, resulting in the incomplete or inaccurate total of 128 (35).

<sup>205</sup> Combination frames for miniatures are seen on fols. 67v, 68r, 68v and 71v.

<sup>206</sup> Full-folio miniatures appear on fols. 64r, 71v, 80r, 82v, 83v, 84v, 85v, 88v, 89v, 96v and 97v.

<sup>207</sup> See the following for accidental damage that has been repaired by sewing unless otherwise indicated: fols. 5r, 23r, 24r, 42r, 55r (thread gone), 61r, 62r (taped), 69r, 70r, 88r, 89r, 91r, 92r, 93r and 97r; and the following for accidental damage, a small hole unless otherwise indicated, that has not been repaired: accidental: not sewn 2r, 13v (board smeared), 33r, 40r, 41r, 42r, 47v (text smeared), 51v (man at right smeared), 61v, 64r, 70r, 81v, 91r, 97r and 98r.

<sup>208</sup> See Excel spreadsheet “*LJ Manuscript Statistics*,” especially the columns titled “left marginal notes,” “right m. n.” and “other notes.”

right sides of the folio.<sup>209</sup> None of the latter three correspond to the winning side of any particular problem or game nor do they appear to be directly connected to different technical language styles or sources or people in the miniatures.

The plus signs, given that they and the text are of a similar coloration, may be contemporary and, considering their location in the margins of the folios, may indicate where work was to begin or remained to be completed by miniaturists or scribes. The Fs are generally much paler than the plus signs and I do not know what they mean for certain. At first I wondered if they were not made by Felipe II (1556-98), who had it moved to Escorial in 1591, to denote problems he particularly liked or may have solved correctly or wanted to show master Ruy López de Segura (c.1530-80). However I have tentatively ruled this out because López de Segura died more than a decade before the *LJ* was transferred and the first documented chess competition in Madrid in 1574-75 (*The Oxford Companion to Chess* 234) preceded the book's relocation by a decade and a half. Also, fol. 51r's hapax "Fco" rules out Felipe and is may be an abbreviation for Francisco or Federico.

Though "Fco" would normally stand as an abbreviation of "Francisco" or even "Federico," this offers no immediate and obvious identification. There are no Spanish kings by this name and it definitely does not look like "Fdo" for Fernando, a common name for Spanish rulers. The cataloguers who we know wrote on the guard leaf were Benito Arias Montano (1527-98) or José de Sigüenza (1544?-1606). An unknown person added the Arabic folio numbers at the top right of the recto sides of the folios but in a

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<sup>209</sup> For specific locations, please refer to the Excel spreadsheet "*LJ* Manuscript Statistics," specifically the column called "left marginal notes."

different, and seemingly much later, hand. No researchers of this codex that I have encountered are named Francisco or Federico. Hypothetically it could be a cue for a particular miniaturist of this name.

Two incidences of “muy bueno” in the margins (fols. 33v and 34v) appear to be written in a less formal or perhaps even later hand. Beginning as they do at the start of the fifth gathering where the first change in language style occurs, my initial thought was that these might be the comments of some of the compilers as they searched for problems to fulfill their 64-folio goal. However, Wollesen attributes the “muy bueno” graffiti to Alfonso himself on account of his fascination with the Dilaram theme shown in this problem although he neither mentions nor accounts for the same comment on fol. 34v, a non-Dilaram problem (290n30). Comparing these two comments with that on fol. 18r, which I suspect to be Alfonso’s handwriting, is tantalizing but inconclusive. The letter *b* differs in the two samples, but one is an initial letter and the other is not. However the downward and inward stroke of the letters *n* and *h* in both samples is strongly similar and suggests that possibly these were written by the same, perhaps royal, hand.

Damage and repair, if any, are also noted for each folio. Domínguez Rodríguez comments upon the cracking and subsequent deterioration of the fragile blue backgrounds of many of the *LJ*’s miniatures (“Libro de los juegos” 40). Intentional destruction appears to be of two distinctive types, dry abrasion and wet smearing. Both are occasionally accompanied by violent tearing. Specific individuals, and particularly the faces of these individuals, were the targets of this violence, a fact, as we have previously noted, which argues that the people shown in the *LJ* are actually recognizable

portraits of known individuals.<sup>210</sup> Given that a limited number of people who would recognize the features of these portraits had access to the work and that the two different types of injury are carried out methodically on separate victims, I believe that the types of destruction may reflect the personalities or motivations of the defacers and may therefore give us a clue as to their identity. A young royal male in a *birrete* is regularly defaced by dry scraping; I believe this to be Prince Sancho defaced by his angry father Alfonso after the son's rebellion in 1282.<sup>211</sup>

A beautiful, often nearly naked, woman is twice defaced by wet smearing.<sup>212</sup> This attack seems more jealously motivated, likely by another woman. The chief rival for Alfonso's affections against his beloved concubine would have been his wife Queen Violante who would have had all three of the necessary means, motive and opportunity.<sup>213</sup> Since Sancho rebelled in 1282 and Violante left Spain around that time after siding with her son, the *LJ* may have been in a mostly complete state prior to this time. There are also several questionable cases where the abraded faces could be caused by wear, incomplete art or intentional scraping.<sup>214</sup>

Finally, after each of my descriptions, I note the previous studies which have included and/or analyzed that miniature and whether their observations match mine or

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<sup>210</sup> See also Richard P. Kinkade, "Alfonso X, *Cantiga* 235, and the Events of 1269-1278," *Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies* 67.2 (Apr. 1992) 284-323, which explains Alfonso's need for a comforting world view and his tendency to exclude, and maybe even remove, from his miniatures those who he felt had wronged him.

<sup>211</sup> See fols. 1r, 72r, possibly 88v, 96v and 97v for Sancho's defacing. Another man, probably not Sancho, but similarly defaced is found on fol. 51r.

<sup>212</sup> See fols. 48r and 58r, the latter also violently torn and repaired by sewing.

<sup>213</sup> Although Ballesteros established that Mayor died around 1263 (*Alfonso X* 290), she would have been alive when work on the *LJ* was likely begun and she does not appear after fol. 58r at the latest. The folios could have been vandalized at any point, before or after binding, and there is no evidence of when a jealous woman might have encountered them.

<sup>214</sup> See defacing also on fols. 14v, 67r, 68r, 68v and 70v.

how and why they vary. Most other descriptions are shorter and therefore less complete than my own. However, even though they may not mention all the details that I do, if they agree at all, I simply note this agreement. In order to serve as a more complete reference tool, the majority of their comments are footnoted in their original languages under each relevant folio.

### **2.7.1 Fol. 1r**

The first miniature of the *LJ* contains an architectural framework within a rectangular border occupying roughly the top half of the folio. Beneath a double arch, sit King Alfonso X and three other male figures.

At the far left under the left arch and sitting upon a raised seat covered by a red rug with white stripes, the young and blond Alfonso wears a gold crown, gold shoes and a beautiful cream-colored *saya* and *manto* covered with red and gold circles bearing Castile's triple-turreted castles and León's rampant lions. The Wise King dictates, pointing with his right index finger, to the young scribe seated on the floor before him and beneath the same seven-lobed arch. The scribe is dressed in a pale blue *saya* and holds a pen in his right hand and another instrument, discussed below, in his left.

The right arch is bisected by a small green and brown Corinthian column, and under each of these smaller plain arches and also on the floor sit two young men I believe to be Alfonso's sons, Fernando de la Cerda at left whose higher position in the birth order is indicated by his closer proximity to the king, and Sancho at right, identified by the marring of his portrait here and on fols. 72r, 88v, 96v and 97v. Fernando is dressed in

green with a red robe and red checkered shoes.<sup>215</sup> Sancho, whose face has been violently scraped away, is dressed in a red *saya* with a pale brown *manto* and the *birrete* which he and his father both frequently wear in the *LJ*.<sup>216</sup> Both *infantes* sit upon a yellowish-brown rug with red, green, black and white zigzag stripes. Beneath all four people the floor is composed of nine differently-colored stripes of marble.

Florencio Janer's edition of *Los libros del ajedrez* (1874) is the first modern description of both this work and this folio. Janer agrees with the majority of my description, but he feels the two men at right are likely experienced chess players or two of the king's wise men rather than *infantes*. Janer does not mention the damage to the man's face at far right.<sup>217</sup> J. B. Sánchez Pérez in his 1929 study also identifies this as a portrait of the Wise King dictating to his scribe but does not mention the other two men or the defaced man at far right.<sup>218</sup> Steiger, in his edition of the *Libros de Acedrex*, follows

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<sup>215</sup> Desmond Stewart shows an image of similar shoes made by Cordoban shoemakers in his book *The Alhambra*, with the caption: "The craftsmen of Cordoba were famous throughout Europe, and at its height the city boasted thirteen thousand weavers alone. It was not for its woven goods, however, but for its leathercraft, especially shoes. This speciality is commemorated even today in the English words 'cordwainer'—originally a Cordoban—for shoemaker and 'cordovan' for a special kind of leather. Cordoban shoemakers were depicted in paintings showing scenes from the life of Saint Mark in a cathedral near Barcelona (left)" (image 54, caption 55). Picture credit: Detail of shoemakers, from *Scenes of the Life of St. Mark*, 14<sup>th</sup> century. Catedral de Manresa (Stewart 169).

<sup>216</sup> For more on the *birrete* see this chapter's section 2.4.4.1 titled "Sancho's *Birrete*" and Appendix D6.

<sup>217</sup> "En la primera miniature se representa al rey Don Alfonso sentado, y cubierto con un manto en que están bordados los leones y castillos de las armas de su régia estirpe, con la corona de oro en la cabeza. Está ricamente calzado. Su cabellera es rubia. Dicta á uno de sus secretaries. Hállase éste sentado más abajo, teniendo sobre las rodillas el códice en que escribe, la pluma en la mano derecha, sosteniendo con la izquierda el tintero. Á la izquierda del rey, en el segundo compartimiento, dividido por dos columnas que sostienen los dos arcos que forman la cámara real, se hallan sentados á la usanza oriental sobre alfombras, dos personajes, casi cubiertos con mantos, y que probablemente serán dos jugadores experimentados en el ajedrez, ó dos sabios á quienes consulta el monarca. Las columnas de los aposentos son de jaspes verdes y pardo-oscuros, y el pavimento está formado de ricos mármoles, de diversos colores" (Janer, "Los libros de ajedrez" 238).

<sup>218</sup> "En este Códice alfonsino están los diagramas adorados con magníficas pinturas que representan jugadores, pudiéndose contemplar en varias el retrato del autor. El grabado de la portada de esta obra, está tomado de la primera pintura del Códice y en él se ve a D. Alfonso en la habitación de su

Janer closely in his description of this and most miniatures.<sup>219</sup> Vázquez de Parga, who calls the men at right merely courtiers, uses this initial miniature along with those on fols. 65r and 72r to argue for a threefold division of the *LJ*.<sup>220</sup> Vázquez de Parga, like Janer and Steiger, does not comment on the damage to the young prince at the far right. Finkenzeller et al. present this miniature and in the caption identify it as a portrait of Alfonso, a secretary and two wise men.<sup>221</sup> Wollesen uses an image of this miniature in his article with the caption, “12. Madrid, Real Bibl. del Escorial, j.T.6. fol.; fol. 1r, Alfonso el Sabio dictating the Introduction to his *Libro*, etc.” (Wollesen 290).

Of interest for comparison with fol. 27v, is the object that the scribe holds in his left hand. Janer calls it an inkwell; perhaps it is instead a knife, as Vázquez de Parga describes it for the following miniature on fol. 1v, used for the dual purpose of holding the parchment steady as the scribe writes and scraping away ink in the event of an error (1987: 17). It appears that whatever he holds is connected by a cord or a strap to the brown, possibly leather, case or sheath that dangles below the edge of the book. If there is an ink well, I think that it is probably the round black area encircled by the knife’s strap.

Perhaps these cases hold all the scribe’s tools when working away from a desk since they

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palacio destinada a despacho particular, con un escribiente, al que está dictando el Libro de los Juegos. Está D. Alfonso vestido de gala, con corona de oro en la cabeza, pintada con cabellos rubios, y un magnífico manto y vestido bordados con figuras de leones y castillos, como emblema de sus principales reinos. Su escribiente se halla sentado a sus pies, sosteniendo con la mano izquierda el tintero y el cuaderno de hojas de pergamino, y escribiendo con la derecha” (Vázquez de Parga 1987: 9-10).

<sup>219</sup> “Die erste Miniatur bietet eine Darstellung des sitzenden Königs in einem bestickten Gewande, welches die Löwen und Burgen des königlichen Wappens zeigt. Die Haare des Königs sind blond. Er diktiert einem seiner Sekretäre. Neben diesem, zwei nach orientalischer Sitte auf Teppichen sitzende Personen, welche entweder zwei erfahrene Schachspieler darstellen sollen oder zwei Weise, mit denen sich der König berät” (Steiger XVII).

<sup>220</sup> “aparece el rey con sus escribas y cortesanos. Su manto sembrado de círculos dorados con castillos y leones; fondo azul y escenario arquitectónico” (Vázquez de Parga 1987: 17).

<sup>221</sup> “Miniature from the chess book of Alfonso the Wise, 1283, an advanced work of early European chess literature, which owes its quality to high Arabian standards. Advised by two wise men, King Alfonso dictated his book to a secretary” (Finkenzeller et al. 21).

are not visible on fol. 1v. See also the Appendix D1 on the iconographic portraits of Alfonso in the *LJ*.

### 2.7.2 Fol. 1v

The second miniature of the *LJ* contains an architectural framework within a smaller rectangular border than the previous miniature. Three lines of text left over from the previous folio appear above the miniature while the remainder of the text appears below it. I believe this is likely a representation of Alfonso's scriptorium at Seville where the *LJ*'s colophon says the work was both begun and finished. The columns resemble those seen on fol. 1r; roof tiles separate each of three roughly equal arches. At the far right, there is an open door.

Beneath each arch, a scribe writes at a desk.<sup>222</sup> The arches become progressively more horseshoe shaped from left to right and this, along with the scribes different clothing, appears to indicate that each belongs to a different cultural or religious group. From left to right, I believe they are Christian, Jewish and Muslim. The first two are shown facing the right of the folio and appear to be writing from left to right. The first scribe at left wears a green *saya*, a red *pellote* and black shoes. The second in the center, although blond and wearing a red *saya*, is shown in distinctive profile and wearing an *aljuba* of the plainer, more somber colors permitted Jews. The third at right, facing and seated higher than the other two denoting his superior rank, wears a red *saya* and red hose with a black or dark grey *aljuba* and matching *capirote*. He is bearded and appears to write from right to left.

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<sup>222</sup> Compare this desk to that seen in Cantiga F 79 panel 5 (Keller & Cash pl. 12)

Florencio Janer believes this is another room of the same palace shown in fol. 1r and identifies the scribe at far right as a monk rather than an Arab.<sup>223</sup> Steiger echoes Janer.<sup>224</sup> García Morencos uses this image in her study “Libro de ajedrez, dados y tablas” with the caption, “Los calígrafos del rey Alfonso X” (9). In her *Relación de ilustraciones* she says of it, “Los calígrafos de la cámara regia de Alfonso X realizan su minucioso trabajo sobre el pergamino del códice” (53). Vázquez de Parga, whose knife comments bear on fol. 1r, continues his three-fold theme, connecting the three scribes of this miniature to the triple individuality shown in the three portraits of the king in the initial miniatures for the “Libro del achedrex,” “Libro de los dados” and “Libro de las tablas.”<sup>225</sup> Wollesen uses an image of this miniature in his article with the caption, “5. Madrid, Real Bibl. del Escorial, j.T.6. fol.; fol. 1v; the scribes” (282).

### 2.7.3 Fol. 2r

The third miniature of the *LJ* illustrates the first half of the prologue’s exemplum of the origin of games. It contains an L-shaped architectural framework with an irregular top border and occupies roughly half the folio. Five lines of text left over from the

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<sup>223</sup> “En otra sala del palacio de Don Alfonso, ya no tan ricamente amueblada, se hallan tres escribientes, uno de ellos con hábito monacal, sentados en bancos y preparando las vitelas de los codices, encima de altos pupitres, para escribir en limpio lo que el monarca les mande copiar ó les dicte. Á la derecha está la puerta que debe dar salida á otros aposentos” (Janer, “*Los Libros de ajedrez*” 239).

<sup>224</sup> “ Ein anderes Gemach des alfonsinischen Palastes, weniger reich möbliert. Drei Schreiber, einer im Mönchsgewand, sitzen an ihren Pulten, um niederzuschreiben, was der Monarch ihnen diktiert oder zur Kopie übergibt” (Steiger XVII-XVIII).

<sup>225</sup> “en la miniatura en que hay tres escribas, uno de ellos con el capirote puesto, frente a los otros dos; en el pupitre del que ocupa el puesto central, se ve al costado el tintero de cuerno sujeto por una tira de cuero rojo; mientras que este escriba maneja un compás y sostiene el cuaderno con la mano izquierda, los otros dos escriben con sus cálamos y sostienen el pergamino, sin tocarlo con los dedos, por medio de un cuchillo de ancho filo, que le servirá a la vez de raspador, para rectificar posibles errores” (Vázquez de Parga 1987: 17).

previous folio appear above and between the leftmost and center turrets of the miniature while the remainder of the text appears below it.<sup>226</sup>

The turbaned, haloed and enthroned Indian king sits on the left half of the miniature beneath the second of two arches. The elderly grey-bearded king wears a white *saya* and a red *aljuba* under a blue *manto* caught at the neck with a gold fastener, a red-peaked white turban<sup>227</sup> and black shoes. He is seated upon a green cushion on his golden throne. A reddish curtain, indicating his importance, covers the first arch behind him at left. The king gestures with his right hand as he speaks to the three wise men who occupy the right half of the miniature.

All three wise men share one large arch which is capped by twin domes which are perhaps meant to reflect the miniaturist's idea of Indian architecture. The first wise man at left wears a brown *saya*, a red *capa*, a red turban with a green peak and black shoes. His beard is white and he carries a gold book in his left hand. The second, central wise man wears a whitish *saya*, brown *capa*, a white turban with a red peak and black shoes. His beard is black and he also holds a gold book in his left hand. The third wise man at right wears an orangey-brown *saya*, a red-lined blue *piel*, blue shoes, and a whitish turban with a red peak. His beard is reddish brown and he does not appear to have a book. At the far right behind the wise men, at the base of the right-most tower is an open door.

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<sup>226</sup> See other L-shaped or irregular miniatures fitted around the text on fols. 2r, 7r, 12v, 15r, 62v, 68r, 68v, 71v and 76r.

<sup>227</sup> See also fols. 12r, 22r, 38r, 44r, 55v and 63r.

Florencio Janer also relates this miniature to the text which explains the scene but quotes the second part of the exemplum in which the games are presented.<sup>228</sup> Wollesen incorrectly calls this Indian king a saint, probably due to his halo of enlightenment (292).

#### 2.7.4 Fol. 2v

The fourth miniature of the *LJ* illustrates the second half of the origin myth from the prologue. Its presentation is very similar to that of the *LJ*'s first miniature on fol. 1r, containing an architectural framework within a rectangular border occupying roughly the top half of the folio; beneath the double arch sit the Indian king and his three wise men.

At left and beneath a five-lobed arch is the Indian king seated upon his gilt throne, this time with a white cushion exquisitely embroidered in red and blue-black geometric designs.<sup>229</sup> The five lobes of his arch underscore the importance of this number in Indian architecture and philosophy (see Chapter III's discussion of numerology). The king points with his right index finger at the three wise men seated before him on the floor beneath the second arch. Behind them is an open door, as on fol. 2r.

The three Indian wise men, like the king, appear in roughly the same garb as described in fol. 2r. Each holds his game as proof of his philosophy: from left to right

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<sup>228</sup> "Palacio del rey de la India mayor, que se halla sentado en un magnifico divan, recibiendo á los tres sabios, tambien vestidos á la usanza oriental, con las cuales razonaba acerca de *los fechoes que nascien de las cosas*. 'E destes auie y tres que tienien sennas rezones. El uno dizie que mas ualie saso que uentura (Footnote 1 reads: No creemos necesario manifestar á nuestros lectores, que *auie* equivale á *habia*, *dizie* á *decia*, *uiuie* á *vivia*, *fazie* á *hacia*, y así de otros palabras antiguas). Ca el que uiuie por el seso fazie las cosas ordenadamientre e aun que perdiessse: que no quie y culpa, pues que fazie lo quell conuinie. E el otro dizie que mas ualie uentura que seso, ca si uentura ouiesse de perder o de ganar que por ningun seso que ouiesse: non podrie estorcer dello. El tercero dizie que i era meior que pudiesse ueuir tomando de lo uno e de lo al, ca esto era cordura, ca en el seso quanto meior era, que tanto auie y mayor peligro por que no es cosa cierta. Mas la cordura derecha era tomar del seso aquello que entendiesse omne que m as su pro fuesse, e de la uentura guardarse omne de su danno lo mas que pudiesse y ayudarse della en lo que fuesse su pro'" (Janer, "*Los Libros de ajedrez*" 239).

<sup>229</sup> This attractive style of handiwork is seen frequently throughout the *LJ* on cushions (fols. 2v, 16r, 16v, 19r, 30v, 31r, 34v, 41r and 58v), sleeves (fols. 8r, 32r and 60r) and even hats (fols. 32r and 60r).

they are chess, dice and tables. In what may be another reference to the “adoration of the magi” theme in this origin myth, the composition in this illumination is the same as the *Beato de Liébana*’s representation of the adoration of the magi on fol. 12r of ms. lat. 8878, Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris (1035-50). In the latter the haloed Virgin holding the infant Christ sits on a throne at left, the baby Jesus gesturing with two fingers of his right hand at three bowing and fair-skinned men bearing him gifts. Fol. 2r of the *Beato de Saint-Sever* (1028-72) by Stephanus Garsia Placidus, in the National Library of Paris, resembles to some degree the *Beato*’s annunciation to the shepherds.<sup>230</sup>

Janer’s description largely agrees with mine.<sup>231</sup> Steiger says merely that the Indian prince receives the three wise men.<sup>232</sup> Carl Nordenfalk uses this image in his study and identifies the Indian man as a prince (22). García Morencos uses this image in her study with the caption: “Los sabios presentan al rey de la India el Ajedrez, los Dados y las Tablas” (10). In her *Relación de ilustraciones* she says of it, “Los tres sabios presentan al rey de la India el Ajedrez, las Tablas y los Dados, como prueba de sus respectivas teorías sobre la primacía de la inteligencia (‘seso’), del azar (‘uentura’) y de ambos a la vez” (García Morencos 53).

Finkenzeller et al. show the miniature from fol. 2v with the caption, “A miniature from the chess book of Alfonso the Wise, 1283. The illustration refers to the legend of

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<sup>230</sup> “Beato de Saint-Sever. Adoración de los Reyes,” *Arte Historia*, Ediciones Dolmen, 2002-5, accessed 23 Aug. 2006, <http://www.artehistoria.com/tienda/banco/cuadros/10120.htm>.

<sup>231</sup> “El mismo rey de India, en otro aposento de su palacio, pues los arcos, columnas, chapiteles, etc., son distintos de los de la anterior miniature, recibe á los tres sabios. Estos se hallan sentados en el suelo con las piernas cruzadas, y le presentan los juegos del ajedrez, de las tablas y de los dados. El asiento del rey es de marfil con embutidos, y encima hay un almohadon de tela preciosa, sobre el cual está aquél asentado. A mano derecha se ve una puerta medio abierta, con sus goznes, clavos y aldaba de forma circular. Las tejas de los tejados unas son verdes y otros encarnadas, como las que generalmente se usan” (Janer, “*Los Libros de ajedrez*” 239).

<sup>232</sup> “Der indische Fürst empfängt die drei Weisen ” (Steiger XVIII).

the origin of chess; three Indian seers bring a chess game and a dice game to the Persian king who is portrayed here as a Christian ruler” (Finkenzeller et al. 15). However, this caption fails to mention backgammon, the king shown is Indian and, since he is haloed, is not shown as a Christian.<sup>233</sup> Wollesen uses an image of this miniature in his article with the caption, “6. Madrid, Real Bibl. del Escorial, j.T.6. fol.; fol. 2v, The Three Wise Men presenting their games” (283).

### **2.7.5 Fol. 3r**

The fifth miniature of the *LJ* shows the carpentry shop in which the board and pieces for chess are made. Seven lines of text appear above this rectangular miniature with an architectural framework while the remainder of the folio’s text appears below it. This miniature also establishes the triplex format of the 103 miniatures for the chess problems which follow it, placing the board upright at the center between at least two people.

On the left under the first tri-lobed arch, a black-bearded man in a light brown *saya* sits on a bench and paints the dark squares on a chess board. Two other tools or brushes lie on the table before him. On the right under the third tri-lobed arch, a dark-haired and bearded man in a light brown *saya* sits on the floor and operates a lathe similar to a violin bow with both hands and one bare foot in order to fashion the chess pieces.<sup>234</sup> Examples of finished pieces, both light and dark, rest on the shelves above him. Between the two men and under the central tri-lobed arch, an upright chessboard with inlaid edges shows the opening array and from the ring at the bottom of the board hangs a bag in

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<sup>233</sup> See also the discussion of the haloed presentation of as-Suli on fol. 17v.

<sup>234</sup> See also the tool used to mark the dice pips on fol. 65v and that for cutting the tables pieces on fol. 73r.

which to store the pieces after play.<sup>235</sup> Given the coloring of the men and their clothing, these craftsmen may be Jewish.

Janer's description agrees in the main with mine.<sup>236</sup> Nordenfalk uses this image in his study (23). García Morencos presents this image with the caption, "Construcción de los tableros y fichas del ajedrez [sic]" (11). In her *Relación de ilustraciones* she says of it, "Construcción del tablero, reducido y cuadrículado campo de batalla, y de las fichas o 'trebeios', que sobre él han de participar en la intelectual lucha" (García Morencos 53).

#### 2.7.6 Fol. 3v

Fol. 3v has only text and no illumination.

#### 2.7.7 Fol. 4r

Fol. 4r has only text and no illumination.

#### 2.7.8 Fol. 4v

Fol. 4v has only text and no illumination.

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<sup>235</sup> Rattling the captured pieces in the bag, in order to rattle one's opponent was also known. Falkener shown an ancient image of two animals playing a game, one shaking the piece bag at the other, with the caption: "Et tibi captivâ resonat manus utraque turbâ. And each hand rattles with the captive crowd" which recalls to Falkener "the jeering laugh with which the old lion shakes the bag of victims in the face of the poor goat" (57). Find his original description of this drawing which also graces the cover of his book. *Ludus latruncularum* was played on a 12x12 board (Falkener 358). An engraved gemstone shows a piece bag suspended under the board, which Falkener believes is not only for holding the pieces but also as a kitty or pot for holding money from wagers (Falkener 81-82).

<sup>236</sup> "Taller de ebanista y de tornero en donde se construyen los tableros para jugar al ajedrez. El maestro prepara una tabla en donde ya tiene hechas 45 casillas, blancas las unas y las otras negras. Sobre la mesa tiene los punzones necesarios para su trabajo. Más allá está el oficial, descalzo, sentado en el suelo torneando una pieza, y sobre anaqueles se ven ya varias piezas concluidas. En el compartimiento del centro está un tablero ya terminado, de maderas finas, y con adornos de hojas pintadas sobre la tabla, acaso por algun sistema parecido al que hoy se llama *maqueado*. El texto que acompaña á esta miniatura explica: *De quantas colores an de seer todos los trebeios del achedrex*. Del centro del tablero está pendiente una bolsa para guardar todas las piezas del juego. Esto prueba que áun no se hacian entónces tableros con pequeños cajoncitos á cada lado, como se han inventado despues, para conservar todos los objetos del juego" (Janer, "Los Libros de ajedrez" 239).

### 2.7.9 Fol. 5r

The sixth miniature of the *LJ* contains a roughly rectangular architectural framework with an irregular top border of eleven turrets and occupies roughly the bottom half of the folio. Beneath these turrets, the scene splits into five segments indicated by trilobed arches and five floor segments. There is a tear at the bottom of this folio which has been repaired by sewing and which appears to be accidental.<sup>237</sup>

Six Christian maidens, their loose hair signifying their single status, sit on a long bench and surround a chessboard in the middle segment on which the central two maidens play the *iuego de donzellas* or *iuego forçado*. The outermost two arches at far left and far right are occupied by two maidens each while the second and fourth arches are each inhabited by a single maiden player. Their rich *briales*, *aljubas* and *mantos* are of red, green and dark grey and those of the central players have vestments edged in gold. Some have light eyes, some dark. Their light-colored hair varies in shade from blonde to light brown and is held back from their faces by a single band. Close observation shows that pains were taken to give each girl's hair and clothing an individual shade and, as Janer notes, their eyes. From left to right their hair shows brownish, reddish, and more true blonde tones to the left of the board and then red, blonde and light brown to the right of the board.

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<sup>237</sup> See Excel file "*LJ* Manuscript Statistics," column "Wear and Tears."

Janer's description agrees with mine.<sup>238</sup> Steiger follows Janer.<sup>239</sup> Vázquez de Parga describes fol. 5r as the one whose miniature sets up the pattern for the majority of the *LJ*'s miniatures to follow: "un tablero de gran tamaño con las figuras a que se refiere el texto" (1987: 17). Vázquez de Parga identifies the two players and their four attendants as unmarried young women by the long, loose hair and describes well the technique employed in painting the miniature except that he says that the girls's hair is all the same uniform blonde color. García Morencos uses this image in her study with the caption mistakenly identifying it as the first of the chess problems.<sup>240</sup> Finkenzeller et al. show this miniature with the caption, "In a chamber of the royal palace, two aristocratic ladies of the court amuse themselves playing 'the Game of Kings' as their attendants watch. (A miniature from the Alfonso the Wise chess book)" (170).

### 2.7.10 Fol. 5v

Fol. 5v has only text and no illumination.

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<sup>238</sup> "En otra habitación del palacio real, con techumbre sostenida por esbeltas columnas, juegan al ajedrez el *iuego que llaman forzado*, dos ricas hembras, dos hermosas damas, con cabellera rubia las dos, la una de ojos negros y la otra de ojos azules. Esta lleva vestido de color de rosa, y el de aquella es verde, como túnicas superiores, con cuello y boca-mangas doradas, lo cual prueba su alta alcurnia. Cada una tiene á su lado dos doncellas, vestidas con más sencillez.—Al explicar este juego, dice el ilustre D. Alfonso que le *llaman iuego forzado*. 'Mas por que algunos cuentan que las donzellas le fallaron primero en la tierra de vltra mar, dizen le iuego de donzellas'" (Janer, "*Los Libros de ajedrez*" 239-40).

<sup>239</sup> "In einem Gemach des königlichen Palastes spielen zwei Damen das Jungfrauspiel. Die goldenen Kragen und Manschetten ihres Obergewandes bezeugen die hohe Abkunft der Spielerinnen. Jede hat zwei einfacher gekleidete Begleiterinnen zur Seite" (Steiger XVIII).

<sup>240</sup> "El juego de 'las doncellas', traído por éstas desde lejanas tierras" (García Morencos 12) In her *Relación de ilustraciones* she says of it, "El primero de la serie de juegos 'departidos' (interesantes antecedentes de los actuales problemas de ajedrez) es el conocido con el nombre de 'las doncellas', porque se supone traído por éstas desde las lejanas tierras de ultramar" (García Morencos 53). What the *LJ* more accurately says about this game is that it is not a chess problem but rather a variant "que las donzellas le fallaron primero en la tierra de vltra mar" (fol. 5r). It was also called the forced game because of its rule of forced capture, similar to modern checkers.

### 2.7.11 Fol. 6r

The seventh miniature shows opening position of the first of the 103 chess problems and is the first *LJ* miniature without an architectural frame. Simple gold squares decorate the four corners of the plain rectangular frame, possibly denoting the royal status of the two male players shown. The blond player at left is dressed in a white *saya* under a green sleeveless *brial* and seated on a reddish cloth while the darker player at right, in a green *saya* under a red *pellote*, is seated on a brownish cloth; both wear the red hose and gold shoes of royalty. The player of white on the left wins this game and although at first glance he appears to be reaching for his white fil (bishop) at c1, I believe he may in fact be indicating his two white knights at g3 and h4 which solve this problem. The losing player of black at right may be indicating the direction of his king's flight.

Janer's description agrees with mine and notes the lifelike postures of the players.<sup>241</sup> Vázquez de Parga notes that fol. 6r contains two gentlemen in red hose, one blonde and one with more salt and pepper hair and that the miniature, like most of the others in the manuscript, contains the pattern established in the miniature of fol. 5r. He defends their quality in comparison to the *CSM* because although the *LJ* has fewer miniatures and individual scenes, these are kept from being so monotonous by the lively variation of different races and types of people, different dress and postures of the players and attendants and the dissimilar architecture that frames them.<sup>242</sup> See also the

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<sup>241</sup> “Dos caballeros nobles, con calzado dorado, se hallan jugando al ajedrez y platicando sobre las dificultades del juego. El uno apoya con la mayor naturaleza el pié izquierdo sobre el liston del asiento, tapado por los pliegues del manto, y el otro tiene colocada una pierna sobre otra, como suelen hacer muchos cuando están sentados sin la menor etiqueta” (Janer, “*Los Libros de ajedrez*” 240).

<sup>242</sup> “Aunque tradicionalmente vienen considerándose las ilustraciones del *Libro de los Juegos* de inferior calidad de la de los otros códices alfonsíes, creemos que este juicio peca de injusto, tanto en lo

accompanying CD-rom for the PowerPoint presentation entitled “The *LJ*’s Problem 1—Knight’s *Noria*.”

### 2.7.12 Fol. 6v

The eighth miniature shows the opening position of Problem 2 which, like Problem 1’s miniature, is within a shaded red and green rectangular frame with gold corners. Both players wear brownish scholarly berets<sup>243</sup> and are seated upon a bench which is covered by a red-, black- and white-striped carpet or blanket. These may be the same two players from the previous problem, but now on opposite sites of the board. Alternately, their dark clothing which resembles that of fol. 25v may suggest that they are Hospitallers. The player at left in a brown *saya* and a blue *manto* is dark-haired and bearded while the player at right in a *saya* and *manto* of different shades of brown is fair and without facial hair. I am uncertain to which pieces or squares he is pointing or why. Janer considers these to be clerics and, befitting the intellectual nature of the game, possibly university professors because of their hats.<sup>244</sup> J. B. Sánchez Pérez follows Janer.<sup>245</sup>

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tocante a la técnica como a la fantasía, que resuelve muy hábilmente las dificultades que se presentan a cada paso al tener que resolver situaciones que se repiten continuamente” (Vázquez de Parga 1987: 18).

<sup>243</sup> Berets appear on Christians and Muslims on fols. 6v, 25v, 31r, 47r, 58v and 97v.

<sup>244</sup> “Dos religiosos, sentados en sillones cubiertos por telas de listas blancos, negras, amarillas, rojas y azules, juegan al ajedrez. Llevan en la cabeza bonetes con una borla en medio, lo cual podría significar que eran doctores ó catedráticos de la universidad ó estudios de Sevilla, donde se escribió el códice, y como dando á entender que el juego del ajedrez es digno de ocupar la imaginacion de los hombres sérios. Una de las telas ó fundas de uno de los sillones tiene fleco verde” (Janer, “*Los Libros de ajedrez*” 240).

<sup>245</sup> “Fol. 6v: El problema segundo lo están jugando dos profesores universitarios” (J. B. Sánchez Pérez 1929: 10).

### 2.7.13 Fol. 7r

The ninth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 3 in the first of several elaborate L-shaped architectural frameworks which seem to conform to the space remaining around the game descriptions. Seventeen lines of text in the left column, left over from the solution of the previous problem, occupy the upper left portion of the folio while a dome flanked with turrets fills the upper right. The beginning of the next problem's text appears beneath the miniature.

Three people are shown, each beneath their own mitered arch. The two blond men playing are dressed in gold-trimmed clothing and hats with a folded brim and transparent white *cofia*. The player of white at left who wins this game wears a belted green *saya* with red hose, black shoes and one white hunting glove with a circular design on his left hand in which he also holds the other glove he has removed to play.<sup>246</sup> At right, the losing player of black wears a bluish grey *saya*, black shoes and gold-trimmed red *capa* with what may be a wide fur collar. A young blond page in an opaque white *cofia*, belted red *saya*, red hose and black shoes presents the winner with a gold cup. Behind the page is a gold pitcher.

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<sup>246</sup> See similar gloves on fols. 10v, 30v and 85v. Perhaps the one glove removed is a challenge to the opponent, as in the expressions throwing down the glove or running the gauntlet. See also similar handling of glove in Keller and Cash's pl. 44 of *Cantiga* 44.

Janer's description agrees with mine.<sup>247</sup> J. B. Sánchez Pérez says these are “[...] dos *ricos homes*, a los que un paje sirve refrescos en copas de plata” (10). Instead, I see that the page serves with one cup of gold. Calvo calls these two Christian kings and notes the drink.<sup>248</sup> It is unusual here that he appears to serve the drink to the loser of this problem because, as Calvo has observed, usually the drink is awarded to the winner. However, the text on the preceding folio specifies that white wins this game. Perhaps, then, the player on the left, who is white, is signaling the glass of wine that should by rights go to him. Vázquez de Parga praises the high-ranking clothing, nearly intact blue background and complex architectural framework of this “gran miniatura.”<sup>249</sup> With reference to the drink, Vázquez de Parga notes that the player to the right is served a drink by the kneeling page and unconvincingly sees that the player on the left “levanta una copa” (1987: 18) perhaps in toast to the winner but I see nothing in this player's right hand. Scherer includes this entire folio in his Spanish article.<sup>250</sup>

#### 2.7.14 Fol. 7v

Fol. 7v has only text and no illumination.

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<sup>247</sup> “Dos magnates están jugando al ajedrez en el aposento de una casa que termina con cúpula, torres y ventanas de elegante arquitectura. El que viste túnica verde tiene ceñido un cinturón de cuero negro, con placas de oro y pequeños botones de marfil: lleva puesto el guante en la mano izquierda, y en la misma sostiene el guante de la mano derecha, que se ha quitado para jugar con más comodidad. Su compañero, que va cubierto con un manto de color de rosa y franjas doradas, vuelve la cabeza para recibir una copa de plata que le presenta un paje hincando en tierra una rodilla. En el suelo, ha dejado éste el jarro que contiene la bebida, por si su señor quisiese beber más. Ambos caballeros llevan sus bonetes ó gorras en la cabeza, y debajo unas cofias de un tejido muy sutil que permite se transparenten los rizos de sus largas cabelleras. El paje también lleva cofia, sencilla y de tela blanca tupida, siendo la forma de todas la misma que hoy suelen usar para dormir en casi todas partes las mujeres” (Janer, “*Los Libros de ajedrez*” 240).

<sup>248</sup> “[e]n la miniatura, dos reyes cristianos. Al de las piezas negras [right], un criado le ofrece una copa” (Calvo 1987: 172).

<sup>249</sup> “una torre con cúpula imbricada y ajimez trilobulado, que flanquean dos torrecillas” (Vázquez de Parga 1987: 18).

<sup>250</sup> Hans Siegfried Scherer, “Primeros pasos hacia un lenguaje técnico en el *Libro del achedrex* de Alfonso El Sabio,” *Kunst Und Kommunikation: Betrachtungen Zum Medium Sprache in Der Romania*, eds. Maria Lieber and Willi Hirdt (Tubingen, Germany: Stauffenburg, 1997) fig. 1.

### 2.7.15 Fol. 8r

The tenth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 4 in a rectangular frame of red verticals and black horizontals which occupies roughly the upper third of the folio. Four Christian nobles are shown, two women on the left of the board and two men on the right. The player of white at right, the man, wins this game despite the distraction of the man behind him who appears to invite him participate in hawking and who wears a blue *saya*, patterned sash,<sup>251</sup> Mozarabic *manto*, red hose and black shoes with a single strap across the instep or around the ankle. The winner, dressed in red *saya encordada* with black laces and removable sleeves, a green *manto*, red hose and gold shoes, seems to be indicating that he is busy at the moment with his game of chess. His beautiful, young and blonde opponent is also richly dressed in a red sleeveless *brial* and white *camisa*

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<sup>251</sup> Pairs of black dots separate red ovals containing unidentified gold figures. These red ovals with gold centers are comparable to Alfonso's *manto* on fol. 1r. See also the embroidered sash on fol. 71r and the unidentified heraldry on fol. 76r, the edge of the *manto* at right. Perhaps the gold figures are Sicilian eagles, in an homage to Frederick II's *De arte venandi cum avibus*. Comparative study of this surviving belt and those on fols. 71r and 96r with that of Fernando de la Cerda's belt shown in may help identify the heraldry seen on the belts in Herrero Carretero's *Museo de Telas Medievales*. The latter displays seven uncertain heraldic devices which she describes in detail: 1. tres tigres oro corriendo en campo de gules (three running gold tigers on red field); 2. campo azur sembrado de lises oro (blue field with gold fleurs-de-lis); 3. león rampante en gules sobre campo blanco, bordado sable sembrada de flores (red rampant lion on white field, black border with flowers); 4. campo de oro y tres chevrones gules (three red chevrons on gold field); 5. campo de gules terciado con fajas dentadas en oro (three gold dentals on a red field); 6. barra oro flaqueada por grecas oro sobre campo sable (black field with gold band bordered with two gold Greek bands); and 7. campo de gules con cadenas de oro en orla, cruz y sotuer (red field with gold chains in circle, cross and diagonals—chain wheel symbol of Aragón) (34-35). See also Bertha Collin's study of this belt that describes the belt's twenty segments in detail. "Ten of them are filled with intricate embroidered designs in pearls and sapphires, based on the swastika motif; the other ten contain heraldic shields with conventional bird supporters" (Collin 11).

*margomada*.<sup>252</sup> Despite her loss of the game, a servant behind her offers her food, perhaps sugared or candied fruits on a dish.<sup>253</sup>

This image, and the other with hawks on fol. 30v, shows a connection with Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II's treatise *De arte venandi cum avibus*, now in the Vatican Library (MS. Palat. Lat. 1071) and the tomb of the *Infante* don Felipe, Alfonso's brother in the church at Villalcázar de Sirga, the top of which shows a portrait of the prince with a falcon.<sup>254</sup> Are these two Alfonso and Violante playing at chess? And is this his brother Felipe standing behind him wanting to go hunting instead? There appears to be some intentional wet smearing of the hunter's face. Could this have been done by Alfonso after his brother's death in 1274, angrily recalling how his sibling had plotted against him with the rebellious nobles who fled to Granada in 1272 where they pledged fidelity to the Moorish king Ibn al-Ahmar in 1272?

Janer suggests that the man shown playing chess is Sancho or another of Alfonso's sons rather than Alfonso himself and that his distracter with the hawk is merely a page. He also notes their rich vestments and the food.<sup>255</sup> J. B. Sánchez Pérez identifies

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<sup>252</sup> See also fols. 32r and 60r for very similar embroidered sleeves. Bernis Madrazo's *lámina* 14, number 56 shows a seamstress sewing an embroidered blouse. Herrero Carretero shows a *saya encordada* belonging to Leonor de Castilla (Queen of Aragon until 1244) and explains that, "Las mujeres españolas del siglo XIII impusieron la moda de los briales encordados, muy ajustados y desprovistos de mangas, que debajan a la vista las 'camisas margomadas'. Bordados en sedas de colores, estuvieron en boga por toda Europa hasta el Renacimiento" (52).

<sup>253</sup> See also red fruits in a dish on fols. 12v and 22r; white fruits in a dish on fols. 8r and 40v and round red sweets or fruits held in the hand on fols. 9r, 14v and 54v. Dishes of similar food are seen in the *British Library Images Online*'s miniature painting of "Sa'di playing chess" (Record number 15631, Shelfmark Add. 24944, fol. 309) "from a sixteenth century [Persian] manuscript of the *Kulliyat* ('Complete Works') of Sa'di" in Shiraz, Iran, 1566, suggesting a possible Persian tradition of this element.

<sup>254</sup> See also the late thirteenth-century chess king with hawk (Keats 2: 113).

<sup>255</sup> "Un príncipe muy jóven, sin barba ni bigote (acaso el miniaturista retrató al infante D. Sancho ú otro hijo del rey *Sabio*), juega al ajedrez con una dama de la corte, ricamente ataviada. El vestido interior de aquél es tejido todo de lana ó seda de color de grana, con las costuras doradas, cordon para ajustar el cuerpo, cinturon con hebilla de oro, manto verde y calzado dorado. Desatiende el juego para hacerse cargo

both players here as royal offspring.<sup>256</sup> Bernis Madrazo uses the two gentlemen on the right side of the miniature in her *Indumentaria medieval española*, illustration no. 64 on *lámina* 15, saying “Caballero con *saya encordada de mangas cosedizas*; acompañante con manto de tradición mozárabe.” Calvo largely echoes Janer and adds a comment on the miniature’s hint at the chess problem’s solution, saying:

En la miniatura del folio 8v[r], las blancas las lleva un caballero, atendido por su halconero, y las negras una dama a quien ofrece manjares una criada. El dedo de la figura señala [del hombre], atravesando todo el tablero, al caballo de e8 con el que principia la solución. (1987: 172)

The theme of a game between lovers where the knight holds a hawk is repeated on one end of a painted wood casket made in Konstanz *c.* 1320 and on the carved ivory mirror back shown in Camille’s *The Medieval Art of Love* (124) where the knight’s attendant holds the bird of prey for him.<sup>257</sup>

Constable, who uses this image as her fig. 8, offers the interesting suggestion that these are Tristan and Iseult attended by Brangane and Gouvernal (325).

See also the accompanying CD-rom for the PowerPoint presentation entitled “The *LJ*’s Confusing Problem 4.”

de lo que le dice un paje, que con guante puesto sostiene un azor en la mano izquierda. La noble dama, embebida en el juego y mirando con pasión al distraído príncipe, no repara tampoco en que se le acerca una doncella ofreciéndole en una fuente de plata tres objetos blancos, indudablemente manjares dulces” (Janer, “*Los Libros de ajedrez*” 240).

<sup>256</sup> “... una infanta, a la que una dama obsequia con dulces, con un príncipe, al que interrumpe un montero hablándole de cetrería y mostrando un azor” (J. B. Sánchez Pérez 1929: 10).

<sup>257</sup> The casket is now held in Zurich’s Schweizerisches Landesmuseum. Michael Camille’s *The Medieval Art of Love: Objects and Subjects of Desire* (New York: Abrams, 1998). One of the boxes rose-shaped brass studs forms clasps over the board itself, the metaphorical rose of romance making “clear what are the stakes of this game” (Camille 107, 109).

### 2.7.16 Fol. 8v

The eleventh miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 5 in an architectural frame with an irregular upper edge of domes and roofing which occupies roughly the upper third of the folio. Two men whose hats<sup>258</sup> may identify them as Jewish sit on a low bench with red pillows<sup>259</sup> beneath a series of five five-lobed arches, alternating small and large. Behind the player on the left dressed in a brown *saya* is an arched doorway containing a large green urn and behind his opponent dressed in a sleeveless grey *saya*, transparent white *camisa* and a black cap is a half-open doorway showing one wing of a double wooden door. Both players are barefoot and at their feet are, to the left, a wine flask and glass and, to the right on a stool, a small container and bowl, probably also for drink. The player of black seated on the right wins this game.

Janer's description agrees with mine.<sup>260</sup> Steiger again echoes Janer.<sup>261</sup> After describing the architectural frame, Vázquez de Parga also follows Janer in describing the players on fol. 8v as "personas de vulgar condición a juzgar por sus trajes y la desnudez de sus pies y piernas" (1987: 19), and further identifies the player on the right as a Jew due to his profile and conical black hat, but notes his lack of beard which many medieval courts ruled that Jews must wear. Toledano uses fol. 8v's miniature in his article (9).

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<sup>258</sup> See Appendix D7: Jewish and Oriental Headwear.

<sup>259</sup> See other similar red pillows on fols. 10r, 14r, 22r, 40v, 47v, 76r, 76v and 97v.

<sup>260</sup> "Dentro de una habitación, con sus correspondientes arcos y esbeltas columnas, juegan al ajedrez dos personas de vulgar condición, á juzgar por sus trajes y la desnudez de sus piés y piernas. Tienen delante de sí una botella con vino, un vaso y otras vasijas, y á un lado se ve una hidria de elegante forma, de color verde, de donde es probable vuelvan á llenar la botella para continuar alegremente el juego" (Janer, "*Los Libros de ajedrez*" 240).

<sup>261</sup> "Zwei Schachspieler, deren bloße Füß auf niedere Abkunft schließen lassen. Vor ihnen steht eine Weinflasche und ein Becher. Seitlich ein großes Gefäß, das wahrscheinlich als Weinbehälter und zur Auffüllung der Flasche dient" (Steiger XVIII).

The catchwords “go darla” found at the bottom of fol. 8v marks the end of the first gathering.<sup>262</sup>

### 2.7.17 Fol. 9r

The twelfth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 6 in a white rectangular frame with a red floor and gold squares in the corners occupying roughly the middle third of the folio. Four Christian males appear in this illumination; three of them dressed as pilgrims of very high rank with gold hats<sup>263</sup> and red hose are seated on chairs or a bench with legs. The two chess players wear gold shoes and play at a board whose top and bottom edge are each decorated with three six-pointed stars like those seen on fols. 22r and 92r.

The player at the left wears a gold pilgrim’s hat, elaborately-patterned sleeveless *brial* and *camisa* of another red-and-gold pattern, red hose and gold shoes. Behind him, another pilgrim in a gold hat, red *saya* and black shoes plays a gold harp.<sup>264</sup> The player at right wears a gold pilgrim’s hat, blue *camisa*, gold sleeveless *brial*, red hose and gold shoes. Standing or perhaps bowing behind the player of white at right, the winner of this problem, a young page in a gold folded-brim hat and blue *saya* offers him a congratulatory drink from the pitcher at his feet and a round object that is likely a fruit.<sup>265</sup>

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<sup>262</sup> See also fols. 17r, 24v, 32v, 40v and 48v for other catchwords.

<sup>263</sup> Compare with pilgrims on fols. 49v and 63r, as well as *Cantiga* 34, panels 5 and 6 (Keller and Cash pl. 18). Fol. 63r shows a similarly gilt and hatted pilgrim playing with an Arab. Fol. 49v also shows a Christian pilgrim, a lady this time, in the traditional pilgrim’s hat and playing chess against a royal personage, Queen Violante. See also Richard P. Kinkade, “Alfonso X, *Cantiga* 235, and the Events of 1269-1278” *Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies*, 1992 Apr; 67 (2) 284-323, which confirms the roles played by different styles of hats, helping to identify pilgrims in the *LJ* and possibly even their identities.

<sup>264</sup> See another similar harp on fol. 22r. In their appendix Keller & Cash also list a harp appearing in *Cantiga* 100, panel 6 (70).

<sup>265</sup> See also red fruits in a dish on fols. 12v and 22r; white fruits in a dish on fols. 8r and 40v and round red sweets or fruits held in the hand on fols. 9r, 14v and 54v.

Janer's description agrees with mine.<sup>266</sup> J. B. Sánchez Pérez<sup>267</sup> and Steiger<sup>268</sup> echo Janer. Calvo notes that the winner receives the beverage and, confused by the six-pointed stars, wonders if these men are Jews.<sup>269</sup>

The six-pointed Star of David or Magen David was not a symbol connected with Judaism at this point in history. I do not feel the people shown in this miniature can be Jews at all. The hats worn by these players are those traditionally worn by Christian pilgrims. Given their high rank, as evidenced by the large amount of gold leaf decorating nearly every article in the miniature, including their shoes and red hosiery and given the level of service and entertainment provided by their attendants, I would hazard a guess that these are members of some Christian royal family or families and perhaps en route to Spain's point of pilgrimage, Santiago de Compostela. A party such as this may well have accompanied the wedding celebration of Alfonso's half-sister Eleanor and the future Edward I of England in 1254. For these and other reasons, it is highly unlikely they are Jews since it would have been illegal for Jews to wear such sumptuous clothing.

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<sup>266</sup> “Dos personajes de gran respeto, con túnicas de tisú de oro y sombreros dorados en la cabeza, de copa puntiaguda y grandes alas, juegan al ajedrez. A un lado les deleita un músico, sentado, que toca el arpa, y al otro lado, un joven paje, inclinando también la rodilla, presenta a uno de los jugadores una copa con la mano derecha, y un objeto redondo, dorado, con la mano izquierda. A su lado, en el suelo, ha dejado el paje un hermoso jarro de oro con la bebida” (Janer, “*Los Libros de ajedrez*” 240-41).

<sup>267</sup> “[...] dos magnates lujosamente ataviados con vestimentas de tisú de oro, uno tiene a su lado un músico que están tañendo un arpa y el otro es obsequiado con un dulce y una copa de licor” (J. B. Sánchez Pérez 1929: 10).

<sup>268</sup> “Zwei hochgestellte Persönlichkeiten mit golddurchwirkten Gewändern und Hüten. Während des Spiels werden sie durch einen Harfenspieler unterhalten. Auf der andern Seite, mit gebeugtem Knie, ein junger Page, der einem der Spieler den Pokal reicht. Auf dem Boden ein schöner goldener Krug, der das Getränk enthält” (Steiger XVIII).

<sup>269</sup> “cuatro figures masculinas, posiblemente judíos (el tablero lleva en los bordes seis estrellas de David), uno de ellos con un instrumento musical parecido al arpa. El jugador lleva las blancas, vencedoras en este problema, recibe una copa, que podría simbolizar la victoria” (Calvo 1987: 173). See also “An Orphaned Miniature of *Cantiga* 235 from the Florentine Codex” by Richard P. Kinkade and John E. Keller (*Bulletin of the Cantigueiros de Santa Maria*, Vol. X, Spring 1998) on Alfonso as a pilgrim in a similar gold filigree hat.

This miniature of two royal pilgrims playing chess accompanied by a harpist compares favorably with *Cantiga* 380 where we can see two royal pilgrims playing animal-headed harps. Does the *Cantiga*'s miniature show a young Alfonso on a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela with his musician father, St. Fernando? Or does it perhaps portray Alfonso and Henry III of England, the father of Edward I, at the marriage of Eleanor and Edward at the convent of Las Huelgas in Burgos on the *Camino de Santiago*? Perhaps this significant and diverse gathering of royals inspired several of the *LJ* miniatures with royals, pilgrims, monks, nuns, members of chivalric orders, etc.

#### **2.7.18 Fol. 9v**

Fol. 9v has only text and no illumination.

#### **2.7.19 Fol. 10r**

The thirteenth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 7 in an architectural framework with an irregular upper edge of domes and roofing which occupies roughly the upper half of the folio. Two Arab men sit on low benches with red pillows<sup>270</sup> beneath the larger and exterior, single horseshoe arches.<sup>271</sup> The man at left in the blue-grey *saya* has removed his dark-peaked red turban, placing it at his bare feet, one of which overlaps the beautifully stylized floral or pawn-inspired pattern along the floor.<sup>272</sup> His opponent, the player of white at right whom Calvo believes may be as-Suli,

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<sup>270</sup> See other similar red pillows on fols. 8v, 14r, 22r, 40v, 47v, 76r, 76v and 97v.

<sup>271</sup> A comparison of the postures of these Arab men and their cushions on fol. 10r with those of the European men playing tables on fol. 76v reveals the influence of Arabic culture on that of Alfonso's court as well as possibly that of Oriental miniatures on those of the *LJ*.

<sup>272</sup> See also the promoted-pawn pattern on the bench edge of fol. 18r and the floor's pawn motif on fol. 26v.

wins this game and has a wine flask and glass at his feet.<sup>273</sup> He wears a red *saya* and matching turban with a striped peak. The top and bottom edges of the chess board are each decorated with three trefoils.

Janer's description agrees with mine.<sup>274</sup> Steiger's agrees with Janer's.<sup>275</sup> I agree with Calvo's suspicion that the man at right is meant to portray as-Suli because I believe that the inscription on the pillow held by the player of black at left may read "As-Sul shah mat" (as-Suli checkmates), hinting not only at the provenance of this problem and its solution but also at the identity of one of the men portrayed. Calvo's suggestion, that Alfonso's miniaturists might perhaps portray as-Suli, is significant and is, I believe, repeated on fol. 17v.

Vázquez de Parga's description of fol. 10r repeats Janer and Steiger but says that the two Moorish players compete over a red-and-white board (1987: 19). I believe that the reddish tint of the dark spaces of the board is most likely due to the deterioration of the ink and not a departure from the traditional board as with the red pieces instead of black in fols. 50r and 50v. Not seeing the turban on the floor, he incorrectly notes that one player is turbaned while the other with a grey beard is not.

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<sup>273</sup> "[I]a miniatura representa a dos árabes jugando, y también en esta ocasión hay una jarra y un vaso al pie del jugador que vence, como si se simbolizase con ello el triunfo. ... [El problema] procede del tratado de As-Suli, a quien quizá quiso representar el miniaturista" (Calvo 1987: 174).

<sup>274</sup> "En una habitación morisca, están sentados y juegan al ajedrez un anciano de barbas blancas, túnica blanca y con los pies descalzos. Tiene el turbante en el suelo y apoya el brazo izquierdo sobre un cojín encarnado con caracteres arábigos que expresarán alguna leyenda alcoránica. [New paragraph.] El otro individuo lleva puesto el turbante, se apoya sobre otro cojín encarnado, con flores doradas y negras, y tiene en el suelo una botella y vaso" (Janer, "Los Libros de ajedrez" 241).

<sup>275</sup> "In einem maurischen Gemach sitzen zwei bärtige, weißgekleidete und barfüßige Spieler. Der eine hat seinen Turban abgelegt und stützt den Arm auf ein rotes Kissen, das mit arabischen Schriftzügen bestickt ist. Das andere Kissen ist gleichfalls von roter Farbe und mit goldenen und schwarzen Blumen bestickt" (Steiger XVIII).

Colleen Schafroth uses the miniature from fol. 10r in *The Art of Chess* (2002) but fails to note the turban at the feet of the player on the left and the Arabic letters on his pillow (37, caption on 36). While he may indeed be a Spaniard, he is not, as she implies, a Christian but rather a Moor like his opponent. While most players in the *LJ* play against someone very like themselves in terms of race and gender, there are a few that suggest intercultural friendships across the game board, such as the miniatures on fols. 20r (Christians and Jews), 33r (Muslims and Christians), 55r (Negro and Caucasian), 57v, (a Christian and a Jew), 60v (a Jew and a Muslim), 61v (a Jew and an Indian), 64r (a Christian and a Muslim), 71v (Christians and Jews, though not very friendly), and 75r (a Christian and a Jew). Constable notes that Christians win the majority of chess games they play against Jews (346). While she does not specify any games, she does identify as Jewish players those on fols. 22r (whom she calls Berbers) and 71v; this fact also appears to me to be true for Problems 22, 61, 80, 84, 92 and perhaps 93. Constable asserts no Jew wins a chess game in any mixed pairing (343).

### **2.7.20 Fol. 10v**

The fourteenth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 8 in a red-and-white rectangular frame with gold squares in the corners which occupies roughly the upper third of the folio. Four lines of text from the solution appear above the miniature and the beginning of the next problem's solution appears beneath it.

The two male players are seated on a long, high wooden bench covered with cloth. The younger player at left wears a transparent white *cofia*, a blue *saya* under his pale red *aljuba*, red hose and gold shoes. The player of white at right and winner of this

game is dressed in a green *tabardo* and *capirote*, white gloves,<sup>276</sup> red hose and gold shoes. The young genuflecting page in an opaque *cofia* and black-belted brown hooded *aljuba* offers him a congratulatory drink from a gold pitcher.

Janer's description agrees with mine.<sup>277</sup> Calvo explains the significance of the page's presentation of the drink to the player on the right and the hint to the role of the square h5 in the problem's solution offered twice by the player at left:

Lo que sí quiero señalar es que las figuras de las miniaturas contienen en numerosas ocasiones claves ajedrecísticas. Por ejemplo, el problema número 8 (fol. 10v) muestra al jugador de la izquierda señalando con el dedo índice al cuadro blanco de la banda superior del tablero. Pues bien, a esa casilla, que en la moderna notación algebraica denominamos h5, va en la primera jugada de la solución un caballo blanco. En otras palabras, el miniaturista nos indica expresivamente a dónde se deben jugar las piezas para comenzar la solución del problema. Esto ocurre siempre que se señala algún cuadro del tablero, o un personaje toca una pieza y así lo detallo en el análisis de los problemas en que estas claves pictóricas me han parecido evidentes (problemas números 8, 21, 24, 26, 27, 30, 31, 51, 57, 76, 79 y 98). Nunca aparece un dedo extendido que no señale, a veces atravesando todo el tablero, exactamente a la figura o al cuadro del tablero donde principia la maniobra ajedrecística. ¡Me sorprende que ello haya escapado a la comprensión de los anteriores analistas de las miniaturas, algunos de ellos tan eminentes como Steiger, que interpretan erróneamente las manos y los dedos extendidos como remedios mágicos medievales contra conjuros!<sup>278</sup>

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<sup>276</sup> See similar gloves on fols. 7r, 30v and 85v.

<sup>277</sup> "Dos caballeros, como se desprende de su calzado dorado y de sus guantes, que llevan puestos en ambas manos, juegan al ajedrez. El uno tiene puesta la capilla ó caperuza de su traje de color verde, y un paje, hincando la rodilla, le presenta de beber con una copa y un jarro, ambos de oro" (Janer, "*Los Libros de ajedrez*" 241).

<sup>278</sup> Calvo (1987: 131) cites Steiger (XVII): "Hände und Finger sind von so sprechender Mimik, daß wir versucht sind, sie auch im Lichte unserer Kenntnis vom Aberglauben zu deuten. Es läßt sich durchaus denken, daß eine Hand mit bestimmter Haltung der beweglichen langen Finger gegen die Magie des bösen Blicks oder eine andere Zauberei schützen sollte." Steiger may have been referring, as did Trend, to "Zarco Cuevas, P. Fr. Juan, *Cátalogo [sic] de los manuscritos castellanos de la Real Biblioteca de el Escorial*. (S. Lorenzo de el Escorial, 1924-1929), III, 444-445."

Commenting again on the same miniature, Calvo adds:

En ella, un criado ofrece una copa al jugador que lleva las blancas, indicando así que éstas deben obtener el triunfo. La otra figura señala con su dedo la casilla de h5, adonde debe ir el caballo blanco en la primera jugada de la solución. (1987: 175)

### 2.7.21 Fol. 11r

Fol. 11r has only text and no illumination.

### 2.7.22 Fol. 11v

The fifteenth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 9 in a rectangular architectural framework whose probably irregular upper edge has been lost to trimming. The illumination occupies roughly the upper third of the folio.

Four men in long, buttoned *sayas* appear in this miniature, each roughly beneath one of the four five-lobed arches and three wearing strangely curved pointed hats decorated in gold.<sup>279</sup> Over the board is a smaller tri-lobed arch. The two players are seated on a long bench with a tan covering. Behind them, two observers stand holding hunting bows and point at the board. The two men at left wear their brown hair in long braids down their backs. The player of black, who wears red hose and is seated on the right, wins this game.

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<sup>279</sup> See Appendix D7: Jewish and Oriental Headwear; as well as *Cantiga* 70 and *LJ* fols. 41r, 42r, 43v, 61v, 82v and 91v for more hats like these.

Janer's description agrees with mine, noting the oddity of the hats.<sup>280</sup> Calvo notes the bows and believes these are probably Jews.<sup>281</sup> He does not explain why he thinks they might be Jews although perhaps it is due to their hats. I do not believe these are meant to be Jews but rather some exotic people from somewhere in the Orient, perhaps from India as suggested by Vázquez de Parga (1987: 20) and discussed under the descriptions of fols. 13v and 14r. The hats worn by Jews in the *LJ* tend to have a much less pronounced point on a dark-colored and more closely fitting cap such as those shown on fols. 20r and 71v.<sup>282</sup> Jews were not known for wearing hair in long braids down their backs, an Oriental custom, and would not have been permitted to wear the red hose shown on the man at the right of this miniature. Wollesen merely identifies these men as archers (295).

### 2.7.23 Fol. 12r

The sixteenth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 10 in a rectangular architectural framework whose slightly irregular upper edge has been somewhat lost to trimming. The illumination occupies roughly the upper half of the folio.

Two armed men wearing whitish robes and red-peaked white turbans,<sup>283</sup> the long ends of which hang down their backs, each sit cross-legged on cushions on the floor beneath a horseshoe arch. Over the board is a closed double wooden door under a five-lobed arch within another mitered one. Beside the player at left is a wine flask and beside

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<sup>280</sup> “Juegan al ajedrez cuatro personajes, los dos sentados, y los otros dos de pié, señalando el tablero y teniendo éstos en la mano un arco cada uno. Tres llevan una especie de bonetes ó sombreros puntiagudos, indudablemente extraños á los reinos de Don Alfonso, y los dos de la izquierda, en vez de la cabellera entónces de moda, llevan grandes trenzas colgando, que el miniaturista ha hecho alarde en ponerlas completamente de manifiesto al observador” (Janer, “*Los Libros de ajedrez*” 241).

<sup>281</sup> “cuatro personajes, probablemente judíos, dos de los cuales llevan un arco” (Calvo 1987: 176).

<sup>282</sup> The hats of fol. 11v also seem to be completely different from the rounded or pointed hats worn by Jews in *Cantiga* 108 (Keller and Cash pl. 19).

<sup>283</sup> Similar turbans also appear on fols. 2r, 22r, 38r, 44r, 55v and 63r.

the player of black seated on the right, who wins this game, is a bowl perhaps used for drinking.

Janer's description agrees with mine.<sup>284</sup> Steiger's echoes Janer's.<sup>285</sup> Calvo describes the players as "dos guerreros árabes, ambos con recipientes para bebidas a sus pies" (1987: 177). Desmond Stewart, in his *The Alhambra*, publishes an image of the miniature from fol. 12r and remarks that "[t]he seriousness with which the game was played may be inferred from the removal by the players of their shoes, but not their weapons"<sup>286</sup> *Chessmaster 5500* (Ubisoft, 1995-97) uses the miniature from fol. 12r as the background for its opening "Who Are You?" menu screen.

#### 2.7.24 Fol. 12v

The seventeenth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 11 in an elaborate L-shaped architectural framework formed around the remaining lines of the solution in the upper left column which occupies roughly two-thirds of the folio. The beginning of the next problem's solution appears beneath the miniature. The top and bottom edge of the board are decorated with a motif of tiny circles,<sup>287</sup> perhaps here connoting wedding bands.

Peering down from a half-closed window in a red-brick tower whose other half is covered by a closed jalousie of wooden slats, is a loose-haired blonde maiden dressed in

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<sup>284</sup> "Dos caudillos árabes, con albarnoces y con turbantes blancos, juegan al ajedrez. Ambos llevan colgando del hombro grandes espadas. Están sentados á la usanza morisca sobre dos almohadones. En el fondo se ve la parte alta de una puerta árabe, cerrada, con dos aldabas y dos bisagras, ó sea las que corresponden á la parte alta de las dos medias hojas de la puerta" (Janer, "*Los Libros de ajedrez*" 241).

<sup>285</sup> "Zwei arabische Fürsten in weißen Burnus und Turban beim Schachspiel. Beide tragen große Schwerter, die an Schulterriemen hängen. Nach maurischer Sitte sitzen sie auf Kissen. Im Hintergrund sieht man den oberen Teil einer geschlossenen arabischen Flügeltüre mit zwei Türklopfen und Angeln" (Steiger XVIII).

<sup>286</sup> Desmond Stewart, *The Alhambra* (New York: Newsweek, 1974) 89.

<sup>287</sup> See also the similar board detail on fol. 47v.

green. Pausing from their game to look up at their female observer, two tonsured players, at left in red and at right in dark grey, both wear transparent tunics<sup>288</sup> over their opaque sleeveless *sayas* which reveal the different color of their *camisas*'s sleeves. These two players also strongly resemble the men shown on fol. 30r. Both have large, sheathed swords standing behind them; the scabbard of the sword at right bears the arms of Castile and León and the colors of the pigments used to paint the heraldic castles and lions on this scabbard have aged in a very similar way to the same symbols painted on the round pillow beside Alfonso in the miniature for astrological checkers on fol. 96v. A young servant with closely-cropped hair and dressed in a short red *saya* approaches the player of white at left, the winner of this game, with a banded wooden pitcher of drink and a plate of red fruit.<sup>289</sup>

Suggesting a possible Persian pictorial tradition, there is another miniature in which a woman observes a chess game from the architecture seen in *British Library Images Online*'s opaque watercolor of "The introduction of chess from India at the court of Nushirvan" (Record number c5125-02, Shelfmark I.O. Islamic 3265, fol. 523v) from a 1614 Persian copy of Firdawsi's *Shahnama* in which [at right] "a building with a lady at the window and another in a doorway, overlooking a small courtyard in the fountain of which a man is washing his hands." Here the men play with red and black pieces on a gold, uncheckered board.

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<sup>288</sup> Transparent *sobretunicas* are worn by clerics on fols. 12v, 33v and 55r; clerics wear transparent scarves on fol. 50r.

<sup>289</sup> See also red fruits in a dish on fols. 12v and 22r; white fruits in a dish on fols. 8r and 40v and round red sweets or fruits held in the hand on fols. 9r, 14v and 54v.

Janer notes that the building has a further story above that where the maiden is visible and believes the page carries cherries.<sup>290</sup> The wording of his description agrees with mine. Calvo describes this miniature as *preciosa*, notes the refreshments go to the victor and wonders inexplicably if the two players are a Christian and a Jew.<sup>291</sup>

Vázquez de Parga praises the chiaroscuro of the blue and green roof tiles and red and white walls of fol. 12v's miniature, also noting the tonsures and victor's spoils which he sees as cake rather than fruit (1987: 19). I tend to agree with Janer as the red, round shapes with stems visible appear to be cherries, though perhaps it is a sort of cherry pie. Vázquez de Parga finds in the maiden who watches from an open window above, a motif familiar from the *CSM*. Gonzalo Menéndez Pidal's assertion that the players are clerics since they wear the transparent *sobretúnicas* and *sobrepellices* bothers Vázquez de Parga because the sword he sees behind one of them strikes him as not very much in keeping with a member of the clergy (qtd. in Vázquez de Parga 1987: 19). Close examination reveals that both players have swords behind them; perhaps then they are meant to suggested crusaders or people in the land of the Crusades?

Wollesen (1990) uses an image of this miniature of his article with the incorrect folio in his caption, "7. Madrid, Real Bibl. del Escorial, j.T.6. fol.; fol. 7r, chess players;

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<sup>290</sup> "En una casa de tres pisos, toda de piedra, se hallan jugando en la planta baja dos personas, á quienes un jovencito acerca un plato con cerezas y un gran jarro de agua (ó de vino). Desde la ventana del cuarto principal, que tiene una persiana sin abrir, mira y habla con los jugadores una jóven, con vestido verde y cabellera rubia. Cada jugador tiene arrimado á su asiento un gran montante envainado, y las vainas tienen diversas labores y dibujos, siendo los de una de ellas castillos y leones, manifestando que su dueño se halla al servicio del rey de Castilla" (Janer, "*Los Libros de ajedrez*" 241).

<sup>291</sup> "Los dos contendientes (¿un cristiano y un judío?) son observados por una dama desde una casa. Un criado trae bebida y manjares al jugador que lleva las piezas blancas, indicando así simbólicamente la victoria de éstas" (Calvo 1987: 178).

the winner is offered wine” (284). Likely Wollesen confused these two miniatures because of their similar L-shaped architectural frames.

This miniature may be an image of the legend of *Flores y Blancaflor*. Constable suggests and then dismisses the possibility of this scene, her fig. 12, as showing Flores playing the tower guard for access to his beloved, Blancaflor. According to Constable, the clerical haircuts of the two men, who appear to her as equals, and the fact that the lady does not appear to her to be incarcerated make this idea unlikely and suggests perhaps a scene from a story on Percival (329-30n81). For more on this suggested identification and the catch and release aspects of courtly love as portrayed in the Alhambra’s chess painting (Sala de los reyes, Lateral 1), see my forthcoming article.<sup>292</sup>

#### **2.7.25 Fol. 13r**

Fol. 13r has only text and no illumination.

#### **2.7.26 Fol. 13v**

The eighteenth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 12 in a rectangular architectural framework with an irregular turreted upper edge which occupies roughly half of the folio. There is significant wet damage to this folio’s miniature and text which appears to be accidental.<sup>293</sup>

Two men in long, buttoned tunics, red hose, black shoes and pointed hats sit on a long bench beneath two staggered rows of semicircular arches,<sup>294</sup> the front red and those behind green. Their hats are pointed but not curved like those on 11v. The columns

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<sup>292</sup> Sonja Musser, “Images of Medieval Spanish Chess and Captive Damsels in Distress,” *Le beau jeu notable: Chess in Medieval European Culture* (working title), ed. Daniel E. O’Sullivan, ser. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Thought (Berlin: De Gruyter, [in progress]).

<sup>293</sup> See Excel file “LJ Manuscript Statistics,” column “Wear and Tears.”

<sup>294</sup> Similar rows of arches are also seen on fols. 23v, 37v and 42r.

supporting these three front red arches are spotted like marble. A white cloth edged in a black pattern of stripes and dots covers the bench. Behind the players are black and white tiles in a beautifully complex geometric arrangement, echoing the geometric shapes of the games as do the samples of embroidery found occasionally in the *LJ*'s miniatures. The player at left in a blue button-front *saya* appears to have had a hat of a similar pattern to the tiled wall and appears to be pointing at the first square in which white gives check with his knight. The player of white at right, dressed all in red with the same long central row of buttons, wins this game.

Janer's description agrees with mine.<sup>295</sup> Calvo sees "dos jugadores judíos ante un diagrama que se ha deteriorado" (1987: 179). Jews are shown in the *CSM* with somewhat similar hats but I have to wonder if these are not Indians. Vázquez de Parga is puzzled by their dress:

no cabe duda de que los miniaturistas de este códice manejaron modelos ilustrados orientales. De ellos tomarían, por ejemplo, los extraños personajes barbados con altos gorros puntiagudos y túnicas talares abotonadas que aparecen en la ilustración de fol. 13v. En el fol. 14v [14r] de los tres jugadores, dos llevan sus turbantes puestos, mientras que el tercero, que viste túnica verde, la ha dejado en el suelo. (1987: 20)

Their unusual hats and long, buttoned tunics appear also in fols. 11v, perhaps 41r, 42r, 43v, 48v, 52r, 61v, 82v, and 91v; these men also usually wear white hose with black shoes. The men in 13v may be Persians or Indians since Alfonso thought many of these games had their origin in the Orient and, certainly, individuals such as those in fols. 13v and 14v were probably the ones who brought the games to Europe via Spain.

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<sup>295</sup> "Dos personajes con túnicas cerradas por delante con larga hilera de botones, juegan al ajedrez sentados en divanes con cubiertas de tela blanca y franjas en su parte inferior. El pavimento de la sala es de mármoles que forman ciertos dibujos" (Janer, "*Los Libros de ajedrez*" 241).

**2.7.27 Fol. 14r**

The nineteenth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 13 in a simple rectangular border which occupies roughly one third of the center of the folio, with two columns of text above and below it. The final portion of the word *entablamiento* from this problem's solution intrudes into the upper right-hand border of the miniature's frame.

Three Arab men sit on either side of the board, the two at left on a low bench covered with a grey cloth consult a book and the one at right on a checked green cushion supports his elbow on a red floral-patterned pillow.<sup>296</sup> The player in the green wide-sleeved robe at left has removed his gold-peaked white turban, placed it at his feet and consults an Arabic text with the assistance of the elderly man in reddish wide-sleeved robes behind him. The player of black seated on the right wins this game; he is dressed in a white wide-sleeved robe with a white turban capped in green and gold. His bare feet peek out beneath his tunic near his congratulatory flask and glass and he gestures to the other players while supporting his head with his hand.

To me, it seems the player with his head on his hand waits impatiently for his younger opponent to lose in spite of his delay in consulting a book for help. This moping posture is popular in game pieces. The queen from the Isle of Lewis chess pieces, who supports her head with one hand as though tired or worried, and the figure of Saturn for the *LJ's* *escaques* or astrological checkers, who is described as sad of face and with his

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<sup>296</sup> See other similar red pillows on fols. 8v, 10r, 22r, 40v, 47v, 76r, 76v and 97v.

hand to his cheek like a troubled man. I believe the player at right may be another portrayal of as-Suli as Calvo attributes this problem to him.

Janer's description agrees with mine.<sup>297</sup> Steiger echoes Janer.<sup>298</sup> Calvo notes that there are "dos jugadores árabes consultando un texto con caracteres arábigos" and wonders if it is not an allusion to the treatise of as-Suli from whence the problem came. He continues, "[e]l otro jugador, que conduce las piezas negras que han de vencer en la combinación, tiene una jarra y un vaso a su lado, simbolizando su victoria" (1987: 180). García Morencos uses this image in her study with the caption, "Consulta de una jugada en un manuscrito de caracteres arábigos" (13). In her *Relación de ilustraciones* she supports Calvo's and my conclusion, though without specifically naming as-Suli, saying of it, "Meditación de la jugada, consultando un libro escrito en arábigos caracteres que demuestran las fuentes orientales de la obra" (53). In 1986, the United Arab Emirates issued a series of chess-related stamps that included among other images the miniatures from the *LJ*'s fols. 14r and 38v.<sup>299</sup>

### 2.7.28 Fol. 14v

The twentieth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 14 in a yellow rectangular border which occupies slightly less than one third of the center of the folio.

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<sup>297</sup> "Dos árabes juegan sentados al ajedrez. Vestido el uno de blanco, medita profundamente apoyando la cabeza con naturalidad sobre su mano derecha: el otro, con traje verde, consulta el libro escrito con caracteres arábigos que le presenta abierto un moro anciano, que también está sentado" (Janer, "*Los Libros de ajedrez*" 241).

<sup>298</sup> "Zwei Araber beim Schachspiel. Der eine, weiß gekleidet, stützt in tiefem Nachdenken das Haupt auf die rechte Hand. Der andere, in grünem Gewande, studiert ein arabisches Buch, das ein alter, neben ihm sitzender Maure ihm geöffnet entgegenhält" (Steiger XVIII).

<sup>299</sup> "On November 14, 1986 the United Arab Emirates issued a series of chess stamps to commemorate the 27th Chess Olympiad in Dubai" from "Stamps and Chess by Bill Wall," ed. Bill Wall, 27 July 2005 <<http://www.geocities.com/siliconvalley/lab/7378/stamps.htm>>. *Scott 2004 Standard Postage Stamp Catalogue, 160<sup>th</sup> ed.*, ed. James E. Kloetzel (Sidney, OH: Scott, 2003) 6: 710, United Arab Emirates: stamps 228-30.

This scene contains five richly dressed Christian males. From left to right are two standing observers, two players seated upon a marble bench and a standing page offering a gold cup to the winner of this problem, the player of white at right.

All but the man at far left wear red hose and the observer second-from-left wears matching red shoes and a red-and-gold *birrete* similar to that seen frequently on Sancho.<sup>300</sup> The two players wear gold shoes and green *sayas* under green *mantos*, bordered in different black-and-white patterns perhaps of fur. Although the winner appears as puzzled by the round circular object he holds as I am, it is likely a fruit or sweet.<sup>301</sup> It is difficult to say if he and the man like Sancho, standing at left in the red cap, are incompletely drawn or have been intentionally defaced.<sup>302</sup> The page, dressed in a short brown *saya*, red hose and black shoes holds a wooden pitcher resembling a watering can in addition to the gold cup.

Janer's description agrees with mine except that he sees one of the capes as violet in color.<sup>303</sup> Calvo notes that the winner receives the congratulatory cup.<sup>304</sup>

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<sup>300</sup> Sancho or other prince: fols. 1r, 14v, 67r, 69r, 70r, 71r, 72r, 83v, 88v, 96v and 97v. Alfonso: fols. 47v, 48r, 96v and 97v. Alfonso's heralric birrete on fols. 47v, 48r, 96v and 97v. See also Appendix D6 for a comparison of these *birretes*.

<sup>301</sup> See also red fruits in a dish on fols. 12v and 22r; white fruits in a dish on fols. 8r and 40v and round red sweets or fruits held in the hand on fols. 9r, 14v and 54v.

<sup>302</sup> For more on the *birrete* see this chapter's section titled "Sancho's *Birrete*" and Appendix D6.

<sup>303</sup> "Juegan al ajedrez dos caballeros sentados, que llevan mantos, de color verde el uno, y el otro de color de violeta, con calzado dorado. Al de la izquierda le aconsejan la suerte que va á jugar dos caballeros mozos que están de pié y embozados. Al de la derecha le presenta de beber un paje con una copa de oro, llevando la bebida en una especie de vasija en forma de regadera que aguanta con la mano izquierda" (Calvo 1987: 130. And also 242).

<sup>304</sup> "[l]a miniatura representa en total a cinco personajes, y al que lleva las piezas blancas vencedoras, le ofrece un servidor una copa simbolizando el triunfo" (Calvo 1987: 181).

**2.7.29 Fol. 15r**

The twenty-first miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 15 in an elaborate L-shaped architectural framework around the remainder of the solution in the upper left hand column. The illumination occupies slightly more than half the folio.

Here two kings appear to teach two princes to play chess. I feel the king at left may be Alfonso himself, in a *brial* and *manto* both patterned in the typically Castilian colors of red and gold; those of the king at right are patterned in more English or French blue and gold. However, if this is the case then it is notable that it is the player of white at right who wins this game. Both pages and the king at right wear red hose and both kings wear gold shoes. The young player at left wears a tan *saya* under his grey *capa*; the one at right wears only a pale blue *saya*. Both pages hold patterned and gilt fans or flyswatters.<sup>305</sup> The page at left wears a short grey *saya*, red hose and black shoes; the one at right wears a short tan *saya*, red hose and black shoes.

The gender of the child at right is less clear, so these could possibly be Alfonso teaching Henry III's son Edward and Alfonso teaching his half-sister Eleanor at the occasion of their wedding in 1254 when she was approximately fourteen years of age.<sup>306</sup> Another possibility is that the king at right may be Alfonso's cousin King Louis IX of France. However, because the kings's *mantos* bear no identifying heraldry I cannot

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<sup>305</sup> See also the fans from *LJ* fol. 96v and *Cantiga* F 95 (Keller and Cash pl. 33).

<sup>306</sup> According to Keller, Part IV, Law VI allowed betrothals from the age of seven and marriage from the age of twelve, or as near as made no difference for carnal union (John Esten Keller, *Alfonso X El Sabio*, Twayne's World Author Ser., eds. Sylvia E. Bowman and Gerald Wade (New York: Twayne, 1967) 130.

confirm their identities with certainty.<sup>307</sup> Both the king and his charge at right appear to point to the troublesome black rook at d2 which threatens the king of the side to win at h2 with mate in one move should he err.

Fol. 15r has caused some debate over the gender of the crowned players. A second controversial issue is the purpose of the people seated between the monarchs and the board. Janer's description disagrees with mine in that instead of royal offspring he sees the people closest to the board as two other pages that move the pieces for a king and a queen.<sup>308</sup> Steiger follows Janer.<sup>309</sup> Given the pattern of similar scenes with opposite genders, such as with monks and nuns on fols. 33r and 33v and the pattern of similar teaching miniatures, I disagree with the first part of Janer's and Steiger's assessment.<sup>310</sup> I do not feel that the movers of the pieces are servants, mostly because of their youth and the affectionate manner in which the kings seem to hold them. In his discussion of the miniature on fol. 74r, Janer admits both possibilities of servant and child. For other miniatures showing adults teaching children to play games see also fols. 16r, 33r, 33v, 74r and 93v.

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<sup>307</sup> Other possible identities for these kingly portraits include the known and unknown kings shown in the *Códice rico* of the CSM include: Fol. 34v which shows a generic-looking blond perhaps British king; *Cantiga* 120, panel one shows a kneeling and crowned king; *Cantiga* 169 panels 2-5 various kings—an unknown in second panel, panel 3 shows Jaime de Aragón, panel 4 shows Alfonso, and panel 5 shows perhaps a Moorish king.

<sup>308</sup> “El rey y la reina sentados, vestidos ricamente, juegan al ajedrez en una habitacion del real palacio. Dos pajes les hacen aire con preciosos abanicos, de pié, detrás de cada uno, y otros dos pajes son los que mueven las piezas del juego, obedeciendo las indicaciones que los reyes les hacen, dignándose señalarles sólo con la mano los *iuegos que an de fazer*. Corona el edificio una torre con columnas exteriores, y del centro se levanta una hermosa cúpula” (Calvo 1987: 130. And also 242).

<sup>309</sup> “König und Königin in reichen Gewändern spielen in einem Gemach des Palastes. Je zwei Pagen stehen hinter ihnen und wehen ihnen mitkostbaren Fächern kühlende Luft zu. Zwei weitere Pagen bewegen die Schachfiguren nach dem Befehl der königlichen Spieler” (Steiger XVIII).

<sup>310</sup> Fols. 33r and 33v show first nuns and then monks teaching novices in a similar format, but with the genders presented in the reverse order. With a limited number of exceptions, players tend to have opponents like themselves in terms of gender, class and race.

I also disagree with Janer's observation that this is a king and queen, held somewhat more specifically by Brunet y Bellet and J. B. Sánchez Pérez who suggest that "el problema quince representan jugar los reyes D. Alfonso y D.<sup>a</sup> Violante, su esposa" (1929: 10) because this does not seem to me to be a woman's *manto*, hair, hosiery or shoes. Additionally, Violante usually tucks her feet modestly under her clothing and the following miniature clearly shows two queens, one of them Violante, in a similar scene.

Vázquez de Parga feels it evident that they are both male, either two kings or a king and a prince because the beardless one on the right seemed younger to him (1987: 20). I do not feel that the man on the right is likely a prince, because no other prince is shown wearing a crown either in the *LJ* or the *CSM*. Vázquez de Parga based his conclusion of the analogous clothing and presentation of the two along with the following miniature on fol. 15v, which clearly shows two queens. Calvo's description more closely agrees with mine.<sup>311</sup> This miniature is Constable's fig. 6.

This image of two kings playing chess, and to a lesser extent that of two kings player tables on fol. 76r, is comparable to that called "Two kings play chess" (*British Library Images Online*, Record number 11351, Shelfmark Add. 12228, fol. 23) from the French work titled *Roman du Roy Meliadus de Leonnoys* by author Helie de Borron, which was produced in Naples, Italy, c. 1352, for Louis II, King of Naples (1342-55). The Italian miniature is inaccurate in terms of the game, which is shown played on a 4x4 faintly-checked board. See also Appendix D5 showing details of the miniatures which

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<sup>311</sup> "con seis figuras en total, representa a dos reyes cristianos, jugando entre sí, acompañados por lo que parecen sus respectivos príncipes y un servidor cada uno. No hay ningún indicio de que el blanco es el ganador" (Calvo 1987: 182).

show children being taught to play a game, illustrating the *LJ* as a dial of princes and princesses.

### 2.7.30 Fol. 15v

Fol. 15v has only text and no illumination.

### 2.7.31 Fol. 16r

The twenty-second miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 16 in a much simpler rectangular border compared to the architectural framework of the preceding miniature of similar theme. The illumination occupies roughly the upper third of the folio. Here two queens teach two young girls to play chess. The queens sit upon elaborate, individual benches, the one at right covered with an embroidered cloth or cushion,<sup>312</sup> while the girls kneel before the benches. The queens wear gold crowns from which transparent veils<sup>313</sup> hang over their long, blonde hair. Violante is at left in a white *camisa*, sleeveless red *brial* and green *capa* bordered with gold.<sup>314</sup> Her opponent is dressed in a looser, red *aljuba* with gold trim. The blonde princess wears a red *saya* with a keyhole opening at the neck and covered with a grey *capa*; the red-headed princess wears a grey keyhole *saya* covered with a green *capa*. Both young girls restrain their hair with a simple band as seen on fols. 5r and 12v.

Violante appears to be teaching a young girl, perhaps one of her daughters with Alfonso or perhaps her sister-in-law the young Eleanor, to play against another princess taught by a queen. This second queen at right may be Henry III's wife, Eleanor of

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<sup>312</sup> See other similar embroidered on fols. 2v, 16v, 19r, 30v, 31r, 34v, 41r and 58v.

<sup>313</sup> See other similar transparent veils on fols. 40r, 49v, 54v and 58v.

<sup>314</sup> For more on the identification of the portraits of Queen Violante, see this chapter's section 2.4.2 titled "Queen Violante's Portraits" and Appendix D3.

Provence, and she may perhaps be teaching one of their daughters or Henry's sister, also named Eleanor and for whom he arranged a marriage with Simon de Montfort. Perhaps the strongly red hair of the young girl at right will aid her identification in the future; further suggestions about her identity are discussion below. Violante's cloak as well as that of the redheaded girl are bordered in ermine indicating royalty. The cushion or covering of the other queen's bench is embroidered in red and black with a detail that complements the chess board and which is seen repeated throughout the codex. As in the previous miniature, it is curiously the unknown player of white at right who wins this game. For other miniatures showing adults teaching children to play games see also fols. 15r, 33r, 33v, 74r and 93v.

The floriated crosses in this embroidery recall the *crux fleurdelysée* of the Order of Calatrava. While it is possible that these crosses are meant to reference that knightly order, it is also possible that these are simply geometric designs that echo the shapes of the game boards. Similar handiwork appears throughout both the *LJ* and the *CSM* and several knightly orders are shown in the *LJ*, but none of them are of Calatrava (see Templars on fol. 25r, Hospitallers on fol. 25v and Santiaguistas on fol. 27r). *Cantiga 205* mentions don Gonzalo Eanes de Novoa, Grand Master the Order of Calatrava, but I have been unable to find an image of it for comparison. Here the players, although queens, could not belong to a military order and thus it is unlikely that the Order of Calatrava is meant here.

Janer's and Calvo's descriptions agree with mine except Janer sees that one of the queens bares her left breast.<sup>315</sup> Rather than such an uncharacteristic display for a Castilian queen, I believe that Violante wears a light-colored *camisa* under her sleeveless *brial*; note the cuff of her sleeve on her right forearm, which Janer confuses with flesh. Bare or nearly-bare breasts do appear in the *LJ* and Violante's cleavage even appears on fol. 56r.<sup>316</sup>

Brunet y Bellet sees two queens but does not try to name them. J. B. Sánchez Pérez attempts to identify the two queens as Violante and Beatriz, Alfonso's daughter with Mayor but their relative ages do not seem right to me.<sup>317</sup> Calvo also identifies these women as queens and princesses and suggests, without explanation and contrary to my identification, that the woman at right may be Violante.<sup>318</sup> I find both J. B. Sánchez Pérez' and Calvo's instincts good here, but the latter gives no reason for suspecting one queen or the other to be Violante. After comparing the noses of these queens with those of other queens I suspect to be Violante, I feel that the one on the left is most likely she as further discussed in the section on Violante's portraits.

See also the Appendices D3 and D5 for a comparison of the *LJ* portraits of Queen Violante and details of the miniatures which show children being taught to play a game, illustrating the *LJ* as a dial of princes and princesses.

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<sup>315</sup> "Son dos reinas con sus coronas y blancos velos las que juegan al ajedrez, pero valiéndose de dos jóvenes doncellas que están arrodilladas á sus piés. Una de las reinas descubre desnudo el pecho izquierdo" (Janer, "*Los Libros de ajedrez*" 242). Calvo 1987: 130.

<sup>316</sup> See women's figures on fols. 22r, 40v and 48r.

<sup>317</sup> "en el diez y seis, juegan dos reinas, que serían D.<sup>a</sup> Violante y D.<sup>a</sup> Beatriz de Portugal" (J. B. Sánchez Pérez 1929: 10).

<sup>318</sup> "dos reinas cristianas, con lo que parecen sus hijas. (¿Quizá la de la derecha es la reina doña Violante?)" (Calvo 1987: 183).

### 2.7.32 Fol. 16v

The twenty-third miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 17 in a rectangular border with gold squares in the corners which occupies somewhat more than the upper third of the folio. Two Christian males share a long bench covered with grey fabric.

The younger player of white at left,<sup>319</sup> in the gold-buttoned and belted brown *saya*, transparent white *cofia* and seated upon a carved bench with embroidered cushion,<sup>320</sup> wins this game against his older opponent in the folded-brim hat with an attached transparent veil, gold-cuffed brown *brial* under his fur-collared red *pellote*.<sup>321</sup> As with the embroidery on fol. 16r, the floriated crosses embroidered on the cushion at left may be emblems of the Order of Calatrava but probably are not.

Janer's description agrees with mine.<sup>322</sup> Calvo finds no "clave especial" in this miniature but he does note that the "almohadón sobre el que está sentado el jugador de la izquierda parece el mismo sobre el que estaba sentada en el problema anterior la jugadora a la derecha" (1987: 183). It does indeed have similar red embroidery of an "x" pattern on a white background to that of the previous miniature.<sup>323</sup>

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<sup>319</sup> The players of white at left also win the following three problems, the second longest run in the *LJ* after seven games of black on right winning Problems 31 through 37.

<sup>320</sup> See other similar embroidery on fols. 2v, 16r, 19r, 30v, 31r, 34v, 41r and 58v.

<sup>321</sup> This man's clothing, especially his folded-brim hat and fur-trimmed cloak, are very similar to those of the man at right on fol. 7r.

<sup>322</sup> "Dos personajes, el uno con gorro puesto, y los dos con cofias de transparente tejido, juegan al ajedrez. Lleva el uno un traje que se repite de un modo parecido alguna vez en estas miniaturas, y el otro llama la atención por los cinco gruesos botones con que se cierran y ajustan los puños de sus mangas. El asiento de éste es de madera labrada y el cojín de encina, que es blanco, tiene bordados ó acaso tejidas lindas estrellas de color rojo" (Janer, "Los Libros de ajedrez" 242).

<sup>323</sup> Other similarly embroidered pillows appear on fols. 2v, 16r, 19r, 30v, 31r, 34v, 41r, and 58v.

**2.7.33 Fol. 17r**

Fol. 17r has only text and no illumination. At the bottom of this folio is a catchword “.iii.,” indicating one of the fascicules or gatherings observed by Grandese.<sup>324</sup> The seventeenth folio indeed coincides with the third fascicule of fols. 17r through 24v.<sup>325</sup>

**2.7.34 Fol. 17v**

The twenty-fourth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 18 and is one of the most significant illuminations of the *LJ*. Occupying roughly the upper third of the folio, its plain rectangular border gives no indication of its importance. Five bearded men, at least four of them turbaned Arabs, appear in the looser and wide-sleeved robes typical of their culture. The man at the far left does not wear a turban and holds a sheathed sword in red and gold.

Seated on an elaborately-worked throne at second from the right is as-Suli, his name embroidered in Cufic script on the sleeve<sup>326</sup> of his gold tunic and his golden floral staff and golden nimbus indicating his importance in the Oriental fashion rather than Christian portrayals of saintliness.<sup>327</sup> The player of white at left who wins this game and is sitting on the floor, is counseled by as-Suli and wears a green tunic and yellowish turban. Standing behind the winner is another Muslim in a white tunic and red turban with his hand on the winner's right shoulder. The losing opponent at far right sits on a

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<sup>324</sup> Piero Grandes, “Sulla Composizione del *Libro dei Giochi* di Alfonso X El Sabbio,” (Annali di Ca’Foscari) *Rivista della Facolta di Lingue e Letterature stranieri dell’U di Venezia* 27 (1988) 171-81.

<sup>325</sup> See also fols. 8v, 24v, 32v, 40v and 48v for more catchwords.

<sup>326</sup> See other similar arm patches on fols. 17v and 76r.

<sup>327</sup> Francisco Marcos Marín, “Texto e imágen en el *Libro de los juegos*,” Alfonso el Sabio Studies Session, AATSP Annual Meeting, Fairmont Hotel, Chicago, 2 Aug. 2003.

bench of dotted checks and wears a reddish turban, brown tunic and black shoes with curlicue toes.<sup>328</sup>

Janer's description agrees with mine except that, not reading the key figure's sleeve, his is confused as to the man's identity and therefore to the scene shown.<sup>329</sup> Steiger echoes Janer.<sup>330</sup> J. B. Sánchez Pérez again suggests identities for this miniature but is confused by as-Suli's halo which leads him to believe that he is a Christian saint.<sup>331</sup> His suggestion that it may perhaps also be Louis IX of France or other members of the French royal family is an important one to be considered for other miniatures, such as those on fols. 15r and 16r. Vázquez de Parga incorrectly believes it must be the prologue's king of "India mayor."<sup>332</sup> However Calvo comes the closest to solving this riddle, though he too fails to read the sleeve and therefore chooses the wrong Arab chess

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<sup>328</sup> See other similar shoes on fols. 37v, 42v, 45r and 52v.

<sup>329</sup> "Sentado en un sillón delicadamente torneado, juega un personaje árabe y de alta jerarquía, á juzgar por su turbante, una leyenda árabe que lleva bordada en la manga, y un sayon con gruesa espada en sus manos está detrás puesto de pié. Otros dos moros le auxilian en el juego, y frente de él contiene en gran agradable lid otro musulman, con blanca barba. Es un poco difícil de explicar este asunto, pues causa extrañeza que el personaje principal, si es moro, esté sentado en un sillón presidencial y no sobre alfombras ó cojines á la usanza árabe, y además el pintor le puso en su cabeza nimbo dorado y cetro dorado en la mano" (Janer, "*Los Libros de ajedrez*" 242).

<sup>330</sup> "In einem zierlich gedrehten Sessel sitzt ein spielender Araber, dessen hohen Rang sein prunkvoller Turban und der mit Schriftzeichen bestickte Ärmel verraten. Hinter ihm steht, als weiteres Zeichen seiner Macht, ein Scharfrichter, der sich auf ein breites Schwert stützt. Zwei andere Mauren beraten ihren Herrn beim Spiel. Sein Partner ist ein weißbärtiger Mohammedaner. Die Erklärung dieser Miniatur bietet einige Schwierigkeiten, da man erwarten würde, daß der vornehme Spieler nach arabischer Sitte auf Teppichen oder Kissen sitzt. Außerdem gab ihm der Maler einen Heiligenschein und ein goldenes Szepter" (Steiger XVIII-XIX).

<sup>331</sup> "en el diez y ocho se representan dirigiendo el juego a uno de los reyes Santos de aquella época: Fernando III, padre de D. Alfonso, o Luis IX de Francia, su tío, a juzgar por el nimbo que el pintor trazó tras la cabeza" (J. B. Sánchez Pérez 1929: 10)

<sup>332</sup> "La miniatura del fol. 17v., que parece hacer desconcertado a Janer, es evidente que procede del mismo modelo que sirvió para ilustrar en los fols. 2[r] y 2v., el origen de los juegos de que trata el Libro y que aquí se ha introducido sin que sepamos porqué. Encerrado en un simple recuadro, su personaje principal no es ninguno de los dos enturbantados que juegan, ni el que, con la misma facha que ellos y también con turbante los mira jugar, sino el otro espectador sentado en un trono ricamente tallado, con brazos, que lleva turbante con nimbo de oro, túnica bordada con caracteres árabes, cetro también de oro y detrás un espartario. Sería imposible no reconocer en él al 'rey de la India mayor', que figura en la historia del origen de los juegos" (Vázquez de Parga 1987: 20).

master, the eighth-century al-Mahdi.<sup>333</sup> In his introduction, Calvo correctly explains further that it is the miniature that gives us a clue to Alfonso's bibliographic sources even though Calvo does not identify this particular individual correctly.<sup>334</sup> This miniature is Constable's fig. 17. She misreads the "band of *tiraz* (the Arabic appears to read 'Allah')" identifying this figure instead as al-Mahdi, as suggested by Calvo (Constable 338), and later refers to this individual as a caliph (Constable 345).

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<sup>333</sup> "se presenta la miniatura, que es muy interesante, ya que este problema, que el manuscrito H atribuye a As-Suli, es adscrito de la siguiente forma en el manuscrito V: 'Fué compuesto por Al-Mahdi, el padre del califa Harum Ar-Raschid, y no sucedió en ninguna partida.' Esta fuente, oral o escrita, es la que atiende en su miniatura el ilustrador del rey Alfonso el Sabio, que representa conduciendo a las piezas ganadoras a un califa, sentado en su trono, con cetro de mando, y con típica aureola que aparece en numerosas figuras de la pintura islámica. Se trata probablemente de Al-Mahdi" (Calvo 1987: 184).

<sup>334</sup> "Pasemos ahora a otra importante miniatura, en donde también la clave nos la aporta la bibliografía ajedrecística: Se trata de la miniatura del fol. 17v que presenta el problema ajedrecístico número 18, en la cual aparece un important personaje árabe, sentado en un trono, con una aureola alrededor de su cabeza y empuñando un cetro dorado. Ni Janer ... ni Steiger ... aciertan a identificarlo. Vázquez de Parga se inclina por "el rey de la India mayor que figura en la historia del origen de los juegos.

"La solución se encuentra en la posición ajedrecística, que era bien conocida por los árabes y que se transcribió por tanto en diversos manuscritos islámicos. Uno de ellos, descubierto por el doctor Paul Schroeder, fue copiado el 21 del mes de Ramadán del año 618 (1221 de nuestro calendario) por Muhamed ben Hawa Othman, "el mueddib," y reproduce el problema con el siguiente comentario: 'Al-Mahdi (el padre de Harum ar Raschid) hizo este problema; no ocurrió en ninguna partida real.'

"Como comenta Murray ([1913] ... 194-195, y también 317-318), esta historia es de incierto valor histórico. El califa Al-Mahdi, tercero de la dinastía abbásida (muerto en el año 785), consideraba con ligera desaprobación la práctica de los juegos, incluido el ajedrez, según se desprende de su carta a los habitantes de La Meca reproducida por Wüstenfeld ("Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka," Leipzig, 1861, ff. iv. 168) en la que les aconseja prescindir "de todas esas vanidades que estropean el pensar en Dios e interfieren con las obligaciones hacia él y con los rezos en la mezquita." Pero, por otra parte, también hay constancia de que en la corte de Al-Mahdi se jugaba al ajedrez, como también en la de su hijo y sucesor Harum-ar-Raschid. El manuscrito árabe, según Murray, denota una cierta tendencia a adscribir los problemas a personajes famosos y sus afirmaciones 'necesitan ser tratadas con precaución'.

"Pero lo que a nosotros nos interesa es que esta leyenda, verdadera o no, había llegado hasta el compilador alfonsino a través de una compilación igual o similar a la del manuscrito mencionado. Y consciente de la adscripción del problema ajedrecístico, el miniaturista retrata o predente [pretende] retratar al califa Al-Mahdi a quien se atribuye.

"Lo importante de esta miniatura es que nos demuestra que el artista alfonsino tuvo, por lo menos en ocasiones, la intención de retratar, no solo a los reconocibles reyes y personajes contemporáneos suyos, sino a figuras del pasado relacionadas más o menos legendariamente con los problemas ajedrecísticos y conviene, por tanto, tener este hecho presente en el fondo de la mente al mirar a las miniatures" (Calvo 1987: 132).

### 2.7.35 Fol. 18r

The twenty-fifth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 19 and as with that of Problem 18 is one of the most significant of the *LJ*'s illuminations. Like the previous miniature, this one is framed by a deceptively plain rectangular border and occupies roughly the upper third of the folio. The esteem shown by Alfonso for these women, whom I believe to be Beatriz, Mayor and Violante, in placing their miniature following and facing that of the portrait of as-Suli cannot be overstated.<sup>335</sup>

Three beautiful ladies are shown, one in a reddish wide-sleeved tunic playing a seven-stringed instrument resembling a lute,<sup>336</sup> a nod to both Alfonso's love of music and his favorite number, and two playing chess seated on a long bench.<sup>337</sup> The lower portion of the bench appears to be covered with dotted diamond-shaped tiles, similar to that seen in the previous illumination, and the upper edge is decorated with a pattern of promoted pawns<sup>338</sup> or *peones alferzados* which, given the state of transition of the *fers* from male vizier to female queen, may perhaps be symbolic of Mayor's raised station<sup>339</sup> from just

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<sup>335</sup> For more on the identification of these ladies see the previous sections titled "Queen Violante's Portraits," "Mayor Guillén de Guzmán's Portraits" and "Beatriz Alfonso's Portraits" in this second chapter and Appendix D.

<sup>336</sup> See also the similar instrument on fol. 68r. The Indian *vina* has seven strings and Hermes played a seven-stringed lyre (see discussion of Hermes Trimegistos in Chapter III). *Cantigas* 30 and 170 show three similar but not identical instruments, with large pear-shape, bent necks, similar F-holes but with different central sound holes and a greater number of strings.

<sup>337</sup> The combination of music and games in this miniature recalls Keller and Cash's observation that "Alfonso was so conscious of the everyday needs of his subjects that in law 21 of his famous *Siete Partidas* (seven divisions of law) we read: 'There are other joys besides those we spoke of in the laws prior to this one, which were found to give man comfort, when he had cares and woes, and these are hearing songs and the music of instruments, playing chess or backgammon or other games similar to these'" (Keller and Cash 43).

<sup>338</sup> See also the the beautifully stylized floral or pawn-inspired pattern along the floor of fols. 10r and 26v.

<sup>339</sup> For more on the identification of the portraits of Mayor Guillén de Guzmán and her daughter Beatriz, see this chapter's section 2.4.3 titled "Mayor Guillén de Guzmán's Portraits" and Appendix D4. "Orossi pusieron del alferza que quando se perdiessse; podiendo llegar qual quiere delos peones fasta la

plain noble to the king's concubine and thereby mother and grandmother of kings and queens of Portugal or that of Violante from noble to queen by marrying Alfonso.

Janer<sup>340</sup> and his follower Steiger,<sup>341</sup> Calvo,<sup>342</sup> Vázquez de Parga (1987: 21) and Finkenzeller et al.<sup>343</sup> have all been fooled by their Moorish dress into believing that these women are Moorish or, oddly, even Jewish. Vázquez de Parga, noting that both Christian and Moorish women as well as men appear in the *LJ* and, follows the research of Gonzalo Menéndez Pidal and Carmen Bernis Madrazo who identify them as Moorish by their dress. Significantly, Bradley Smith identifies these women as Christians dressed as Arabs, probably belonging to a harem though he does not note that they are Alfonso's women.<sup>344</sup> One wears what is possibly a transparent *gilala*<sup>345</sup> that “deja ver el calzón corto y la rica y decorada cinta que lo sujeta” (Vázquez de Parga 1987: 21). Vázquez de Parga assesses their wealth by their wooden sandals or *yankas*,<sup>346</sup> henna-dyed hands<sup>347</sup> (blonde

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casa postremera dell otra parte del acedrex. onde mueuen los iuegos mayores; dent adelant fuessen alfferzas. & que se pudiessen desponer bien como la primera & andar dessa guisa. E esto es por que suben del estado delos menores al delos mayores” (fól. 3v).

<sup>340</sup> “Moriscas son las tres mujeres que aparecen en esta miniatura jugando al ajedrez. Sus ajorcas, collares y pendientes, como sus trajes y demás adornos, lo ponen claramente de manifiesto. La del centro, á pesar de llevar una finísima camisa, es ésta tan trasparente que permite verla completamente desnuda, pues hasta sus piés están sin el calzado, que se halla en el suelo. La tercera mujer toca una especie de viola ó guitarra de siete cuerdas” (Janer, “*Los Libros de ajedrez*” 242).

<sup>341</sup> “Drei Maurinnen beim Spiel. Armreifen, Ketten, Ohrgehänge, sowie auch Tracht und sonstiger Schmuck bezeugen deutlich ihre Abkunft. Die nittlere trägt ein Hemd aus feinstem, vollkommen durchsichtigem Gewebe. Sie hat die Schuhe abgestreift und vor sich ningestellt. Die dritte Frau spielt auf einer siebensaitigen Viola oder Guitarre” (Steiger XIX).

<sup>342</sup> “tres figuras femeninas, árabes o judías, una de ells tañiendo un laud” (Calvo 1987: 185).

<sup>343</sup> “Two Moorish Arabian ladies playing chess. While they are playing, a third woman entertains them on a seven-stringed guitar. A miniature from the Alfonso the Wise manuscript” (Finkenzeller et al. 18).

<sup>344</sup> Bradley Smith, *Spain: A History in Art* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1971): “Moslems brought few women with them from Africa. Instead they made wives, concubines or slaves of the Christian women captured in battle. These women are probably in a harem, judging from the revealing character of their dress” (60-61).

<sup>345</sup> See similar transparent bath gowns on fols. 22r, 40v, 48r and 58r.

<sup>346</sup> Compare with those shown for a black Moorish female harpist on fol. 22r and for both Beatriz and Mayor on fol. 48r.

henna on the hands and wrists of the woman at right in the wide-sleeved grey tunic), thick bracelets and earrings. The player at left restrains her hair with a kerchief while the lutenist and the player at right both wear their hair covered with a long cloth which is secured by a bandana tied at their brow.<sup>348</sup>

Although they are indeed shown dressed and arrayed as Muslim beauties, perhaps in homage to the Muslim chess master as-Suli on the previous folio or perhaps simply in the vogue of the period, I believe that these women are not in fact Muslims. Although dressed *a la mora*, I feel certain that they are, from left to right, Beatriz, the daughter of Alfonso and his concubine Mayor Guillén de Guzmán, Mayor herself and Alfonso's wife Queen Violante. Why would these Castilian ladies be dressed in this manner? Two of them were Alfonso's lovers and he would enjoy seeing them dressed in an exotic and therefore sexy manner fashionable at the time (think of the women's voice in the *jarchas* and the modern Columbian belly-dancing singer Shakira). If Mayor, Alfonso's first and perhaps true love, favored revealing Moorish dress as she appears to in the *LJ*, then perhaps Violante made herself up a bit more in order to compete with the other woman albeit in a less revealing manner that befits her station.

Mayor playing white, wins this Problem 19 and every other game she is shown playing in the "Libro del acedrex," Problems 59 and 93 except Problem 74 on fol. 48r where she, quite naturally it is to be supposed, loses to her daughter Beatriz because the latter is coached by Alfonso. In addition to her blond-hennaed hands, Queen Violante also has her fingernails painted bright red and her eyebrows darkened with kohl. Beatriz

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<sup>347</sup> See also henna-dyed extremities on fols. 48r and 54r.

<sup>348</sup> See similar bandana hair-style also on fols. 22r, 42v, 48r, 52v and 54r.

also wears dark red fingernail polish. Both Mayor and Violante wear beaded necklaces. Apparently, here Mayor's barefooted status does not equate with belonging to a lower social class as Vázquez de Parga feels in fol. 8v (1987: 19).

Smith's art notes are totally at odds with his caption but seem to identify Violante by title if not by name: "60-61 Attendant playing chess with unseen Queen and servant playing lute (Acompañante jugando ajedrez con la reina y sirvienta tocando el laúd)" (290). Note that Violante's red fingernails (and Mayor's on fol. 48r) have probably been tinted with henna and compare length and color to those of the maiden in one of the lateral paintings of the Alhambra's *Sala de los Reyes*.<sup>349</sup>

What no previous scholar has mentioned is the black writing in the blue background of the *LJ*'s fol. 18r, above and behind Mayor, which reads "esta mulher esta fremosa et sabia."<sup>350</sup> Their identities and the significance of that writing are discussed more at length in the respective sections of their portraits in this chapter.

See also the Appendices D3 and D4 for a comparison of the *LJ* portraits of Queen Violante, as well as a comparison of those of Mayor Guillén de Guzmán and her daughter Beatriz.

### **2.7.36 Fol. 18v**

Fol. 18v has only text and no illumination.

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<sup>349</sup> Michael Jacobs addresses these paintings in his *Alhambra* (New York: Rizzoli, 2000), offering images of all three ceiling panels in the Sala de los Reyes. See also Jerrilynn D. Dodds, "The Paintings in the *Sala de Justicia* of the Alhambra: Iconography and Iconology," *Art Bulletin* 61 (1979) 186-97 and Carmen Bernis, "Las pinturas de la Sala de los Reyes de la Alhambra; los asuntos, los trajes, la fecha," *Cuadernos de la Alhambra* 18 (1982) 21-50.

<sup>350</sup> This handwriting is also somewhat comparable to that seen in the margins of fols. 33v and 34v. For details on this comparison, see the introductory comments of this chapter's section 2.7 Catalogue of the 151 *LJ* Miniatures.

**2.7.37 Fol. 19r**

The twenty-sixth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 20 in a rectangular architectural framework with an irregular upper edge which occupies roughly the upper third of the folio. Two men on a long wooden bench, covered on the right side with embroidered fabric<sup>351</sup> sit beneath three tri-lobed arches supported by alternating red and green marble columns. The player of white at left, dressed in a tan *saya* and hooded tan *tabardo*, with red hose and black shoes, wins this game. His younger opponent wears a reddish *saya* and a greenish *manto*, red hose and black shoes.

Janer's description agrees with mine.<sup>352</sup> Calvo, not suspecting that this might be Alfonso due to his non-iconographic portrayal, says that "[l]a miniatura del folio 19r, con dos figuras masculinas cristianas, no parece contener ninguna clave especial" (1987: 185).

**2.7.38 Fol. 19v**

The twenty-seventh miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 21 in a rectangular frame whose vertical bars are decorated with alternating bands of color. The illumination occupies somewhat more than a third of the upper portion of the folio. Of the six male figures surrounding a chessboard, the four standing observers are nearly identical in appearance. They all have rather short blond hair and wear rich brown or green *sayas* and *capas con cuerda* over red hose and red or black shoes.

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<sup>351</sup> This may be a stylized Maltese cross symbolic of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, as on fol. 30v. See similar embroidery on fols. 2v, 16r, 16v, 30v, 31r, 34v, 41r and 58v.

<sup>352</sup> "Dos caballeros juegan al ajedrez, el uno con un gran capuchon y la cabeza cubierta con la capucha. Están sentados en unos elegantes bancos de madera, pero el de la derecha tiene el asiento forrado en tela blanca con adornos rojas." (Janer, "Los Libros de ajedrez" 242)

The two figures sitting on the floor that play this game are more distinctive. The player at left, dressed entirely in bluish-grey, has black hair, a black moustache<sup>353</sup> and appears significantly older than his opponent. Nevertheless it is the younger player of black, dressed in a black-belted and reddish tan *saya* and transparent white *cofia* typical of his youth, and seated on the right who wins this game. Calvo notes that the players point to the board (1987: 186); I find that the winner and his friends all seem to me to be pointing to the first check of this solution given by the black rook at c4.

Janer's description mostly agrees with mine except for his affirmation that both players are young.<sup>354</sup> Steiger echoes Janer.<sup>355</sup> García Morencos uses the floral-patterned initial "L" from the beginning of Problem 22's description on fol. 19v to begin her study, although she does not cite its origin.

### 2.7.39 Fol. 20r

The twenty-eighth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 22 in a plain rectangular frame which occupies roughly the upper third of the folio. As in the previous illumination, six males are shown. At left are three Christians, two standing observers and the winning player of white seated on a cloth-covered bench. The colorful array of their hose, *sayas* and *capas con cuerda* stands out in strong contrast to the dull browns and blacks of their opponents, whose clothing may identify them as Jews, across the board. At right, the one standing observer whispers to the other and the player of

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<sup>353</sup> See also the moustachioed players on fol. 24r.

<sup>354</sup> "En esta miniaturas son seis las figuras. Dos jóvenes están sentados en el suelo, casi puestos de rodillas, y detrás de cada uno hay en pie otros dos compañeros que miran ó señalan las probabilidades del éxito" (Janer, "*Los Libros de ajedrez*" 243).

<sup>355</sup> "Zwei Jünglinge sitzenpielend am Boden. Hinter ihnen stehen je zwei Freunde als Zuschauer und Berater" (Steiger XIX).

black in a peaked hat<sup>356</sup> typical is seated on a white-latticed bench covered with a checked cloth.

Janer's description agrees with mine.<sup>357</sup> Vázquez de Parga also identifies these men as a trio of high-ranked Christian men, due to their clothing, and a trio of Jews, identified by their hats, noses and facial hair (1987: 21). This miniature is Constable's fig. 22.

In this miniature, the Jew makes the same gesture as Mayor does above in fol. 18r. Here he may indeed be warding off the evil eye, as suggested by Vázquez de Parga for fol. 18r (1987: 21), or signaling an insult for his Christian opponents about to win. The Jewish pair watching the game over the winner's shoulder whisper to each other. Although the Jew loses and makes some gesture, this game between these two cultural groups is more cordial than that seen with a similar grouping at the end of the "Libro de los dados" on fol. 71v. There, a group of Christians on the left, four instead of three, play the dice game *azar pujado* against a quartet of Jews, two of whom whisper. But there it is the Christians who offer a hand gesture, the insulting *figa*, over the Jew's winning roll. The intense expression in the eyes of both scenes remind me of a painting, scene number 6 in the "Scenes from the Life of Joachim" which is the "Meeting at the Golden Gate" c. 1304-6 by Giotto (1267-1337) in the Arena Chapel of Padua, Italy. Giotto's narrative or comic-book style arrangement of the frescoes in this chapel is also comparable to that of

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<sup>356</sup> See Appendix D7: Jewish and Oriental Headwear.

<sup>357</sup> "Tambien son seis las figuras des este juego. Al lazo izquierdo está sentado un jugador, hombre jóven, que tiene consigo dos compañeros. Al lado derecho, sentado tambien, es un udio el que juega, y tiene detrás otros dos judíos que se hablan al oido" (Janer, "Los Libros de ajedrez" 243).

the *CSM* and Spanish *Haggadahs* of the period such as the British Museum's *Golden Haggadah* (British Library, Add. Ms. 27210), produced in Barcelona *c.* 1320 .

### 2.7.40 Fol. 20v

The twenty-ninth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 23 in a rectangular framework whose vertical borders are reddish winged columns. Four men of unusual, perhaps Asian appearance surround the board, two per side. The players kneel while behind each of them stands an observer. The observer standing at far left, in the red short-sleeved kimono over his long blue sleeves, leans upon his sword. The losing player of white at left, in a darker blue kimono over his long tan sleeves, holds his knight at c1 as though he has just completed his move.<sup>358</sup> The man in red standing at far left seems to be pointing out to his friend that if his opponent errs he can win in one move with the white rook at a7. The player of black, seated on the right and wearing a red kimono over a long-sleeved grey garment, wins this game. The head of the man standing behind the winner extends beyond the border of the frame. Beneath the players the floor is composed of alternating darts of red and white echoing the slanted inlays of opposing colors of wood around the borders of many of the chess boards including the one seen here.

This miniature contains what are perhaps the four most unusual men in the illuminations of the *LJ*. Janer suggests that they are soldiers with perhaps tiger's skins on

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<sup>358</sup> King pieces held by their players, changing their orientation on the board relative to the other pieces of that same color in Problems 24 (white king at d1 on fol. 21v), 31 (white king at a1 on fol. 25r), 36 (black king at c8 on fol. 28r) and 59 (black king at f8 on fol. 40v). In Problem 30, the player of white mysteriously holds her opponent's black rook at b1. Knights are also held by their players, though without affecting the orientation, in Problems 23 (white knight at c1 on fol. 20v) and 27 (black knight at b8 on fol. 23r).

their heads.<sup>359</sup> Steiger follows Janer.<sup>360</sup> Hercules is often depicted with a lion-skin headdress and these men could be Greek but Hercules's traditional club is missing and it seems unusual that all four players would be wearing such a trophy.<sup>361</sup> Calvo says they are Arabs (1987: 130). While the headdress of the seated player at left seems to show scales rather than fur or feathers, the headdresses of the standing observers could also resemble birds with beaks. Vázquez de Parga says that the Orientalist D.S. Rice's research characterized these players as Mongolians due to the owl headdresses because the bird was their symbol (1987: 21). Constable also calls these men Mongols (313n30). Their kimono-style robes, black hair, facial hair style and narrow, slanted eyes do make them appear Asian and their appearance is comparable to the Mongols. Ernle Bradford shows from Rashid Al-Din's *Colleciton of Histories* from 1306.<sup>362</sup> Unfortunately, the text offers no clues as to their ethnicity. Another possible clue to their identity may be the found in N. Bland's study of the Persian manuscript of the British Museum.<sup>363</sup> It contains many paintings of celebrated chess positions apparently named for their inventor. Although I am unable to tell from Bland's description whether or not human figures appear along with the chess boards, at least one is unique enough in its description to

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<sup>359</sup> "En esta miniatura son cuatro soldados los que están jugando. Llamen la atención sus gorros ó capacetes, hechos de pieles de animales, remedando la cabeza de un tigre ú otra fiera, con sus ojos. Uno de los soldados se apoya sobre un alfanje" (Janer, "Los Libros de ajedrez" 243).

<sup>360</sup> "Auf diesem Bild spielen vier Soldaten, die bemerkenswerte Fellmützen tragen. Einer stützt sich auf einen maurischen Dolch" (Steiger XIX).

<sup>361</sup> "It was Eurystheus who imposed upon Heracles the famous Labours, later arranged in a cycle of 12, usually as follows: (1) the slaying of the Nemean lion, whose skin he thereafter wore," "Heracles." *Encyclopædia Britannica*. 2005. Encyclopædia Britannica Online. 2 Aug. 2005 <<http://search.eb.com/eb/article-9040091>>.

<sup>362</sup> Ernle Bradford, *The Sword and the Scimitar: The Saga of the Crusades* (N.p.: Putnam, 1974) 211 and 212.

<sup>363</sup> N. Bland, "On the Persian Game of Chess," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 13 (1850) 16-17.

perhaps suggest an identity for an *LJ* miniature, being described as “Rabrab of Khatay (Chinese Tartary)”.

Two stamps have been issued with this miniature. In 1984, Laos issued stamps to celebrate the 60th birthday of the FIDE (Fédération Internationale des Échecs), including recolorized and sharpened images of the miniatures from fols. 20v, 24v, 25v, 32r and 82v.<sup>364</sup> In 1989, Afghanistan issued a series of chess-related stamps that included among other images, redrawings of the main players from the miniatures on the *LJ*'s fols. 20v, 32r and possibly 46v.<sup>365</sup>

#### **2.7.41 Fol. 21r**

Fol. 21r has only text and no illumination.

#### **2.7.42 Fol. 21v**

The thirtieth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 24 in a rectangular architectural framework with an irregular upper edge which occupies roughly one third of the folio. Located at the top of the folio, the central part of the illumination's roof extends upward between the words of the folio's heading. The outer edges of the frame are made up of two very slender round brick towers with arrow slits.

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<sup>364</sup> “On April 13, 1984 Laos issued 8 chess stamps to commemorate the 60th anniversary of FIDE. (*Scott* 538-45)” from “Stamps and Chess by Bill Wall,” ed. Bill Wall, 27 July 2005 <<http://www.geocities.com/siliconvalley/lab/7378/stamps.htm>>. *Scott 2004 Standard Postage Stamp Catalogue, 160<sup>th</sup> ed.*, ed. James E. Kloetzel (Sidney, OH: Scott, 2003) 4: 279, Laos: stamps 548-45 showing “[i]llustrations of various medieval and Renaissance chess games” (279). Six of these stamps are visible online at Hans L. Bodlaender's *Chess Variant Pages*, “Chess Stamps from Laos,” vers. 4 Jan 2001, <<http://www.chessvariants.com/d.photo/stamps/laos.html>>.

<sup>365</sup> “On February 2, 1989 Afghanistan issued seven chess stamps depicting” (from “Stamps and Chess by Bill Wall,” ed. Bill Wall, 27 July 2005 <<http://www.geocities.com/siliconvalley/lab/7378/stamps.htm>>) “boards, early matches and hand-made chessmen” (*Scott 2006 Standard Postage Stamp Catalogue, 163<sup>rd</sup> ed.*, ed. James E. Kloetzel [Sidney, OH: Scott, 2005] 1: 242, Afghanistan: stamps 1330-36).

Four older and long-bearded Christian men, two standing observers in red *sayas* and grey *capas* fastened over their chests and two seated players in reddish tan *sayas* on a long stone bench are shown. All wear hats with opaque white *cofias* beneath; the hat of the winning player of black seated at right is of the folded-brim type already seen on fols. 7r and 16v. while the others are brimless and smooth. The loser protectively holds his white king in his hand at d1, in anticipation of the impending check from the black rook's move of b2 to b1, which as Calvo notes, is signaled by the index finger of the man standing at right, and causing its peculiar orientation in the diagram.<sup>366</sup>

Janer's description agrees with mine.<sup>367</sup> Constable's analysis of fol. 21v's miniature of Problem 24 is accurate in terms of both the textual solution and the image's details (312-13). This miniature is Constable's fig. 5.

### 2.7.43 Fol. 22r

The thirty-first miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 25 in a rectangular border of alternating red and black darts which occupies roughly the upper third of the folio. This miniature is unique in the *LJ* because all the figures, two male players and three female attendants, have black skin.<sup>368</sup> The top and bottom edges of the chess board are each decorated with three six-pointed stars, like those on the boards of fols. 9r and 92r.

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<sup>366</sup> Calvo 1987: 188. King pieces held by their players, changing their orientation on the board relative to the other pieces of that same color in Problems 24 (white king at d1 on fol. 21v), 31 (white king at a1 on fol. 25r), 36 (black king at c8 on fol. 28r) and 59 (black king at f8 on fol. 40v). In Problem 30, the player of white mysteriously holds her opponent's black rook at b1. Knights are also held by their players, though without affecting the orientation, in Problems 23 (white knight at c1 on fol. 20v) and 27 (black knight at b8 on fol. 23r).

<sup>367</sup> "Cuatro hombres graves con largas barbas están jugando al ajedrez. Dos sentados y dos de pie señalando los peligros que ofrece la suerte" (Janer, "Los Libros de ajedrez" 243).

<sup>368</sup> One other Negro man appears on fol. 55r.

Several elements of this miniature bear strong resemblance to those in many other *LJ* illuminations but most especially to those on fols. 18r and 48r in which Mayor, Beatriz and even Queen Violante are shown imitating the Moorish fashions not only of amusements and clothing, but even cosmetics and musical accompaniment. Here three female attendants all wear light-colored cloths over their hair. The woman at far left, wearing a transparent *gilala*<sup>369</sup> over ruffled transparent leggings,<sup>370</sup> bears drink and a bowl of fruits<sup>371</sup> for the winner. She faces another standing woman in an opaque tunic. The third woman, seated at far right on a low chair covered by blue-and-white checked cloth, wears a yellowish opaque wide-sleeved tunic and plays a fourteen-string harp.<sup>372</sup> She wears a cloth over her hair which is secured by a bandana tied around her brow.<sup>373</sup> Her legs are daintily crossed and to the right of her bare feet we see her lovely wooden *yankas*;<sup>374</sup> in fact, the harpist's presentation here is similar in almost every regard to that of Beatriz on fol. 18r.

The two bearded male players wear white turbans with gold and red peaks.<sup>375</sup> The man at left, in a red wide-sleeved tunic, transparent scarf<sup>376</sup> and bare feet, reclines on his

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<sup>369</sup> See similar transparent bath gowns on fols. 18r, 40v, 48r and 58r. Constable calls this sheer garment a *jilâla* (note 85).

<sup>370</sup> See similar leggings on fols. 54r and 58r.

<sup>371</sup> See also red fruits in a dish on fols. 12v and 22r; white fruits in a dish on fols. 8r and 40v and round red sweets or fruits held in the hand on fols. 9r, 14v and 54v.

<sup>372</sup> See also the similar harp on fol. 9r. The number of strings, like that of the instrument on fol. 18r, is a multiple of seven.

<sup>373</sup> See similar bandana hair-styles also on fols. 18r, 42v, 48r, 52v and 54r.

<sup>374</sup> See also the similar sandals of Mayor and Beatriz on fols. 18r and 40r.

<sup>375</sup> See similar turbans on fols. 2r, 12r, 38r, 44r, 55v and 63r.

<sup>376</sup> See also the similar transparent scarves on Arabs and Christian clerics fols. 36v, 38v, 44v, 45r and 50r.

cushion<sup>377</sup> and red pillow<sup>378</sup> on the floor. The red pillow bears the name, “Al-Sul,” a bibliographical reference to this problem’s origin as confirmed by Calvo.<sup>379</sup> The player of white at right, wearing a transparent *gilala* and transparent scarf, wins this game. He sits upon a low chair covered with red-and-white checked material<sup>380</sup> next to the harpist.

Janer’s description agrees with mine.<sup>381</sup> Significantly he notes the fourteen harp strings, that the seven on the lute-like instrument of 18r suggest two of Alfonso’s chief interests: music and numbers related to seven. Steiger as usual follows Janer.<sup>382</sup> Nordenfalk uses this image and identifies the people as a “musician and negro slaves”

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<sup>377</sup> See players reclining at left on fols. 22r, 47v and 58v; at right on: 55v; and both players on: 50v, 62v and 77r.

<sup>378</sup> See other similar red pillows on fols. 8v, 10r, 14r, 40v, 47v, 76r, 76v and 97v.

<sup>379</sup> Calvo 1987: 189. Compare this pillow also to that on fol. 10r which possibly reads “Al-Sul shah mat.” Calvo attributes both Problems 7 and 25 to as-Suli. Several surviving examples of cloth embroidered with Arabic script are held in the Museo de telas medievales of the Huelgas monastery at Burgos, including the following which are described in Herrero Carretero’s *Museo de Telas Medievales: Monasterio de Santa María la Real de Huelgas* por Concha Herrero Carretero (Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 1988): Fernando de la Cerda’s interior coffin lining reading “Praise to God” (28-29); Leonor de Castilla’s (d. 1244) pillow embroidered with “Fate and fortune” (48-49) and pellote with Cufic script (54-55); Fernando, *Infante de Castilla*’s (1189-1211) *cofia* embroidered with “The Lord is the renewer of consolation” (60-61); María de Almenar’s coffin lining with circular Cufic inscriptions (90-91); Berenguela, Queen of León and Castile’s (1180-1246) clothing (101) and red pillow with “There is no God but God” and “the perfect blessing” (102-3); Alfonso de la Cerda’s (1271-1333) coffin lining embroidered with gold Arabic script which remains to be deciphered (116-18); and the pennant which perhaps Alfonso VIII captured from Sultan Al-Nasir in 1212 and was perhaps one of Fernando III’s war trophies (121-24). This tradition continued on into at least the fifteenth century, as demonstrated by the Spanish armorial carpet bearing Don Fadrique Enriquez de Mendoza’s (1390-1473) arms and borders of Cufic script reading “There is no other God but God,” now in the Philadelphia Museum of Art. Philadelphia Museum of Art, 16 Aug. 2005, <<http://www.philamuseum.org/education/post-ma3.shtml>>

<sup>380</sup> The checked material covering their seats is similar to that seen on fol. 20r.

<sup>381</sup> “Dos moros negros, sentados el uno en un divan y el otro en un taburete, juegan al ajedrez. Al primero le trae manjares y una botella con alguna bebida una esclava negra, que al paso oye lo que otra, también negra, le está diciendo. Detrás del segundo jugador está sentado en otro taburete, con albornoz amarillo, otro negro, pero éste toca una arpa con catorce cuerdas. El del divan apoya su brazo izquierdo sobre su almohadon que tiene bordados unos caracteres arábigos” (Janer, “*Los Libros de ajedrez*” 243).

<sup>382</sup> “Zwei dunkelhäutige Mauren beim Schach. Dem einen ringt eine schwarze Sklavin Speise und Trank und wird unterwegs durch eine andere Frau, die ihr eine Bemerkung macht, aufgehalten. Hinter ihrem zweiten Spieler sitzt auf einem Schemel in gelbem Burnus ein schwarzer Musikant, der auf einer 14saitigen Harfe spielt” (Steiger XIX).

(30). Smith uses this miniature, with the board cropped out between the two pages.<sup>383</sup>

Vázquez de Parga (1987: 21) identifies the black, turbaned players on fol. 22r with the mulatta servant as possibly the only case of dark-skinned people in the *LJ*. He later amends this noting the only other black player on fol. 55r. Toledano uses fol. 22r's miniature in his article (8).

Constable, who uses this miniature as her fig. 1, suggests these are Berbers and notes the Arabic script, which to her appears to read “Fâs” or the city Fes embroidered on the pillow (Constable 331 and 331n84). She suggests fol. 22r portrays a theme similar to the legendary story behind the Dilaram problem. I find it harder than she to affirm that the servant and not his opponent is the object of his gaze.

The players on 22r are also interesting because they may, according to Calvo, represent important figures from chess history.

Es tal vez posible que los jugadores representados en la miniatura fuesen, según la tradición ajedrecística islámica, personajes reales: Said ben Yubair [also Jubair (665-714)] fue un ajedrecista negro que alrededor del año 714 alcanzó cierta fama como jugador a la ciega, al igual que en el 733 la tuvo un siervo mulato llamado Ataa. (1987: 189)

One wonders if Ataa is a woman who, like Dilaram, helped a man win the game.

Moreover, blindfold play may have been of special interest to Alfonso because of “[t]he earliest known display of blindfold play in Europe [which] took place in Florence in 1266, when in an exhibition match a Saracen named Buzecca played three games

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<sup>383</sup> “As a serving woman brings food and wine (which, though prohibited by Islam, was much drunk in Moslem Spain), an attendant strums a medieval harp and two gentlemen converse in a 13<sup>th</sup>-century manuscript illumination” (Smith 62-63).

simultaneously, one over-the-board and two blindfold”<sup>384</sup> Mason’s *World of Chess* also mentions this competition, saying that “The players of Italy were generally accounted the best, but as late as 1266, the Saracen, Buchecha, engaged three of the best Florentine players simultaneously, playing two of the games blindfold, and was able to win two games and draw the other” (63).

#### 2.7.44 Fol. 22v

The thirty-second miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 26 in a roughly rectangular architectural framework whose vertical sides are columns with arrow slits and whose upper edge is turreted. The illumination occupies approximately the upper third of the folio. The top and the bottom edges of the board are each decorated with two diamond inlay shapes around a single six-pointed star.

Here two young barefoot Christian princes in stripes sit on the floor after the Moorish fashion to play chess. The slightly older player of black at left, in a blue and red vertically-striped *saya* and *manto*, wins this problem and seems to indicate the square g2 from which he first gives check (knight f4 to g2).<sup>385</sup> His younger opponent, in a red and

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<sup>384</sup> Nigel Pennick, *Secret Games of the Gods* (1989. York Beach, ME: Weiser, 1997. Rpt. of *Games of the Gods: The Origin of Board Games in Magic and Divination*. London: Rider, 1988) 204.

<sup>385</sup> Calvo merely notes his pointing finger (1987: 131).

yellow horizontally-striped *saya encordada*,<sup>386</sup> clutches the white king in his hand at e1 in a defensive gesture.<sup>387</sup>

Janer's description agrees with mine.<sup>388</sup> Steiger again echoes Janer.<sup>389</sup>

### 2.7.45 Fol. 23r

The thirty-third miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 27 in a rectangular architectural framework whose upper edge is composed of eight tri-lobed arches. The illumination occupies roughly the upper third of the folio. Accidental tears in the very thin spots of vellum at the bottom of the folio have been repaired.<sup>390</sup>

This miniature and the one that follows it show two men playing chess in two different sorts of workshops or stores which are difficult to identify with certainty. On fol. 23r, there are a total of four people, each beneath a separate twin tri-lobed arch. The man at far left, in red *saya* and grey *capirote*, appears to work with a wooden box and piles of coins on a checked countertop while the figure at right, wearing a white *saya* and

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<sup>386</sup> See similar horizontally-striped garments on fols. 66r, 67v, 69r and 92v. Herrero Carretero shows a horizontally-striped pellote belonging to Alfonso's illegitimate son Fernando (110) somewhat similar to those seen on said fols. Describing a previous horizontally-striped item, she says that this horizontality is very similar in style to contemporary fashions from Sicily: "Estas bandas confieren a las telas una marcada horizontalidad, característica de la mayor parte de los tejidos sicilianos del siglo XIII. El activo comercio existente entonces entre Andalucía oriental y Sicilia hace difícil distinguir los tejidos sicilianos de sus contemporáneos en España" (98).

<sup>387</sup> King pieces held by their players, changing their orientation on the board relative to the other pieces of that same color in Problems 24 (white king at d1 on fol. 21v), 31 (white king at a1 on fol. 25r), 36 (black king at c8 on fol. 28r) and 59 (black king at f8 on fol. 40v). In Problem 30, the player of white mysteriously holds her opponent's black rook at b1. Knights are also held by their players, though without affecting the orientation, in Problems 23 (white knight at c1 on fol. 20v) and 27 (black knight at b8 on fol. 23r).

<sup>388</sup> "Juegan al ajedrez dos jovencitos con túnicas rayadas de listas de colores; pero llevan los piés descalzos, á pesar de hallarse en una habitación de una casa muy decorada exteriormente. Ésta no tiene tejado como las otras que hasta aquí se encuentran, sino que tiene un terrado con larga balaustrada, cerrándola á cada extremo una esbelta almena" (Janer, "Los Libros de ajedrez" 243).

<sup>389</sup> "Zwei Jünglinge in buntgestreiften Gewändern. Sie tragen keine Fuß bekleidung, trotzdem sie in einem sehr schönen Hause spielen. Auf dem Dach befindet sich eine Terrasse mit Balustrade, die den beiden Enden durch Zinnen abgeschlossen wird" (Steiger XIX).

<sup>390</sup> See Excel file "LJ Manuscript Statistics," column "Wear and Tears."

wimple and of whose gender I am uncertain, is perhaps a tailor or seamstress, having scissors and scales on top of a counter with a wavy pattern. The two chess players differ in age as well as dress except for their red hose and black shoes. The player of white at left, in a grey *saya* under a reddish split *tabardo* and grey *capirote*, defeats his younger opponent dressed in gold-buttoned, split tan *saya* and youth's transparent white *cofia*. The younger loser holds his knight in his hand at b8, perhaps in completion of the move before this problem begins as this piece does not figure in the remainder of the problem's solution.<sup>391</sup>

Janer's description agrees with mine.<sup>392</sup> He identifies the possible seamstress as female. Steiger follows Janer.<sup>393</sup> Nordenfalk presents this miniature and identifies the game as taking place in a bank (25). Wollesen suggests that these men, or perhaps the ones in the following illumination,<sup>394</sup> are possibly moneychangers, noting these moralistic professional parallels but then contradicts himself by saying that "none of these professions appear in the Alfonsine manuscript" (306). Interestingly, in Cessolis's *Liber de moribus hominum et officiis nobilium*<sup>395</sup> which makes the allegorical parallel "[m]undus iste totius quoddam scaccarium est" (Wollesen 305 and 306), one of the

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<sup>391</sup> Calvo merely notes the held piece (1987: 190).

<sup>392</sup> "Dos caballeros juegan al ajedrez. Detrás de uno está muy ocupado otro individuo contando y recutando dinero sobre una mesa, cubierta por un tapete, y detrás del otro está una mujer puesta en otro mesa con tapete, con unas balanzas. Sobre cada mesa hay además una pequeña arca para guardar el dinero" (Janer, "*Los Libros de ajedrez*" 243).

<sup>393</sup> "Zwei Schachspieler. Hinter dem einen steht ein Mann von einem Tisch, auf dem er eifrig Geld zählt. Hinter dem anderen befindet sich eine Frau an einem zweiten, gleichfalls eine Decke zeigenden Tisch, an dem einige Waagen stehen. Auf jedem Tisch steht außerdem eine kleine Geldkiste" (Steiger XIX).

<sup>394</sup> Wollesen's reference is unclear as he cites a non-existent fol. 213v (305).

<sup>395</sup> As does the *Copy of the Bonus socius manuscript (so called) in the National Library, Florence*. Cleveland, 1893; 39.

professions represented by the chess pieces is that of “merchant or money changer.” See also the pharmacist on fol. 31r.

### **2.7.46 Fol. 23v**

The thirty-fourth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 28 in a roughly rectangular architectural frame with a red tile roof and overhanging eaves. The illumination occupies approximately the upper third of the folio. The top and bottom edge of the board are each decorated with seven alternating light and dark inlaid diamond shapes.

Here again there are four figures, two playing chess in the center beneath mitered arches and two working behind them beneath rounded arches. These workers, both of whom are clearly male, are seated on low chairs and seem to be stamping metal with dies and hammers. The one at left wears a grey *saya* with a grey apron, red hose and black shoes; the other wears a red *saya*. Behind all four is at least another row of staggered arches like those of the mosque in Cordoba.<sup>396</sup> The two players appear to be Christian princes though they are seated on the floor in the Moorish fashion. The player at left in a reddish *saya* with a brown apron hands a coin or medal to worker behind him. His less distracted opponent in a grey *saya* with red hose and black shoes, the player of white at right wins this game, as signified by the beautiful pitcher at his feet.

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<sup>396</sup> See also fols. 13v, 37v and 42r.

Janer,<sup>397</sup> and Steiger<sup>398</sup> who follows him, disagrees with me and feels that these men are woodworkers. However, this does not seem to me to be a wood workshop as the tools, tables, working positions and clothing vary so greatly from those shown in the woodworking shop on fol. 3r. Rather I believe this is a metal working shop or smithy, with mallets and dies for coining money and related to the scene in the previous illumination. The aprons may be a place to stash coins before or after they are imprinted. There seem to be stacks of round metal pieces at the knee and along the work table of the worker on the left. The blond chess player may be accepting a coin from the worker to see if its quality meets his approval.

#### **2.7.47 Fol. 24r**

The thirty-fifth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 29 in a rectangular frame which occupies roughly the upper third of the folio. A tear to the top center of the folio has been sewn.<sup>399</sup>

Four blond and mustachioed<sup>400</sup> Christian men in red hose appear here, two in fur-trimmed *pellotes* standing behind observing and two in more colorful *sayas encordadas* seated on a long bench playing. The man seated at left wears black single-strap shoes and the man behind him holds his hand to his forehead as though in concentration. Nevertheless, the player of black seated on the right wins this game though I am not

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<sup>397</sup> “Á derecha é izquierda de un tablero hay dos personas, mientras á cada lado fabrican dos carpinteros piezas de juego. Probablemente es taller de ebanistería, y uno de los que están cerca del tablero lleva un delantal como suelen ponerse muchos artífices” (Janer, “*Los Libros de ajedrez*” 243).

<sup>398</sup> “Zur Seite jedes Spielers ein Drechsler bei der Herstellung von Schachfiguren. Wahrscheinlich stellt die Abbildung eine Werkstätte dar. Einer der Spieler trägt eine Schürze, die zu seiner berufskleidung gehört” (Steiger XIX).

<sup>399</sup> See Excel file “*LJ Manuscript Statistics*,” column “Wear and Tears.”

<sup>400</sup> Their moustaches resemble those of the black-haired man at left on fol. 19v.

certain what he is doing with his hands, perhaps he holds a small purse between his fingers or is cracking his knuckles.

Janer's description agrees with mine.<sup>401</sup>

### 2.7.48 Fol. 24v

The thirty-sixth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 30 in a beautifully complex rectangular architectural framework which occupies roughly the upper third of the folio. At the bottom of this folio there is a four, constituting a signature or quire mark indicating the end of this third gathering and that the fourth is to come after it.<sup>402</sup>

Three females, the two maiden players with unbound hair, sit on a long bench beneath three twin arches of five lobes each. The player of white at left, in a thin headband and grey *saya* with a red underskirt, or perhaps other covering to warm her feet, wins this game against her bareheaded opponent dressed in pinkish *saya* with purple underskirt. Inexplicably, the winner appears to hold the loser's rook at b1 in her right hand,<sup>403</sup> this is not the rook which threatens to checkmate white in one move.<sup>404</sup> On the left behind the observer, in a yellow *saya* with a blue underskirt and whose hair is restrained in a red *crepina*, is a single five-lobe arch and on the right behind the loser is

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<sup>401</sup> "Cuatro caballeros mozos juegan al ajedrez. Dos están sentados, y dos de pié" (Janer, "Los Libros de ajedrez" 243).

<sup>402</sup> See also fols. 8v, 17r, 32v, 40v and 48v for other catchwords.

<sup>403</sup> King pieces held by their players, changing their orientation on the board relative to the other pieces of that same color in Problems 24 (white king at d1 on fol. 21v), 31 (white king at a1 on fol. 25r), 36 (black king at c8 on fol. 28r) and 59 (black king at f8 on fol. 40v). In Problem 30, the player of white mysteriously holds her opponent's black rook at b1. Knights are also held by their players, though without affecting the orientation, in Problems 23 (white knight at c1 on fol. 20v) and 27 (black knight at b8 on fol. 23r).

<sup>404</sup> Calvo sees this gesture, despite the changed orientation of the black rook, as a pointing finger but he does not explain to what she is supposedly pointing (1987: 131).

an open doorway. I am not sure what the observer is pointing to, though it might be the square from which the black king was just removed.

Janer's description agrees with mine.<sup>405</sup> Steiger echoes Janer.<sup>406</sup> This image is one of several *LJ* miniatures shown on the stamps issued by Laos in 1984 to celebrate the 60th birthday of the FIDE, although the colors are changed and the outlines have been sharpened. Other miniatures used in the stamps are from fols. 20v, 25v, 32r and 82v.

### 2.7.49 Fol. 25r

The thirty-seventh miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 31 in a roughly rectangular architectural framework with an irregular turreted top edge and overhanging eaves. The illumination covers roughly the upper third of the folio and contains the first of three pairs of men belonging to military religious or chivalric orders.<sup>407</sup> Here two bearded men, dressed in black shoes and red-grey hooded *sayas* covered with the Templar's long white *capas con cuerda*, after the Cistercian's habit, and each bearing a red crux pattée or Maltese cross on the left shoulder,<sup>408</sup> sit on a long bench covered with a red-and-white striped material and beneath four sets of twin tri-lobed arches supported by red and green Corinthian columns. On either side of the players is a single tri-lobed arch.

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<sup>405</sup> "Dos damas jóvenes y hermosas, con el cabello tendido, juegan sentadas al ajedrez, en traje de casa. Otra dama, también joven, con las trenzas recogidas dentro de una redecilla encarnada, está sentada al lado de una de las primeras y la aconseja con entusiasmo" (Janer, "*Los Libros de ajedrez*" 244).

<sup>406</sup> "Zwei schöne junge Damen mit gelöstem Haar spielen in Hausgewand. Eine dritte junge Dame, deren Flechten in einem roten Wetz geborgen sind, sitzt zur Seite einer Spielerin und berät sie" (Steiger XIX).

<sup>407</sup> See also Richard P. Kinkade, "Alfonso X, *Cantiga* 235, and the Events of 1269-1278" *Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies*, 1992 Apr; 67 (2) 284-323, which identifies the habits of various religious orders as shown in the *LJ* and possibly even the identities of the knights themselves.

<sup>408</sup> The Templars adopted the Cistercian's white habit as opposed to the Benedictine's black one, and added a red cross to it. "Cistercians," *New Advent Catholic Encyclopedia Online*, 7 June 2005 <<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/03780c.htm>>

The player of black seated on the right wins this game; this is also true of the next six problems, the longest run in the “Libro del acedrex.” In this case, the winner is younger than his white-haired opponent who defensively holds his own doomed king at a1.<sup>409</sup> There are two curious long, dark objects at top edge of board resembling pens or cigars. Similar objects are seen on fols. 25v, 26r and in a sort of tray on fol. 27r; the first and last of which also feature knights of different orders.

Janer’s description agrees with mine though he does not mention the curious oblong objects.<sup>410</sup> García Morencos uses the image of fol. 25r in her study and also identifies these men as belonging to an order which she does not specify.<sup>411</sup> Vázquez de Parga (1987: 21) merely says that the players in the miniatures of fols. 25r, 25v, and 27r are members of military religious orders.

Calvo suggests that the men shown on fol. 25r may possibly be of the order Montesa (1987: 192) but that is impossible since the Order of Montesa was not created until 1317, when the knights of Montesa were “established in the Kingdom of Aragon to take the place of the Order of the Temple, of which it was in a certain sense the

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<sup>409</sup> Calvo incorrectly notes this gesture as a pointing finger meant to indicate an unidentified important piece or square (1987: 131). Without the discussion of the problem he notes that the player of white holds the king at a1 (1987: 192). King pieces held by their players, changing their orientation on the board relative to the other pieces of that same color in Problems 24 (white king at d1 on fol. 21v), 31 (white king at a1 on fol. 25r), 36 (black king at c8 on fol. 28r) and 59 (black king at f8 on fol. 40v). In Problem 30, the player of white mysteriously holds her opponent’s black rook at b1. Knights are also held by their players, though without affecting the orientation, in Problems 23 (white knight at c1 on fol. 20v) and 27 (black knight at b8 on fol. 23r).

<sup>410</sup> “Dos caballeros, probablemente de una Orden de caballería, pues llevan mantos blancos con una cruz roja, juegan al ajedrez en un aposento de un edificio exornado con arcos góticos y elegante crestería” (Janer, “*Los Libros de ajedrez*” 244).

<sup>411</sup> She captions the image, “Diversas Ordenes medievales se hallan representadas en el códice” (García Morencos 14). In her *Relación de ilustraciones* she says of it, “Ilustres Ordenes medievales de diversos hábitos se hallan representadas en el códice” (García Morencos 53).

continuation.”<sup>412</sup> The Templars were also “affiliated to the Order of Calatrava, from which its first recruits were drawn, and it was maintained in dependence upon that order.”<sup>413</sup> The crosses of Calatrava<sup>414</sup> and Montesa were identical except for the color of their fleurs-de-lis, the former red and the latter black, built around the central red *crux quadrata* of the Templars. Given that neither of the crosses shown here are a cross flory but rather a plain, thin and solid Teutonic cross, I believe it is most likely that these are Templars rather than members of either of the associated Spanish orders even though there is some evidence that this order forbade playing chess.<sup>415</sup> Wollesen identifies these men as Maltese knights (305) but the Templars were not known as Maltese until the sixteenth century.<sup>416</sup> Constable identifies the religious knights on fol. 25r as Knights of Calatrava rather than Templars (314 and 314-15n35).

Further confirmation of the Knights Templar on fol. 25r is found in “An Orphaned Miniature of *Cantiga* 235 from the Florentine Codex” by Richard P. Kinkade and John E. Keller (1998) which explains that:

Both the knights of Calatrava and the knights of Santiago displayed a red lobulated or trefoil cross though the cross of the Order of Santiago was typically an elongated sword, not a symmetrical cross like the Order of Calatrava. The knights Templar also had as their emblem a red cross on white though it was not lobulated as we find in the miniature. Though

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<sup>412</sup> “Military Order of Montesa,” *New Advent Catholic Encyclopedia Online* 7 June 2005 <<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/10534a.htm>>

<sup>413</sup> “Military Order of Montesa,” *New Advent Catholic Encyclopedia Online* 7 June 2005 <<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/10534a.htm>>

<sup>414</sup> Cf. *Cantiga* 205 “Oraçon con piedade.”

<sup>415</sup> See Murray 1913: 411: “The attempt to extend the prohibition of chess to the various knightly orders, which had begun with St. Bernard of Clairvaux’s rule for the Knights Templar, [note 52 cites: *Exhortatio ad Milites Templi*, cap. iv: ‘scacos et aleas detestantur’.] was abandoned by Werner v. Orseln, the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order in the 15<sup>th</sup> c. on the ground that chess was a proper amusement for a knight.”

<sup>416</sup> “Malta,” *New Advent Catholic Encyclopedia Online* 26 July 2005 <<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/09574a.htm>>

Alfonso was closely connected with both orders, he had had a serious dispute with the Order of Santiago and its Grand Master, the king's boyhood friend, Pelayo Pérez Correa, from 1272-74 when the Order supported Alfonso's brother, Felipe, and the rebellious nobles who fled to the protection of the Sultan of Granada as Alfonso himself recounts in his letter to his son, Fernando de la Cerda, in the *Crónica de Alfonso X*, capítulo 52, pp. 38-39; see also Ballesteros, *Alfonso X*, pp. 650-659. During this difficult moment in history, Juan González, Grand Master of the Order of Calatrava, remained faithful to Alfonso and served as his emissary to the rebellious nobles. However, the Grand Masters of Santiago and Calatrava, Pero Núñez and Juan González, were among the first to side with Sancho in his rebellion against Alfonso in 1282; see Ballesteros, *Alfonso X* (993). It is perhaps significant that the Grand Master of the Order of Knights Templar, Garci Fernández, remained faithful to Alfonso throughout Sancho's rebellion (see Ballesteros, *Alfonso X*, pp. 993 and 1015) since the *Cantiga* miniature we are discussing here was executed in 1283 and Alfonso is known to have excluded from the *Cantigas* those of his vassals whom he felt had wronged him. (35-36n17)

Here we have not only evidence for the theory that it was Alfonso himself who defaced several of the portraits in the *LJ* following Sancho's rebellion including, especially, Sancho himself, but also a means of identifying these orders shown in the *LJ*, finished the same year as the *Cantiga* miniature was executed, and even suggestions for the identities of some of the knights shown. Perhaps one of these men is Grand Master of the Order of Knights Templar, Garci Fernández, who remained faithful to Alfonso even during Sancho's rebellion.

### **2.7.50 Fol. 25v**

The thirty-eighth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 32 in a roughly rectangular architectural framework with an irregular domed and turreted top edge and overhanging eaves which occupies roughly the upper third of the folio. This is the first chessboard since that seen on fol. 3r which shows a bag for the pieces hanging from a ring at the bottom edge of the board.

Two bearded males in the Hospitaller's dark *sayas* and *capas con cuerda* with white crosses are seated on a long bench beneath a series of three mitred tri-lobed arches. The player at left wears a dark grey cloth on his head while his opponent, the winning player of black seated on the right, wears a brown beret<sup>417</sup> similar to those seen on fol. 6v. On either side of them is a single rounded arch or doorway under its own roof. Two long, dark objects appear at the top edge of the board as in previous miniature and on fols. 26v and 27r; these may be writing utensils but strongly resemble anachronistic cigars. The miniaturist offers a playful clue that these men are knights by showing each player holding his own captured chess knight in his hand.

Janer's description agrees with mine except that he believes the differences in the men's clothing indicate their differing religions.<sup>418</sup> Steiger merely notes two dark-dressed knights of different orders.<sup>419</sup> Vázquez de Parga (1987: 21) vaguely identifies the players on fol. 25v as members of some military religious order. Calvo notes that their dress marks them as belonging to some order but does not try to identify it (1987: 193). I believe as stated above that both the dark grey and brown clothing with white Maltese cross of the players probably identify them as Hospitallers of Jerusalem<sup>420</sup> as they were known until 1309.<sup>421</sup> Constable identifies the religious knights on fol. 25v as Knights of

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<sup>417</sup> Berets appear on Christians and Muslims on fols. 6v, 25v, 31r, 47r, 58v and 97v.

<sup>418</sup> "Dos caballeros con barbas largas y hábitos oscuros de distintas religiones, pero con una cruz blanca encima del de cada uno, juegan al ajedrez. Del tablero pende una bolsa para guardar los *trebeios*" (Janer, "*Los Libros de ajedrez*" 244).

<sup>419</sup> "Zwei dunkelgekleidete Ritte verschiedener Orden" (Steiger XIX).

<sup>420</sup> "Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem" *The Catholic Encyclopedia, Volume VII* Copyright © 1910 by Robert Appleton Company, Online Edition Copyright © 1999 by Kevin Knight *Nihil Obstat, June I, 1910*. Remy Lafort, S.T.D., Censor *Imprimatur*. +John Cardinal Farley, Archbishop of New York accessed 9 Apr. 2002.

<sup>421</sup> According to *EB* online: "*also called Order of Malta or Knights of Malta, formally (since 1961) Sovereign Military and Hospitaller Order of St. John of Jerusalem, of Rhodes, and of Malta,*

St. John, which concurs with my identification of them by the more synchronic designation of Hospitallers (314 and 314-15n35).

This image is one of several *LJ* miniatures shown on the stamps issued by Laos in 1984 to celebrate the 60th birthday of the FIDE, although the colors are changed and the outlines have been sharpened. Other miniatures used in the stamps are from fols. 24v, 25v, 32r and 82v. The dress shown compares to that in the knight of the Order of St. John shown by Bradford (130).

### **2.7.51 Fol. 26r**

Fol. 26r has only text and no illumination.

### **2.7.52 Fol. 26v**

The thirty-ninth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 33 in a roughly rectangular architectural frame with overhanging eaves and whose probably irregular upper edge has been lost due to trimming. This miniature interrupts a series of three containing members of identifiable chivalric orders. Both players here seem to me to be Christians whose *capas con cuerda* are similar to those worn by the Crusaders but these, like many other such cloaks seen throughout the *LJ*, lack any cross and may not therefore belong to a chivalric order. The bottom edge of the floor is decorated with a pawn motif.<sup>422</sup> Two round brick columns with arrow-slits form the vertical edges of the illumination.

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*previously (1113–1309) Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, (1309–1522) Order of the Knights of Rhodes, (1530–1798) Sovereign and Military Order of the Knights of Malta, or (1834–1961) Knights Hospitaller of St. John of Jerusalem” from “Hospitallers.” Encyclopædia Britannica. 2005. Encyclopædia Britannica Online 13 July 2005 <<http://search.eb.com/eb/article?tocId=9045799>>.*

<sup>422</sup> See also the floor on fol. 10r and the bench edge on fol. 18r.

Two male players sit on a long bench covered with zigzag and striped rugs or blankets and beneath a series of three mitered arches. The player at left wears a tan and white hooded wide-sleeved *aljuba*, with the hood down, grey *capa*, black shoes and a black *birrete*. The player of black seated on the right wins this game and wears a similar tan and white hooded *aljuba*, hood up, no other head covering, black shoes and a paler *capa*. He appears to point to his opponent's white rook at g5 with which he can win the game if the player of black errs. The aspect of both men in this miniature is unusual in that the miniaturist has neglected to draw in the pupils of their eyes.<sup>423</sup> Beneath the players is an exquisite floral or pawn-inspired border along bottom edge similar to that on fol. 10r.

Janer's also sees these men as belonging to a religious order but does not say which one. The rest of his description agrees with mine.<sup>424</sup> The first of only three errors that I have encountered in Edilán's facsimile edition of the *LJ* is found in the unusual and illegible markings at the top of their facsimile folio which do not appear in the original.

### **2.7.53 Fol. 27r**

The fortieth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 34 in a roughly rectangular architectural frame whose irregular upper border has been lost to trimming and which occupies nearly the upper half of the folio. The towers extend upwards between the words of the folio's heading. Some sort of dish or bowl at the top of the chess board which holds two long, dark objects resembling pens or cigars. The left edge

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<sup>423</sup> Some or all pupils are absent from fols. 26v, 56r, 60v, 61v, 71v, 76v and 82v.

<sup>424</sup> "Tambien son hombres de religion los que están pintados en esta miniatura. Hállanse jugando al ajedrez sobre bancos, cubiertos por tapices de rayas blancas, rojas y azules, y encima hay unos almohadones con rayas de zig-zag blancas y rojas" (Janer, "Los Libros de ajedrez" 244).

of the illumination is formed by a round brick tower with a tri-lobed mitered window and the right edge shows one wing of an open double wooden door under a half dome.

The players appear to be seated on some sort of bench or chairs beneath a beautifully complex series of four tri-lobed mitered arches. These are two more members of a military religious order, whose white *capas con cuerda* are marked with a red cross-like sword, itself stamped with a dark object which is likely the pilgrim's traditional shell or *concha venera*. The darker-haired player of black seated on the right wins this game.

Janer's description agrees with mine, including noticing what must be the shell, but he makes no attempt at identifying this order.<sup>425</sup> Calvo notes that they are members of some order by their clothing, but does not offer a suggestion as to which one (1987: 195).

I agree with Vázquez de Parga<sup>426</sup> and believe these are members of the Order of Santiago of Compostela, also known as "la orden de Santiago de la Espada" and whose

symbol was a red cross terminating in a sword, which recalls their title *de la Espada*, and a shell (*la venera*), which they doubtless owed to their connection with the pilgrimage of St. James.<sup>427</sup>

These could less likely be the similar red sword markings of the Order of the Brothers of the Sword<sup>428</sup> which existed from 1202 until 1237, when they became part of the Teutonic Knights. However, given the Iberian origin of the manuscript I believe it is much more

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<sup>425</sup> "Juegan al ajedrez dos religiosos, con capas de paño amarillento, y al lado izquierdo llevan bordado de paño encarnado, una cruz en forma de espada, y un escudo negro en medio" (Janer, "*Los Libros de ajedrez*" 244).

<sup>426</sup> Vázquez de Parga identifies those on fol. 27r as Santiaguistas due to the red cross on their white habit (1987: 21). He does not however mention the shell.

<sup>427</sup> "Order of Saint James of Compostela," *The Catholic Encyclopedia, Volume I*. ed. K. Knight, online edition copyright 2003, 18 July 2005 <<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/13353a.htm>>.

<sup>428</sup> Also variously known as the Knights of the Sword, the Livonian Order, the Livonian Knights, in German *Ensiferi* or *Schwertbrüderorden* and in Latin *Fratres Militiae Christi*.

likely that the markings are of the Order of Santiago. Constable correctly identifies those on fol. 27r as Santiaguistas (314-15n35).

Perhaps one or both of these men was one of the order's grandmasters, Pelay Pérez Correa (1272-74), Pero Núñez or Juan González before Alfonso's difficulties with them over Sancho's rebellion (see discussion of fol. 25r). Kinkade and Keller, "Orphan," place Pérez Núñez in Alfonso's entourage to Beaucaire in Barcelona in January 1275, despite their serious difference of opinion (35-36n17).

#### **2.7.54 Fol. 27v**

The forty-first miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 35 in a plain red rectangular border with white dots which occupies roughly the middle third of the folio. Two columns of five lines each from the problems solution appear above the illumination and the majority of the folio is taken up by the first part of the next problem's description and solution.

Both players wear red hose and each holds what appears to be a brown *calamarium* or pen case similar to the one seen on fol. 1r. Has the miniaturist perhaps here painted a scene of the very translators and/or scribes of this problem working it out step by step or even Alfonso working it out with one of them? The blond player at left wears grey loose-sleeved tunic and *manto*; the tonsured player at right wears a red *saya* and violet *capa con cuerda*.

Janer's description agrees with mine, noting but not identifying the objects held by the players.<sup>429</sup> Steiger echoes Janer without mentioning the objects.<sup>430</sup> Vázquez de Parga identifies the men in fols. 27v, 28r, 28v, 29v, and 30r simply as gentlemen, also noting that sometimes they are presented seated Indian style or *a la mora* (1987: 22).

### 2.7.55 Fol. 28r

The forty-second miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 36 in a plain rectangular border which occupies roughly the upper third of the folio.

Two tonsured men in dark *sayas* and *capas con cuerda*, possibly Benedictine habits, sit upon a long bench covered with red-and-black striped rugs or blankets and black-and-white striped cushions. The player of black seated on the right wins this game and he holds or points to his king on c8, perhaps having just moved it from check by one of the white rooks on the seventh rank. Despite the ugly threat to that black king, it appears his rather concerned-looking opponent has suddenly realized he is doomed.

Janer's description agrees with mine but as usual he does not attempt to identify the order to which the men belong.<sup>431</sup> Vázquez de Parga identifies the men on fol. 28[r] merely as gentlemen (1987: 22).

### 2.7.56 Fol. 28v

The forty-third miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 37 in a roughly rectangular architectural frame with overhanging eaves and an irregular domed

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<sup>429</sup> “Dos religiosos, con un objeto cada uno en la mano, colgando de un cordon, juegan al ajedrez. Están sentados en bancos cubiertos por una tela verde” (Steiger 244).

<sup>430</sup> “Zwei Mönche. Die Bank, auf der sie sitzen, ist mit grünem Tuch überzogen” (Steiger XX).

<sup>431</sup> “Tambien son aquí religiosos, y de la misma Orden ambos, los personajes que están jugando. Sus asientos tienen tapetes de listas negras y rojas, y encima almohadones de listas blancas y negras” (Janer, “*Los Libros de ajedrez*” 244).

upper edge which has been trimmed. It appears that the third dome extends upwards around and between the words of the folio's heading.

Two Christian nobles, at least the one at right being a royal by his red hose and gold footwear<sup>432</sup> bend their heads in serious concentration over the game in progress and stare very intently at one another, sitting cross-legged on a red-and-white dotted and checked tile floor beneath a series of three twin, tri-lobed arches. The blond player at left wears a green *brial* with a light-colored *capa con cuerda* and appears to point at both the forthcoming check from the black fers at b2 and his own black rook's threat to the white king. The salt-and-pepper haired player of black seated on the right wins this game and wears a pale *saya*, grey *capa con cuerda* with red ties, red hose and gold shoes.

Janer's description agrees with mine except that he merely calls these knights and does not recognize the royal status signified by the footwear of the man on the right.<sup>433</sup> Steiger, as usual, echoes Janer.<sup>434</sup> Vázquez de Parga identifies the men on fol. 28v merely as gentlemen (1987: 22).

### **2.7.57 Fol. 29r**

Fol. 29r has only text and no illumination.

### **2.7.58 Fol. 29v**

The forty-fourth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 38 in a plain rectangular frame with white dots on the vertical sides. Two bearded men in reddish

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<sup>432</sup> See section 2.4.4.2 above titled Scarlet Stockings and Gold Shoes.

<sup>433</sup> "Juegan dos caballeros, sentados en el suelo, á usanza oriental" (Janer, "*Los Libros de ajedrez*" 244).

<sup>434</sup> "Zwei Ritter, die nach orientalischer Art am Bode sitzen" (Steiger XX).

wide-sleeved tunics, white hose, black slip-on shoes or slippers<sup>435</sup> and very full heads of hair<sup>436</sup> are seated on green cushions with a lighter green pattern of diamonds. The player of white at right wins this game, defeating his older opponent who possesses the wine flask.

Janer's description agrees with mine.<sup>437</sup> Steiger again echoes Janer.<sup>438</sup> Vázquez de Parga (1987: 22) identifies the men on fol. 29r[v] merely as gentlemen.

### 2.7.59 Fol. 30r

The forty-fifth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 39 in a rectangular frame of red horizontals and green verticals. The two tonsured players sit on a long bench covered with a rug or blanket of brown and orangey stripes. The bottom edge of the chess board shows some attempt by the miniaturist to create an arrow inlay pattern<sup>439</sup> which is not clearly executed in the top edge.

The player at left wears a pale blue *saya* under a pinkish *aljuba* and *capa con cuerda*, lined in blue and trimmed in black possibly fur. The blond player of black seated on the right, and scratching his bald pate as though trying to choose between the two successful methods of winning this problem that are available to him, wears a red *saya* under his sleeveless grey *saya* trimmed in black possibly fur, dark red hose and black

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<sup>435</sup> See similar footwear on fols. 38v, 60v and 62v.

<sup>436</sup> Compare also with the hair of the gentleman on fol. 36r.

<sup>437</sup> “Dos hombres con holgadas túnicas, y con babuchas calzadas, juegan al ajedrez. Uno es joven y otro viejo, teniendo éste á su lado una botella y un vaso. Están sentados sobre cojines verdes, á la usanza morisca” (Janer, “*Los Libros de ajedrez*” 244).

<sup>438</sup> “Ein alter und ein junger Mann, in weitem Leibrock und Pantoffeln, beim Schachspiel. Der Alte hat eine Flasche und eine Becher neben sich. Sie sitzen nach maurischer Art auf grünen Kissen” (Steiger XX).

<sup>439</sup> See similar inlaid patterns on fols. 31r, 31v and 32r.

shoes. His opponent may be pointing at the black rook which brings about his defeat. The two players shown here remind me strongly of those shown on fol. 12v.

Janer's description agrees with mine.<sup>440</sup> Vázquez de Parga identifies the men on fol. 30[r] merely as gentlemen (1987: 22).

### 2.7.60 Fol. 30v

The forty-sixth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 40 in an unusual rectangular frame composed of a bird perch at the top and multi-colored diamond patterns for the other three sides. Two Christian men sit on a long bench covered with a red-and-white striped rug or blanket and beautifully embroidered cushions.<sup>441</sup> The symbol embroidered on the cushion at right, as with that on fol. 16r, may be a stylized representation of the Order of Calatrava, and the one at left may be that of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem (see also the Hospitallers shown on fol. 25v). The darker-haired player of white at left, dressed in a white *saya* under a green-lined red *manto* with red hose and black shoes, wins this game. His blond opponent wears a red *saya* under his wide-sleeved tan tunic and black shoes.

Rather than pointing at the board as players often do in the *LJ*, these two men point up at their birds, their colors reflecting that of their chess pieces, who sit tethered above the players on the perch next to hawking gloves.<sup>442</sup> This image, whose setting suggests a mews, and the other miniature with a hawk on fol. 8r, show a connection with

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<sup>440</sup> “Son dos jóvenes, pero pertenecientes á alguna Orden religiosa, los que juegan en esta miniatura. La corona que marcan sus cabellos prueba su profesion” (Janer, “*Los Libros de ajedrez*” 244).

<sup>441</sup> At left are two embroidered swastikas. See similar style of embroidery on fols. 2v, 16r, 16v, 19r, 31r, 34v, 41r and 58v.

<sup>442</sup> See similar gloves on fols. 7r, 10v and 85v.

Frederick II's treatise *De arte venandi cum avibus*, now in the Vatican Library (MS. Palat. Lat. 1071).<sup>443</sup>

Janer's description agrees with mine.<sup>444</sup> Steiger echoes him.<sup>445</sup> Vázquez de Parga notes the two birds of prey and hunting gloves on the border *cum* perch in fol. 30v's illumination (1987: 22). Finkenzeller et al. show this miniature with the caption, "Below: Courtly love, hunting and chess filled the days of the knights. A scene from the King Alfonso the Wise chess book" (154). The miniature from fol. 39v appears on the cover of the *Boletín 29 Editorial* in which Héctor Toledano's article appears. Wollesen uses an image of this miniature of his article with the caption, "8. Madrid, Real Bibl. del Escorial, j.T.6. fol.; fol. 30v, Falconers playing chess" (285). This miniature is Constable's fig. 18.

### 2.7.61 Fol. 31r

The forty-seventh miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 41 in a roughly rectangular architectural framework with overhanging eaves and six mitered arches supported by columns of a physician's residence or apothecary's shop<sup>446</sup> Beautifully colored and shaped jars and other containers fill shelves in these arches. Once again as on fols. 30r, 31v and 32r, though here somewhat more successfully, the miniaturist has decorated the edges of the board with a unidirectional arrow design perhaps indicating an inlay.

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<sup>443</sup> See also the late thirteenth-century chess king with hawk (Keats 2: 113).

<sup>444</sup> "Dos caballeros están jugando sentados sobre cojines de elegantes tejidos, y señalan dos azores que están puestos encima de una barra, de la que cuelga un guante blanco de montería á cada lado" (Janer, "Los Libros de ajedrez" 245).

<sup>445</sup> "Zwei Ritter sitzen auf bestickten Kissen und weisen auf zwei Falken, die über ihnen auf der Stange hocken. Zur Seite jeder Falken hängt ein weißer Jaghandschuh über der Stange" (Steiger XX).

<sup>446</sup> For more information on the identification of this man's profession by his hat, see Kinkade's "An Orphaned Miniature of Cantiga 235," *Cantigueiros* 10 (Spring 1998) 27-50 at 32.

The two bearded men wearing berets<sup>447</sup> and seated on striped cushions and leaning against embroidered ones<sup>448</sup> pause from their game at this inlaid board so that the man at right may examine the phial of urine brought to him by the young page at far right. The page wears a tan *saya* under another blue garment slung over one shoulder like a toga and holds in his left hand a sort of basket in which he presumably carried the phial of urine. At far left, another young man in a blue *saya* works with a mortar and pestle atop a brick counter covered by a mat with a white-and-red zigzag pattern. The player at left wears a reddish loose-sleeved tunic, light grey cuffs peeping out, a brown beret and black shoes. The player of black seated on the right wins this game, perhaps since his opponent was distracted by the consultation. The winner wears a similar outfit of a tan tunic lined in red, with light grey sleeves, a green beret with an opaque white *cofia* beneath it and black shoes.

Janer's description mostly agrees with mine, though he sees the phial as containing medicine rather than urine.<sup>449</sup> Brunet y Bellet agrees with Janer in this regard (414). Nordenfalk uses this image in his study and identifies this game as taking place in a pharmacy (20). García Morencos also uses this image in her study and identifies this scene as a pharmacy but not the contents of the phial, and jokes repeatedly that perhaps long chess games by the pharmacists might explain the length of time one has to wait

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<sup>447</sup> Berets appear on Christians and Muslims on fols. 6v, 25v, 31r, 47r, 58v and 97v.

<sup>448</sup> These may be stylized Seals of Solomon. The physician in a similar scene of the *CSM* is identified as Jewish. See similar embroidery on fols. 2v, 16r, 16v, 19r, 30v, 34v, 41r and 58v.

<sup>449</sup> "Tienda de un farmacéutico, que se halla jugando al ajedrez, pero interrumpe el juego para dar una botella con una medicina á un joven que está junto á la puerta. En los estantes hay botellas y redomas, y un mancebo está machacando alguna solucion en un mortero con dos manos de almirez" (Janer, "Los Libros de ajedrez" 245).

there.<sup>450</sup> Calvo simply notes that this man is a *boticario* in his *farmacia* (1987: 130 and 200). Vázquez de Parga identifies the physician in his typical *boina de clérigos* examining a beaker of urine, instead of giving a bottle of medicine, and pharmaceutical assistant (1987: 22). Wollesen simply identifies these men as pharmacists (295).

For Constable, the “atelier scenes of elite concerns, possibly also [fall] into the category of jokes, with one picture of two doctors playing chess among their pharmaceuticals (fol. 31r), and another which appears to take place in a moneyer’s establishment (fol. 23v)” which focus narrowly upon elite concerns (340-41) and not on the whole range of society as in Cessolis’s *Liber de moribus hominum et officiis nobilium*. However, I find her classification of the realism of the doctors and the moneyers as jokes inexplicable.

In addition to the possible money changer seen on fol. 23r, this miniature contains another possible oblique reference to Cessolis as of the eight common people represented by the pawns in his work, the “pawn in front of the Queen must be a Doctor to attend her in sickness.”<sup>451</sup> Similar rows of shelves holding similar bottles, but some with Arabic writing, are seen with a Jewish apothecary in *Cantigas* 108, panels 1 and 2 or 173 panel 1 (Keller and Cash, pl. 19).

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<sup>450</sup> Her caption, “Partida de ajedrez en la botica” (García Morencos 15). In her *Relación de ilustraciones* she says of it, “Interesante y curiosa reproducción de lo que era una botica medieval, donde pueden observarse sus tarros y redomas perfectamente ordenados, la preparación en el mortero de las mezclas medicinales y la pausa en la partida para atender a un cliente, como podría hacerse hoy día durante una guardia de nuestras actuales farmacias” (53). She repeats this same joke within the text of her study describing, “... y hasta los diverso útiles para las medicinales pócimas de botica que aparecen, perfectamente alineados, en una de las miniaturas en que el juego del ajedrez se practica en este lugar, como podría hacerse hoy día durante las largas horas de permanencias de nuestras actuales farmacias” (García Morencos 18).

<sup>451</sup> *Copy of the Bonus socius manuscript, (so-called) in the National library, Florence, Cleveland 1893.* (Cleveland Public Library’s call # 789.0924M B644f2) Chapter titled “Jacopo Cessolis 1275 to 1300 chess manuscript,” 39.

**2.7.62 Fol. 31v**

The forty-eighth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 42 in a roughly rectangular architectural framework with an irregular upper edge of domes and turrets which has been lost to trimming. Two men holding musical instruments, a fiddle at right and a waisted guitar at left, sit beneath a series of three mitered arches on a long bench covered with a green fabric with a decorative border. On either side of the players is a shorter, rounded brick tower; the left tower has a mitered window and the right shows an open mitered doorway. The five-fold upper architecture is reflected in the five segments of differently-colored marble flooring similar to that seen on fol. 1r. The illumination occupies roughly the upper third of the folio. The edges of the board are decorated with an inward-facing bidirectional arrow motif in shades of brown indicating wooden inlay.<sup>452</sup>

The darker-haired player at left, the winner, wears a white sleeveless *brial* bordered with black details and revealing red sleeves underneath. The player at right wears a red *saya encordada* beneath his sleeveless green *brial*. Both players wear red hose, black shoes and hold gorgeous instruments, the fiddle of the winning player of white at left resembles the ones seen in Cantigas 8, 120 and F 47 (Keller & Cash plates 11, 2 and 47),<sup>453</sup> the waisted guitar at right has heraldic castles and lions and its player may be wearing a belt with the same devices as there is a free-hanging gold castle on a red background to the left of the instrument appearing beneath the folds of his green and

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<sup>452</sup> See similar board decoration on also fols. 30r, 31r and 32r.

<sup>453</sup> Keller and Cash's index lists multiple cases of fiddles in the *CSM*: frontispiece; 8, 1; 100, 6; 194, 2; F43. This type of instrument is also shown in the *CSM* on fol. 5r with three musicians, the rightmost in red hose; fol. 15v one musician in black hose; Cantiga 119, panel 2 musician possibly for the royal family.

red clothes. The minute decorative heraldry on this musical instrument is a detail similar to that noticed by Janer on the scabbard in the miniature of fol. 12v and is one of my favorite details of the *LJ*'s fine images. These castles and lions may denote the musician's royal status because other *LJ* and *CSM* instruments lack such heraldry.

Janer's description agrees with mine except that he identifies both instruments as violins.<sup>454</sup> Steiger echoes Janer.<sup>455</sup> Calvo notes that these men are musicians (1987: 130 and 200). Vázquez de Parga identifies the two men fol. 31v as *juglares* (1987: 22). Keats's Figure 56 shows a detail of fol. 31v, Problem 42, and confusingly precedes his presentation of Problem 43 indicating that he may not be aware that the *LJ*'s chess diagrams follow their solutions. His caption reads: "*Libro del Acedrez* (1283), the 'Alfonso' manuscript on chess. Illuminated diagram of a chess problem" (1994: 190).

### 2.7.63 Fol. 32r

The forty-ninth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 43 in a roughly rectangular architectural frame with an irregular upper edge of four domes. The miniature occupies approximately the upper third of the folio. Beneath the four domes, two Christian ladies in ornate hats sit beneath a series of three five-lobed arches flanked by two stone-masonry towers. The illumination occupies roughly the upper third of the folio and is the first of a series of three exclusively female chess miniatures. The board's

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<sup>454</sup> "Son dos músicos, dos violinistas los que están jugando al ajedrez; el uno de ellos indudablemente de la casa real de Don Alfonso *el S[a]bio*, pues la punta del cinturón que le asoma á un lado tiene el escudo de Castilla, y el violin que sostiene en la mano, tiene al rededor una orla con los escudos y leones castellanos delicadamente embutidos. Su compañero en el juego lleva tambien un violin" (Janer, "*Los Libros de ajedrez*" 245).

<sup>455</sup> "Zwei Geigenspieler beim Schach. Der eine gehön zur königlichen Familie, denn das sichtbare Ende seines Gürtels zeigt das kastilische Wappen und auf seinem Instrument erscheinen in ein gelegter Arbeit um den ganzen Rand die Schilde und Löwen von Kastilien" (Steiger XX).

edges have brown-on-brown unidirectional arrow decorations suggestive of wood inlay.<sup>456</sup>

The player of white at left, dressed in a *brial* and *manto*, both green edged with white, wins this game. Her opponent is dressed even more beautifully in a white *camisa margomada*<sup>457</sup> under her red sleeveless *brial encordada* and red *pellote* and appears to have a rosary hanging from her left hip.<sup>458</sup> Both wear tall, crescent-shaped embroidered hats which fasten under their chins.<sup>459</sup>

Janer's description agrees with mine.<sup>460</sup> Steiger echoes him.<sup>461</sup> Bernis Madrazo includes a reproduction of the woman playing on the right of fol. 32r as her illustration no. 59 on *lámina* 14 to illustrate a “[d]ama con *camisa margomada*, *brial* sin mangas y *pellote*.” García Morencos uses this image in her study with the caption, “Ante el tablero, elegantes damas góticas con característicos atuendos” (16). In her *Relación de ilustraciones* she says of it, “Ante el tablero, elegantes damas góticas con los característicos atuendos de la época: la camisa bordada o ‘margomada’, el ribeteado pellote, el majestuoso manto, las altas y características tocas de superpuestas bandas rizadas” (García Morencos 53). Vázquez de Parga says that the two women on fol. 32r wear tall tiaras typical of high-ranking Castilian ladies but simple cloaks and white *tocas* which could make them members of a religious order or *dueñas* like those on fol. 32v and

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<sup>456</sup> See also fols. 30r, 31r and 31v for similar board decoration.

<sup>457</sup> See similar embroidered sleeves on fols. 8r and 60r.

<sup>458</sup> All beads in the *LJ* are shown large so as to be distinguishable, see also beaded necklace on fol. 18r. While the entire article is not visible, perhaps the cross is tucked inside her garment.

<sup>459</sup> See other tall hats on fols. 57v and 60r, the latter similarly embroidered.

<sup>460</sup> “Son elegantes damas de la corte, con altos y suntuosos bonetes en la cabeza, las que se hallan jugando al ajedrez en esta miniatura” (Janer, “*Los Libros de ajedrez*” 245).

<sup>461</sup> “Zwei elegante Damen der Hofgesellschaft mit hohen reichverzierten Hüten” (Steiger XX).

33r, the latter teaching two younger girls to play (1987: 22). The ladies on fol. 60r also wear tall and heavily decorated hats of a different shape.

This image is one of several stamps issued by Laos in 1984 to celebrate the 60th birthday of the FIDE, although the colors are changed and the outlines have been sharpened. Other miniatures used in the stamps are from fols. 20v, 24v, 25v and 82v. In 1989, Afghanistan issued a series of chess-related stamps that included among others images, redrawings of the main players from the miniatures on the *LJ*'s fols. 20v, 32r and possibly 46v.<sup>462</sup>

#### **2.7.64 Fol. 32v**<sup>463</sup>

The fiftieth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 44 in a rectangular border which occupies roughly the upper third of the folio. Two white-wimpled nuns sit on a long brick bench covered with a material of green, red and yellow stripes. The player at left wears a pinkish habit while the player of black seated on the right and dressed in peachy tan wins this game. Both garments reveal black cuffs of narrow sleeves underneath. I have not been able to discern that their fingers point to anything in particular except the solution on the preceding folio. At the bottom of this folio, there is a signature “.iiii.” marking the end of the fourth gathering.<sup>464</sup>

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<sup>462</sup> “On February 2, 1989 Afghanistan issued seven chess stamps depicting” (Wall) “boards, early matches and hand-made chessmen” (*Scott* 242). *Scott 2006 Standard Postage Stamp Catalogue, 163<sup>rd</sup> ed.*, ed. James E. Kloetzel (Sidney, OH: Scott, 2005) 1: 242, Afghanistan: stamps 1330-36.

<sup>463</sup> I used this miniature in designing the cover of *Breaking Boundaries, Forging Friendships: The Convent and Women's Writing in Seventeenth-Century Spain* by Nancy Cushing Daniels (UP of the South, 2003).

<sup>464</sup> See also fols. 8v, 17r, 24v, 40v and 48v for other catchwords.

Janer's description agrees with mine but also attempts to fix a somewhat vague distinction regarding the rank of the women within their religious order.<sup>465</sup> Calvo simply identifies these women as nuns (1987: 201). García Morencos uses this image in her study with the caption, following Janer, "La monja profesa inicia a la joven novicia en el intelectual juego" (33). In her *Relación de ilustraciones* she adds: "La madurez de la monja profesa parece iniciar a la juventud de la blanca novicia en el más intelectual y noble de los juegos" (García Morencos 53). It would appear to me, however, that the older woman at left loses the game. Vázquez de Parga says merely that the two women on fol. 32v are "religiosas o dueñas" (1987: 22).

### **2.7.65 Fol. 33r**

The fifty-first miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 45 in a Greek-key or potency-patterned<sup>466</sup> rectangular frame with gold squares in the corners which occupies roughly the upper third of the folio. Here two religious women seated on gold benches teach two young girls<sup>467</sup> who are seated on pale-blue checked cushions on the floor. This illumination, like that on fol. 15r, is a thematic model for the one that follows it.

The player of white at right wins this game. She is dressed in a red wide-sleeved tunic edged with gold and coached by a peachy tan wide-sleeved habit and white wimple,

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<sup>465</sup> "Juegan al ajedrez dos monjas, la una novicia y la otra profesa" (Janer, "*Los Libros de ajedrez*" 245).

<sup>466</sup> This blazonry term (also spelled potente and potenté) is used in heraldry to describe this particular pattern forming the division between two tinctures or fields of color. See image "division," Online Art. Encyclopædia Britannica Online. Accessed 4 Sept. 2007. <<http://search.eb.com/eb/art-1860>>. under *EB Online*'s heraldry article.

<sup>467</sup> For other miniatures showing adults teaching children to play games see also fols. 15r, 16r, 33v, 58r, 74r and 93v.

similar to that seen in the previous miniature. Her losing opponent wears a green wide-sleeved tunic edged with gold and is advised by a woman in a grey loose-sleeved tunic and more Moorish-style head wrap.

Janer's description agrees with mine except that the women of fol. 33r seem to me to be wearing different head wraps.<sup>468</sup> The woman on the right seems to be wearing a true wimple, designating her as a Christian. But the scarf of the woman on the left is fringed, with a gold band at its edge and wrapped about her head in a Moorish style. The darker hair of her disciple, in contrast with the blonder hair of the Christian woman's charge, would more likely make them a Moorish woman and her daughter and a Christian woman and her daughter or female charge. Vázquez de Parga only says that the two women on fol. 33r are "religiosas o dueñas" like those in the previous miniature (1987: 22).

There is a small puncture in the lower right of this folio.<sup>469</sup>

See also Appendix D5 showing details of the miniatures which show children being taught to play a game, illustrating the *LJ* as a dial of princes and princesses.

### 2.7.66 Fol. 33v

The fifty-second miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 46 in a rectangular frame of red verticals and white-dotted blue horizontals which occupies roughly the upper third of the folio. Inscribed in the left margin here and on fol. 34v is the commentary of "muy bueno."<sup>470</sup> Similar in composition to the previous miniature but

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<sup>468</sup> "Juegan al ajedrez dos jovencitas, sentadas en cojines azules, y con trajes festonados de oro. Dos dueñas las dirigen y las enseñan" (Janer, "*Los Libros de ajedrez*" 245).

<sup>469</sup> See Excel file "*LJ* Manuscript Statistics," column "Wear and Tears."

<sup>470</sup> For a comparison between this marginal script and that written in the miniature of fol. 18r, see the introductory comments of this chapter's section 2.7 Catalogue of the 151 *LJ* Miniatures.

with the opposite gender, here two tonsured clerics with transparent *sobretúnicas*<sup>471</sup> over their *sayas* stand behind and teach two tonsured young boys to play.<sup>472</sup> That these two consecutive miniatures show similar scenes but with opposite genders, reinforces my theory that the two players on fol. 15r are both kings because in the next miniature on fol. 16r they are both queens.

The man at left wears a reddish *saya* under his transparent surplice and appears to gesture in frustrated dismay at his young charge in the blue-grey *saya*, indicating his strong threat to the winning side, as if to indicate that he is not yet there. The man at right wears light bluish-green beneath his transparent *aljuba* and appears to gesture with his right hand at this same threat from the rooks as well as to the threat from the knights with his left while his protégé in the red *saya* somewhat more astutely seems to acknowledge that there are two threats. The boys sit on green cushions on the floor; the cushion at left is checked with black while the one at right the miniaturist has doodled a series of motifs which echo the square and round shapes of game boards: a swavatiska, a single check and two circles. As in the previous problem's illumination, the player of white at right wins this game.

Carl Justi (1832-1912) wrote to Antonius van der Linde that the miniatures contain portraits of kings, queens and monks.<sup>473</sup>

Janer's description agrees with mine.<sup>474</sup> Steiger echoes Janer.<sup>475</sup>

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<sup>471</sup> Compare with the clothing of the monks seen on fol. 12v and 50r.

<sup>472</sup> For other miniatures showing adults teaching children to play games see also fols. 15r, 16r, 33r, 74r and 93v.

<sup>473</sup> Antonius van der Linde, *Geschichte und Literatur des Schachspiels* (Leipzig, 1874) 278.

<sup>474</sup> "Dos jóvenes novicios, reciben lecciones de ajedrez de dos religiosos de más edad" (Janer, "Los Libros de ajedrez" 245).

See also Appendix D5 showing details of the miniatures which show children being taught to play a game, illustrating the *LJ* as a dial of princes and princesses and the accompanying CD-rom for the PowerPoint presentation entitled “The *LJ*’s Dilaram Problems.”

### 2.7.67 Fol. 34r

Fol. 34r has only text and no illumination.

### 2.7.68 Fol. 34v

The fifty-third miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 47 in a rectangular frame which occupies roughly the upper third of the folio. The blue background of this illumination is unusually pale and deteriorated. The commentary of “muy bueno” written in the left margin appears here and on fol. 33v.<sup>476</sup>

Two possibly Jewish women sit on a long bench decorated with mitered arches and covered with embroidered pillows.<sup>477</sup> Nearly identical in appearance, their pinkish wide-sleeved *mantos* appear trimmed with black fur, red shoes peeking out and unusually-knotted head wraps which resemble fish tails and which Bernis Madrazo calls *tocas orelladas*.<sup>478</sup> The player of white at left wins this game.

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<sup>475</sup> “Zwei junge Novizen erhalten Schachunterricht von älteren Mönchen” (Steiger XX).

<sup>476</sup> For a comparison between this marginal script and that written in the miniature of fol. 18r, see the introductory comments of this chapter’s section 2.7 Catalogue of the 151 *LJ* Miniatures.

<sup>477</sup> As with the embroidery on fol. 16r, these floriated crosses may be emblems of the Order of Calatrava but probably are not given that these players seem to be Jewish women. See also fols. 2v, 16r, 16v, 19r, 30v, 31r, 41r and 58v for similar embroidery.

<sup>478</sup> Perhaps these fish-tail knots identify them as Jews; the female protagonist of *Cantiga* 107 (Keller and Cash pl. 67) wears a similarly-knotted head wrap and is identified as a Jewess. Other women wearing these same knots are seen on *LJ* fols. 57v.

Janer's description agrees with mine but he does not attempt to identify their religion.<sup>479</sup>

### 2.7.69 Fol. 35r

The fifty-fourth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 48 in a red rectangular framework which occupies roughly the upper third of the folio. A maiden and an old woman, both maybe Christian, sit on a long bench covered with a pale cloth decorated with a stripe of horizontal figure eights.<sup>480</sup>

The winning player of white at left, is a blonde maiden in a black-fur trimmed, wide-sleeved reddish gown similar to those seen in the previous miniature but with a tan underskirt and black shoes. Her much older female opponent is dressed in a pale blue wide-sleeved gown trimmed in black at the neck, possibly with the same fur, an underskirt, black shoes and a yellowish-brown headdress of a squarish cap with a wrap that covers both her neck and her hair.<sup>481</sup> She points at her threatening rook at g2, but the young victor points to the previous folio's solution as if to hint that it is she who wins this game.

Janer's brief description agrees with mine in the few details that he does give.<sup>482</sup>

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<sup>479</sup> "Son dos damas, con túnicas festonadas de pieles negras, y graciosas gorras en la cabeza, las que se hallan aquí jugando al ajedrez" (Janer, "*Los Libros de ajedrez*" 245).

<sup>480</sup> See also fols. 35v, 39r, 40v, 55r, 61v, 63r, 73v, 75r, 78r and 78v on seat coverings and fols. 36v and 91v on clothing.

<sup>481</sup> Headdresses similar to those of the old woman are also seen on other old women on fols. 53v and 68v (and perhaps fol. 23r) in the *LJ* and in *Cantiga* 300.

<sup>482</sup> "Distráense en el mismo juego una mujer anciana y una jovencita" (Janer, "*Los Libros de ajedrez*" 245).

### 2.7.70 Fol. 35v

The fifty-fifth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 49 in a red-and-green rectangular frame which occupies roughly the upper third of the folio. Two more Christian women play this game of chess seated on a long bench covered with a brown cloth whose figure-eights<sup>483</sup> are similar to that seen in the previous illumination. The young woman on the left wears a loose-sleeved red tunic, revealing black cuffs beneath with a grey *manto* while her opponent wears the same outfit with the opposite color combination. Only the black shoes of the winning player of black seated on the right are barely visible beneath the folds of her skirts. The loser wears a short transparent veil over her short blonde hair while the winner wears her hair partially covered by a headdress composed of two crossed bands, one opaque band running from under the chin around the top of the head and a second transparent, veil-like band that wraps horizontally from front to back.<sup>484</sup>

Janer's description agrees with mine, noting the lack of architectural framework.<sup>485</sup>

### 2.7.71 Fol. 36r

The fifty-sixth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 50 in another red-and-green rectangular border which occupies roughly the upper third of the folio. Here two bearded men in long, plain loose-sleeved tunics sit on the floor on red rugs with

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<sup>483</sup> See also fols. 35r, 39r, 40v, 55r, 61v, 63r, 73v, 75r, 78r and 78v on seat coverings and fols. 36v and 91v on clothing.

<sup>484</sup> This double-band headdress is also seen with a fuller veil on *LJ* fol. 49v (on Violante at right). See also Keller and Cash's pl. 70 with its similar double-band women's headgear in *Cantiga* 136. Incidentally, this *Cantiga* also shows a dice game.

<sup>485</sup> "Dos jóvenes, rubias las dos, juegan al ajedrez. Los bancos tienen un cobertor de color rojo, pero la habitación es sencilla, no viéndose arcos, ni columnas" (Janer, "*Los Libros de ajedrez*" 245).

white details. With his full head of dark hair, the man at left in the grey gown resembles the young man seen on fol. 29v. His opponent at right in red, with lighter brown and longer hair, as the player of white wins this game. Black pointed shoes of both players are just visible.

Janer's brief description agrees with mine.<sup>486</sup>

### 2.7.72 Fol. 36v

The fifty-seventh miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 51 in an architectural framework of four towers and green columns supporting three five-lobed arches over two turbaned men. The miniature occupies roughly the upper third of the folio.

Both men are seated on a long bench covered with a brown cloth with a white detailed stripe. The black-bearded man at left wears a beautiful orangey-red wide-sleeved tunic with a border of black horizontal figure eights,<sup>487</sup> a complementary red-and-white turban, a transparent scarf<sup>488</sup> and black shoes. He points with pleased smugness to his white rook at d6 which in the first move of this problem captures his opponent's black fil (bishop) and gives check to the black king; Calvo notes his pointing finger (1987: 205). His red-bearded opponent, in resplendent gold-edged wide-sleeved turquoise robe with transparent scarf, white turban and black shoes calmly gestures as if this matters not in a

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<sup>486</sup> “En otra habitacion sin adorno alguno, hay dos jugadores, vestidos meramente con anchurosas túnicas. Están sentados sobre alfombras” (Janer, “*Los Libros de ajedrez*” 246).

<sup>487</sup> See also fols. 35r, 35v, 39r, 40v, 55r, 61v, 63r, 73v, 75r, 78r and 78v on seat coverings and fols. 36v and 91v on clothing.

<sup>488</sup> See also the similar transparent scarves on Arabs and Christian clerics fols. 22r, 38v, 44v, 45r and 50r.

wait-and-see way, being secure in the knowledge that he as the player of white is, in fact, the winner of this game.

Janer's description merely notes that these are Arab nobles playing chess and that the columns are of jasper.<sup>489</sup> Steiger follows Janer.<sup>490</sup> Vázquez de Parga identifies various turbaned Arabs on fols. 36v and 37r, some seated like Christians and wearing transparent *sobretocas* as on fol. 36v and others seated on the floor like Moors on fol. 37r (1987: 22). Calvo wonders if fols. 36v and 37r do not represent portraits of as-Suli (1987: 132). This is certainly possible and, given the problem's provenance, perhaps even likely but, as on fol. 17v, there are no clues in these miniatures to confirm or deny his suggestion.

### **2.7.73 Fol. 37r**

The fifty-eighth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 52 in a rectangular frame of mottled red and green resembling the stone columns of the previous illumination. The miniature occupies roughly the upper third of the folio and again contains two Arab men. They are seated with their legs crossed on the floor atop red rugs similar to those seen on fol. 36r. The older, white-bearded man wearing a simple grey loose-sleeved tunic, black shoes and complicated turban of red, white and black appears to gesture in teaching his younger opponent. However, the player of white at right is the winner of this game. He wears a plain peachy-tan loose-sleeved tunic, black shoes and a tunic in black with a white and red turban inversely complementary to that of his opponent.

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<sup>489</sup> "Son dos árabes nobles los que juegan al ajedrez, en una habitacion con columnas de jaspes" (Janer, "*Los Libros de ajedrez*" 246).

<sup>490</sup> "Zwei vornehme Araber in einem Gemach mit Jaspissäulen" (Steiger XX).

Janer's description agrees with mine though he does not mention the markings on the winner.<sup>491</sup> As discussed above, Calvo wonders if this and fol. 36v are not portraits of as-Suli (1987: 132). Despite the fact that this miniature contains patterns on the winner's tunic, they do not appear to spell anything either in Castilian or in Arabic. They may have been added by the miniaturist or by a later hand indicating that this is the side to win but they unfortunately offer no clues either way about Calvo's suggestion. Toledano uses fol. 37r's miniature in his article (11).

#### **2.7.74 Fol. 37v**

The fifty-ninth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 53 in architectural frame with an irregular upper edge of two gothic towers and three panels of alternating red-and-white roof tiles. The illumination occupies roughly the upper third of the folio. Two men, the one at left seated Indian-style on the floor and the one at right seated on a bench, play this game beneath three five-lobed arches and a complex series of seven green columns which support those arches as well as the ones staggered behind.<sup>492</sup> The Arabic-looking man at left wears a plain pale blue loose-sleeved tunic and grey hooded *capa*, with the hood up, and sits upon a striped rug of brown, red and white. The balding and grey-bearded player of white at left, points to himself, perhaps signaling that he wins this game. He wears grey loose-sleeved tunic, red *capa* fastened at the neck and with the hood down his back, white hose and black curly-toed shoes.<sup>493</sup>

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<sup>491</sup> "Tambien son árabes los dos jugadores que se ven en esta miniatura, siendo notables las telas de sus turbantes" (Janer, "Los Libros de ajedrez" 246).

<sup>492</sup> Similar rows of arches are also seen on fols. 13v, 23v and 42r.

<sup>493</sup> See similar shoes on fols. 17v, 42v, 45r and 52v.

Janer instead sees both these men as priests.<sup>494</sup> Steiger, following Janer, calls them monks.<sup>495</sup> Perhaps this identification is attempted because of the men's cloaks but cloaks, even those with Capuchin *capirotas* or hoods, are so commonly found in the *LJ* that I do not believe it to be diagnostic. Given their dark untoued hair, facial hair and physiognomy as well as their shoes and the absence of any crosses or distinctively priestly or monkish accessories, I strongly suspect both of these men are Arabs.

### 2.7.75 Fol. 38r

The sixtieth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 54 in an architectural framework which occupies roughly the upper third of the folio. The irregular upper border of the illumination is composed of a five towers between four trilobed arches supported by multiples of red and green columns. The piece bag returns, hanging from a golden ring at bottom edge of board, uniquely this time with a red six-pointed star.<sup>496</sup>

The Arabs in woven turbans sit on red cushions on the floor. The player of white at left wears a plain grey loose-sleeved tunic and a beautiful black-accented white turban with a red peak.<sup>497</sup> His opponent at right, who wins this game, wears a grey loose-sleeved tunic under a red *capa* fastened at the neck and a similar red-accented and red-peaked

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<sup>494</sup> “Juegan al ajedrez dos frailes, el de la izquierda está sentado en el suelo, encima de una alfombra, y de la derecha en un banco cubierto por tela listada” (Janer, “*Los Libros de ajedrez*” 246).

<sup>495</sup> “Zwei Mönche, der linke sitzt auf einem Teppichen der rechte auf einer mit gestreiftem Tuch bekleideten Bank” (Steiger XX).

<sup>496</sup> As discussed in the first part of Chapter II, I do not believe this symbol had any connection to the Jewish faith at this time and place in history. Briefly: Gershom Scholem's article “The Star of David: History of a Symbol” establishes that this symbol was not exclusively Jewish in nature in thirteenth-century Spain.

<sup>497</sup> See similar turbans on fols. 2r, 12r, 22r, 44r, 55v and 63r.

white turban. In front of the winner a small red-covered book<sup>498</sup> sits open upon a lectern while in front of the loser are found a flask and glass toward which he reaches.

Janer's description agrees with mine but he does not mention the red star on the piece bag.<sup>499</sup> Keats, who uses this image as Figure 42,<sup>500</sup> mentions little else but this star and is convinced that it is the signature of a Jewish translator who worked on the codex. Keats's Figure 52a also shows a detail of the very same piece bag seen in his Figure 42, that of fol. 38r with yet another caption identifying it as a Jewish signature.<sup>501</sup> For the third, fourth and final times, Keats shows the red six-pointed star from fol. 38r's piece bag twice in his Figure 52b with the same caption as 52a above (1 180). Figure 52b shows three images, two of them identical and all already portrayed previously in figures 41, 42 and 52a. The first and third are of the piece bag on fol. 38r and the middle piece bag is from fol. 40v.

While the six-pointed red star on the piece bag from fol. 38r may be a signature, I feel that it is more likely a marker of a great chess problem because the problem shown here is one of the most famous from Arabic chess literature, the Dilaram problem. That it is such a classic may be indicated by the book open before the player at right. I have been

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<sup>498</sup> See similar books on fols. 41r, 42v and 43v.

<sup>499</sup> "Dos árabes sentados segun su costumbre con elegantes tocas, juegan al ajedrez. El uno tiene delante abierto un libro, y el otro tiene á su lado un vaso y una botella" (Janer, "*Los Libros de ajedrez*" 246).

<sup>500</sup> Keats's caption reads "Schools of translators: the Jews acted as a natural bridge in helping to bring Muslim civilisation to Europe. They usually translated from Arabic into Castilian, which was then translated into Latin by monks. The transmission of chess via 'the ALPHONSO' *Libro del Acedrex, Dados y Tablas* was part of the pattern. In this original coloured and highly illuminated original illustration (see also Figure 41 and Figure 55, Chapter 16) of the Cynical Signature we see another example of the Jewish author (or translator), but also with the MAGEN DAVID—Star of David superimposed" (Keats 1: 141).

<sup>501</sup> "Detail of the Signature by Jewish writers, as on the 'Tassel' hanging from an illustration in *Libro del Acedrex Dados y Tablas*. Autocratic medieval monarchs did not themselves write books. This was written in the name of Alphonso el Sabio (see figures 41 and 42)" (Keats 1: 179).

unable to link the usage of what is now known as the Star of David with Jews before the thirteenth century and even then it does not seem to have been exclusively utilized for this purpose. See also the accompanying CD-rom for the PowerPoint presentation entitled “The *LJ*’s Dilaram Problems.”

### **2.7.76 Fol. 38v**

The sixty-first miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 55 in a framework of black straight edges with an irregular architectural upper border in Moorish style. More depth and perspective than usual is shown on the domes of the roof as on fol. 43r. The illumination occupies roughly the upper third of the folio.

Two veiled women in white woven turbans sit on the floor beneath the outer two of three arches, each composed of five lesser horseshoe arches. The smaller player of black, at left in a darker red wide-sleeved tunic and plain transparent scarf,<sup>502</sup> wins this problem against her similarly clad opponent in a lighter wide-sleeved tunic whose scarf’s bottom edges are embroidered. Both wear white hose and black slippers.<sup>503</sup> The golden ring at the bottom edge of the board holds a piece bag but it, like the player’s faces, is shielded from view, tucked underneath the board.

Janer’s description agrees with mine.<sup>504</sup> Steiger echoes Janer.<sup>505</sup> García Morencos uses this image in her study with the caption identifying both these players as veiled

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<sup>502</sup> See also the similar transparent scarves on Arabs and Christian clerics on fols. 22r, 36v, 44v, 45r and 50r.

<sup>503</sup> See similar footwear on fols. 29v, 60v and 62v.

<sup>504</sup> “Son damas moras las que juegan en esta miniatura, teniendo tapada la cabeza y la mitad del rostro, no dejando ver más que los ojos, las manos y los piés, calzados” (Janer, “*Los Libros de ajedrez*” 246).

<sup>505</sup> “Zwei maurische Damen mit verhülltem Haupt und Antlitz. Nur Augen, Hände und die beschuhten Füße sind sichba...” (Steiger XX).

women.<sup>506</sup> Vázquez de Parga says that the turbans of fol. 38r make him think that both players are male while G. Menéndez Pidal thinks that the veil on the left player could be a woman's *litam*, i.e. the cloth which covers the lower part of a Muslim woman's face as part of her veil (1987: 22). In 1986, the United Arab Emirates issued a series of chess-related stamps that included, among other images, the miniatures from the *LJ*'s fols. 14r and 38v.<sup>507</sup>

The curious thing about this miniature is that the chess problem itself shows a smothered mate, a checkmate where a king is hemmed in by his own army and cannot escape check, and everything about this miniature is likewise covered up or smothered. Both players have their mouths and noses covered as seen nowhere else in the codex. Even the bag suspended from the board is tucked up underneath it and covered or smothered by the board itself.<sup>508</sup> I believe that these details are clever hints from the miniaturist or visual plays by the artist on the concept expressed by the chess problem it illustrates, underscoring the intrinsic relationship between the *LJ*'s miniatures and its text.

See also the accompanying CD-rom for the PowerPoint presentation entitled “The *LJ*'s Problem 55—Smothered Mate.”

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<sup>506</sup> Her caption: “Las moras, de tapados rostros, eran buenas aficionadas” (García Morencos 24). In her *Relación de ilustraciones* she says of it, “Las moras de tapados rostros, con sólo sus bellos ojos al descubierto, eran también buenas aficionadas” (García Morencos 53).

<sup>507</sup> “On November 14, 1986 the United Arab Emirates issued a series of chess stamps to commemorate the 27th Chess Olympiad in Dubai. (*Scott* 228-30)” from “Stamps and Chess by Bill Wall,” ed. Bill Wall, 27 July 2005 <<http://www.geocities.com/siliconvalley/lab/7378/stamps.htm>>. *Scott 2004 Standard Postage Stamp Catalogue, 160<sup>th</sup> ed.*, ed. James E. Kloetzel (Sidney, OH: Scott, 2003) 6: 710, United Arab Emirates: stamps 228-30.

<sup>508</sup> The bag is also tucked under the board in the following miniature on fol. 39r.

**2.7.77 Fol. 39r**

The sixty-second miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 56 in a framework of red straight edges, gold square corners and an irregular architectural upper border of Gothic style. The illumination occupies roughly the upper third of the folio. Two men sit on a long bench covered by a red cloth with white figure-eight decorations<sup>509</sup> along the top and black fringe along the bottom. A series of four twin mitred arches supported by alternating red and green columns covers both the board and the players who occupy the outer two such arches. The younger player of black at left wins this problem; he wears a green-lined tan wide-sleeved hooded tunic, hood down, a youth's opaque white *cofia*, black hose and black shoes. His opponent is older and dressed in red-lined green wide-sleeved tunic, a green *capirote*, white hose and black shoes. The piece bag is again tucked under the board as in the previous illumination.

Janer's description agrees with mine, and although he declines to attempt an identification of these people, he notes the careful precision with which the profile of the man at right is executed.<sup>510</sup> To me, this is one of many cases of precise execution of non-generic features and therefore a strong argument for realistic portraiture in the *LJ*. Coupled with the patriotic red and gold of the illumination's frame and the composition similar to many other miniatures such as the text on fol. 85v identifying the non-capped

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<sup>509</sup> See also fols. 35r, 35v, 40v, 55r, 61v, 63r, 73v, 75r, 78r and 78v on seat coverings and fols. 36v and 91v on clothing.

<sup>510</sup> "Dos jóvenes burgueses son los que juegan al ajedrez. Es notable el perfil y colorido del rostro del que viste de verde, acado de lo más perfecto de todo el códice" (Janer, "*Los Libros de ajedrez*" 246).

blond man as Alfonso, I believe this may also quite possibly be a portrait of the monarch.<sup>511</sup>

### 2.7.78 Fol. 39v

The sixty-third miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 57 in a red and green rectangular frame which occupies roughly the upper third of the folio. In the frame's corners are simple quatrefoil escutcheons with gold triple-towered castles on red fields (upper left and lower right) and black rampant lions on white fields (upper right and lower left). This is the first of ten such *LJ* miniatures with heraldic corners including the next miniature on fol. 40r.<sup>512</sup>

Two boys sit Indian style on the floor covered by a red rug, with black details on the outer edges. The younger player at left wears a transparent white *cofia*, black hose, black shoes, and a grayish *saya* belted in black; in his right hand he holds a red-lined pouch almost exactly the same color as his tunic. The winning player of black at right wears a reddish collared, or perhaps hooded, *saya* also belted in black, black hose, black shoes and an opaque white *cofia*; he stares fixedly at his opponent while pointing to his own black fil at a6 which in the first move of this problem discovers check and brings about the downfall of the white king in a Dilaram problem. Calvo notes his pointing finger (1987: 209). A fringed off-white piece bag hangs from the golden ring at the board's bottom edge.

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<sup>511</sup> See also the Appendices D1 and D2 for a comparison of the iconographic and semi-iconographic portraits of Alfonso in the *LJ* and the possible non-iconographic *LJ* portraits of Alfonso.

<sup>512</sup> Fols. 39v, 40r, 52v, 53r, 53v, 55v, 92r, 92v, 93r and 93v all have castles and lions in the corners of their miniatures.

Janer's description agrees with mine and he believes that the object held by the loser is some sort of headwear.<sup>513</sup>

See also the accompanying CD-rom for the PowerPoint presentation entitled "The *LJ*'s Dilaram Problems."

### 2.7.79 Fol. 40r

The sixty-fourth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 58 in a red and blue rectangular frame with white highlights which occupies roughly the upper third of the folio. In the frame's corners are square escutcheons with gold castles on red backgrounds (upper left and lower right) and black rampant lions on white fields (upper right and lower left). A fringed and embroidered white piece bag hangs from the golden ring at the board's bottom edge.

Within the frame, the woman wearing the transparent veil,<sup>514</sup> green *manto* bordered with black-and-white over a similarly bordered and sleeveless *brial* and black shoes, appears to bet the man her red-stoned gold ring over this problem.<sup>515</sup> Unfortunately, according to the text on the previous fol. 39v, the player of black at left, the man in a tan *saya*, green *manto*, red hose and gold shoes, wins this problem and she therefore forfeits the fine piece of jewelry.

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<sup>513</sup> "Juegan al ajedrez dos jóvenes con cofias en la cabeza, y uno de ellos lleva su gorro ó bonete en la mano" (Janer, "Los Libros de ajedrez" 246).

<sup>514</sup> See other similar transparent veils on fols. 16r, 49v, 54v and 58v.

<sup>515</sup> Herrero Carretero's *Museo de Telas Medievales* shows a beautiful color photo of a ring owned by Fernando de la Cerda and very similar to that seen on fol. 40r. It is gold with an oval red garnet cabochon at its center, surrounded like a rosette by eight satellite round, cabochon green beryls (emeralds) which are also bezel set (Herrero Carretero 43).

Janer's description agrees with mine and he further attempts to identify the prince as one of Alfonso's sons, likely Sancho.<sup>516</sup> J. B. Sánchez Pérez suggests that rather than a ring, a sweet is offered to the unnamed prince.<sup>517</sup> However, this appears to me to be definitely jewelry and not a sweet or cherry.<sup>518</sup> Finkenzeller et al. show this miniature without mentioning either the man's identity or the offering.<sup>519</sup> The scene in fol. 40r is analyzed by both Vázquez de Parga (1987) and G. Menéndez Pidal as the woman betting her ring. Calvo suggests in his German article that chess legends such as that of the Dilaram problem may have inspired a scene of such a bet between a couple.<sup>520</sup> García Morencos refers to the well-known statue in the Burgos Cathedral of Alfonso's mother, Beatriz of Swabia, receiving her engagement or wedding ring from Fernando III (21). Given that this portrait has not been defaced, as occurs for Sancho frequently throughout the *LJ*, I hesitate to agree with Janer. García Morencos suggests this miniature is another recreation of the scene of the engagement of Alfonso's parents, Fernando III and Beatriz

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<sup>516</sup> "En esta miniatura, de cuyo tablero de ajedrez pende una bolsa, juegan una dama y un caballero. Este lleva calzado dorado, y su fisonomía es la misma que la del príncipe de la miniatura 10 [fol. 8r], por lo cual, creemos que el pintor retrató en aquella y en ésta á un hijo de Don Alfonso *el Sabio*, y por su carácter arrogante, pudo ser muy bien el infante Don Sancho. No cabe duda de que los jugadores de este cuadro pertenecen á la familia real de Castilla, pues aparecen las armas castellanas en las cuatro esquinas" (Janer, "*Los Libros de ajedrez*" 246).

<sup>517</sup> "en la pintura correspondiente al problema 58, aparenta jugar un infante con una de sus hermanas, la que le ofrece un dulce" (J. B. Sánchez Pérez 1929: 10).

<sup>518</sup> Compare this red-stoned ring with the red fruits in a dish on fols. 12v and 22r; white fruits in a dish on fols. 8r and 40v and round red sweets or fruits held in the hand on fols. 9r, 14v and 54v.

<sup>519</sup> The image appears on 24 and the caption on the following page. "Opposite: An illustration of one of the numerous chess problems based on the Arabian Mansuben (problem endgame positions) from the 'Codex Alfonso' which presents numerous, similar problem exercises with explanations and solutions to the problems (preserved in the Escorial)" (Finkenzeller et al. 25).

<sup>520</sup> "Es ist sehr wahrscheinlich, dass seine Beliebtheit zahlreiche Legenden oder Erzählungen inspirierte [such as Dilaram], in denen Geliebte oder Ehefrauen in einer Wette aufs Spiel gesetzt wurden. Derartiges lässt die aussergewöhnliche Ausdruckskraft der Miniatur des Buches von Alfonsos dem Wiesen vermuten, in der eine Dame ihren Ring dem Gegner überreicht. Die Phantasie der mittelalterlichen Schachspieler liess die Grenzen des Brettes weit hinter sich" (Ricardo Calvo, "Zur Geschichte des Schachspiels" *Schach*, ed. H. Pflieger and H. Metzger [Hamburg, 1984, 16-27] 25). It also bears mentioning that this problem is a variation on the Abu Naam theme rather than that of Dilaram.

of Suabia. While both this miniature and the sculpture to which she refers are unusual in that they center their action around a piece of jewelry, this scene seems to me to be a wager rather than a betrothal, as suggested by García Morencos or of Fernando de la Cerda and his wife, given his possession of a similar ring. This miniature is Constable's fig. 7. The scene also compares to the marriage of Frederick II to Isabella shown by Bradford (194).

Another game of chess over a ruby ring just a century later comes down to us from a legend about Edward III of England,<sup>521</sup> whose son received the so-called Black Prince's Ruby (more recently and accurately identified as a red spinel) from Spain's Pedro I the Cruel (1350-69) and now set in the British Imperial state crown.<sup>522</sup>

There is a small hole in the lower right of this folio.<sup>523</sup>

See also the accompanying CD-rom for the PowerPoint presentation entitled "The *LJ*'s Abu Naam Problems."

### **2.7.80 Fol. 40v**

The sixth-fifth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 59 in a frame of three rectangular sides of and an intricate upper architectural border of three red-and-

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<sup>521</sup> "Edward III [reigned 1327-77] was the king who founded the Order of the Garter. You may recall that the order (instituted to celebrate the battle of Crécy) came about when one of the ladies of the court dropped a blue garter at a court ball. The lady in question was the devastatingly beautiful Princess Joan of Wales, the Fair Maid of Kent. According to Froissart's chronicles, Edward formed a violent passion for Joan (her husband was, conveniently, in prison in France), and as a means of advancing his suit offered to play chess for a hugely valuable ruby ring. Edward, with some difficulty, contrived to lose. He then made what can only be described as overtures to the princess. She, with great dignity, declined. She also declined the ring, and after a certain amount of to-ing and fro-ing with the expensive bauble, she saved everyone's embarrassment by allowing her lady-in-waiting to keep it" (Mike Fox and Richard James, *The Even More Complete Chess Addict* [Boston: Faber, 1993] 3).

<sup>522</sup> "Black Prince's ruby." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 2005, Encyclopædia Britannica Online 10 Apr. 2005 <<http://search.eb.com/eb/article?tocId=9015501>>.

<sup>523</sup> See Excel file "*LJ* Manuscript Statistics," column "Wear and Tears."

white striped, seven-lobed Moorish arches. The illumination occupies roughly the upper third of the folio. Both players sit on a long bench covered with a red cloth decorated in figure-eights<sup>524</sup> and lean against red pillows.<sup>525</sup> A fringed off-white piece bag hangs from the golden ring at the board's bottom edge. At the bottom of this folio the signature "v<sup>o</sup>" marks the end of the fourth gathering.<sup>526</sup>

Both the older man and the younger woman appear to be in a bathhouse, clothed as they are in transparent *gilalas*.<sup>527</sup> The man at left, who loses this problem, has a flask and glass at his feet. The woman at right who plays black wins this game and has at her feet a bowl or dish with white or candied fruits<sup>528</sup> of some kind. She wears gold bangles, a gold necklace, and a black cloth over her hair and her *gilala* is embroidered in black at the neck and shoulder. Once again, I feel that this is a portrait of Mayor Guillén de Guzmán due to her embroidered, transparent clothing and her jewelry, as well as her dainty hands and feet.<sup>529</sup> Since the illumination on the facing folio likely shows Alfonso's parents, I believe this may be Mayor playing chess with her father, Guillén Pérez de Guzmán (d. after 1245). This would also explain their ease in each other's presence in a bathhouse.

Janer's description makes clear his discomfort at the nearly naked members of the opposite sex of disparate ages; he makes no attempt to identify these people but otherwise

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<sup>524</sup> See also fols. 35r, 35v, 39r, 55r, 61v, 63r, 73v, 75r, 78r and 78v on seat coverings and fols. 36v and 91v on clothing.

<sup>525</sup> See other similar red pillows on fols. 8v, 10r, 14r, 22r, 47v, 76r, 76v and 97v. These pillows in particular seem to be the same as the ones seen on fol. 76v, on opposite sides.

<sup>526</sup> See also fols. 8v, 17r, 24v, 32v and 48v for other catchwords.

<sup>527</sup> See similar transparent bath gowns on fols. 18r, 22r, 48r and 58r.

<sup>528</sup> See also red fruits in a dish on fols. 12v and 22r; white fruits in a dish on fols. 8r and 40v and round red sweets or fruits held in the hand on fols. 9r, 14v and 54v.

<sup>529</sup> For more on the identification of the portraits of Mayor Guillén de Guzmán and her daughter Beatriz, see this chapter's section titled "Mayor Guillén de Guzmán's Portraits."

his description agrees with mine.<sup>530</sup> Vázquez de Parga identifies the players on fol. 40v as Moors (1987: 22). I do not think that the lady has very black hair, as Vázquez de Parga describes, but rather that her head is covered with a black cloth as is the musician's in the miniature of another of Mayor's portraits, revealing chestnut hair on fol. 18r. She is shown here as quite the accomplished chess player, because in besting her male opponent in this game she is the only woman in the *LJ* to do so except for what is possibly a miniaturist's error on fol. 58v. Wollesen notes the realism of the "filmy negligées" here and on fol. 48r (205).

Keats's Figure 41, prints fol. 40v with the caption that rather than addressing the semi-nude state of the figures or their identity, focuses on the fringed piece bag hanging from the board as a Jewish signature owing to its similarity to the four-fringed Jewish prayer shawl or *tallit*.<sup>531</sup> I see the fringe or tassels on the bag for the chess pieces, but I cannot reconcile them with Keats's count. Perhaps the tally of "four fringes" is not to be taken literally, but I count three longer twin fringes from the bottom edge of the bag and two shorter singleton fringes from its bottom edges, totaling five. Keats's Figure 52b, with the same caption as 52a (see discussion of fol. 38r), shows three images, two of them identical and all previously revealed in figures 41, 42 and 52a. The first and third

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<sup>530</sup> "Esta miniatura es de explicacion delicada. Juegan al ajedrez dos personas, un anciano enteramente desnudo, pues una trasparente túnica pone de manifiesto todo su cuerpo, y su compañera, jóven y gruesa, enseña tambien sobradamente todo su cuerpo desnudo, al través de una sutilísima túnica. En el suelo hay una botella, una copa y un vaso" (Janer, "*Los Libros de ajedrez*" 246).

<sup>531</sup> Keats's caption: "Illustration in 'Alphonso X', *Libro del Acedrex, Dados y Tablas, 1283 AD*. Note. The concealed signature of the authors. These are apparent in the Hanging Tassels found under some illustrations. They illustrate the four fringes (arbah kanfot) which throughout the ages all religious Jews always wear on their Prayer Shawl (tallit) and garment. A quotation from the daily prayers: 'Speak unto them and bid them that they make them a fringe on their garments throughout their generations' (Numbers xv. 37-41). The Cynical Signatures are by the Jewish writers and translators of their essentially Arabic game book which any Jew would recognize" (1: 140).

are of the piece bag on fol. 38r and the middle piece bag is from fol. 40v (1: 180). Finally, Keats's Figure 55 again shows the same piece bag from fol. 40v, already seen in figures 41 and 52b, with a caption identifying it as a Jewish signature owing to its connection to the fringed prayer shawl.<sup>532</sup>

As with Beatriz' win on fol. 54r, Constable is again surprised by this win because she does not recognize Mayor or her pattern of chess prowess but rather reads her as a socially inferior player due to her clothing (341). This miniature is Constable's fig. 21.

See also the Appendix D4 for a comparison of the *LJ* portraits of Mayor Guillén de Guzmán and her daughter Beatriz.

### **2.7.81 Fol. 41r**

The sixty-sixth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 60 in a framework of three straight edges under an architectural framework of four horseshoe arches supported by gold columns. The illumination occupies roughly the upper third of the folio. Two Indian or Arabic men by their headwear<sup>533</sup>, seated on a long bench topped with embroidered cushions,<sup>534</sup> occupy the outer arches. The older grey-bearded man at left wears a grey loose-sleeved tunic, a red-lined grey *piel* or *manto*, black shoes and a curved and pointed red-and-gold hat.<sup>535</sup> His younger opponent, the player of white at right who wins this problem, has a brown beard and is similarly dressed in tan and green,

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<sup>532</sup> "Illustration in 'Alphonso X', *Libro del Acedrex, Dados y Tablas* (1283 AD). Detail of author's signature. The four fringes (*arbah kanfot*) which all religious Jews always and throughout the ages wear on their Prayer Shawl (*tallit*) and garment. (See figures 41, 42 and 52 a & b)" (Keats 1: 187).

<sup>533</sup> See Appendix D7: Jewish and Oriental Headwear.

<sup>534</sup> As with the embroidery on fol. 16r, these floriated crosses may be emblems of the Order of Calatrava but probably are not given that these men seem to be Easterners of some type due to their headwear. See similar embroidery on fols. 2v, 16r, 16v, 19r, 30v, 31r, 34v and 58v.

<sup>535</sup> See similar headwear on fols. 11v, 42r, 43v, 61v, 82v and 91v.

though his shoes cannot be seen. The winner holds a closed red book<sup>536</sup> in his right hand and gestures to it wisely with his left. A fringed, off-white piece bag hangs from the golden ring at the board's bottom edge.

Janer's description of the *LJ* groups together the sixty-sixth through the seventy-eighth miniatures, from fols. 41r to 47r (Problems 60 to 72) inclusive, noting that all the players are more or less dressed in Oriental fashion and some consult books.<sup>537</sup> Similarly, Steiger groups the miniatures of fols. 41v (sixty-seventh miniature, Problem 61), 44r (seventy-second miniature, Problem 66) and 45v (seventh-fifth miniature, Problem 69) together as uniformly having two players, some of which refer to books and which require no special statement.<sup>538</sup> Vázquez de Parga lists fols. 41r, 41v, 42v, 43v and 45v as showing books in their illuminations.<sup>539</sup>

I agree with Brunet y Bellet believes that the books shown as though being consulted by players offer evidence of the existence of other chess problem books and García Morencos who similarly sees these beautiful books in the miniatures as reproductions of the *LJ*'s oriental models and evidence of the same. While none of the texts of these books, when visible, shows easily recognizable words either in true Arabic or Castilian, the book on fol. 61v, which Vázquez de Parga does not mention, has a nine-squared diagram and possibly the letters QED (*quod erat demonstrandum*). This

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<sup>536</sup> See similar books on fols. 38r, 42v and 43v.

<sup>537</sup> "Colocamos reunidas estas miniaturas porque en todas ellas sólo aparecen jugadores con trajes más ó menos orientales, y no ofrecen más particularidad que tener algunos de ellos un libro en la mano, como de consulta, ya abierto, ya cerrado" (Janer, "*Los Libros de ajedrez*" 247).

<sup>538</sup> "bedürfen keiner besonderen Erklärung. Sie zeigen durchgängig zwei Spieler, ve? ... denen der eine oder andere sich in einem Buch informiert" (Steiger XX).

<sup>539</sup> Vázquez de Parga 1987: 22. I find the following eleven books shown in miniatures in the *LJ*: fols. 2r (two, both gold), 14r (Arabic script visible), 38r (open on easel), 41r (red with bosses), 41v (Arabic script visible), 42v (red with bosses), 43v (red with bosses), 45v (horizontal Arabic script visible), 60v (brown with bands) and 61v (miniature diagram visible).

chessboard in miniature, reduced in both size and quantity of squares, still has alternating black and white squares and seems to indicate that these are chess manuals or collections of *mansubat* that they players consult.

There is a small puncture in the lower right of this folio.<sup>540</sup>

### **2.7.82 Fol. 41v**

The sixty-seventh miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 61 in a framework of three straight edges and an upper border composed of five domes and four roof panels over a series of nine arches, alternating between small single horseshoe arches and tri-lobed ones mitered at the top. The illumination occupies roughly the upper third of the folio. Two long-haired, blond men sit on a long brick bench covered by a red-and-yellow striped cloth. The player of black at left, in a tan loose-sleeved tunic, blue *capa* fastened over one shoulder and tan squarish cap, wins this problem. He points at the threat to his king posed by the two white rooks. His opponent, in a blue wide-sleeved tunic, tan *manto* and gold-banded peaked cap, holds open a book in which we may discern a script similar to the Cufic script identifying as-Suli on fol. 17v but no one word is clearly legible; the writing in the book on fol. 45v may offer some clue in the future. His cap is similar to those worn by other Jews in the *LJ* but the gold band makes me think that he may not be a Jew. He appears to point at his opponent, as though having read that his text reveals the winner. The board's bottom edge has a golden ring but no piece bag hangs from it in this miniature.

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<sup>540</sup> See Excel file "*LJ* Manuscript Statistics," column "Wear and Tears."

See description of fol. 41r for the brief comments of Janer, Steiger, Vázquez de Parga (1987), Brunet y Bellet and García Morencos on the miniatures of fols. 41r through 47r.

### **2.7.83 Fol. 42r**

The sixty-eighth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 62 in a framework of three straight edges and an upper architectural border composed of four blue domes and five green-roofed short towers with arrow slits over a staggered series of four rounded arches. Another row of arches is staggered behind the first.<sup>541</sup> The illumination occupies roughly the upper third of the folio. There is a hole at the lower left of the folio and a tear to the upper right of the folio has been repaired by sewing.<sup>542</sup>

Two Oriental, perhaps Indian men, sit on a long bench of light blue tiles topped with red-and-white checked cushions. Both wear unusual curved and pointed hats with gold tassels or decorations up one side.<sup>543</sup> The grey-haired player of black at left, in the tan hat, tan loose-sleeved tunic which reveals black sleeves underneath, tan *capa* fastened over one shoulder and black shoes wins this problem. His opponent wears a blue hat, green loose-sleeved tunic, red-lined tan *capa* fastened over one shoulder and black shoes. A fringed and embroidered off-white piece bag hangs from the golden ring at the board's bottom edge. There is a tear in the top right of the folio that appears accidental.

Calvo identifies these men as Jews without explanation (1987: 130) though future identification of their hats, as noted above, may aid in determining their culture. See

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<sup>541</sup> Similar rows of arches are also seen on fols. 13v, 23v and 37v.

<sup>542</sup> See Excel file "*LJ* Manuscript Statistics," column "Wear and Tears."

<sup>543</sup> See Appendix D7: Jewish and Oriental Headwear and similar headwear on fols. 11v, 41r, 43v, 61v, 82v and 91v.

description of fol. 41r for the brief comments of Janer, Steiger, Vázquez de Parga (1987), Brunet y Bellet and García Morencos on the miniatures of fols. 41r through 47r.

### 2.7.84 Fol. 42v

The sixty-ninth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 63 in a framework of three straight edges and an upper border of a complex architectural theme. Two outer red domes over gold five-lobed arches frame four green towers which alternate with five tan minarets over a series of four triangular peaks containing gold tri-lobed arches. A fringed off-white piece bag hangs from the golden ring at the board's bottom edge. The illumination occupies roughly the upper third of the folio.

Two Arabs sit on brown chairs with plain white cushions beneath the outermost tri-lobed arches. The grey-bearded man at left wears a reddish turban, reddish loose-sleeved tunic or burnoose, white hose and curlicue black shoes.<sup>544</sup> He points to the white rooks which threaten his opponent's king. His younger opponent, the player of black seated on the right, wins this problem and is unfazed by the older man's gesture. He is dressed in a grey loose-sleeved tunic, white hose and similar black shoes. His long brown hair held back by a strip of cloth tied at his brow.<sup>545</sup> With his left hand the winner holds a red book, similar to those seen on fols. 38r, 41r and 43v, closed on his left knee.

Nordenfalk presents this miniature in his study and identifies both these Arabs as noblemen (35). Gareth Williams presents this miniature in his *Master Pieces: The Architecture of Chess*.<sup>546</sup>

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<sup>544</sup> See similar footwear on fols. 17v, 37v, 45r and 52v.

<sup>545</sup> See similar bandana style on fols. 18r, 22r, 48r, 52v and 54r.

<sup>546</sup> Gareth Williams, *Master Pieces: The Architecture of Chess* (New York: Penguin, 2000) 17.

See description of fol. 41r for the brief comments of Janer, Steiger, Vázquez de Parga (1987), Brunet y Bellet and García Morencos on the miniatures of fols. 41r through 47r. See also the accompanying CD-rom for the PowerPoint presentation entitled “The *LJ*’s Abu Naam Problems.”

### **2.7.85 Fol. 43r**

The seventieth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 64 with a straight bottom edge and complicated architectural framework whose three domes, like those on fol. 38v, show more depth and perspective than most *LJ* illuminations. At the far right is a horseshoe arched doorway with both wooden wings closed and whose metal fittings and doorknockers are similar to those seen on fol. 27r. The illumination occupies roughly the upper third of the folio. A fringed and embroidered, off-white piece bag hangs from the golden ring at the board’s bottom edge. While this bag looks empty, the smaller and plainer one above it appears cinched and full, perhaps containing the already captured pieces or perhaps the money for a bet.<sup>547</sup>

Two Arabs are seated on a brown bench with a white rung for resting feet. The winning player of black at left rests his feet on this rung and gazes dreamily upwards as though not paying attention to his opponent who sternly points out that the white king could lose in one move. The winner wears a grey *saya*, a green-lined reddish *manto* pulled up to drape over his head, reddish hose and black shoes; the loser wears a reddish loose-sleeved tunic and cap, green *manto* similarly pulled up and black shoes.

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<sup>547</sup> Compare this double bag also with that seen on fol. 73v.

See description of fol. 41r for the brief comments of Janer, Steiger, Vázquez de Parga (1987), Brunet y Bellet and García Morencos on the miniatures of fols. 41r through 47r. See also the accompanying CD-rom for the PowerPoint presentation entitled “The *LJ*’s Abu Naam Problems.”

### **2.7.86 Fol. 43v**

The seventy-first miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 65 in an architectural frame composed of a straight red bottom, mottled red column sides and a nine-towered roof over four twin sets of mitered arches. The inner arches are supported by mottled green columns. The illumination occupies roughly the upper third of the folio. A fringed and embroidered, nearly-white piece bag hangs from the golden ring at the board’s bottom edge.

Two Oriental men, perhaps Indians, again in the same curved and pointed hats with gold fringe,<sup>548</sup> sit on a long white, covered bench beneath the two outermost pairs of arches. Both also wear loose-sleeved tunics with wide swaths of gold at the collar, white hose and black shoes. The piece orientations of this diagram are reversed so that the winning player of black sits at left and wears a green tunic, red *manto* and green hat. The losing player of white seated on the right wears a blue tunic and reddish hat; he also holds a closed red book similar to those seen on fols. 38r, 41r and 42v.

Calvo identifies these men as Jews without explanation (1987: 130) but I am uncertain as to the origin of their headwear as noted above. It is tempting to suggest that this series of exotic men consulting books is perhaps an attempt to provide an historical

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<sup>548</sup> See Appendix D7: Jewish and Oriental Headwear and similar headwear on fols. 11v, 41r, 42r, 61v, 82v and 91v.

representation of specific problems from the past and that the players involved represent these historical figures. However, this is problematic because Calvo's research indicates that there are no known antecedents to the problems shown on fols. 41v, 42r, 44r, 44v, 45r.<sup>549</sup>

See description of fol. 41r for the brief comments of Janer, Steiger, Vázquez de Parga (1987), Brunet y Bellet and García Morencos on the miniatures of fols. 41r through 47r.

### **2.7.87 Fol. 44r**

The seventy-second miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 66 in an architectural frame consisting of a red bottom, black verticals and a top with a central dome separating the halves the title word and lower, roofed sides. The illumination occupies roughly the upper third of the folio. The board's bottom edge has a golden ring but no piece bag hangs from it in this miniature.

Under the dome and over the chessboard are small, twin five-lobed arches; two Arabs in red-peaked white turbans,<sup>550</sup> white hose and black shoes sit on a long brown, covered bench beneath the larger outer arches. The player at left wears a pink wide-sleeved tunic, while the winning player of black seated on the right wears a pale loose-sleeved blue one. Both tunics are trimmed in gold at the bottom edge of the sleeves, and the winner's tunic is also trimmed in gold at the collar. The tunic of the man at left bears a gold patch on the upper arm similar to that seen on fol. 17v but there is no name on this one and he is unlikely to be as-Suli given that he loses this problem.

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<sup>549</sup> See Excel file column titled "Calvo comments from solutions (168-235)."

<sup>550</sup> See also fols. 2r, 12r, 22r, 38r, 55v and 63r.

See description of fol. 41r for the brief comments of Janer, Steiger, Vázquez de Parga (1987), Brunet y Bellet and García Morencos on the miniatures of fols. 41r through 47r.

### **2.7.88 Fol. 44v**

The seventy-third miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 67 in an exotic architectural framework of domes and towers with four five-lobed arch windows over four larger five-lobed arches supported by alternating red and green columns. The illumination occupies roughly the upper third of the folio.

Two Arabs sit on a long green, covered bench beneath the outer two arches. The grey-bearded player at left wears a tan wide-sleeved tunic, black shoes, a transparent white scarf<sup>551</sup> and a white cloth wrapped over his head and around his neck. The younger player of white at right wins this problem; he has a brown beard, a reddish wide-sleeved tunic, transparent white scarf, white hose, black shoes and a green-peaked turban.

See description of fol. 41r for the brief comments of Janer, Steiger, Vázquez de Parga (1987), Brunet y Bellet and García Morencos on the miniatures of fols. 41r through 47r.

### **2.7.89 Fol. 45r**

The seventy-fourth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 68 in an architectural frame of red-and-white striped verticals and bottom edge, green squares in the bottom corners and top border of crenellated towers and latticework over four mitered tri-lobed arches, supported by green columns. The illumination occupies roughly the

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<sup>551</sup> See also the similar transparent scarves on Arabs and Christian clerics fols. 22r, 36v, 38v, 45r and 50r.

upper third of the folio. Some damage, seemingly accidental and not affecting any of the chess pieces for this problem, has been done to the lower left quadrant of the chessboard.<sup>552</sup>

Two Arabs sit beneath the outermost arches on a long bench with a tan covering. The piece orientations in this diagram are reversed so that the dark-haired and bearded player of white at left wins this problem. He wears a red-lined and wide-sleeved blue tunic, transparent white scarf,<sup>553</sup> white hose and black curly-toed shoes.<sup>554</sup> The loser at right wears a green wide-sleeved tunic decorated with the occasional pair of white stripes, a small hat over which his transparent white scarf has been pulled, white hose and black shoes with curled toes.

It is difficult to say precisely what the mark on the left player's forehead is. It may be inadvertent damage or it may be meant to mark him as the winner of the problem. There is also a similar mark on the player at left on fol. 44v but he loses that problem. The necessity of the nearly obliterated black rook at h2 for white to win this problem as described is noted in Chapter I, under the discussion of this Problem 68. I can suggest no reasonable explanation for these markings as I do not see that there are any clear motives behind them.

See description of fol. 41r for the brief comments of Janer, Steiger, Vázquez de Parga (1987), Brunet y Bellet and García Morencos on the miniatures of fols. 41r through 47r.

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<sup>552</sup> See Excel file "*LJ* Manuscript Statistics," column "Wear and Tears."

<sup>553</sup> See also the similar transparent scarves on Arabs and Christian clerics fols. 22r, 36v, 38v, 44v and 50r.

<sup>554</sup> See similar footwear on fols. 17v, 37v, 42v and 52v.

**2.7.90 Fol. 45v**

The seventy-fifth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 69 in a red-and-white striped rectangular frame with red and white squares at the corners. The illumination occupies roughly the upper third of the folio with four lines of the text of the solution above the miniature and the beginning of the next solution beneath it.

Two bearded Arabs sit on a long bench with a green covering. The piece orientations are reversed in this diagram, so that the winning player of black sits at right holding the book. He is older than his opponent and wears a green loose-sleeved tunic, a tan *capa* pulled up to cover his head and black shoes. He holds on his knees an open book with an Arabic inscription, from bottom to top from the perspective of the man holding the book, but which I cannot read although it appears it may begin with the name of as-Suli. Calvo notes that this problem was originally won by as-Suli in a blind game and I suspect that the miniature's book says something similar (1987: 216). This Arabic script may also hold a clue to deciphering similar writing in the miniature of fol. 41v. The losing player of white at left wears a tan loose-sleeved tunic, grey *capa* knotted over one shoulder, a flat style of white turban and black shoes; he points to his opponent with his right hand, but I do not understand the gesture he makes with his left hand. He appears to be signing the number two.

See description of fol. 41r for the brief comments of Janer, Steiger, Vázquez de Parga (1987), Brunet y Bellet and García Morencos on the miniatures of fols. 41r through 47r.

**2.7.91 Fol. 46r**

The seventy-sixth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 70 in a rectangular frame of red verticals and green horizontals. The illumination occupies roughly the upper third of the folio with two lines of the solution's text above it and the entire next solution beneath it.

Two Muslims or Jews sit on a long cream-colored, perhaps stone, bench with markings similar to arrow slits<sup>555</sup> and just barely covered with a white, ruffle-edged cloth. The longer-haired man at left wears a blue wide-sleeved tunic and his feet are covered by tan cloth. His opponent, the salt-and-pepper haired player of white at right, wins this problem and wears a tan wide-sleeved tunic with a grey cloth covering his feet.

See description of fol. 41r for the brief comments of Janer, Steiger, Vázquez de Parga (1987), Brunet y Bellet and García Morencos on the miniatures of fols. 41r through 47r.

**2.7.92 Fol. 46v**

The seventy-seventh miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 71 in an architectural framework of green-and-white striped vertical and bottom edges, and an irregular upper edge of three tiled roof segments over five-lobed arches and small domes over tri-lobed arches. These arches are supported by gilt columns and the two bearded, possibly Jewish players<sup>556</sup> sit on a long bench covered with a white cloth and occupy the two outer arches. The illumination covers roughly the upper third of the folio.

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<sup>555</sup> See other similar benches of fol. 57v and 74r.

<sup>556</sup> See Appendix D7: Jewish and Oriental Headwear.

The player at left wears a pale green, loose-sleeved tunic, reddish *manto*, white close-fitting and conical cap, red hose and black shoes. His opponent, the player of black seated on the right, wins this problem; he wears a very pale *saya*, reddish *manto* and cap and black shoes. While their caps seem to indicate that they are Jewish, the red color of some of their clothing seems to indicate otherwise since it was prohibited by law.<sup>557</sup>

See description of fol. 41r for the brief comments of Janer, Steiger, Vázquez de Parga (1987), Brunet y Bellet and García Morencos on the miniatures of fols. 41r through 47r.

In 1989, Afghanistan issued a series of chess-related stamps that included among others images, redrawings of the main players from the miniatures on the *LJ*'s fols. 20v, 32r and possibly 46v.<sup>558</sup>

### **2.7.93 Fol. 47r**

The seventy-eighth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 72 in an architectural framework of red-and-white striped verticals and bottom edge, and an irregular upper edge comprised of two outer red-tile roof segments over twin five-lobed arches above the bearded Muslim players and one central black-tiled segment over a large five-lobed arch above the board. The illumination occupies roughly the upper third of the folio.

Both Arabs are seated on a long, low bench covered with a grey cloth decorated with a pair of horizontal thin white stripes. The older white-haired player at left wears a

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<sup>557</sup> See above section titled “Scarlet Stockings and Gold Shoes” in this second chapter.

<sup>558</sup> “On February 2, 1989 Afghanistan issued seven chess stamps depicting” (Wall) “boards, early matches and hand-made chessmen” (Scott 242). *Scott 2006 Standard Postage Stamp Catalogue, 163<sup>rd</sup> ed.*, ed. James E. Kloetzel (Sidney, OH: Scott., 2005) 1: 242, Afghanistan: stamps 1330-36.

red, loose-sleeved tunic and cap similar to a beret<sup>559</sup> with a green cloak. The player of white at right wins this problem; he wears a red tunic whose wide sleeves reveal tight black sleeves beneath, and a purplish cap and greenish *capa con cuerda*.

See description of fol. 41r for the brief comments of Janer, Steiger, Vázquez de Parga (1987), Brunet y Bellet and García Morencos on the miniatures of fols. 41r through 47r.

### **2.7.94 Fol. 47v**

The seventy-ninth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 73 in an architectural framework consisting of a green bottom edge, green column sides and an irregular top border whose central dome divides the words of the folio's heading. Beneath the dome is a large five-lobed arch over the board and on either side of it are two smaller five-lobed arches. The illumination occupies roughly the upper third of the folio. Small ring designs decorate all four edges of the board, similar to those seen at the top and bottom of the board on fol. 12v. The large L which begins the text has some apparently accidental smearing damage.<sup>560</sup> A white, fringed piece bag hangs from the golden ring at the board's bottom edge.

This miniature, with its very personal portrait of King Alfonso, marks a change from the previous miniatures grouped together by Janer as generically Oriental. Likewise, it also marks a shift in the type of chess problem, from the Arabic style of the previous problems (1 through 72) to the group of original, European-style problems noted by Murray (1913: 73 through 87) which begin and end with portraits of the Wise King.

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<sup>559</sup> Berets appear on Christians and Muslims on fols. 6v, 25v, 31r, 47r, 58v and 97v.

<sup>560</sup> See Excel file "*LJ* Manuscript Statistics," column "Wear and Tears."

At left, King Alfonso in his brilliant red *brial*, trimmed in gold with loose-fitting removeable sleeves and tight-fitting red sleeves beneath, a red *manto* bordered with castles and lions that match those on his *birrete* and gold shoes, sits on the floor reclining<sup>561</sup> against a plain red pillow<sup>562</sup> in front of a green curtain with black detail. This curtain denotes his importance as does the curtain of the Indian king on fol. 2r. His female opponent, seated on the same red-and-white striped, zigzag-patterned blanket, has been the object of much speculation due to her lack of any identifying regalia but I believe that her face identifies her as Queen Violante dressed in an even more relaxed style here than her husband.<sup>563</sup> She wears a red *saya* under a green *capa* fastened at her neck and bordered in black and white bands. Her head is covered in a white cloth with a single red-stripe detail, fastened modestly under her chin. See the comments on her portraits in this chapter for further discussion of Violante's portrayal here.

Janer's description agrees with mine, even identifying Alfonso, except he is puzzled by the woman's identity precisely due to her non-iconographic presentation.<sup>564</sup> Brunet y Bellet is confused by the woman in this miniature because he cannot reconcile someone neither a queen or princess playing with the king (414). J. B. Sánchez Pérez,

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<sup>561</sup> See players reclining at left on fols. 22r, 47v and 58v; at right on: 55v; and both players on: 50v, 62v and 77r.

<sup>562</sup> See other similar red pillows on fols. 8v, 10r, 14r, 22r, 40v, 76r, 76v and 97v.

<sup>563</sup> For more on the identification of the portraits of Queen Violante, see this chapter's section titled "Queen Violante's Portraits."

<sup>564</sup> "Esta miniatura es de las más interesantes, porque es el mismo rey Don Alfonso el que se halla jugando al ajedrez, con una dama, que no es la reina, ni princesa siquiera de su real casa, pues no lleva en su traje signo alguno de nobleza ni de opulencia. Está sentada al uso oriental, envuelta en un albornoz verde ribeteado de cinta blanca con dados negros, y lleva en la cabeza una toca atada debajo de la barba, en términos que apenas deja ver un poco de su blanca garganta. El monarca de Castilla está sentado y reclinado sobre un almohadon encarnado, su túnica es de este color, y lo mismo su manto, adornado todo con franjas de oro y los escudos de Castilla y de Leon. Su calzado es dorado, y adorna su cabeza una especie de bonete con las armas de su régia estirpe. Detrás del rey hay una cortina corrida, de brocado verde, y sostenida á una barra por [surprise] siete anillas de metal blanco" (Janer, "Los Libros de ajedrez" 247).

identifying the king, states “en el 73, vuelve a retratar el pintor al Rey D. Alfonso jugando al Ajedrez, teniendo por contrincante a una dama” (1929: 10). It is significant that in this opponent J. B. Sánchez Pérez, unlike Janer, sees a *dama*, a lady or noblewoman, and not just any *mugier* or *mulhier*. Steiger agrees with Janer and notes that the curtain behind Alfonso is suspended by seven white-metal rings.<sup>565</sup> Nordenfalk notes their disparate social conditions while tentatively suggesting that the woman is the king’s morganatic wife (28).

Domínguez Rodríguez sees in fol. 47v the king in his same comfortable *birrete*<sup>566</sup> from the hunting episode of *Cantiga* 142 playing chess against a “joven dama de aspecto recatado y tierno; puede tratarse de un tardío homenaje al gran amor de su juventud, de la que tuvo un hijo anterior a su matrimonio, Doña Mayor Guillén de Guzmán” (“Libro de los juegos” 56). However, Alfonso is shown here as an older man with grey hair and the woman seems to be about his same age. She is well covered and even bundled in her clothing; such does not seem to be the homage to the great love of one’s life so much as the more sexy and revealing portrait on the following fol. 48r. In addition, her face is nearly identical to that of the crowned queen presented with Alfonso on fol. 54v, leaving no doubt that this is, indeed, Queen Violante. These two highly contrastive presentations

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<sup>565</sup> “Diese Miniatur ist äußerst interessant, da auf ihm Don Alfonso selbst beim Schachspiel mit einer Dame erscheint, die weder die Königin, noch eine Prinzessin des königlichen Hauses ist denn ihr Anzug zeigt keinerlei Merkmal von Adel oder Reichtum. Sie sitzt nach maurischer Art in einen grünen Burnus gehüllt, der mit einem schwarzweiß gemusterten Band umsäumt ist. Sie trägt eine Haube, die unter dem Kinn gebunden ist, so daß kaum ein Stückchen ihres Halses erscheint. Der Monarch sitzt zurückgelehnt auf einem roter Kissen. Seine Tunika und sein Umhang sind von gleicher Farbe. Alle seine Gewänder sind mit goldenen Fransen und den Schilden von Kastilien und Leon geschmückt. Sein Schuhwerk ist vergoldet und sein Haupt schmückt eine Kappe, die das Wappen des königlichen Hauses zeigt. Hinter dem König sieht man eine vorgezogene Gardine aus grünem Brokat, die mit sieben Weißmetallringen an einer Stange hängt” (Steiger XX-XXI).

<sup>566</sup> She calls it a *bonete* (Domínguez Rodríguez, “*Libro de los juegos*” 56).

of the king serve, as Domínguez Rodríguez indicates, to contrast the two facets of the king's life due in large part, I believe, to the two different women in his life.

Vázquez de Parga discusses the king's appearance in the miniatures of both fols. 47v and 48r. On the former, he notes Steiger's confusion since the woman with the king shows no marking of similarly high rank (1987: 22).

Fol. 47v's miniature also appears in black and white in *The Oxford Companion to Chess* to illustrate the entry titled "Alfonso manuscript."<sup>567</sup> The picture's caption correctly offers the original solution plus one of its own. Wollesen identifies this and the following miniature as portraits of Alfonso (295). This miniature is Constable's fig. 14.

See also the Appendices D1 and D2 for a comparison of the iconographic and semi-iconographic portraits of Alfonso in the *LJ* and the possible non-iconographic *LJ* portraits of Alfonso; as well as Appendix D3 for a comparison of the *LJ* portraits of Queen Violante.

### **2.7.95 Fol. 48r**

The eightieth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 74 with one of the most intriguing illuminations of the *LJ*. Within an architectural framework of a green bottom edge and different arches indicating the relative rank of those beneath them, are portraits of, from left to right: one of Alfonso's sons, possibly the crown prince Fernando de la Cerda or the illegitimate Martín Alfonso by Mayor, King Alfonso, his illegitimate

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<sup>567</sup> "One of the fine illustrations from the Alfonso MS. A conditional problem, Black to move and mate in three with the pawn on d4. Black has K on d3, R on f8, N on c4, firzān on d2, pawns on d4 and g3. White has K on d1, R on h1, fil on c1. Solution: 1 Kc3, fil or rook moves, 2 Nb2+ Ke2 3 d3 mate. 1 Nb2+ would be mate, but not by the pawn on d4" (*Oxford Companion to Chess* 11).

first child Beatriz and her mother Mayor Guillén de Guzmán.<sup>568</sup> They can be identified by their iconography, their clothing and whether or not their images have been defaced. This illumination occupies roughly the upper third of the folio and, like the miniatures of fols. 7r and 18r (the latter, like 48r, also depicts Mayor), is unusual because the board is set off somewhat to the right of the image rather than in the center.

The *infante* at far left under the first five-lobed arch is neither wearing Sancho's typical *birrete* nor has he been intentionally defaced.<sup>569</sup> These facts and his lower seating position relative to the ladies lead me to conclude that this is someone other than Sancho, perhaps Alfonso's favorite younger brother Manuel among many other possibilities. He wears a tan *saya*, green *manto* edged in black and white, red hose and black single-strap shoes. Alfonso's identification, under the second five-lobed arch, is also relatively easy for despite his lack of a crown his presentation is otherwise very iconographic. He does wear the *birrete*, here embroidered with castles and lions. His grey loose-sleeved *aljuba* has heraldic details at the neck and cuffs which match his grey *manto* with heraldic border.

Under the outermost two simple arches are two richly jeweled and made-up women in transparent *gilalas*<sup>570</sup> whose faces have been intentionally wet and smeared away. The woman at right has black, square embroidered details on the shoulders of her *gilala*. Both wear their hair held back with a single cloth tied across the brow,<sup>571</sup> and both

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<sup>568</sup> For more on the identification of the portraits of Mayor Guillén de Guzmán and her daughter Beatriz, see this chapter's section titled "Mayor Guillén de Guzmán's Portraits."

<sup>569</sup> For more on the *birrete* see this chapter's section titled "Sancho's *Birrete*" and Appendix D6.

<sup>570</sup> See similar transparent bath gowns on fols. 18r, 22r, 40v and 58r.

<sup>571</sup> See similar bandanna on fols. 18r, 22r, 42v, 52v and 54r.

have cast off their beautiful wooden sandals or *yankas*,<sup>572</sup> their hands and feet are dyed with henna<sup>573</sup> or bear red nail polish. For more on their identification, see the first part of this chapter devoted to the portraiture of Mayor and Beatriz.

The player of white at left, Beatriz guided by Alfonso, wins this game meaning that the chess problem itself is also unusual in that it is the only one which shows Mayor losing a game of chess. It is interesting to compare the composition of this miniature with that of as-Suli on fol. 17v. The arrangement of the players is similar and the winner is the player closer to the enthroned advisor at left. Also, like the pair of miniatures on facing pages fols. 17v and 18r, Alfonso has intentionally paired a portrait of an important personage, either as-Suli or himself, with a portrait of Mayor.

Given the reverence shown by Alfonso for Mayor's portrait on fol. 18r and in preserving her body even after her death,<sup>574</sup> I doubt he would have defaced her portrait in this spiteful manner as I suspect he did the portraits of Sancho. Though Janer suggests that the offensive nature of the nudity provoked this censure, an attitude reflecting the more modest epoch in which he lived and which may indeed have found the woman's bodies shocking, this was certainly not the reason for their disfigurement. It appears instead that whoever defaced these images deliberately did just that, removed their faces, targeting not their nakedness but their identity. In this light, the damage seems likely to have been done by someone jealous of the woman and Alfonso's true first-born child and therefore making Queen Violante the most likely candidate.

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<sup>572</sup> Compare also with those seen on fols. 18r and 22r.

<sup>573</sup> See other henna-dyed extremities on fols. 18r and 54r.

<sup>574</sup> See previous section titled "Mayor Guillén de Guzmán's Portraits" in this second chapter and Félix Pérez Algar's *Alfonso X, el Sabio* (Madrid: Studium Generalis, 1997).

Janer's description mostly agrees with mine, though it disturbs his Victorian-era sensibilities that a king would deign to have himself painted in the company of such women.<sup>575</sup> Considering that they are his family, this is much less shocking today. Brunet y Bellet likens the exotic presentation of these women to that of women and goddesses in ancient Egypt (414). J. B. Sánchez Pérez also identifies Alfonso as the spectator of a game between two ladies—and it is significant that he calls them ladies and not just woman.<sup>576</sup> Nordenfalk presents this miniature which he says shows the “king acting as adviser in a game of chess between two ladies of his harem” (29). Calvo suggests that this miniature may portray Sancho (1987: 130). While I concede it is a possibility, I tend to disagree for the reasons stated above.

Domínguez Rodríguez contrasts this miniature with the previous image of the monarch and Violante on fol. 47v, where this one represents the other side of the king's personal life: Doña Mayor and their child Beatriz Alfonso. However, she strangely

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<sup>575</sup> “Tambien en esta miniatura es el mismo rey Don Alfonso *el Sabio*, autor de este códice, el que se halla jugando al ajedrez, ó mejor dicho, dirigiendo á las personas que juegan, ó acaso solamente viéndolas jugar. Son éstas dos mujeres casi enteramente desnudas, puesto que todos sus miembros se ven perfectamente á través de la gasa de que están hechas sus túnicas. Sus piés están sin calzado, que lo tienen arrimado cerca, y departen con toda formalidad con el rey, que parece no escandalizarse lo más mínimo con su completa desnudez. Como las moras honradas no podian presentarse en sociedad, por estar encerradas en lo interior de sus habitaciones, acaso ambas mujeres eran desenvueltas truanas moriscas ó mudejares, hábiles en el ajedrez, á quien el rey quisiese consultar para la mejor perfeccion de su libro de juegos, ó quisiese instruir para que popularizasen semejante entretenimiento. Cuando Don Alfonso permitió que sus miniaturistas le pintasen en compañía de tan garridas hembras, es indudable que no creia pudiese hacer desmerecer su reputacion de hombre sério, austero y honrado. Nos es difícil hoy comprender y admitir costumbres, que eran corrientes y admitidas en otros siglos. El nuestro, que es de sobre despreocupado y desenvuelto, no toleraria que al acabar de bailar diesen los caballeros un beso á las damas, como sucedia en el siglo XV. Hoy ponen éstas de manifiesto sus blancas espaldas y se dejaban descubiertos los pechos.—Don Alfonso está sentado en asiento más elevado que los otros, su túnica y su manto están adornados con franjas en que alternan los leones sobre fondo blanco, y los castillos sobre fondo rojo. Su gorra tiene tambien las armas de Castilla.—Á su lado está sentado á la usanza oriental un secretario, ó acado jugador experimentado al ajedrez, para que resuelva al monarca las dudas que se fueren ofreciendo.—La cortina que el rey tiene detrás, es de brocado amarillo, con anillas de metal blanco” (Janer, “*Los Libros de ajedrez*” 247).

<sup>576</sup> “ [...] en la pintura que adorna el problema 74, se ve otra vez a D. Alfonso, pero como espectador, atendiendo al juego que llevan dos damas” (J. B. Sánchez Pérez 1929: 10).

perpetuates Janer's belief that the intentional damage to this miniature is due to censoring of the ladies's bare breasts.

[...] censores posteriores han frotado los escotes de las señoras y el resultado es aún más equívoco pues parece como si Don Alfonso hubiera sido pintado tocando los senos de la jugadora de su lado ("Libro de los juegos" 56)

However the breasts are still clearly visible as are other private parts of the women's bodies. The goal was not to expunge their breasts but their faces. Who would have spat upon these images and defaced them? Perhaps a jealous wife? Or legitimate child jealous of the favor granted to the "other" family? We cannot know for certain but it is interesting to note that the wet, smearing done to this folio is different from the abrasive defacing done to Prince Sancho's portraits.

Vázquez de Parga discusses the king's appearance in the miniatures of both fols. 47v and 48r. He identifies the younger man at left as a prince and says behind him there is a servant (1987: 22).

Wollesen uses an image of this miniature in his article, correctly identifying first Alfonso, here and in the previous miniature and, second, almost correctly identifying both the women as his courtesans in their "see-through robes" who entertain the king.<sup>577</sup> He notes the realism of the "filmy negligées" (205) here and on fol. 40v, comparing this image to a photograph (Wollesen 289, fig. 11) by Julian Wasser of Marcel Duchamp, an artist as well as "a distinguished chess player and composer of chess books and chess

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<sup>577</sup> Wollesen 295 and the caption "9. Madrid, Real Bibl. del Escorial, j.T.6. fol.; fol. 48r, Alfonso el Sabio playing chess with his courtesans" (286).

problems” (Wollesen 295) playing chess with a nude woman “during his exhibition opening in the Pasadena Art Museum in 1963” (Wollesen 295).

Constable, who uses this miniature as her fig. 16, fails to consider it in the context of the Alfonso’s very large miniature production, which is so rich in down-to-earth examples of the realities of the physical act of love and honest presentation of sexual details. (Such examples include but are not limited to the following: *Cantigas* 17, panel 1; 42, panel 5, 115A, panel 1; 135B, panel 6; and even 7, panel 6; and 105A, panel 5.) Removed from this context, Constable fails to understand this image and concludes that it must therefore be “a joke, to amuse a courtly audience familiar with chess, prince Sancho, and youthful royal sexuality” (338). She suggests the throned personage here to be a young, unshaven rebel Sancho directing the chess game between two highly-sexualized concubines and finds this miniature’s “bawdy sensibility” to be “almost comic in its sly and disrespectful details” (Constable 338). However, I feel she errs on this point just as in her identification of these women and other unspecified women as examples of the many Muslim slaves portrayed in the *LJ* (Constable 345). See also the Appendices D1 and D2 for a comparison of the iconographic and semi-iconographic portraits of Alfonso in the *LJ* and the possible non-iconographic *LJ* portraits of Alfonso; as well as Appendix D4 for a comparison of the *LJ* portraits of Mayor Guillén de Guzmán and her daughter Beatriz.

### **2.7.96 Fol. 48v**

The eighty-first miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 75 in architectural framework supported by four slender gold columns. Beneath the five

segments of the roof, two men are seated on a long green bench beneath the central trio of larger tri-lobed arches. On either side of them, between the columns, are smaller single tri-lobed arches. At the bottom of this folio is a cut off Roman numeral, likely the quire signaturd “.vi.” marking the end of the fifth gathering.<sup>578</sup>

The younger, beardless player of black at left wins this problem. He wears black shoes, a yellow sleeveless *saya* over another blue one with long, many-buttoned sleeves, an opaque white *cofia* under his pointy red, folded-brim hat or hat combined with a crown<sup>579</sup> and seems like he might be a young Indian or a young Christian dressed up as an Indian. His older, long-bearded and long-haired perhaps Indian opponent wears a similar costume, a green sleeveless *saya* over a red many-buttoned one. The illumination occupies roughly the upper third of the folio.

Janer’s description agrees with mine.<sup>580</sup>

Another intercultural game is seen in *British Library Images Online*’s image of “Shams-i Tabriz (d.1247) playing chess with a Christian. A miniature painting from a sixteenth century manuscript of *Majalis al-’ushshaq* (‘The Assemblies of the Lovers’).” From the *Majalis al-’ushshaq* by Kamal al-Din Husayn Gazurgahi, produced in Shiraz, Iran, c. 1560, in Persian. Record number 17248, Shelfmark Or. 11837, fol. 97 shows a realistic position of red and black pieces upon an uncheckered board.

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<sup>578</sup> See also fols. 8v, 17r, 24v, 32v and 40v for other catchwords.

<sup>579</sup> This headwear is seen also on fol. 52r.

<sup>580</sup> “Juegan al ajedrez dos personajes, el uno con barba y cabellera larguísima, y los dos llevan gruesos botones redondos en las mangas. Sus sombreros son puntiagudos y parecen caprichosos” (Janer, “*Los Libros de ajedrez*” 247).

**2.7.97 Fol. 49r**

The eighty-second miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 76 in an architectural framework of a green bottom edge, green column sides and an irregular upper border of seven small, crenellated towers between red-tile roof segments. Between and beneath the seven towers are six tri-lobed mitered arches which house the two male players seated on a long yellow bench covered with a green cloth. The illumination occupies roughly the upper third of the folio.

The player of black at left wins this problem; he wears a belted red split *saya*, black hose, black shoes and an opaque white *cofia* under a green-brimmed red *capelo agudo* or Robin Hood-style woodsman hat that has a long point in the front.<sup>581</sup> His opponent, at right, is similarly clad with a similar brown hat and a grey, fur-collared *pellote* fastened over one shoulder. The loser may either be pointing at his opponent indicating he is to win this game, or more likely, pointing at his own fil (bishop) that threatens to discover checkmate to the winner's king in one move.<sup>582</sup>

Janer's description agrees with mine.<sup>583</sup>

**2.7.98 Fol. 49v**

The eighty-third miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 77 in an architectural framework of four tri-lobed arches over a female pilgrim and quite possibly

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<sup>581</sup> These hats may be another type of hats worn by pilgrims. Cf. Keller and Cash pl. 45 of *Cantiga* 175A, panel 4.

<sup>582</sup> Calvo merely notes his pointing finger.

<sup>583</sup> "Dos caballeros jugando al ajedrez, el uno con capa con valona y un chapeo morado con adornos que caen sobre la espalda, y el otro con chapeo rojo, forrado de verde. Debajo llevan ambos pequeñas cofias de lienzo blanco" (Janer, "*Los Libros de ajedrez*" 247).

Queen Violante<sup>584</sup> on a long, green-covered bench. The player of white at right, that is quite naturally the queen, wins this problem. Under her identifying hat,<sup>585</sup> the pilgrim wears her blonde hair in a long braid over her simple tan *saya* and *tabardo* or *esclavina*.<sup>586</sup> Violante's tan *saya* is nearly completely obscured by her rich, reddish *manto* trimmed in ermine at the collar and edge. She wears not a crown but two crossed bands, similar to those seen on fol. 35v, with a transparent veil.<sup>587</sup> For more on her identification, see the section on her portraiture earlier in this chapter. The illumination occupies roughly the upper third of the folio.

Janer's description agrees with mine though he does not correctly identify the loser's hat marking her as a pilgrim or the identity of the ermine-wearing Violante.<sup>588</sup> Steiger echoes Janer.<sup>589</sup> Vázquez de Parga does not recognize the distinctive hat or suspect the queen's identity either.<sup>590</sup> See also "An Orphaned Miniature of *Cantiga* 235 from the Florentine Codex" by Richard P. Kinkade and John E. Keller (1998) on Alfonso as a pilgrim in a similar gold filigree hat.

See also Appendix D3 for a comparison of the *LJ* portraits of Queen Violante.

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<sup>584</sup> The woman on the right seems to be royalty because the cloak her bordered in ermine. This may be Violante, the nose certainly seems like hers, but I am less certain about this portrait than about others. For more on the identification of the portraits of Queen Violante, see this chapter's section titled "Queen Violante's Portraits."

<sup>585</sup> See other pilgrims' hats on fols. 9r and 63r.

<sup>586</sup> Keller and Cash 18 and pl. 30.

<sup>587</sup> See other similar transparent veils on fols. 16r, 40r, 54v and 58v.

<sup>588</sup> "Son dos damas las que juegan al ajedrez, la una con trenzas rubias y una especie de sombrero bajo ó *pastora* en la cabeza, y la otra con un velo. Esta última lleva su manto forrado de armiños blancos" (Janer, "Los Libros de ajedrez" 248).

<sup>589</sup> "Zwei Damen beim Schachspiel. Die eine hat blonde Zöpfe [sic] und trägt einen Schäferinnenhut. Die andere trägt einen Schleier, und ihr Mantel ist mit wiessem Hermelin gefüttert" (Steiger XXI).

<sup>590</sup> "sombrero de copa baja y anchas alas, la otra una cofia transparente" (Vázquez de Parga 1987: 22).

**2.7.99 Fol. 50r**

The eighty-fourth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 78 in an architectural framework of a red-shaded bottom, green column sides and a tiled roof topped with three double-handled urns surround the words of the folio's heading. The illumination occupies roughly the upper third of the folio.

Beneath the roof are four five-lobed arches over the two Christian male players on a long red-covered bench who appear, rather than tonsured, to have closely-shorn hairstyles similar to the modern crew cut. The player of white at left, who wins this game, wears a light loose-sleeved blue tunic trimmed in red, black tight sleeved underneath, black hose, black shoes and a transparent scarf.<sup>591</sup> His opponent wears a similar tunic, pale red bordered in gold, black hose, black shoes and a transparent scarf also.

Janer's description agrees with mine, not mentioning their transparent garments but still suspecting their clerical status due to their haircuts.<sup>592</sup>

**2.7.100 Fol. 50v**

The eighty-fifth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 79 in a rectangular frame with shaded red verticals and shaded green horizontals. Both relatively small male players, in unusual black bell-shaped hats and opaque white *cofias* over their long blond hair, recline in reverse seating positions on the floor like Arabs<sup>593</sup> although the chess problem shown is very European in nature. The illumination occupies roughly the

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<sup>591</sup> See also the similar transparent scarves on Arabs and Christian clerics fols. 22r, 36v, 38v, 44v and 45r. Transparent *sobretúnicas* worn by clerics on fols. 12v, 33v and 55r.

<sup>592</sup> “Juegan al ajedrez dos hombres con túnicas largas, pero su peinado hacer suponer que sean frailes. Uno lleva las bocamangas doradas, y el otro encarnadas” (Janer, “*Los Libros de ajedrez*” 248).

<sup>593</sup> See players reclining at left on fols. 22r, 47v and 58v; at right on: 55v; and both players on: 50v, 62v and 77r.

upper third of the folio with three lines of text from the solution above the miniature and the next problem's solution beneath it. The bearded player of black seated on the right wins this game, even though the players's pointing fingers seem to indicate the reverse with the smooth-faced loser pointing at the text above and the winner pointing at the loser.<sup>594</sup> The loser at left wears a grey *saya*, a short brown *capa* and black shoes. The winner, at right, wears a similar costume of a brown *saya*, grey *capa* and black shoes.

Janer's description agrees with mine.<sup>595</sup> Brunet y Bellet comments on the exotic foreign headwear shown here and on fol. 51v (414). Vázquez de Parga similarly describes the two reclining players on fol. 50v as wearing *mantos* and "extraños tocados negros" (1987: 22). He notes their posture which is seen with slight variations several times in the *LJ* as noted above; the blond on the left with his back towards us turns his head towards his opponent. Though their reclining positions are similar to those adopted by other players in the *LJ*, the comically turned-out positions of the feet of the winner are unusual. Keats's Figure 58 shows a detail of fol. 50v, Problem 79, and here, when Keats has finally paired a miniature with its own problem, he says that the two are unrelated.<sup>596</sup> His caption reads merely: "Thoughtful figures from 'Alfonso' manuscript" (Keats 1: 194).

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<sup>594</sup> Calvo notes the pointing fingers.

<sup>595</sup> "Los trajes de estos jugadores son raros. Encima de sus túnicas una capita corta, sostienen sus bucles con una cofia blanca, y encima llea sombreros negros de fieltro de extraña forma" (248).

<sup>596</sup> "unrelated to the Board illustrated below" (Keats 1: 194). Keats's mismatched figures include the miniature for Problem 42 (fol. 31v; Keats 1: 190, fig. 56) before Problem 43 and the miniature for Problem 103 (fol. 64r; Keats 1: 192, fig. 57) before Problem 76.

**2.7.101 Fol. 51r**

The eighty-sixth miniature illustrates the opening position of the European-style Problem 80 in an architectural framework of a green bottom edge, column sides and an upper border of three green-tile roof segments over six five-lobed arches. The two bare-headed and short-haired Semitic or European men sit on a long brick bench covered with a striped cloth, of solid red stripes alternating with green stripes detailed in smaller black and white stripes. Both barefoot players wear tan leggings under short, full and split *sayas*. The player at left, shown with a very realistic and distinctive profile, wears blue lined in red; while his opponent, the winning player of black at right and whose face has been intentionally scraped away, wears light red lined with green. This illumination occupies roughly the upper third of the folio.

I feel that these two barefooted men must represent portraits of known individuals firstly because of the defacing mentioned. There would be no need to deface a portrait of a generic type. Secondly, the profile of the man on the left is so finely drawn and so unique with its sloping brow and sharp chin, that it must be drawn to life from a particular person.

The only other known male systematically defaced in the *LJ* is Sancho but this portrait does not bear any heraldic insignia or Sancho's customary *birrete* leaving me puzzled as to his identity.<sup>597</sup> Given that the abrading, however, is of the same dry and scraped kind employed on the portraits of Sancho, I believe this violence likely also to have been executed by Alfonso for some similar betrayal. Perhaps it is Alfonso's

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<sup>597</sup> For more on the *birrete* see this chapter's section titled "Sancho's *Birrete*" and Appendix D6.

youngest and favorite brother, Manuel, who in the end also sided with Sancho against him or someone else who may have betrayed him.

Janer's description agrees with mine, without mentioning the mutilation, though he feels that the bare feet of these players indicates their poverty rather than their comfort.<sup>598</sup> Vázquez de Parga notes the intentional damage to the figure on the right of fol. 51r's miniature (1987: 23).

### **2.7.102 Fol. 51v**

The eighty-seventh miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 81 in an architectural framework of a red bottom edge, column sides and an irregular upper border of five crenellated towers and four green domes over four mitered arches. The illumination occupies roughly the upper third of the folio.

Two bearded players in the black bell-shaped hats over opaque white *cofias*, seen also on fol. 50v, sit on a long white brick bench covered with a green cloth. Both players wear black hose, black shoes and fur *tabardos*, the left a darker brown than the one on the right. The brown-haired player of black seated on the right wins this game; he points to one of his four promoted pawns which begins this problem's solution. The smearing to the player at right appears to be accidental.<sup>599</sup>

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<sup>598</sup> "Si bien la habitacion y los bancos en que están sentados los dos jugadores que se ven en esta miniatura, son de lujo, ellos van vestidos pobrememente, llevan los piés desnudos, y tienen puestos pantalones de color claro, estrechoes como los que hoy se usan, que les llegan al tobillo" (248).

<sup>599</sup> See Excel file "*LJ* Manuscript Statistics," column "Wear and Tears."

Janer's description agrees with mine.<sup>600</sup> Brunet y Bellet comments on the exotic foreign headwear shown here and on fol. 50v (414). Vázquez de Parga also recognizes the same tall, black hats (1987: 22).

### 2.7.103 Fol. 52r

The eighty-eighth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 82 in an architectural framework of a green and black bottom edge, mottled red column sides and an irregular upper border of small triangular towers and six roofed areas over six five-lobed mitered arches. The illumination occupies roughly the upper third of the folio.

Both male players, apparently dressed for battle and possibly Indian, sit on a long bench whose right side is marked like brick but whose left side remains unfinished. Their clothing consists of a pointed hat with either a royal crown or a folded and notched brim,<sup>601</sup> a long-sleeved and long-skirted padded or pleated garment over black shoes and a long curved sword or scimitar in a scabbard. The player of black at left, dressed in grey with shorter hair and a trim beard, wins this problem against his opponent dressed in white marked with red whose hair flows down his back in large curls.

Janer's description agrees mostly with mine.<sup>602</sup> However, given the dedication to represent faithfully so many different types of details, from animals to human expression, I find his last assertion of fanciful clothing unlikely. Cloth is often too fragile to survive

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<sup>600</sup> "Aquí se repiten las cofias blancas sosteniendo los bucles de las cabelleras, y los sombreros raros del núm. 85 [fol. 50v], pero los jugadores están sentados sobre bancos cubiertos de tela verde, y vestidos con túnicas de color leonado, imitando tejido de pieles" (248).

<sup>601</sup> See also on fol. 48v.

<sup>602</sup> "Los trajes de los dos personajes que se hallan aquí jugando al ajedrez, llevando cada uno su corvo sable, son bastante raros. Tienen con muchos pliegues la parte inferior de las túnicas y de las mangas. Los sombreros son puntiagudos, de la forma de los del núm. 81 [fol. 48v]. Muchas veces los miniaturistas, en el afán de presentar variedad, dibujaran algunos trajes y sombreros de gentes extranjeras que no habrían nunca visto, y por lo mismo debía entrar en sus miniaturas mucho de ideal ó caprichoso" (248).

from the thirteenth century, but simply because no evidence of these clothes remains does not mean that they never existed. Vázquez de Parga, who follows Bernis Madrazo, identifies the two as blond *moriscos* on fol. 52r<sup>603</sup> by their curly-toed shoes and outfits made of strips of cloth, like those in the next miniature, also noting their scimitars and *cofias transparentes* that fall down their backs (1987: 23).

### 2.7.104 Fol. 52v

The eighty-ninth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 83 in a rectangular frame of shaded red verticals and shaded green horizontals. In the frame's corners are quatrefoil escutcheons with points in the corners of gold castles on red fields (upper left and lower right) and black rampant lions on white fields (upper right and lower left). Fol. 52v marks the third *LJ* miniature with heraldic corners and the first of three such miniatures in a row. The illumination occupies roughly the upper third of the folio. An off-white, embroidered piece bag hangs from the golden ring at the board's bottom edge.

The two men playing this game, seated on a long brick bench, wear their hair tied back by a strip of opaque white cloth around their brow,<sup>604</sup> black hose, black curly-toed shoes<sup>605</sup> and a white *saya* under a sleeveless *saya* composed of long vertical strips of material,<sup>606</sup> like those in the previous miniature. The *saya* of the player at left is striped vertically in red and blue; his smooth-faced profile resembles that of the man seen at left

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<sup>603</sup> Vázquez de Parga incorrectly calls it 52v but the second half of his paragraph indicates that this is a typographical error.

<sup>604</sup> See similar bandannas on fols. 18r, 22r, 42v, 48r and 54r.

<sup>605</sup> See similar footwear on fols. 17v, 37v, 42v and 45r.

<sup>606</sup> Herrero Carretero shows the pellote of Enrique I, King of Castile (1203-17), with its bottom edge of strips (68).

on fol. 51r. His bearded opponent, the player of white at right, wears a solid, lighter shade of red and wins this problem.

Janer's description agrees with mine.<sup>607</sup> Steiger follows Janer.<sup>608</sup> Bernis Madrazo uses the man on the left of fol. 52v in illustration no. 75 on *lámina* 19. She describes his clothing as "*Saya de girones; tocado y calzado moriscos.*"

### 2.7.105 Fol. 53r

The ninetieth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 84 in a rectangular frame of shaded green verticals and shaded blue horizontals. In the frame's corners are quatrefoil escutcheons with points in the corners of gold castles on red fields (upper left and lower right) and red rampant lions on white fields (upper right and lower left). Fol. 53r marks the second of three miniatures in a row which have Castile and León's escutcheons in the corners. The illumination occupies roughly the upper third of the folio. An off-white, embroidered piece bag hangs from the golden ring at the board's bottom edge.

Two men play this problem while seated on a long, carved marble bench. The man at left wears a squarish red hat with a grey top, an opaque white *cofia*, a tan *saya* revealing blue cuffs underneath it, a green *capa* fastened over one shoulder and black shoes. He has black or grey hair, a trim and pointed beard and a Semitic profile.<sup>609</sup> The blond apparently Christian player of white at right, the winner of this problem, wears a

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<sup>607</sup> "La forma de las túnicas de los dos jugadores de esta miniatura, es distinta de las hasta aquí dibujadas. Su calzado es negro, y termina en punta doblada hácia dentro en forma de caracol. En los cuatro ángulos del cuadro están los leones castillos" (248).

<sup>608</sup> "Die Tunikaform der beiden Spieler dieser Miniatur ist verschieden von den bisher abgebildeten. Ihr Schuhwerk ist schwarz und endet in einer schneckenförmig nach innen gebogenen Spitze, Die vier Ecken des Bildes zeigen Löwen und Burgen" (XXI).

<sup>609</sup> See also fol. 60v, 70r and 88v for a similar man.

similar outfit but with different color combinations. His hat has a thick fur brim with a red top, a green *saya* revealing red cuffs underneath, a long tan sleeveless *saya* and black shoes.

Janer's description agrees with mine, except for saying that this is the first such single-stone bench.<sup>610</sup> Vázquez de Parga merely notes that the players in round caps on fol. 53r sit on a bench (1987: 23).

### 2.7.106 Fol. 53v

The ninety-first miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 85 in a red and white rectangular frame which occupies roughly the upper third of the folio. In the frame's corners are simple gold-lobed quatrefoil escutcheons with gold castles on red backgrounds (upper left and lower right) and red rampant lions on white fields (upper right and lower left). Fol. 53v marks the third of three miniatures in a row which have Castile and León's escutcheons in the corners. The illumination occupies roughly the upper third of the folio. An off-white, embroidered piece bag hangs from the golden ring at the board's bottom edge.<sup>611</sup>

On a long bench covered with a dark striped cloth of reds and greens are two older women whose heads are completely covered by flat sorts of turbans and wimples

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<sup>610</sup> Cf. similar benches on fols. 14v and 21v. "No tanto llaman la atención los trajes, cofias y bonetes de los dos jugadores de esta suerte, de los cuales la nariz aguileña del uno demuestra ser judío, como el banco en que están sentados. Hasta aquí los jugadores todos estaban sentados á la usanza oriental, sobre bancos de madera cubiertos de ricas telas, ó sobre cojines y almohadones. El banco es aquí uno solo, largo, y al parecer de piedra, con un feston de hojas en relieve. También, como el anterior, tiene el cuadro leones y castillos en sus ángulos" (248).

<sup>611</sup> Although two more boards have golden rings for them (fols. 54v and 63r), this is the final piece bag seen in the "Libro del acedrex." Piece bags reappear in the "Libro de las tablas" (fols. 73r and 73v), the game *el mundo* (fol. 89v) and the "Libro del alquerque" (fols. 91v and 92r).

which cover their necks.<sup>612</sup> The player of white at left, in a long green *saya* revealing red cuffs, wins this game against her opponent in a light red wide-sleeved tunic revealing green sleeves. The loser appears to point in resigned defeat at her sole remaining piece, a blocked pawn. At the feet of the loser are a yellow gourd-shaped pitcher, somewhat transparent from wear, and a ruddy scalloped-edge dish. Although the heraldic corners indicate that these are Castilians of some importance, I am at a loss to suggest who they might be. Their wimples suggest to me that they might be Christians but beyond this their identity is still a puzzle.

Janer's description agrees with mine.<sup>613</sup> Vázquez de Parga (1987) describes the women who play on fols. 53v and 54r saying that the first pair wears *tocas* which cover their shoulders and that the woman on the left is shown in profile. He does not note their advanced age or the fact that this illumination has castle- and lion-escutcheons in the corners of its framework, meaning that these women were probably significant to Alfonso.

### 2.7.107 Fol. 54r

The ninety-second miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 86 in a shaded and white-dotted rectangular frame of red verticals and green horizontals. Here two maidens, one dressed *a la mora*, sit on a long bench covered with an orange cloth. The player of white at left wins this game; she wears a black cloth over her head with a

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<sup>612</sup> See also *LJ* fol. 35r and Keller and Cash's pl. 17 which shows other old women in very similar headgear from *Cantiga* 147.

<sup>613</sup> "Son dueñas con blancas tocas que sólo dejan descubierto el rostro, las que aquí juegan al ajedrez. La más anciana tiene sobre su asiento un plato morisco de loza encarnada, y en el suelo una cántara. También adornan los cuatro ángulos de la miniatura, los leones y castillos" (249).

single strip of cloth tied around her brow,<sup>614</sup> an opaque wide-sleeved and short tunic, ruffled leggings,<sup>615</sup> gold bangle bracelets, similar necklace, henna-painted hands<sup>616</sup> and bare feet. Her opponent is dressed in more typically Spanish dress of black-and-white trimmed red *saya encordada* whose long blue skirt covers her feet. The illumination occupies roughly the middle third of the folio.

I believe the maiden at left, whose portrayal strongly resembles other images in the *LJ* that I have previously identified with Mayor Guillén de Guzmán, to be the first daughter of Mayor and Alfonso, Beatriz Alfonso.<sup>617</sup> She looks like her mother and favors the same Moorish style of adornment but is here presented clothed in a more modest manner, more befitting a daughter than a lover. Her appearance with another maiden of roughly her same age who resembles the princess in fol. 54v leads one to wonder if this is not a representation of two of Alfonso's daughters, by different mothers, shown playing chess together.

Janer's description mistakes Beatriz for a young Moorish girl due to her dress as he does the other similarly-dressed ladies in the *LJ* he mentions.<sup>618</sup> Steiger echoes Janer.<sup>619</sup> Grunfeld uses a column of five different, smaller, color images from the *LJ* to "depict a cross section of players at [Alfonso's] court," according to his caption which

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<sup>614</sup> See similar bandannas on fols. 18r, 22r, 42v, 48r and 52v.

<sup>615</sup> See similar leggings on fols. 22r and 58r.

<sup>616</sup> See other henna-dyed extremities on fols. 18r and 54r.

<sup>617</sup> Beatriz is also seen in similar dress on fols. 18r and 48r. See previous section titled "Beatriz Alfonso's Portraits" in this second chapter.

<sup>618</sup> "En este juego se divierten una dama y una jóven morisca. Esta va descalza y lleva las manos pintadas, costumbre que se observa en las manos de otras moras de las que están dibujadas en este códice" (249).

<sup>619</sup> "In diesem Spiel vergnügen sich eine Dame und eine junge Maurin. Diese geht barfuß und hat gemalte Finger, eine Sitte, die man auch an den Händen anderer in dieser Handschrift abgebildeter Maurinnen beobachtet" (XXI).

does not identify Beatriz; fol. 54r is at the bottom (61). García Morencos uses this image in her study and also follows Janer and Steiger's identification of Beatriz as Moorish.<sup>620</sup> Vázquez de Parga describes the two girls as a *mora* and a Christian maiden, the *mora* wearing loose clothing, ruffled *calzones*, a black *tocado*, a gilt *sartal* at her neck, domed bracelets that he says are "*seguramente huecas*" (1987: 23), no shoes and above all hands dyed with henna while her opponent is a Christian maiden with long, loose hair. I see no reason to presume that they are necessarily hollow. Constable, who uses this miniature as her fig. 19, does not recognize the winner as either Mayor or Beatriz which, in turn, leads to her dismay that the game would be won by a player whom she considers to be socially inferior (341).

See also Appendix D4 for a comparison of the *LJ* portraits of Mayor Guillén de Guzmán and her daughter Beatriz.

### **2.7.108 Fol. 54v**

The ninety-third miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 87 in an architectural framework with a brown bottom edge, cream-colored mitered doorway sides and an upper border of seven green-tile roof segments. The gold-crowned royal couple playing this game and two royal children observing them sit beneath a series of six mitered arches, unsupported by columns and capped with gold fleurs-de-lis. The players sit on a long cream-colored, decorated bench while the younger observers sit on the floor,

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<sup>620</sup> Her caption reads, "Joven, de gótico atavío, juega con bella morisca, de pintadas manos" (35). In her *Relación de ilustraciones* she says of it, "Partida entre una joven, de gótico atavío, y una bella morisca, que aparece con los dedos teñidos por el polvo de alheña, según una difundida costumbre entre ellas" (54).

as befits their rank. The illumination occupies roughly the upper third of the folio. No piece bag hangs from the golden ring at the board's bottom edge.

The player of white at left, naturally the king, wins this game. He is dressed in a sumptuous *brial* and *capa con cuerda* in Castile's colors of red and gold, red hose and gold shoes. The young man at his left, possibly Fernando de la Cerda, wears a blue *saya* under another sleeveless tan one with the same black-and-white trim worn by the whole family, a tan *capa con cuerda*, tan hose and red shoes. The queen at right wears very rich clothing in Castile's colors, an ermine wrap or scarf and her hair styled with a high Spanish comb under a transparent veil.<sup>621</sup> She has a blue mark on her forehead which appears to be accidental.<sup>622</sup> The young lady at far right, likely a princess, wears a red sleeveless *brial* over a long-sleeved white *saya* double-striped and cuffed in black,<sup>623</sup> green *manto* and a high-backed head wrap composed of many Moorish-style strips of cloth which also cover her nose, face and chin.<sup>624</sup> She holds a round red fruit or sweet.<sup>625</sup> Despite the lack of heraldic escutcheons, their Moorish-influenced Castilian presentation and Violante's distinctive face convince me beyond a reasonable doubt that this is the royal family of Castile and León.

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<sup>621</sup> See other similar transparent veils on fols. 16r, 40r, 49v and 58v.

<sup>622</sup> See similar blue marks on fols. 56r and 79v.

<sup>623</sup> See a similar garment on fol. 60r.

<sup>624</sup> Berníz Madrazo: "Otras [tocas] se recubrían totalmente con las bandas de tela izada que hemos visto empleadas en los tocados femeninos españoles desde el siglo XI [...], bandas que en ocasiones cubrían parcialmente el rostro, al estilo musulmán" (27)

<sup>625</sup> See also red fruits in a dish on fols. 12v and 22r; white fruits in a dish on fols. 8r and 40v and round red sweets or fruits held in the hand on fols. 9r, 14v and 54v.

Janer's description identifies these as a king and queen, but feels that he cannot be certain that they are Alfonso and his wife due to the lack of heraldry.<sup>626</sup> J. B. Sánchez Pérez has another idea: In Problem "87 parece lo juegan el Rey Luis de Francia y Margarita de Provenza" (1929: 10). Bernis Madrazo describes the two women on the right half of the illumination as "Reina y donzella vestida a la moda española de influencia morisca." in illustration no. 65 on *lámina* 15. Even though she does not identify Violante by name, it is important that she also identifies her as a queen. Grunfeld uses a reduced image of the fol. 54v miniature. It is the first in the column of five images from the *LJ*. Grunfeld identifies the king in this illumination (61). This royal family portrait is described by Vázquez de Parga as exceptional since in it both the king and Queen appear with two "asistentes" (1987: 23). He does not identify Violante by name, but he does capitalize the word *Reina*. This detail, coupled with the context of King Alfonso, makes it certain that he also identifies this woman, in her "tocado complicado," as Violante. Constable uses this miniature as her fig. 15.

See also the section of this chapter devoted to Alfonso's portraits for a discussion of Ricardo Calvo and Mike Pennell's theory, followed by Yalom, that this royal couple is instead Edward I of England and his wife, Alfonso's half-sister, Eleanor of Castile. See also the Appendices D1 and D2 for a comparison of the iconographic and semi-iconographic portraits of Alfonso in the *LJ* and the possible non-iconographic *LJ* portraits

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<sup>626</sup> "Vuelven á aparecer jugando al ajedrez un rey y una reina, aquella con una dama sentada á su lado, en el suelo, y aquél con paje tambien en el suelo á su lado; pero no puede decirse que sean Don Alfonso ni su esposa, pues no traen distintivo alguno de las armas de Leon ni de Castilla. En cambio, los seis arcos ojivales que sostienen la techumbre, rematan en su parte superior con una flor de lys dorada. Los trajes y tocados de la reina y de su dama son de los más notables" (249).

of Alfonso; as well as Appendix D3 for a comparison of the *LJ* portraits of Queen Violante.

### 2.7.109 Fol. 55r

The ninety-fourth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 88 in a red and black rectangular frame which occupies roughly the upper third of the folio. In the frame's corners are gold diamond shapes. The illumination occupies roughly the upper third of the folio. There is a tear in the center of the bottom of this folio, within the parchment itself, which appears to be accidental and was sewn but the thread is now missing.<sup>627</sup>

Two male players, a Negro and a Caucasian, sit on a long bench covered with a green cloth which is detailed in a figure-eight<sup>628</sup> pattern. Their skin tones match the color of their pieces; the player of black at left wins this problem; he is a black-skinned man with tightly curled hair and wears a short, loose and wide-sleeved grey tunic. At his bare feet are a clear flask and glass. His opponent, a cleric with short blond hair, wears a long, reddish, loose-sleeved tunic revealing black cuffs, a long transparent over-tunic<sup>629</sup> and black shoes.

Janer's description agrees with mine.<sup>630</sup> Vázquez de Parga's description also agrees with mine, noting that the wine goes to the winner (1987: 23). Grunfeld uses 55r, reduced and second from the bottom (61). Constable, who uses this miniature as her fig.

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<sup>627</sup> See Excel file "*LJ* Manuscript Statistics," column "Wear and Tears."

<sup>628</sup> See also fols. 35r, 35v, 39r, 40v, 61v, 63r, 73v, 75r, 78r and 78v on seat coverings and fols. 36v and 91v on clothing.

<sup>629</sup> Transparent *sobretúnicas* worn by clerics on fols. 12v, 33v and 55r.

<sup>630</sup> "De los dos jugadores que se ven en esta miniatura el uno va vestido con sencillez suma, y el otro es un negro de cabeza redonda, labios abultados y cabellos encrespados, que tiene á su lado una botella blanca de vidrio con vino dentro, y un vaso tambien de vidrio con vino" (249).

20, is confused by the winning of a game by a player she considers to be socially inferior, i.e. the black man she assumes to be a slave. I am not certain we can say he is a slave. Interestingly, she takes the cleric's gesture here as one of surprise at his loss (Constable 341).

### 2.7.110 Fol. 55v

The ninety-fifth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 89 in a red and green rectangular frame with corners of Castile's royal escutcheons: a heraldic gold castle on a red field (left) and a black rampant lion on a white field (right) in squares that slightly protrude beyond the edges of the gold quatrefoil escutcheons. These are the last heraldic corners of the "Libro del acedrex" although they reappear in the "Libro del alquerque" on fols. 92r through 93v. This illumination occupies roughly the middle third of the folio.

It is unusual that the players within this heraldic frame are two men in Arab dress, with the player at right wearing a gold patch on his left sleeve<sup>631</sup> but perhaps they were special translators of the Seville school where the *LJ* was created. Both sit or recline on the floor<sup>632</sup> and wear long, belted reddish *sayas*. The beautifully-profiled player at left wears a white, red-peaked turban<sup>633</sup> from which a tendril of his long hair escapes down his back. Behind him stands a flask. The player of black seated on the right wins this game, and wears black hose, black shoes and a richer gold-buttoned *saya* in red, white and black

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<sup>631</sup> This is not an embroidered patch like those seen on *Mayor* (fols. 18r and 40v) but rather a type of band indicating rank or a name tag as seen on the definitely Arab *as-Suli* (fol. 17v). See other similar arm patches on fols. 55v and 76r.

<sup>632</sup> See players reclining at left on fols. 22r, 47v and 58v; at right on: 55v; and both players on: 50v, 62v and 77r.

<sup>633</sup> See also fols. 2r, 12r, 22r, 38r, 44r and 63r.

which is peaked in red and gold. Like as-Suli on fol. 17v, he has gold bands on his sleeves but the ones in this miniature bear no name. Beside his small, green pillow is his congratulatory glass.

Janer's description agrees with mine.<sup>634</sup> Vázquez de Parga describes these as two turbaned Arabs, the one of the left with his back to us and in profile, the one on the right reclining but facing the reader (1987: 23). This comfortable, Moorish posture is also assumed by other players, both Moorish and European, as noted above.

### 2.7.111 Fol. 56r

The ninety-sixth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 90 in a red and blue rectangular frame. The illumination occupies roughly the middle third of the folio with a single column of nine lines of the solution's text occupying the left column above it and the beginning of the following solution below.

Two beautiful, blushing and barefoot European maidens sit on a long bench covered by a tan cloth. The player at left is bolstered by a white square object at her back and wears a white *saya* under another sleeveless blue, tan-lined white *capa* fastened over one shoulder and complicated white headdress whose cap is comprised of strips of material, two strips of which extend downward over her brow and neck.<sup>635</sup> The player of black seated on the right, Violante by her distinctive nose, wins this game and wears a similar headdress, an amazing low-cut white *saya* and white fringed *capa* fastened at her

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<sup>634</sup> “Es un árabe con elegante traje encarnado y su correspondiente cinturón y turbante, el que juega aquí con una sarracena de aquel tiempo, y con trajes más ó menos notables” (249).

<sup>635</sup> See also fol. 54v.

neck.<sup>636</sup> The unusual blue mark over her left breast may be unintentional like those seen on her forehead on fol. 54v and on the man at left on fol. 79v.<sup>637</sup> Her right eye shows no pupil. For more on her identification, see the section of this chapter devoted to her portraiture.

Janer fails to identify this remarkably dressed young lady, stating of the images on fols. 56r to 62r, “Las miniaturas correspondientes á estos números tienen cada una dos figuras de las diversas condiciones de la sociedad de aquel tiempo, y con trajes más ó ménos notables” (249). Vázquez de Parga describes the players on fol. 56r merely as two woman playing, though he notes that the woman on the right wears under her open *manto* a very low-cut dress showing off her cleavage, an image that represents, in his words, “caso único en estas ilustraciones” (1987: 23). Grunfeld uses a reduced image of this miniature, second from the top in the column of five *LJ* miniatures (61).

See also Appendix D3 for a comparison of the *LJ* portraits of Queen Violante and the accompanying CD-rom for the PowerPoint presentation entitled “The *LJ*’s Dilaram Problems.”

#### **2.7.112 Fol. 56v**

Fol. 56v has only text and no illumination.

#### **2.7.113 Fol. 57r**

The ninety-seventh miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 91 in an architectural framework of two brick towers with interior, golden mitered arches surrounding a dome over twin horseshoe arches over the chessboard.

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<sup>636</sup> For more on the identification of the portraits of Queen Violante, see this chapter’s section titled “Queen Violante’s Portraits.”

<sup>637</sup> See Excel file “*LJ* Manuscript Statistics,” column “Wear and Tears.”

Under each mitered arch sits a young Christian male. The piece orientations in this miniature are reversed so that the darker-haired player of white at left, holding the dagger or knife on his lap,<sup>638</sup> loses this problem; he wears a red *saya encordada* with thin horizontal white stripes, a red-lined white *manto*, red hose and black shoes. His younger, blonder opponent is the winner as the player of black and wears a transparent white *cofia*, a parti-colored<sup>639</sup> red and grey *saya* with buttons at the neck and possibly a hood hanging down his back, black hose and black shoes.

Vázquez de Parga's description agrees with mine (1987: 24).

#### 2.7.114 Fol. 57v

The ninety-eighth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 92 in a red and black rectangular frame with unpainted square corners. The illumination occupies roughly the upper third of the folio with four lines of the solution above it in the left column and the beginning of the next solution below.

Two female players sit on a long bench with vertical incisions.<sup>640</sup> The Christian player of white at left wins this game against her Jewish opponent. The winner wears richly colorful *sayas* and *manto* of red, green and white with a high crescent-shaped and highly-decorated Gothic hat.<sup>641</sup> Her opponent, whose Jewish religion may be inferred by the fish-tail knot of her *toca orellada*,<sup>642</sup> wears the duller colors permitted by law in a wide-sleeved tan tunic, grey *manto* and black shoes.

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<sup>638</sup> See similar knives on fols. 66r, 69r, 70r and 70v.

<sup>639</sup> See also the parti-colored garments on fols. 61r, 65v and 93r.

<sup>640</sup> See similar benches on fols. 46r and 74r.

<sup>641</sup> See similar crescent-shaped tall headwear on fol. 32r and just tall headwear on fol. 60r.

<sup>642</sup> See similar fish-tail knot on fol. 34v.

Steiger observes that fols. 57v and 60v do not require a special explanation, roughly following Janer who groups together fols. 56r to 62r.<sup>643</sup>

Vázquez de Parga describes two female players: the one on the left wears a tall *tocado* and a rich, tightly-fitted dress like that of her friend whose “*tocado ‘viene a ser una versión más rica de la toca turbante y con una especie de lazo a un costado’*” (1987: 24). To me, the two women’s dresses seem entirely different. The left one is made of a *camisa*, a sleeveless *brial* that laces at the sides and a *pellote*; the woman on the right wears more of a simple *saya* underneath her *manto*. Bernis Madrazo illustrates the fish-tail knot headdress in number 61 on lamina 15 of her *Indumentaria medieval española*. A similar headdress is seen in the miniatures of the *Códice rico* for *Cantiga* 19 which shows other possibly Jewish women with the same sort of *toca orellada*.

See also the accompanying CD-rom for the PowerPoint presentation entitled “The *LJ*’s Dilaram Problems.”

### **2.7.115 Fol. 58r**

The ninety-ninth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 93 in a red rectangular frame with white-dotted verticals. Four players, two adults and two children, sit on a long green bench. The grey-haired and very wrinkled woman at far left wears a white *saya* under another grey sleeveless one with horizontal black stripes, a fringed tan *manto*, black shoes and a complex series of white strips as a headdress.<sup>644</sup> She wisely counsels her young, though apparently grey-haired, charge who wears a tan *saya*, tan

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<sup>643</sup> “Diese beiden Miniaturen bedürfen keiner besonderen Erklärung. Sie zeigen je zwei Spieler verschiedener Schichten der damaligen Gesellschaft in mehr oder weniger bemerkenswerter Kleidung” (XXI).

<sup>644</sup> See somewhat similar headdresses on fols. 54v and 56r. This headdress seems to mark a midway point between that of the two crossed bands and the latter, more complex and close-fitting ones.

*capa* fastened at the neck and black shoes and who, as the player of white, wins this game. Violent smearing has defaced to the brunette or red-headed woman at right who wears a plain grey *saya* over ruffled, transparent *calzones*.<sup>645</sup> The bright red string<sup>646</sup> that ties them hangs down beneath her *saya*'s hem. Although her outfit is not transparent<sup>647</sup> as it is in other miniatures, the ruffled leggings and colorful tie are nearly identical to those worn by Mayor on fol. 18r. Her brunette charge, likely a girl, wears a transparent *gilala* and transparent ruffled leggings like those seen on fols. 22r and very similar to those worn by Beatriz on fol. 54r.

This scene is of particular interest because these seem to be portraits of specific individuals. There has been two-fold damage to the woman on the right, whom I believe is likely Mayor.<sup>648</sup> First, her face has been deliberately moistened and smeared like the faces of Mayor and Beatriz on fol. 48r. Second, the folio has been torn but this does not appear to be necessarily intentional and may have been a result of the wetting of the parchment.<sup>649</sup> Her hair is bright red, perhaps distorted by the wetting or dyed with henna as are the hands of Mayor and Beatriz in other miniatures; the hair is an even brighter shade than the red of the miniature's border and nearly as bright as the red ink of the folio's rubric. The female child she teaches has dark, possibly reddish, brown hair. The most compelling detail for an identification of these two figures on the right, besides the

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<sup>645</sup> See similar leggings on fols. 22r and 54r.

<sup>646</sup> See similar legging tie-ribbon on fol. 18r.

<sup>647</sup> See similar transparent bath gowns on fols. 18r, 22r, 40v and 48r.

<sup>648</sup> For more on the identification of the portraits of Mayor Guillén de Guzmán and her daughter Beatriz, see this chapter's section titled "Mayor Guillén de Guzmán's Portraits."

<sup>649</sup> See Excel file "*LJ* Manuscript Statistics," column "Wear and Tears."

personal, almost jealous, attack to her face, is that both the woman and child have beautiful, bare feet, an identifying feature in all the other portraits of Mayor and Beatriz.

The older woman at the left wears a striped grey *saya* and the complicated Moorish *toca* of strips. The wrinkles on her unique face are carefully drawn and her hair is grey. The child she teaches, who could be of either gender, also appears to have grey hair. Does this represent a child from the past? Also of note are the child's shoes, which unlike most slipper type shoes shown in the *LJ* come up to cover part of the ankle. Perhaps this is meant to be the Queen Mother Berenguela (d. 1246) and, at left, her granddaughter, Berenguela (b. 1228), Alfonso's younger sister and one of his favorites.

The pointing fingers in this miniature provide clear clues to the first move and a half of this three-move problem. Mayor instructively signals the key to this problem's solution, the white pawn at b6, while the other woman coaching the player of black points at the black king at a8 seeming to anticipate that it will soon be in dire straits. The quick-witted child Beatriz seems to think one further move ahead, indicating both of her opponent's limited and ultimately doomed escape options of a7 and b8. The extreme simplicity and beautiful symmetry of the problem lead me to wonder if it were not artificially composed for the purpose of teaching children<sup>650</sup> about the bare king victory.

Of this problem, Calvo says that Alfonso's "iogara por fuerza" is the first known written expression of what is known today by the term *Zugzwang*.<sup>651</sup> Vázquez de Parga

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<sup>650</sup> For other miniatures showing adults teaching children to play games see also fols. 15r, 16r, 33r, 33v, 58r, 74r and 93v.

<sup>651</sup> Calvo 1987: 230. According to *The Oxford Companion to Chess*, "a German word, now anglicized, for a position in which whoever has the move would obtain a worse result than if it were the opponent's turn to play. All chess positions may be classified in one of three categories according to their time characteristics: (1) the great majority, in which both players could profit by having the move; (2) those

describes the scene as “dos niñas aprendiendo a jugar bajo la guía de dos mujeres, una vieja (izquierda) y la otra joven y rubia” (1987: 24). He says the girl at the right is wearing a transparent article of clothing that may be a *gilala*.

See also Appendix D4 for a comparison of the *LJ* portraits of Mayor Guillén de Guzmán and her daughter Beatriz.

### 2.7.116 Fol. 58v

The hundredth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 94 in a black rectangular frame with white-striped verticals and green-stripes on the horizontals and red and gold squares in the corners. The illumination occupies roughly the middle third of the folio.

The piece orientations for this diagram have been reversed so that the male player of black seated on the left loses this game, reclining<sup>652</sup> on the embroidered pillow<sup>653</sup> atop the long bench covered in red-and-gold striped material. He wears black shoes, a red beret,<sup>654</sup> a blue *saya* under another sleeveless grey *saya* trimmed in black, possibly fur, at the arm and neck holes. His maiden opponent, playing white at right wins. She wears a transparent veil<sup>655</sup> over her loose blonde hair, a red *saya* under another *saya* of a different red or perhaps violet and trimmed in black and white, white hose and black shoes. She also bears a resemblance to the maiden on fol. 54r and may be the same girl. Given that

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in which only one player would be at a disadvantage on account of have the move; (3) those in which both players would be at a disadvantage if obliged to move. Some authorities refer to (2) and (3) as zugzwang and reciprocal zugzwang respectively” (458).

<sup>652</sup> See players reclining at left on fols. 22r, 47v and 58v; at right on: 55v; and both players on: 50v, 62v and 77r.

<sup>653</sup> As with the embroidery on fol. 16r, these floriated crosses may be emblems of the Order of Calatrava. See similar embroidery on fols. 2v, 16r, 16v, 19r, 30v, 31r, 34v and 41r.

<sup>654</sup> Berets appear on Christians and Muslims on fols. 6v, 25v, 31r, 47r, 58v and 97v.

<sup>655</sup> See other similar transparent veils on fols. 16r, 40r, 49v and 58v.

the woman shown does not appear to be Mayor, an expert chess player, and given that the piece orientations are reversed, I believe that the woman is shown winning this game in error by the miniaturist who was confused by the inaccuracy of the piece orientations.

Vázquez de Parga's description agrees with mine (1987: 24).

See also the Appendices D4 and D5 for a comparison of the *LJ* portraits of Mayor Guillén de Guzmán and her daughter Beatriz and details of the miniatures which show children being taught to play a game, illustrating the *LJ* as a dial of princes and princesses.

#### **2.7.117 Fol. 59r**

Fol. 59r has only text and no illumination.

#### **2.7.118 Fol. 59v**

The hundred and first miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 95 in an architectural framework of a brick floor, red verticals and three blue domes. Underneath the domes are five-lobed, mitered arches separated by single mitered ones under green roofs. The two nuns playing this problem are seated on individual brown, perhaps wooden benches. Both are dressed similarly in white, flared *tocas* with white wimples, black shoes and white garments trimmed in black fur at the neck. The younger player of black at left, wearing a grey wide-sleeved tunic, wins this problem against her older opponent in a tan *saya* under a grey *capa*. The loser at right seems to be pointing at her white knight at d4 with which she can win the game if the player of black errs.

Fol. 59v's miniature may be the only one not described by one of the previous studies.

**2.7.119 Fol. 60r**

The hundred and second miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 96 in an architectural framework of a black and green floor and seven gold columns supporting a complex array of narrow, triangularly-roofed towers over six pointed arches which echo the height and complexity of the flared Gothic hats of the two blonde maidens playing this game seated upon a long bench covered with a green, brown and white striped cloth. This illumination occupies nearly the upper half of the folio.

The maiden at left wears a tan or yellow sleeveless *saya* over an embroidered white *camisa*,<sup>656</sup> grey *manto* and a tall white hat<sup>657</sup> which flares at the top and fastens under her chin. Her opponent, the player of black seated on the right who wins this game, wears a blue, gold and black sleeveless *saya* with a yellow skirt over a white *saya* with a double black stripe<sup>658</sup> and a tall flared hat like her companion's that is white embroidered with red and blue geometric designs that match her opponent's sleeves.

I agree with Vázquez de Parga that their tall, cylindrical and embroidered hats rank them among the nobility (1987: 24).

**2.7.120 Fol. 60v**

The hundred and third miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 97 in a white-dotted rectangular frame of red verticals and black horizontals. This illumination occupies roughly the upper third of the folio.

Seated on a long bench covered with a green cloth decorated with a pair of thin white stripes, two males, one with a Semitic profile and one in Muslim dress, play this

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<sup>656</sup> See similar embroidered sleeves on fols. 8r and 32r.

<sup>657</sup> See similar headwear on fols. 32r and 57v.

<sup>658</sup> See a similar shirt on fol. 54v.

game. The piece orientations in this diagram are reversed so that the player of black at left, with a distinctive Jewish profile but who has no pupils drawn in, loses this game. He wears a trim and pointed beard,<sup>659</sup> an opaque white *cofia* and belted and hooded *saya*, hood down, in an appropriately drab brown shade and black shoes. Behind him on the bench is a closed brown book. His full-bearded opponent who plays white and therefore wins is dressed much more richly and in gayer colors; he wears a rather flat turban under a transparent scarf, a blue wide-sleeved tunic, red hooded cloak fastened at his neck, white hose and black slip-on shoes or slippers.<sup>660</sup> On the bench behind him are a celebratory flask and glass. The floor beneath both players is a mottled, marble-like red and white.

Rather than a Jew and a Moor, Vázquez de Parga sees a Christian and Moor playing (1987: 24). It is interesting to note that the youth on the left, whatever his religion, has a book behind him but loses to his older Arab opponent shown with the drink which goes to the winner. However, given the reversed orientations of the pieces, this may be a miniaturist's error.<sup>661</sup>

See also the accompanying CD-rom for the PowerPoint presentation entitled "The *LJ*'s Abu Naam Problems."

### **2.7.121 Fol. 61r**

The hundred and fourth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 98, in a rectangular frame of red-and-white verticals and green-and-white horizontals with

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<sup>659</sup> See also fols. 53r, 70r and 88v for a similar man.

<sup>660</sup> See similar footwear on fols. 29v, 38v and 62v.

<sup>661</sup> See Chapter I's discussion of this Problem 97 and Excel spreadsheet "*LJ* Manuscript Statistics," specifically the column "other peculiarities" which denotes those problems whose pieces are flipped.

gold squares in the corners. The illumination occupies roughly a third of the folio, beneath two columns of six lines each<sup>662</sup> and above the beginning of the next solution. This folio also has a tear from the top which appears accidental and which has been repaired by sewing.<sup>663</sup>

This illumination is one which has greatly fascinated me personally. Two men of unusual appearance play this game while seated on the ruddy marbled floor. On the left is a very small man with an unusually small and pointed head; he is dressed in a parti-colored, belted *saya* that is green on his left side and red on his right. His opponent appears to be of normal size but his unattractive head appears to be heavily deformed or scarred, even to the point of having patchy discolorations rather than hair; he also wears a parti-colored *saya* that is red on his right half but white on his left.

Given that their appearance is portrayed both realistically and respectfully, I believe that these are accurate portraits of individuals, perhaps entertainers, from Alfonso's court. Further, given that the level of quality of the problem itself does not measure up to the standard of some of the other Arabic masterpieces and has thus drawn modern criticism, I believe that the individuals portrayed may have either concocted this position or experienced it in a real game between them. Their parti-colored clothing<sup>664</sup> may be an accurate reflection of what Alfonso's fools would have worn as well as a subtle hint on the part of the miniaturist that this problem is unique in its two possible

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<sup>662</sup> The end of the word "entablamiento" is flush-right underneath the sixth line of text but does not intrude into the miniature or its frame.

<sup>663</sup> See Excel file "*LJ* Manuscript Statistics," column "Wear and Tears."

<sup>664</sup> See also the parti-colored garments on fols. 57r, 65v and 93r.

solutions, depending on which side is first to play. If the player of black seated on the right plays first then black wins and if white at left plays first then white wins.

Vázquez de Parga sees two “tipos caricaturescos” in profile, one very small and one very large, kneeling on their haunches (1987: 24). Calvo notes that the larger player points to the squares for black’s checkmate solution and the other player points to d1 where the solution begins (1987: 232). For a further discussion of these men’s place in the portrayal of unusual people in art, particularly Spanish art, see the section of this chapter devoted to portraits.

#### **2.7.122 Fol. 61v**

The hundred and fifth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 99 in a rectangular frame of black-and-red verticals, black-and-white horizontals, and gold squares in the corners which occupies roughly a third of the folio beneath two columns each of eight lines of text and above the beginning of the following solution. There is a small hole in the lower right of this folio.<sup>665</sup>

Two men seated on a long bench, covered with a reddish cloth decorated in figure eights<sup>666</sup> play this game. The cultures of these two men are uncertain but appear similar to those seen on fol. 82v. The grey-haired and bearded man at left may be Arabic or Jewish and has no pupils but they may have been worn away due to a raised crease in the parchment here. He wears a wide-sleeved tan tunic, blue-grey *manto* and black shoes. His opponent, the player of black seated on the right wins this game; he wears a blue tunic, black hose and shoes, a green *capa* fastened at his neck and a green turban with gold

<sup>665</sup> See Excel file “LJ Manuscript Statistics,” column “Wear and Tears.”

<sup>666</sup> See also fols. 35r, 35v, 39r, 40v, 55r, 63r, 73v, 75r, 78r and 78v on seat coverings and fols. 36v and 91v on clothing.

tassels or fringe running up the front.<sup>667</sup> Despite his blond hair, his hat may mark him as Indian or generically oriental; fols. 2r and 2v indicate that Alfonso's miniaturists did not know what a typical Indian looked like. In his lap, the winner holds open a book on whose right half is visible a three-by-three checkered board, surely meant to represent a chessboard in miniature, and beneath it the capital letters QED (*quod erat demonstrandum*) to which he sagely points. I believe his book with the reduced chess diagram is a hint at the ultimately Indian sources for Alfonso's problems.

Vázquez de Parga describes two male players, at left a bareheaded one in profile and at right one who reads from a book and wears an odd hat that covers the back of his neck (1987: 24).

Constable reads as mocking jest rather than realism this portrait of "dwarves . . . , whose distinctive bodies and facial features suggest that they were well-known individuals, and perhaps figures of fun, at the court (338). She also compares the distinctive profiles of the men on fols. 51r and 61r (338n99) but I disagree that these are the same man, noting the diseased head, sparse rather than tonsured hair and the physical disproportion of the latter figure.

### **2.7.123 Fol. 62r**

The hundred and sixth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 100 in a golden rectangular frame with corner squares of white *x*'s or flowers on red fields.<sup>668</sup> The miniature occupies roughly one third of the folio beneath a single column<sup>669</sup> of seven

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<sup>667</sup> See Appendix D7: Jewish and Oriental Headwear and similar hats on fols. 11v, 41r, 42r, 43v, 82v and 91v.

<sup>668</sup> These motifs are also seen in the "Libro del alquerque" on fol. 91v.

<sup>669</sup> The word "entablamiento" extends beyond the right margin of the column.

lines of text and above the beginning of the following solution. Tape has been used to repair a bad tear at the right of this folio.<sup>670</sup>

A black-haired and bearded man and a blonde maiden play this game, sharing the same long bench covered in a violet cloth and topped with a long red-and-white vertically striped cushion. He is seated at left and wears a red *garnacha* with a row of gold buttons at the neck. The winner points at the maiden's two white rooks that are about to be lost. She, at right, wears a richer red *saya encordada* bordered on the bodice with black-and-white trim. The male player of black at left wins this problem.

Vázquez de Parga's description agrees with mine (1987: 24). Calvo rather unconvincingly suggests that perhaps the miniaturist has set the lovers of the Dilaram story in a European setting (1987: 233).

See also Chapter II's section devoted to "Portrayals of As-Suli and Other Historical or Legendary Figures" and the accompanying CD-rom for the PowerPoint presentations entitled "The *LJ*'s Problem 100—Not a Dilaram Problem" and "The *LJ*'s Dilaram Problems."

### **2.7.124 Fol. 62v**

The hundred and seventh miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 101 in the first of two tent scenes.<sup>671</sup> Here we see the ground, grass and tent supported by ropes and its top surmounted by a red pennant while the front of the structure has been omitted so that we may see the scene inside as though with x-ray vision. Two black-

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<sup>670</sup> See Excel file "*LJ* Manuscript Statistics," column "Wear and Tears."

<sup>671</sup> The second tent appears on fol. 64r.

bearded Arab men recline on solid red and red-and-white vertically striped cushions.<sup>672</sup>

The player of white at left, flat white turban, white wimple, green wide-sleeved tunic, bare legs and black slippers or slip-on shoes,<sup>673</sup> wins this game. His opponent wears the hood of his grey *manto* pulled up over his white turban, a blue wide-sleeved tunic and black shoes. Although he does not win this game, the flask and glass sit before him on the ground.

Janer's description agrees with mine.<sup>674</sup> Smith incorrectly observes that the “[p]layer at right seems confident of winning” (66). This would be a strong testament to the *LJ*'s naturalism that these subtleties of body language are instinctively observable today, however the player of white at left wins. Vázquez de Parga describes two Moors in different types of turbans and reclining in opposite directions but turning their heads to talk to one another (1987: 24). Wollesen uses an image of this miniature of his article with the caption, “21. Madrid, Real Bibl. del Escorial, j.T.6. fol.; fol. 62v, chess player in a tent” (300). He compares this tent to those of his next figure from *Cantiga* 165, panels one and three (Wollesen 302). One might even posit that the two figures here portrayed are from the court of Ibn al-Ahmar, “The Red,” given the red pennant which was his emblematic flag.<sup>675</sup>

Schafroth uses fol. 62v as a full-page, color image (24). This miniature inaugurates her second chapter called “The First Golden Age of Chess.” The image is

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<sup>672</sup> See players reclining at left on fols. 22r, 47v and 58v; at right on: 55v; and both players on: 50v, 62v and 77r.

<sup>673</sup> See similar footwear on fols. 29v, 38v and 60v.

<sup>674</sup> “Dentro de una tienda de campaña coronada con una banderola encarnada, están dos árabes jugando al ajedrez, teniendo uno al lado un vaso y una botella” (249).

<sup>675</sup> See also fol. 64r and Joseph O’Callaghan, *The Learned King: The Reign of Alfonso X of Castile* (Philadelphia: U Pennsylvania P, 1993).

cropped to show only the tent area and is slightly larger than the original. She describes the painting as opaque watercolor and gold leaf and gives it the following caption:

Shortly before his death the Spanish king, Alfonso X (reigned 1252-1284), commissioned a book, *Libros del axedrez, dados et tablas*, about the games of chess, dice, and tables (or backgammon). The book includes 103 chess problems as well as several variants of the game, including decimal chess and four-handed chess. Although a small number of the problems presented have a European ancestry, the majority of them derive from Muslim sources. Alfonso the Wise was a poet, scientist, legislator, historian, and patron of education and the arts. (Schafroth 25)

As seen in Chapter I, decimal chess is not described in the *LJ*. The board for *grant acedrex* has 144 (12 x 12) spaces; decimal chess has 100 (10 x 10). Schafroth's confusion probably arises due to the fact that within Alfonso's text itself, the game *grant acedrex* seems to be referred to as "acedrex delas diez casas" on fol. 84r.<sup>676</sup>

In 1967, Yemen issued a stamp showing the miniature from fol. 64v of the *LJ*.<sup>677</sup>

### **2.7.125 Fol. 63r**

The hundred and eighth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 102 in a red and green rectangular frame. This illumination occupies roughly the upper third of the folio. It is also interesting to note that while there is a golden ring painted for the bag that holds the chess pieces to hang upon, there is no bag though it may well be what is white and folded over the Christian's belt, although he does not win.

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<sup>676</sup> It is here that some argue that some folios are missing from the *LJ*. As discussed in the first part of this chapter under the analysis of Grandese's work, I am not convinced that any sections are missing. Although I at first wondered this myself, numerological analysis of the work as an integral whole leads me to conclude that no sections were created and then lost.

<sup>677</sup> "On November 4, 1967 Yemen issued a set of 8 stamps commemorating Moorish art. One stamp depicts a miniature painting from the Alfonso manuscript, published in 1283. The painting is of a chessboard in a tent with two players (Rose 72; SG R346; Michel 414) from "Stamps and Chess by Bill Wall," ed. Bill Wall, 27 July 2005 <<http://www.geocities.com/siliconvalley/lab/7378/stamps.htm>>. These stamps do not appear in *Scott*.

Two men, a blond Christian pilgrim at left and a black-bearded Muslim at right, play this game on a long brick bench covered with a green cloth with a pattern of figure eights.<sup>678</sup> The pilgrim, perhaps Alfonso, wears his identifying hat, an opaque white *cofia*, yellow *saya*, black hose, black shoes and a gold- and fur-trimmed reddish sleeveless *saya* with a pattern of asterisks within circles.<sup>679</sup> Interestingly, it is the Arabic player of white at right who wins this problem; he wears black hose, black shoes, an unusual buttoned tunic of brown, black and white stripes with a double round, red collar, white sash belt and a white turban with a red-striped peak.<sup>680</sup>

Janer's description agrees with mine to a point, but he does not recognize the man at left as a pilgrim.<sup>681</sup> A reduced color image of this miniature appears in the center of the column of *LJ* images at the right in Grunfeld (61). Vázquez de Parga, like Janer, does not recognize the man at left as a pilgrim and rather sees two *orientales*: the one on the left wears a hat with a pointed center and wide brim over a *cofia* and his opponent a traditional turban. He finds their dress generally very curious and exotic (1987: 24).

### 2.7.126 Fol. 63v

Fol. 63v has only text and no illumination.

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<sup>678</sup> See also fols. 35r, 35v, 39r, 40v, 55r, 61v, 73v, 75r, 78r and 78v on seat coverings and fols. 36v and 91v on clothing. Herrero Carretero shows the tomb covering of Leonor de Plantagenet (1156-1214) with similar eight-pointed gold stars (82-83).

<sup>679</sup> See previous section titled "Alfonso's Iconographic and Semi-Iconographic Portraits" in this second chapter and "An Orphaned Miniature of *Cantiga* 235 from the Florentine Codex" Keller and Kinkade for a description of Alfonso as a pilgrim in a similar gold filigree hat. See also the similarly-patterned cloth of Alfonso's couch covering on fol. 97v.

<sup>680</sup> See also fols. 2r, 12r, 22r, 38r, 44r and 55v.

<sup>681</sup> "Raro es el traje y sombrero, que encima de la correspondiente cofia blanca, lleva uno de los dos personajes que juegan al ajedrez. El moro lleva una túnica listada forrada de tela encarnada, y una faja blanca al rededor de la cintura" (249).

### 2.7.127 Fol. 64r

The hundred and ninth miniature illustrates the opening position of Problem 103 of the “Libro del acedrex” in the second tent scene (the first is on fol. 62v). This illumination occupies the entire folio and here we see the whole tent, from its green penant and blue embroidered Cufic *basmala*<sup>682</sup> down to the stakes of its ropes. Outside and to the right of the tent stand two tall lances.<sup>683</sup> There is a hole in the upper right of this folio.<sup>684</sup>

Rather than two Arabs as in the previous tent, here a young, blond Christian noble and a red-bearded Arab play this game seated on vertically-stripped cushions of red, white and black. As with the similar scenario in the previous miniature on fol. 63r, the Christian loses to the Arab. The Christian wears a white *saya* bordered in black-and-white trim and a red collar, red *manto*, red hose and red shoes. The barefoot Arab wears all white, from his flat and wimpled turban to his wide-sleeved tunic, and an enormous sword in a red and gold sheath. He reaches behind him to the flask and glass.

Janer’s description agrees with mine, though he does not identify the Arabic script on the tent.<sup>685</sup> Brunet y Bellet mentions but does not translate the Arabic script (414-15).

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<sup>682</sup> I owe special thanks to Dr. Francisco Marcos Marín and, through him, María Jesús Viguera for independent confirmation of my identification of this Arabic phrase. Transliterated “Bismillahir-Rahmanir-Rahim” and translated “In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful,” this phrase, which begins every section of the *Koran* but one, is said to precede all good beginnings because faithful Muslims invoke the name of Allah before doing anything. The implications of its placement here at the top of tent and at what seems to the European reader to be the end of the “Libro de acedrex” are very significant. From the perspective of an Arabic reader this folio would represent the beginning of the “Book of Chess” rather than the end and therefore supports the conclusion that Alfonso’s compilers were Muslims working with Arabic textual sources.

<sup>683</sup> See also the lances on fol. 92v.

<sup>684</sup> See Excel file “LJ Manuscript Statistics,” column “Wear and Tears.”

<sup>685</sup> “Esta miniatura es la última del juego del ajedrez, que ocupa toda una foja del código. Representa una gran tienda de campaña, que termina por una banderola verde, y hácia la punta superior de

Steiger,<sup>686</sup> Vázquez de Parga (1987: 24) and Finkenzeller et al.<sup>687</sup> follow Janer. This image is Wilkinson's fig. 3. Grunfeld uses this image full size, though reversed and heavily darkened and yellowed, for the opening page of his chapter on chess. Its caption reads, "In the games book of Alfonso X, a Moorish sheik plays against a Christian opponent ... Black plays and mates white in eleven moves" (Grunfeld 61-62). Nordenfalk uses this image and identifies both men merely as noblemen (27).

Domínguez Rodríguez praises the artistic effects achieved in the depth of the tent on fol. 64r ("Libro de los juegos" 40), which she fancies represents Alfonso VI (1065-1109) and Ibn'Ammar, also known from the *romance* as Abenámar (1987: 40). This is impossible because the latter was king of Granada (1431-32) three centuries later during the reign of Juan II (1425-79). However, this could be an image of Ibn al-Ahmar, called "The Red" because of his red hair, who was both Alfonso X's friend and, after 1264, his nemesis. See also fol. 62v. The Christian is obviously a noble because of his red hose though he may or may not be Alfonso VI playing Abenámar as Calvo (1987: 235) and Keats also wonder (1: 130). Keats's Figure 57 confusingly shows the miniature from fol. 64r, Problem 103, before his analysis of Problem 76, with the caption "Chess problem from the 'Alfonso' manuscript (1283 AD)" (1: 192).

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la tienda sobre el lienzo hay una leyenda árabe con caracteres azules. A la entrada de la tienda hay dos lanzas hincadas en el suelo, y dentro aparecen jugando amistosamente un caballero cristiano, y otro moro, que lleva colgada la espada, y señala un vaso y una botella á su amigo, invitándole á beber. El caballero castellano le contesta con la mano: '¡muchas gracias!'" (249-50)

<sup>686</sup> "Diese Miniatur ist die letzte des eigentlichen Schachbuches und nimmt eine ganze Seite der Handschrift ein. Sie stellt ein großes mit einem grünen Wimpel geschmücktes Zelt dar, um dessen Dach ein blaugesticktes Spruchband arabischer Schriftzeichen läuft. Am Eingang sind zwei Lanzen aufgestellt und im Zelte spielen ein christlicher und ein maurischer Ritter. Der Maure trägt ein Schwert und deutet anbietend auf Becher und Flasche. Die Geste seines kastilischen Freundes besagt: Vielen Dank" (XXI).

<sup>687</sup> Finkenzeller et al. show this miniature on 153 with the caption, "Opposite: the last page of the Alfonso the Wise chess book. A Christian knight and a Moslem are playing chess in a tent in front of which stand two lances. With a gesture of invitation the Moslem indicates a bottle and drinking cup" (152).

Chris Lowney's *A Vanished World: Medieval Spain's Golden Age of Enlightenment* (New York: Free, 2005) bears without note or credit the image from *LJ*'s fol. 64r on its cover. Lowney's sole and indirect mention of the *LJ* is that: "Jewish, Muslim and Christian translators buzzed away rending excerpts from the Quran and the Talmud, philosophical works, mathematical treatises, and even manuals for chess and backgammon" (220).

Smith's art notes identify these people simply as moors (290). This miniature also appears in Richard Fletcher's *Moorish Spain* (pl. 23) as possible evidence of Moorish and Christian *convivencia*.<sup>688</sup>

Constable, who uses this miniature as her fig. 13, compares the *LJ*'s miniatures showing chess played in tents to a twelfth-century Sicilian wall painting and several fourteenth-century ivories (332). She too identifies the losing player as Alfonso VI from al-Marrakushi's narrative but is troubled by the fact that such a miniature concludes the "volume that celebrates the wisdom and courtly virtues of Alfonso X" and so suggests that it illustrates another tale, perhaps of prisoners of war such as those described in the *LJ*'s prologue or the one recounted later in the fifteenth-century "Romance de Fajardo" (Constable 334). Considered, instead, in light of a work produced from Arabic sources and with the Cufic basmala denoting this as the beginning, perhaps it is not such an odd choice after all even if it is a subversive one.

### **2.7.128 Fol. 64v**

Fol. 64v is blank.

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<sup>688</sup> Richard Fletcher, *Moorish Spain* (New York: Holt, 1992).

**2.7.129 Fol. 65r**

The hundred and tenth miniature inaugurates the “Libro de los dados” in a rectangular frame of a black bottom, red sides and green top with gold corner squares. Completely within the rectangular frame is yet another architectural framework of five, five-lobed arches supported by six gold columns. This illumination occupies roughly the upper third of the folio.

In what is probably the most often reproduced portrait of Alfonso X, the young gold-crowned king sits enthroned on a raised mottled or marbled red plinth, the throne covered in red cloth decorated with a horizontal gold band. He is dressed in gold shoes and a silk *saya* and *capa con cuerda* both completely embroidered with checkers of gold castles on red fields and black rampant lions on white fields and bordered with black-and-white trim. He points his right index finger, dictating to a dark-haired and short-bearded man seated at his right in a blue *saya* under a blue *tabardo* with black vertical stripes in pairs.

The scribe’s writing is legible; the first two lines in red read, “Este es el libro,” and the remaining four or five in black, “mandó fazer el rey de Cas - ....” Curiously, this text does not match the writing on this folio of the *LJ*, as happens on fol. 72r and the opening folio of the *CSM*. Additionally, the king is referred to in the third person and not by the royal “we” that he customarily uses throughout the *LJ*. These facts lead me to agree with Vázquez de Parga that what is being written here is the *Ordenamiento de las tahurerías* (1987: 24). The introduction to this work states “...este es el libro que yo maestre Roldan ordene & compuse en Razon delas tafurerias por mandado del muy noble

& mucho Alto sennor don Alfonso por la gracia de dios Rey de cas-<sup>689</sup> with the line breaking in the middle of the word *Castilla* just as occurs in this *LJ* miniature. In turn, this could suggest that the scribe in question is none other than Maestre Roldán which would also support a conclusion that this is a portrait of a real person and is the repetition of another possible likeness of him as the scribe on fol. 72r.

At the far left behind the scribe and pointing to him, a young blond male *infante* sits on the floor in a red *garnacha* with gold buttons, revealing black cuffs, red hose and black shoes. Perhaps if the scribe is writing the *Ordenamiento* of 1276 we can conclude that the prince here depicted is Sancho who would then have been about eighteen but not the eldest son, Fernando de la Cerda, who died in 1275 at age twenty. Both the scribe and the *infante* strongly resemble the two individuals to the immediate right of the king in the miniature on fol. 72r where we also can observe a blond royal or noble youth in red and an older, darker scribe with a beard.

To the king's left, one of his ministers kneels in a brown *saya*, red hose, black shoes and a red-topped black fez-like hat that fastens under his chin; he faces away from Alfonso and gestures to the group of four socially-inferior men behind him, the common rabble of gamblers who have lost the majority of their clothing in pursuit of their vice. Alfonso, his scribe, his son and his minister each individually occupy one arch of their own while all four dice-players share the same arch at the far right. Their hair, though each of a different color, is all unkempt. What remains of their clothing reveals that it is

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<sup>689</sup> “*Libro de las tahurerías*. Escorial: Monasterio Z.I.6 Transcribed by Robert A. MacDonald [text.tfa],” and “*Libro de las tahurerías*. Escorial: Monasterio Z.I.9 Transcribed by Robert A. MacDonald [text.tfc],” *The Electronic Texts and Concordances Madison Corpus of Early Spanish MSS and Printings*, ed. John O’Neill, CD-ROM, [Madison, WI: HSMS, 1999] fols. 21r and 27r, respectively).

of a much lower quality than that of the other men in the miniature. Three of the gamblers stand and one kneels as if in supplication to the minister or the king. Alfonso's distaste for men who must rely solely on luck or games of fortune is evident in this brief book which contains only seven folios and with the violent and base character of the players shown in the illuminations here and in his related codex of laws governing gambling houses, *El Ordenamiento de las tahurerías*, together with numerous *Cantigas*.

Janer's description agrees with mine.<sup>690</sup> Steiger echoes Janer.<sup>691</sup> Smith uses this miniature twice in his book, saying "Alfonso X, El Sabio (The Wise) supervised the compilation of an illustrated history of Spain in the Castillian tongue" (cover and 80-81). While Smith's statement is true, this is not, however, an image from either the *Estoria de Espanna* or the *General estoria*.

García Morencos also uses this image in her study<sup>692</sup> and remarks that

otras figuras a la izquierda del monarca, alguna incluso semidesnuda por haberse jugado hasta sus propias ropas, y, en general como en una actitud suplicante que pudiera tener relación con las medidas tomadas respecto a

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<sup>690</sup> "Esta miniatura es la primera del *Libro de los Dados*. El Rey Don Alfonso *el Sabio* está sentado en su trono, con túnica y manto cuajado de castillos y leones bordados. Su calzado es dorado, y ostenta sobre su rubia cabellera la corona real. Dicta á un secretario los juegos, y más allá está sentado otro personaje que tambien dá su parecer. En el lado opuesto entran gentes del pueblo suplicando se les permita jugar, y uno de ellos lo pide arrodillándose. Otro personaje vestido con hábito talar, y que á pesar de hallarse al lado del rey lleva el sombrero puesto, parece que les contesta que 'se aguarden, que el libro de los juegos aún no está acabado de escribir.'" (250)

<sup>691</sup> "Diese Miniatur ist die erste des Würfelbuches. Der König sitzt auf seinem Thron, bekleidet mit der Tunika und einem über und über mit Burgen und Löwen bestickten Mantel. Sein Schuhwerk ist vergoldet, und auf den blonden Haaren trägt er die königliche Krone. Er diktiert einem Sekretär, hinter dem noch ein Berater sitzt. Auf der anderen Seite treten Leute aus dem Volk ein, welche um Spielerlaubnis flehen, einer von ihnen kniend. Eine andere, in einen Talar gekleidete Persönlichkeit, welche trotz der Gegenwart des Königs eine Kopfbedeckung trägt, bedeutet den Bittstellern, sich zu gedulden, da das Buch der Spiele noch nicht vollendet sei" (XXI).

<sup>692</sup> Her caption reads, "Alfonso X, con corona y manto real, dicta el *Libro de los Dados*" (36). In her *Relación de ilustraciones* she says of it, "Alfonso X, con corona y manto real, dicta el *Libro de los Dados*; a la izquierda del monarca, aparecen algunas figuras como en actitud suplicante, que pudiera tener relación con las medidas que el propio Rey Sabio tomó en sus *Partidas* y en el *Ordenamiento de las Tafurerías* respecto a este juego de mero azar" (54).

esto juego de azar; medidas que constan por primera vez en la legislación española en el Código de las *Siete Partidas* y en el *Ordenamiento de las Tafurerías*, ambos del propio Rey Sabio, y en los que puede apreciarse el bajo concepto en que eran tenidos estos ‘tahures’, cuyos hurtos no podrían ser reclamados por el perjudicado que les hubiese acogido en su casa, pues ‘suya es la culpa de aquel que hace compañía con ellos’ (Ley 6.<sup>a</sup>, título 14, Partida 7.<sup>a</sup>) Esta misma actitud puede apreciarse en las miniaturas que ilustran el *Libro de los Dados*, cuyos personajes son objeto de una estima y consideración muy distintas a los del ajedrez, ante cuyo tablero aparecen tomando parte hasta los propios reyes.... (29)

Vázquez de Parga describes Alfonso’s iconographic and majestic appearance on fol. 65r, referring to the scribe at his right and to his left an important courtier or court official who can keep his hat on in the royal presence, trying to contain a group of gamblers who he feels are surely protesting the as yet unfinished *Ordenamiento de las tahurerías* (1987: 24).

Canettieri’s description agrees with mine.<sup>693</sup> I agree with Carpenter except for his identification of the work shown being dictated on fol. 65r, which I believe more likely to be the *LT*.

Unsavoury—and apparently unsuccessful—players likewise appear [with a] flatteringly<sup>694</sup> youthful Alfonso.... [T]hree half-naked and dishevelled men—a fourth cowers behind the others—huddle together under one of the five arches (the other four, more respectable, figures in the scene merit an arch apiece). One of the wretched men folds his arms close to his naked torso ... while another entreats on bended knee. [They] are none other than the feckless players who transform an innocent game of dice into a reckless bout of gambling, in which some have wagered—and lost—their proverbial shirt. Indeed, these hapless souls may epitomize the victims of

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<sup>693</sup> “Il Re in maestà frontale è rappresentato al di sotto di una serie di archi, fra torrioni con merli, mentre detta il *Libro de los dados*; è incoronato e seduto su un trono coperto di panni rossi ed è vestito con un mantello a scacchi rossi e bianchi decorati con castelli e leoni d’oro, emblemi di Castiglia e León: con l’indice della mano destra indica uno scrivano seduto in terra. Dietro di lui c’è un personaggio biondo senza cappello, seduto alla moresca; alla sua sinistra c’è un cortigiano di una certa importanza (porta in presenza del re un cappello alto e cilindrico) che cerca di scacciare alcuni giocatori, di cui tre seminudi” (67).

<sup>694</sup> Carpenter’s fig. 2 shows fol. 65r with the caption: “Fig. 2. An incongruously youthful Alfonso X dictates the *Libro de los dados*” (1998: 338).

altered dice, theft, fraud, and gambling-sharks against which Alfonso had warned in the *Libro de las tahurerías*. . . . Whatever the precise reason for these sorry players' appearance at the beginning of the *Libro de los dados*, they lay bare the risks involved in allowing *ventura* to triumph over *seso*. (Carpenter, "Alea" 337-39)

Smith's art notes merely identify these people as the king with his court (290).

Two medieval literary works also support the presentation of the gambler who has lost his shirt to his vice. In the thirteen-century *tenso* poem "Elena y María," María critiques Elena's caballero as a gambler who pawns everything, always loses and ends up in just his *panicos*. According to the *Libro de buen amor*'s stanza 470: "Cuando el jugador pierde la vergüenza al tablero, / Si el abrigo perdiere, jugará su braguero;" (Tuttle 120).

See also the Appendices D1 and D2 for a comparison of the iconographic and semi-iconographic portraits of Alfonso in the *LJ* and the possible non-iconographic *LJ* portraits of Alfonso.

### **2.7.130 Fol. 65v**

The hundred and eleventh miniature illustrates the manufacture of dice in a rectangular frame of red verticals, black horizontals and gold corner squares which occupies roughly one third of the folio beneath two columns of approximately four lines<sup>695</sup> of text.

Seven figures are shown within the frame which depicts a sort of dice production line which reads from left to right. First, three blond youths in *cofias* and colorful *sayas* and seated on benches at tables appear to be cutting the white material—probably

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<sup>695</sup> The right-hand column of text begins on what is the left's last line but the scribe underestimated the length of his text and despite heavy abbreviation, the final word appears beneath this line of text but does not intrude into the miniature's frame.

bone<sup>696</sup>—into cubes for dice. The first *saya* is a split green one; the second is blue with a red hem and collar or hood; the final one is red and worn underneath a parti-colored<sup>697</sup> red-and-green *tabardo*. Next, in the middle, a bearded man in a green *saya* and *capirote*, red hose and black single-strap shoes appears to be smoothing the cubes to make the sides and angles equal<sup>698</sup> while another man in a red *saya* and *capirote* and hat drills the pips into the sides of the dice.<sup>699</sup> The finished dice are laid in neat rows on a green board. Finally a woman in a very long brown *saya*, white and wimpled hat and red crespina,<sup>700</sup> hands the finished product to the unappealing, disheveled man at far right who wears nought but his underwear and purse. As MacDonalds’s study of the *LT* explains, these “house dice” are used to prevent the cheating so commonplace among the *tahúres*.<sup>701</sup>

Janer’s description agrees with mine, except that he says that the person who hands over the dice is a man, and continues on to explain the first several games of dice explained below the miniature.<sup>702</sup> Vázquez de Parga describes the seven people in what

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<sup>696</sup> “E estos dados pueden seer fechos; de fuste. o de piedra. o de huesso. o de todo metal. mas sennaladamiente. son meiores de huesso el mas pesado *que* fallaren. que dotra cosa ninguna. & mas ygualmiente & mas llanos caen doquier *que* los echen” (fols. 65r and 65v).

<sup>697</sup> See also the parti-colored garments on fols. 57r, 61r and 93r.

<sup>698</sup> “E dezimos que an de seer tres figuras quadradas de seys cantos eguales tamamo ell uno como ell otro en grandez. & en egualdad dela quadra. ca ssi en *otra* manera fuesse no caerie tan bien duna parte como dotra. & serie enganno mas que uentura” (fol. 65r).

<sup>699</sup> “E a de auer en estas seys quadras en cada una dellas; puntos puestos en esta guisa. En la una seys. & en la *otra* cinco. en la otra quatro. en la otra tres. en la otra dos; & en la otra uno. assi *que* uengan en cadaun dado ueyntiun punto” (fol. 65r).

<sup>700</sup> See similar snood on fol. 24v.

<sup>701</sup> Robert A. MacDonald, ed. *Libro de las tahurerias: A Special Code of Law, Concerning Gambling, Drawn up by Maestro Roldán at the Command of Alfonso X of Castile* (Madison, WI: HSMS, 1995) 25.

<sup>702</sup> “Taller en donde se construyen los dados. Son cinco los oficiales que están trabajando, ya cortando los dados, ya pulimentándolos ó marcando en cada una de sus caras los correspondientes puntos. El maestro, de pié, entrega dados ya concluidos á un hombre que entra á pedirselos. Al pié de esta miniatura se explica el juego de *mayores*. - ‘El primer iuego de los que usan los omnes, el que mas puntos echare que gane e este iuego que llaman á mayores. Todas las otras maneras de iuegos que a en ellos son posturas que pusieron los omnes entre ssi que son iuegos de partidos. Assi como que echasse menos puntos que ganasse. O tanto en ell uno como en los dos, que es en esta manera, que si dixiere en el un dado seys,

he calls an unusual miniature since it does not contain the usual game board and must be read, like the miniatures in the *CSM*, from left to right. It shows the successive steps of the fabrication of dice, the last step being to drill the pips as shown by the capped fellow in red using a “taladro de violín” (Vázquez de Parga 1987: 24). Canettieri follows Vázquez de Parga.<sup>703</sup> In fact, this miniature is somewhat similar in organization and content to that shown for the manufacture of both chess and backgammon on fols. 3r and 73r, respectively, where men uses bow-like lathes to turn the chess pieces and and saw the tables pieces from a round dowel.

Grunfeld uses a smaller, color image of this miniature in his dice chapter. It appears second from the bottom of the right-hand column of illuminations from Alfonsine texts. The caption describes the gambler at the far right as “one persistent loser [who] has gambled away his clothes” (135).

### **2.7.131 Fol. 66r**

The hundred and twelfth miniature illustrates two groups playing the dice game *triga*. The rectangular border of the illumination is composed of red-and-white verticals, green-and-black horizontals and gold corner squares; it occupies roughly the upper third of the folio. Despite the fact that two different types of wins in this game are described on the same folio, both rolls shown in the miniature fall under the first category of win described in the text. The first board shows one example of the first type of wins for

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que diga en los otros dos cinco e as, o quatro e dos e ternas. E si dixiere en ell uno cinco, que diga en los otros dos quatro e as o tres e dos. E si dixiere en ell otro tres, que diga en los otros dos e as. E si dixiere en ell otro dos, que diga en los otros amas as” (250).

<sup>703</sup> “Da sinistra a destra sono rappresentate le varie fase della fabbricazione artigianale dei dadi: stampo, levigatura e incisione dei punti. Appaiono sette persone; l’operazione di incisione dei punti è eseguita da un personaggio vestito di rosso. Sull’estrema destra un giocatore in brache riceve un dado da una donna vestita di abiti semplici” (67).

*triga*: triplets or rolls totalling three through six and fifteen through eighteen, with a total of fifteen by “senas tria” or two sixes and a three. The second board shows another winning *triga* roll of the first type with a total of six, “cuatro amas as” or a four and a pair of ones. It is strange to me that the miniaturist has not used the second board to show the other type of win by rolling a point number from seven to fourteen.

Both games of *triga* take place on rectangular, brown wooden boards within this one frame. The boards have been given a very realistic moiré look by the miniaturist both here and in the “Libro de las tablas.” Each of these two boards also has three piles of coins and one pointedly-placed poniard<sup>704</sup> at left. Seated on the floor around the first board at left are six blond or light-brown haired and beardless young men, three on each side. From left to right they are dressed in a red *saya*, a blue *saya* with a white *manto*, the third player’s clothing is blocked from view by the second, a light blue *saya*, a light red *saya* and an unusual yellow *manto* with vertical black and red stripes, and finally, a green *saya* with a red *manto*.

At the second game on right, eight men gather around the board: three seated at left with two standing behind them and two more seated at right with one standing observer behind. From left to right and front to back they men are dressed: in a red *saya* with a horizontal black double stripe<sup>705</sup> with a blue *manto*; the clothing of the two men seated behind him is blocked from view, a purple *saya* and green *manto*, a yellow *saya* and green *manto* on the grey-haired man, a blue *saya* on the unhappy man seated front right, a red *saya*, and a yellow *saya* with horizontal red stripes under a green *manto*.

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<sup>704</sup> See similar knives on fols. 57r, 69r, 70r and 70v.

<sup>705</sup> See similar horizontally-striped garments on fols. 22v, 67v, 69r and 92v.

Janer's description agrees with mine though he does not identify the games shown.<sup>706</sup> Smith uses the left half of this miniature saying laconically that, "[w]ith an unhappy scowl, loser in a dice game reaches to pay his debt. Knife on table is presumably to keep game honest" (88, caption on 89). Grunfeld uses a reduced, color image of the miniature in his chapter on chess. It appears second in the column of Alfonsine images, immediately underneath a dice and fighting image from the *CSM*. Regarding fol. 66r the caption says that these players are calmer than the ones shown from the *cantiga* but that "one keeps a knife on the table before him" (Grunfeld 135). Calvo labels this miniature simply fol. 66 and misidentifies it as an illustration of *medio azar* (1987: 136). García Morencos uses this image in her study and correctly identifies the game as *triga*.<sup>707</sup> Here Vázquez de Parga notes the unusual number of players crowded into the illumination with ten sitting players and three standing observers whose clothing indicates that they are all nobles who form two groups around two different dice boards (1987: 24).

Both Wollesen and Canettieri compare this miniature well to the *Carmina Burana* (Cod. Lat. 4660) fol. 92r, noting the two dicing tables surrounded by a large number of players even though the number of people is different and, as Canettieri observes, so are the totals of the dice. Wollesen uses an image of this miniature in his article with the caption, "24. Madrid, Real Bibl. del Escorial, j.T.6. fol.; fol. 66r, dice players" (303).

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<sup>706</sup> "Son catorce, y bastante ordinarias las personas que en esta miniatura se ven jugando á los dados, sobre dos mesas. En ellas hay los dados, algun monton de dinero, y tambien un puñal desnudo, al que indudablemente se recurriria si no bastasen las razones, pues algunos de los jugadores tienen cara de pocos amigos. Al pié se explica el juego *de la triga*" (250).

<sup>707</sup> "Jugadores de la 'triga', con un puñal sobre la mesa" (García Morencos 37, fig. 13). In her *Relación de ilustraciones* she says of it, "Partida de dados llamada de 'la triga', donde puede observarse el gesto sañudo de alguno de sus jugadores y el puñal que tenían preparado sobre la mesa" (García Morencos 54).

Canettieri, without mentioning Janer or any of the prior studies, describes fourteen people around two boards—eleven seated and three standing. However, he says the games shown would probably be *mayores*, at left, because of its higher roll, and *tanto en uno como en dos*, at right, with an unsuccessful roll since one plus one does not equal four.<sup>708</sup> I disagree with Canettieri's identifications of the games shown. While the games indicated by Canettieri are the first games discussed and it could be assumed that they would then be the first shown, the dice rolls seem to indicate otherwise. Perhaps, since they are the simplest games described, they were deemed too simple to need an illustration or perhaps the plan for allotting six folios to the dice games was proving too crowded to include them. Further evidence for a shortage of space in the “Libro de los dados” is that, as noted by Grandese in his thesis, it is the only treatise of the *LJ* that does not conclude with a blank folio.<sup>709</sup>

The fact that the miniature illustrating these games appears on the same folio as their description indicates an important difference between the “Libro del acedrex” - where the illumination for a particular problem always follows its description and therefore usually appears on the next folio - , and the “Libro de los dados,” where the game's image appears above its description. Also, it is important to note that while two different dicing boards figure in the miniature in order to display the two variants of *triga*, the entire scene is contained in one frame. This single frame contrasts with the

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<sup>708</sup> “Quattordici persone stanno raggruppate intorno a due tavolieri: undici sono sedute e tre sono in piedi. I due giochi rappresentati dovrebbero essere *a mayors* e *tanto en uno como en dos*. Essendovi in entrambe le giocate una coppia, non si può stabilire quale sia il primo e quale il secondo dei due giochi, ma è più probabile che quello di sinistra sia *a mayores*, poiché mostra un punteggio molto alto (15) e l'altro sia un colpo non riuscito di *tanto en uno quanto en dos*” (Canettieri 67).

<sup>709</sup> Piero Grandese, “*El Libro de los juegos* de Alfonso X,” typographed thesis (U Ca'Foscari, 1986-87) 39.

double one found in the “Libro de las tablas” on fol. 77v, when two versions of *cab & quinal* are shown, the frame is split creating two entirely separate scenes and miniatures.

Carpenter’s description of this miniature is again so full of finely-observed details that I quote him at length:

Alfonso’s concern with pugnacious players seems justified, as we may observe in another scene from the *Libro de los dados* (Fig. 3).<sup>710</sup> The crowded illustration presents, in fact, two distinct scenes, delineated by the two gaming tables.... The dagger’s conspicuous presence underscores the potential for violence associated with gambling.... [T]he *Libro de las tahurerías* prohibits both physical aggression, including kicking, slapping, and hair-pulling (Law VI), and property damage, such as gashing the gaming table or breaking it with a stone ... (Law VII). ... [T]hose on the right display considerable hostility toward their opponents. ... One of the two players has arisen and points an accusing finger at one or more of the gamblers opposite him. ... [T]he tense scene recalls Alfonso’s concern in the *Libro de las tahurerías* with crooked dice (Law II), disruptive behaviour in the casino (Laws VI-VII), theft (Law XVII), disputes regarding the fall of the dice (Law XXXIV), and the like. (1993: 339-41)

Smith’s art notes identify the people in the left half of this miniature simply as men playing dice (290).

### **2.7.132 Fol. 66v**

Fol. 66v has only text and no illumination.

### **2.7.133 Fol. 67r**

The hundred and thirteenth miniature illustrates the dice game *azar* in a rectangular frame of yellow verticals, red horizontals and gold corner squares. Here, as in the previous miniature, a relatively large number of figures is shown, eleven, but only one brown dice board at right. On the board itself are three piles of coins and an open

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<sup>710</sup> Carpenter’s fig. 3 shows fol. 66r with the caption: “Fig. 3. Pugnacious players confront each other. Note the strategically placed poniard” (“*Alea*” 340).

leather coin purse. The dice read double sixes and a five or “senas cinco,” in this forerunner of the later game also known as hazard and the modern game of craps.

At left, one man wrestles another’s head to the ground; both wear only their underwear. Two players sit on either side of the board and two more standing behind them on each side. At the far right, behind and nearly beneath the crouching shooter, there is a noble seated *a la mora* who is the only one not down to just his underwear; he wears a violet *saya* and green *manto*. It appears that the ruffians on the left have lost with a roll of seventeen to the group containing the nobleman. It is difficult to say if the several of the men’s faces have been left incomplete by the miniaturist or whether they have been intentionally and dryly scraped away. Alfonso’s disdain for lowly gamblers who rely solely on Lady Luck to win is quite evident here as in the *CSM* and the *LT*. Perhaps the faces have been removed to protect the guilty here and on fols. 68v and 70v because it is unusual that such a scene is depicted within a frame of Castile’s colors.

Janer’s description agrees with mine.<sup>711</sup> Vázquez de Parga notes the contrast between the *LJ*’s royal portraits and the tavernesque and turbulent atmosphere of several miniatures in the “Libro de los dados.”<sup>712</sup> Canettieri again seems unaware of Janer and believes that the roll of sixteen shown indicates that this is another illustration of *triga*.<sup>713</sup>

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<sup>711</sup> “Todavía es más baladí la gente que aquí juega, desnuda casi del todo y de malísimo porte. Dos de los jugadores han vendido ya á las manos y el uno tiene al otro contra el suelo cogiéndole por el pescuezo. El juego que se explica al pié llaman *azar*” (Janer, “*Los Libros de ajedrez*” 250).

<sup>712</sup> “En las miniaturas se refleja también el carácter tabernario y turbulento del juego de los dados, donde los tahúres en bragas, por haber perdido al juego sus restantes prendas, se pelean a puñaladas revolcándose por el suelo (fol. 67[r]), mientras que en otra miniatura unos, que parecen caballeros, contemplan con marcada indiferencia como dos jugadores apuñalan a sus contrincantes” (Vázquez de Parga 1987: 17). Vázquez de Parga may perhaps be referring to fol. 70v in the latter part of this description.

<sup>713</sup> “È rappresentata una lite provocata dal gioco dei dadi: a sinistra ci sono alcuni giocatori in brache, che osservano due loro compagni mentre lottano per terra; a destra giocano intorno al tavoliere Quattro uomini seminude; uno di loro (forse un cavaliere o forse un guillare) è seduto alla moresca; in alto

Sixteen is also a winning roll in hazard; Canettieri is confused about the unusual organization of the illustrations of the games in this third treatise.

### 2.7.134 Fol. 67v

The hundred and fourteenth miniature illustrates the dice game *marlota* in a scene that combines both indoor and outdoor perspectives and is also less violent representation than we observed in the preceding miniature. The majority of illuminations do not depict players from the lower social classes but rather noble and royal players, reinforcing the underlying theme that the *LJ* is a book of nobility. This may explain why Alfonso chose not to treat here the means of cheating at dice, rather leaving that to the *LT*, or to mention dishonesty in any other game because to do so may have offended the courtly reader.

In the miniature of fol. 67v, we find without and at left a young Christian man in a black *saya* with red horizontal stripes<sup>714</sup> who sits astride the nearest of four horses. Three horses have their heads up and one bends down to nibble the grass in a scene very similar to that showing the three magi in *Cantiga* 1, panel 4. One of his friends at the brown dicing board within the building constructed of four five-lobed arches calls out to him from the game.

Sitting on the floor within the arcade, are five noble Christians, two at the left of the board and three to the right; the latter are busily but perhaps prematurely, handing over coins, above, and rich, forfeited garments, below, to the winner of the game. The man seated at the front at left in the white *saya*, gold-trimmed green *manto*, red hose and red shoes appears to be Sancho in his distinctive *birrete*, here red with a circular pattern

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altri due guardano il gioco. Sul tavoliere i dado mostrano 16 punti, cioè una *triga* nel gioco omonimo” (Canettieri 67).

<sup>714</sup> See similar horizontally-stripped garments on fols. 22v, 66r, 69r and 92v.

of white dots.<sup>715</sup> Behind Sancho sits another man dressed in a red *saya encordada*. On the other side of the board sit two more men in blue *sayas encordadas* and behind them a third in a horizontally-striped square hat. Of note is the disembodied hand that offers the garments at the right of the board, one of the few such unintentional though glaring errors to be found in the otherwise careful execution of the miniatures in this manuscript.<sup>716</sup>

The opening role of fifteen here displayed in this game of *marlota*, unlike the high opening rolls in *azar* that have already been described, essentially mean that nothing happens and this is, perhaps, why Sancho is not accepting the spoils offered but rather indicating the number shown on the dice. He seems to be pointing to the uppermost die which may have been last to settle and a win was presumed, explaining why his opponent so happily accepts the money and may be reaching for the horses if they were, indeed, part of the bet.

Janer's description agrees with mine, correctly assessing the game but not, I believe, the actions of the rider.<sup>717</sup> The horseman seems to be dismounting and it would appear odd that someone not even seated at the game could win money from a wager on that game. Vázquez de Parga incorrectly identifies the game in this scene as *azar* and his description is at variance with mine in several details. First, he says that a hunter mounted on a horse bearing the spoils of the hunt, an aspect I fail to perceive, arrives with two

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<sup>715</sup> For more on the *birrete* see this chapter's section titled "Sancho's *Birrete*" and Appendix D6. See another red *birrete* with a circular pattern of white dots on fols. 83v and 88v.

<sup>716</sup> Fols. 52r and 92r contain the other such errors, although both these cases differ from this extra arm in that they are simply portions of the miniature which have been left unpainted.

<sup>717</sup> "No de mejor buena fé juegan en esta miniatura, pero al ménos los jugadores van vestidos, y se hallan dentro de una habitacion. Fuera de ella espera montado á caballo un mancebo, sosteniendo otros tres caballos de las riendas, y recibe el dinero que los jugadores le alargan, y acaso la túnica y el manto de uno de ellos, que ya no los lleva puestos por haberlos perdido. *Este es el iuego de marlota*" (Janer, "Los Libros de ajedrez" 250).

more horses, rather than three, which he holds by the bridle. Perhaps he interprets the horse's lowered head as some sort of prey. Vázquez de Parga also says the horseman is greeted by four, rather than five, *caballeros* gambling their articles of clothing (1987: 25). Canettieri echoes Vázquez de Parga and also misidentifies the game in this scene as *azar*.<sup>718</sup>

This miniature is also thematically comparable to the marginal drawing of the “*Romance of Alexander*,” a manuscript composed in 1338 and illuminated by Jehan de Grise, probably in Flanders, between 1338-44.<sup>719</sup> Although there are only two boys playing at this dice board in the *Romance*, we can observe several similarities with the illumination on fol. 67v including the number of dice and the position of the player at right offering up or surrendering his clothing as a bet. The position of the player at left also resembles the position of the drink-bearing page on fol. 68r.

### **2.7.135 Fol. 68r**

The hundred and fifteenth miniature illustrates the dice game *riffa* in a framework that is partly architectural and partly rectangular within the context of a courtly scene. At the left, a six-sided brick tower with three arrow slits adjoins an arcade of two tri-lobed, mitered arches under a green roof.

From these arches at left, a kneeling page in an opaque white *cofia*, a red-belted grey *saya*, red hose and black single-strap shoes offers a drink, poured from a green ewer

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<sup>718</sup> “Un cacciatore monta un cavallo e ne traina altri due per le briglie. Quattro cavalieri lo attendono, giocando ai dadi; uno di essi, seduto alla moresca, ha perduto il mantello. Ai dadi è uscito un 15, ovvero uno dei due *azares* più bassi” (Canettieri 67).

<sup>719</sup> Botermans et al. 46, crediting ADM International.

into a gold chalice,<sup>720</sup> to the player on the left who has rolled a seven (an ace and a pair of threes or “ternas as”). As Calvo has noted, in the “Book of Chess,” the miniature sometimes gives clues as to who the victor of each game is by showing to whom the spoils go. This seems to be the case here.

The straight-edge borders of the miniature are shaded in green and surround six other Christian men: five seated around the brown board piled with gold coins and one standing observer who plays a five-stringed lute-like instrument.<sup>721</sup> The players are all wearing opaque white *cofias*--five of them under folded-brim hats of various colors--, gold-buttoned blue *garnachas* with gold sashes, red hose, black single-strap shoes, red *sayas* while the musician is outfitted in a violet *saya* under a blue *manto*. It is difficult to say if the details of the men’s faces at the right of the board have simply worn away over time or whether they have been intentionally and dryly scraped away.

Janer’s description agrees with mine except that he initially labels the game “sissa.”<sup>722</sup> The capital “R,” such as we find for the words *Romanos* and *Reencontrat* on fol. 79v and which Janer does read correctly, here appear to have confused him. Vázquez de Parga’s description agrees with mine, noting the polite nature of the scene.<sup>723</sup> Canettieri’s description also agrees with mine, except for his identification of the game

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<sup>720</sup> A similar gold cup is seen on fol. 84v, also a dice miniature.

<sup>721</sup> See also Beatriz’s seven-stringed instrument on fol. 18r.

<sup>722</sup> “Los jugadores son ya aquí personas de mayor suposicion. En un lado está un doncel tocando con una pluma una bandurria de cinco cuerdas, y por el lado opuesto, entra por la puerta y se inclina, un paje que presenta una copa de oro. Las monedas que están encima de la mesa son de oro, así como en los dos primeros juegos eran sólo de cobre, y en el tercero de cobre y de oro. *Este es el iuego de la sissa*” (Janer, “*Los Libros de ajedrez*” 251). Janer also gives the game’s name correctly as “*riffa*” in his article on cards (“*Naipes*” 49).

<sup>723</sup> “... no siempre el juego de dados se desenvuelve en escenas de violencia; en la miniatura del fol. 68[r] presenciamos una reunión placentera de caballeros a la que asiste un juglar tocador de viola, mientras que al otro extremo, un servidor doblando la rodilla ofrece una copa, que debemos suponer de vino” (Vázquez de Parga 1987: 17).

which he believes to be *marlota*.<sup>724</sup> While seven is also the lowest winning roll in *marlota*, that game has already been shown in the previous miniature and, moreover, *riffa* shown here requires a roll of a pair whereas *marlota* does not.

The player at right in this miniature is similar to the player at right in the marginal drawing of the *Romance of Alexander*, mentioned above in the discussion of fol. 67v, while the position of the drink-bearing page in this miniature also resembles that of the player at left in the *Romance*.

### 2.7.136 Fol. 68v

The hundred and sixteenth miniature illustrates the dice game *par con as* in a framework that, like the preceding miniature, separates the external observers and the internal players with the architectural device of an arched doorway leading into the rectangular game room. Unlike the preceding miniature, the class of dice players here represented is quite distinct. Beneath the green-roofed and red-brick horseshoe arch at left, two women in flat and wimpled turbans fill wooden tankards for the players from a wineskin. The woman in front, in a green *saya* and black *tabardo*, appears to be kneeling in front of a counter or bench while the woman in the red *saya* appears to be standing behind it.

Within the rectangular part of the miniature, displayed with shaded red horizontals and right-side green verticals, are five players who have, all but one, gambled away their clothing and are clad in nothing but their underwear. One very young man

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<sup>724</sup> “Sei cavalieri seduti alla moresca giocano a dadi. A destra un guillare suona la viola e a sinistra un paggio inginocchiato offre una coppa di vino a uno dei giocatori, davanti a un edificio con archi addossato a una torre esagonale. Il punto uscito ai dadi, un 7, è la *suerte* più bassa del gioco della *marlota*” (Canettieri 67).

bends to receive his drink while, behind him, two men stand sharing their beverage from a bowl. Finally, two men are seated on low cushions on either side of the brown board, the one at left still wearing his very humble short-sleeved brown *camisa*. He raises his right arm as though to call for a drink himself. It is difficult to say if several of the men's faces have been left incomplete by the miniaturist or whether they have been intentionally and dryly scraped away.

Janer's description agrees with mine.<sup>725</sup> Grunfeld uses this miniature, last in the column on the right, saying "Other victims, similarly denuded by their gambling mania [like the one on fol. 65v above it], appear in the lowest picture" (135). Vázquez de Parga's description is largely inaccurate; he sees gamblers selling or pawning their clothes to two women housed beneath a brick horseshoe arch with other gamblers, two players on either side of the dicing board, fighting, mostly naked (1987: 25). Though Canettieri follows Vázquez de Parga's description of pawning clothes, the rest of his explanation agrees with mine except, as usual, his identification of the game being played.<sup>726</sup> While the dice are not legible, I believe that the game shown here is *par con as*, following the pattern used in the rest of in the "Libro de los dados."

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<sup>725</sup> "En este juego que *llaman par con as*, ya vuelven los jugadores á ser gentes ordinarias. Juegan á la puerta de la taberna, y dejan por un momento el juego para beber con ánsia el vino que les miden los dos taberneros, llenándoles los jarros desde la boca del mismo pellejo" (Janer, "*Los Libros de ajedrez*" 251).

<sup>726</sup> "Un giocatore porta i suoi abiti a due donne per venderli o per impegnarli; altri due discutono semidesnudi, mentre uno di loro beve da un calice; altri due, sulla destra, giocano intorno al tavoliere. Uno di loro, ancora vestito, attende probabilmente il denaro che il compagno è andato a chiedere in prestito; a sinistra c'è un edificio in mattoni con arco di entrata alla moresca. Il punteggio dei dadi non è visibile con chiarezza, ma vi è probabilmente una coppia, conformemente al gioco della *riffa*" (Canettieri 67).

**2.7.137 Fol. 69r**

The hundred and seventeenth miniature illustrates the dice game *panquist* in a rectangular framework of a black bottom and red sides. Within the rectangle, the complex roof of the structure provides four steepled peaks, alternating with black and red towers, over four five-lobed arches supported by five gold columns. A seemingly accidental tear to the right side of this folio has been sewn.<sup>727</sup>

In this once again more courtly dice scene, two young Christian noblemen are seated on the floor playing *panquist* at a brown board while three others stand watching. The nobleman at the left appears to me to be Sancho, in his usual *birrete*, indicating to his friend that he has won his opponent's proffered, sheathed dagger.<sup>728</sup> This hand of *panquist*, with a roll of seven, a pair of threes and a one represents "trenas as" as above in *riffa* on fol. 68r. Sancho wears a white *saya* under a red sleeveless one, dark red hose, black single-strap shoes and his hat is yellow with a pattern of small circles. His friend, wearing a green *saya* and black shoes, holds a green *capa* maybe his own or one he has just won. The player seated to the right of the board wears a brown *saya encordada* with horizontal red stripes<sup>729</sup> and black shoes and offers his sword or knife to the winner. Behind him stands a man in a red *saya*, grey *capa* fastened over one shoulder, red hose and gold shoes. The man to the far right wears a blue *saya encordada*, red hose and black shoes. Similar to the opening miniature of the "Libro de los dados," each of the figures occupies his own arch except those at the far right who share a single arch.

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<sup>727</sup> See Excel file "*LJ* Manuscript Statistics," column "Wear and Tears."

<sup>728</sup> See previous section titled "Sancho's *Birrete*" in this second chapter and Appendix D6. See similar knives on fols. 57r, 66r, 70r and 70v.

<sup>729</sup> See also fols. 22v, 66r, 67v and 92v for similar, horizontally-striped clothing.

Janer's description of the handing over of lost articles in this miniature differs somewhat from mine.<sup>730</sup> Vázquez de Parga describes two *caballeros* with their three friends as playing beneath an arcade with intercalated towers (1987: 25). Canettieri's description agrees with mine except for his identification of the game shown.<sup>731</sup> I believe that his assertion that this is *par con as* is, again, due to his initial confusion as to the section's structure combined with the overlapping possibilities of winning rolls in different dice games.

### 2.7.138 Fol. 69v

Fol. 69v has only text and no illumination.

### 2.7.139 Fol. 70r

The hundred and eighteenth miniature illustrates the dice game *medio azar* in a rectangular framework of shaded green and black, decorated in large and small "S" patterns. There is a small hole in the lower right of this folio and a tear on the right side has been sewn.<sup>732</sup>

This comparatively courtly scene shows six figures seated around the board. To the left of the board, the first of three figures wears an opaque white *cofia*, green-sleeved *saya* with gold buttons at the cuff and under a tan poncho-like *tabardo*, red hose and black shoes and reaches behind the player to place his bet of gold coins on the brown

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<sup>730</sup> "Este iuego llaman Panquist. Caballeros parecen ser los que juegan aquí á los dados, dentro de una habitacion elegantemente decorada, pero esto no impide que el uno haya perdido su túnica, y que otro ofrezca jugar su espada, que la tiene ya pronta á entregar en una mano" (Janer, "Los Libros de ajedrez" 251).

<sup>731</sup> "Sono rappresentati due uomini ben vestiti che giocano a dadi sedendo alla moresca sui due lati del tavoliere; tre spettatori in piedi li consigliano o commentano il gioco. Il punteggio uscito è uno di quelli vincenti al gioco del *par con as*: due 3 e un 1" (Canettieri 67).

<sup>732</sup> See Excel file "LJ Manuscript Statistics," column "Wear and Tears."

board. The player at left himself wears a transparent white *cofia*, a red *saya* with gold buttons at the cuff, a green split and hooded tunic, hood down, and black shoes. Behind him, a player shown in profile with distinctly Semitic features including a closely-trimmed and pointed beard,<sup>733</sup> wears a high-necked gold-brimmed green *capirote*. The player at right, perhaps Sancho in a green *birrete*, wears a white *saya* under a red sleeveless *saya* trimmed in black-and-white detailing, dark red hose and black shoes.<sup>734</sup> Behind him are seated a woman dressed in a grey *saya* and a grey cloth head covering and a man in a green *saya encordada* with red hose and red shoes. A knife<sup>735</sup> tucked into the latter's sash perhaps foreshadows the violence on the next folio. The condition of the paint on the dice makes them too blurry to read in this game of *medio azar*.

Janer's description agrees with mine.<sup>736</sup> Vázquez de Parga sees six *caballeros* seated Indian style on either side of the board, failing to recognize the woman (1987: 25). Canettieri's description agrees with mine except for the game played.<sup>737</sup>

#### 2.7.140 Fol. 70v

The hundred and nineteenth miniature illustrates the dice game *azar pujado* in a rectangular framework of green horizontals, red "S"-pattered verticals and golden L-shaped corners. Here a courtly game among six players has evolved into a violent confrontation between four men fighting with knives around the two young Christian nobles seated on the floor.

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<sup>733</sup> See similar men on fols. 53r and 60v.

<sup>734</sup> See previous section titled "Sancho's *Birrete*" in this second chapter and Appendix D6.

<sup>735</sup> See similar knives on fols. 57r, 66r, 69r and 70v.

<sup>736</sup> "*Este iuego llaman medio azar. Los jugadores son seis, están sentados y entre ellos se ve una mujer, jugando con más calma y reposo que en los anteriores*" (Janer, "*Los Libros de ajedrez*" 251).

<sup>737</sup> "Cinque cavalieri e una dama seduti alla moresca giocano al *panquist* intorno al tavoliere" (Canettieri 67).

At left, behind the player dressed in a gold-trimmed blue *saya* with detachable sleeves, a gold-trimmed blue manto, red hose and red shoes, the man seated at far left in the green *saya encordada*, red hose and gold shoes grabs the other seated man in the red *saya* by the throat and threatens him with his bare blade.<sup>738</sup> The knife's sheath lies on the floor between them. The player at right, in a red-trimmed green *saya encordada*, yellow sash, red hose and gold shoes turns to watch the knife-fight between the standing bare-legged and barefoot men in red and brown *sayas encordadas* behind him. As with fol. 68v, it is difficult to say if several of the men's faces have been left incomplete by the miniaturist or whether they have been intentionally and dryly scraped away. Some sketchy details are visible on most but the man dressed in red and fighting at right appears to have been purposefully defaced. Again, the condition of the paint on the dice makes them too blurry to read in this game.

Janer's description<sup>739</sup> agrees with mine as does that of Vázquez de Parga.<sup>740</sup> Canettieri description is also correct except for his misidentification of the game.<sup>741</sup> Wollesen uses an image of this miniature in his article with the caption, "10. Madrid, Real Bibl. del Escorial, j.T.6. fol.; fol. 70v, fighting dice players" (287), and notes the realistic depiction of their struggle (305).

An image of dice players from the fourteenth-century Italian *Lo Libro de Multi Belli Miraculi* shows a particularly unkempt and unwell fellow dismayed by his

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<sup>738</sup> See similar knives on fols. 57r, 66r, 69r and 70r.

<sup>739</sup> "Tambien son seis los jugadores que figuran en este juego, al que llaman *azar pujado*, pero lejos de jugar en paz y concordia, dos se han levantado y clavado los aceros el uno al otro, y más allá un jugador tiene asido á otro de las barbas y le amenaza puñal en mano" (Janer, "*Los Libros de ajedrez*" 251).

<sup>740</sup> Vázquez de Parga 1987: 25. See also Vázquez de Parga's comment about fol. 67r.

<sup>741</sup> "Due coppie di giocatori si affrontano con i pugnali mentre altri due uomini giocano al *medio azar*. Uno di essi guarda la scena di lotta che si svolge dietro di lui" (Canettieri 67).

opponent's roll and two figures standing behind the board.<sup>742</sup> Although the *British Library Images Online* description of the miniature called "dice players" (Record number 10221, Shelfmark Add. 22557, fol. 9v) identifies that figure as "two-faced Fortune," it seems more likely to me that it represents a man kissing the scarlet-clad courtesan<sup>743</sup> as in *Cantiga* 140's sixth panel. This could also perhaps be two whispering observers as on *LJ* fols. 20r and 71v, or, given the arm position of the person at left, even perhaps a fight as on *LJ* fol. 70v.

### 2.7.141 Fol. 71r

The hundred and twentieth miniature is the first of two illustrations of the dice game *guirguesca* in a rectangular framework. This courtly scene is much more tranquil than the last. Here again are six nobles but this time peaceably gathered around the board. Two sit on the floor playing *guirguesca* at a brown board while two observers stand behind each player.

The two dice in this miniature constitute conclusive proof that the dice miniatures precede their textual descriptions because *guirguesca* is the only *LJ* dice game which uses two dice. The winning roll? Seven, of course, with a six (only five points are visible though their arrangement in parallel columns clearly indicates that this is a six) and a one or "seys as."

Those at left seem to be soundly trouncing their opponents as they have the bigger piles of gold coins and the barefoot player in the middle of the group at right is taking off his belt. I believe the nobleman standing at the far left, in the gold *birrete*, grey *saya* and

<sup>742</sup> Krystyna Weinstein, *The Art of Medieval Manuscripts* (San Diego, CA: Laurel Glen, 1997) 5.

<sup>743</sup> This lady also appears to be a pickpocket with her hand sneaking into the man's purse. Ladies in red appear also in the gambling dens of the *LJ*'s fol. 68v and *Cantiga* 72.

short gold-trimmed grey *capa con cuerda*, red hose and gold shoes may be Sancho or even one of Violante's Aragonese relatives due to his patterned belt.<sup>744</sup> Second from left, stands another man in a red *capa con cuerda* which he has pulled close around him and up over his head obscuring his other garments and causing the *cuerdas* to hang like pairs of braids off the sides of his head. Seated at the left of the board is a blond man in a pink or white *saya* under a gold-trimmed green *capa con cuerda*, red hose and gold shoes. His opponent at right wears a plain greyish-tan *saya*. Second from right is a bare-legged and barefoot man in a green *saya encordada*. The man at the far right, in a brown *saya*, dark red hose, gold shoes and fur-trimmed red *manto*, also wears a cap similar to Sancho's.<sup>745</sup>

Janer's description agrees with mine.<sup>746</sup> Vázquez de Parga describes the players as two noblemen kneeling while observed by four others standing. He also notes that the trio on the left all wear *capas con cuerda* (Vázquez de Parga 1987: 25). Canettieri remarks that there are only two dice but he believes this to be the miniaturist's error.<sup>747</sup>

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<sup>744</sup> See the previous titled "Sancho's *Birrete*" in this second chapter and Appendix D6. Compare this also to the unidentified heraldry of the embroidered sash seen on fol. 8r and the *manto* at left on fol. 76r. Cristina García Medinilla of the Monastery of Huelgas in Burgos describes the *cinto* found in the sepulchre of Fernando de la Cerda: "La decoración del cinturón es mucho más compleja ya que alterna escudos extranjeros con aves y rombos." According to the slide and tape set *Alfonso X el Sabio* by the Ministerio de Cultura, Secretaria General Técnica (Madrid: Gráficas Marte, S.A., 1984), slide 5 shows the "Capa del arzobispo don Sancho" of silk embroidered with castles and lions in a checkered pattern which also incorporates, according to the tape's description, "Tapicería tejida con oro y con sedas. Capa decorado con hexágonos y rombos enlazados por cintas de oro. La decoración reúne las armas de Castilla, Aragón y las águilas negras de Sicilia, símbolo emblema del imperio." See also Bertha Collin's "The Riddle of a 13th Century Sword-Belt."

<sup>745</sup> For more on the *birrete* see this chapter's section titled "Sancho's *Birrete*" and Appendix D6.

<sup>746</sup> "Este es el iuego que llaman *guirguesca*. Si bien los seis jugadores que aparecen en esta miniatura, manifiestan sumo interés en la suerte de los dados, sin embargo, no se ven en sus rostros síntomas de llegar todavía á las manos" (Janer, "Los Libros de *ajedrez*" 251).

<sup>747</sup> "Due cavallieri giocano all'*azar pujado* seduti alla moresca e altri quattro (due per lato) li guardano. Sul tavoliere si vedono solamente due dadi, ma ciò va contro la prescrizione del trattato. Il punto uscito, un 7, è probabilmente una *suerte* e non comporta quindi la vittoria del giocatore che lo ha ottenuto" (Canettieri 67-68).

**2.7.142 Fol. 71v**

The hundred twenty-first miniature represents the second of two illustrations of the dice game *guirguesca* as well as the final illumination of the “Libro de los dados.” This miniature, like the one on fol. 67v, contains both indoor and outdoor perspectives. The realistic attempt to depict different species of trees may be compared to similar scenes in the *CSM*, such as the life-like portraits of different species of animals studied by Kinkade in *Cantiga 29*, or in the miniature of *grant acedrex* on fol. 82v. The green dice board here, though similar to the one on fol. 65v, is unlike all the rest in the “Libro de los dados.”

Behind the group on the left is a small temple with a twinned horseshoe arch and two-tone roof tiles. In this truly interesting scene, the teams of players appear to be, respectively, Christian and Jewish by their features and clothing. At far left is a young man in a dark *saya*, red *pellote* and black shoes. Second from left is a young man in a white *saya* under a black-and-white trimmed red sleeveless *saya* and black shoes who, because of faulty perspective in the execution of this particular aspect, appears to have two heads, one wearing the only beard among those at left and one smooth-faced. The player at left, dressed in a gold-trimmed and loose-sleeved green tunic, red hose and red shoes, has no pupils and insults his dark opponent in the peaked cap<sup>748</sup> with the *figa* hand gesture. The gesture may also be a metaphoric extension of the fruit garden atmosphere unique within the manuscript, perhaps indicating that the men at left are rejoicing in their opponents’ loss by having rolled the winner’s goal number. The dark player at right

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<sup>748</sup> See Appendix D7: Jewish and Oriental Headwear and similar hats on fols. 8v, 20r, 41v, 46v, 75r, 82v.

wears a greenish-grey *saya* and *manto* and what may be a greyish-green Jewish cap. Two dark men whisper conspiratorially to the right as discussed in description of fol. 20r above; the whisperer wears brown and the listener at far right wears a black *saya* under a loose-sleeved red tunic and black shoes. Behind the whispered is a fourth dark man.

The four trees shown here may be meant to symbolize the four seasons and other earthly groups of four. The tree at front left appears to be an orange tree but the other trees are less easily identified. At front right is a fruitless tree with a bent trunk; this may be a juniper tree which sometimes bends like this. At rear left, behind the orange, is a tall and pointed tree which might be a cypress. At rear right is a rough-barked tree with palm-type leaves, bearing one cross-hatched fruit not unlike a pineapple but this fruit was not known in Europe before Columbus. Perhaps, rather than a single fruit, it is a bunch of dates. Their circular arrangement may be the reverse of the counterclockwise seasons in the fifth treatise (fols. 88v and 89v) with the palm symbolizing Palm Sunday, the last Sunday of winter, the juniper whose berries ripen in the spring, the orange which bears fruit in the summer and the cypress representing fall.

Janer's description identifies the trees of this miniature somewhat differently and mentions neither the game played nor the insult.<sup>749</sup> Domínguez Rodríguez praises the artistic effects achieved in the garden ("Libro de los juegos" 40) while Vázquez de Parga describes the scene, unique within the manuscript, with a cypress, a palm, an orange and another kind of tree, without identifying which is which (1987: 25). García Morencos

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<sup>749</sup> "Junto á una casa y en un huerto en donde hay manzanos, una palmera y un pino, juegan á dados ocho individuos, cuatro castellanos y cuatro judíos, bien conocidos éstos por sus trajes y sus aguileñas narices" (Janer, "*Los Libros de ajedrez*" 251).

uses this image in her study, noting the two groups of different religions<sup>750</sup> but not the insulting hand gesture.<sup>751</sup> Canettieri echoes Vázquez de Parga and correctly identifies the final game, perhaps because it is illustrated twice.<sup>752</sup> Constable, who uses this miniature as her fig. 23, calls the one and three the Jew's winning dice roll without, however, identifying the game as *guirguesca* (344).

### 2.7.143 Fol. 72r

The hundred twenty-second miniature, the first of the “Libro de las tablas,” is contained within an architectural framework of a red pattern of interlocking “S” designs at the bottom, gold column-sides and roofs over four tri-lobed mitered arches. It is interesting to note that the arches consist of a total of twelve curved spaces, the same number as on a side of a backgammon board. The illumination occupies roughly the upper third of the folio.

The five figures portrayed are placed beneath the arcade singly or in combination as are the pieces in a tables game and appear to be, from left to right, King Alfonso, a Christian together with a Jewish scribe, possibly Maestre Roldán as on fol. 65r, a defaced man in a *birrete*, most likely Prince Sancho, and, finally, another prince, perhaps

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<sup>750</sup> Her caption reads, “Cristianos y judíos juegan, reunidos, en meridional huerto” (García Morencos 38). In her *Relación de ilustraciones* she says of it, “Los cristianos se reunían con los judíos, lo mismo que con los moros, no sólo para estudiar y traducir en las Escuelas de Murcia, Toledo o Sevilla, sino también para jugar con ellos, como aparecen en este frondoso huerto meridional de palmeras y naranjos” (García Morencos 54).

<sup>751</sup> “Los austeros judíos, con sus pardas y severas vestimentas, que aparecen reunidos, lo mismo que los moros, alrededor de la figura del Rey Sabio, no sólo para estudiar y traducir en las Escuelas de Murcia, Toledo o Sevilla, sino también para participar en los juegos, *en cordial camaradería con los cristianos*” (García Morencos 20, emphasis mine).

<sup>752</sup> “In un giardino sivigliano con un cipreso, una palma, una arancio e un altro albero, sei persone sedute alla moresca intorno al tavoliere (tre per lato) osservano due uomini che giocano a dadi. Dietro i giocatori di sinistra c'è un edificio con un arco esterno e due archi interni. Il gioco è la *guirguesca* e il punto uscito ai dadi, un 4, è una suerte e quindi non è vincente” (Canetteri 68).

Alfonso's next-youngest, Pedro or Juan.<sup>753</sup> The king's grey *saya* and *capa con cuerda* are beautifully bordered in castles and lions and he wears a gold crown and gold shoes. While he is seated above the others, he is not on a proper throne but rather a bench covered with a blue cloth.

As noted above in the description of fol. 65r, the two individuals to the immediate right of the king in this miniature strongly resemble the two males seated to the left of the king in the miniature on fol. 65r. In both, we see a blond youth in red with a dark and bearded scribe. The scribe, here in a reddish *saya* uncharacteristic of his religion along with his white hose and black shoes, and the other man next to him, in a *saya* of another shade of red, are not important enough in rank, as denoted by their inferior positions at the very lowest level, to occupy their own arch but rather they share one. In his right hand the scribe, writing in the book, grasps a pen and in his left hand, holding down the folio on which he is writing, he clutches what is perhaps an inkwell. The visible text on the scribe's notebook here at the beginning of the "Libro de las tablas" reads "Pues que auemos," the same words which initiate the opening illumination of the *Códice rico* of the *CSM*.

At right, the two princes are seated midway in height between the king and the scribe. Neither Vázquez de Parga nor Canettieri mentions the intentional abrasive defacing of the second nobleman from the right, whom I believe to be Sancho because of his *birrete*,<sup>754</sup> the fact that he is usually defaced<sup>755</sup> and his red hose.<sup>756</sup> Compared with the

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<sup>753</sup> For more on the *birrete* see this chapter's section titled "Sancho's *Birrete*" and Appendix D6.

<sup>754</sup> For more on the *birrete* see this chapter's section titled "Sancho's *Birrete*" and Appendix D6.

very similar miniature of fol. 1r, the defaced nobleman in the *birrete* has moved up in rank. At the beginning of the manuscript, there is a nobleman interposed between the King and himself but in the initial miniature of the “Libro de las tablas” there is no such figure. Combined with his dress, the attack on his image and the fact that Sancho was, along with his much younger nephew Alfonso de la Cerda, next in line for the throne after his brother’s death, I believe that it is likely that the now absent image of Fernando de la Cerda suggests that work on the “Libro de las tablas” began after his demise in 1275 and was completed sometime before Sancho’s rebellion in 1282.

The defaced prince wears a red *saya encordada* under a white-edged and sleeveless green jumper-style one, a green *capa con cuerda*, red hose, red shoes and a red *birrete* decorated with vertical floral bands.<sup>757</sup> The bare-headed blond prince at far right wears a green *saya encordada* under a black-and-white edged red one, a thin yellow scarf,<sup>758</sup> a white-lined red manto, red hose and black single-strap shoes.

Janer begins his 32-page, 8-section study on the *LJ* with a pair of images from the work, fols. 72r and 73r, which are captioned “Lozano copio” and “Lozano copió” respectively; his description agrees with mine.<sup>759</sup> However, what Janer calls facsimile is

<sup>755</sup> Alfonso himself may have literally defaced Sancho’s image in several places throughout the *LJ* after he betrayed him by leading nobles to uprising against him to take the throne (see also fols. 1r, 88v, 96v and 97v).

<sup>756</sup> See previous sections titled “Sancho’s *Birrete*” and “Scarlet Stockings and Gold Shoes” in this second chapter. See also Appendix D6.

<sup>757</sup> See also the similarly patterned blanket on fol. 79v.

<sup>758</sup> See also the thin, gold scarf on fol. 96v.

<sup>759</sup> “De nuevo aparece aquí el Rey Don Alfonso *el Sabio* dictando á sus secretarios y oyendo el dictámen de dos jugadores experimentados. ‘Aquí comienza el libro de los iuegos de las tablas. E fabla primamiente de como deue seer fecho el tablero e las tablas e quantas deuen seer e qual es la barata e la manera dellas. E otrossi de como an mester los dados pora guiarse por ellos e fazer sus iuegos lo mas sotilmiente que pudieren.’ - De este interesante juego de las Tablas, ofrecemos á nuestros lectores una lámina en correcto facsimile” (Janer, “*Los Libros de ajedrez*” 252).

in fact a copy or drawing embodying the nineteenth-century concept of a “facsimil correcto, or what we would today call more “corrected” than correct and therefore not a facsimile at all. Janer’s images are curiously sharpened; the crenellations of the architecture have been regularized, the outlines of nearly everything have been traced boldly and the writing and tonal contrast in general have been made sharper.

Even the people shown in the miniature of fol. 72r have been changed: the king’s nose and mouth have been lowered and his beard made fuller; the scribes’s noses, eyes and mouths have been changed and the scribe at the right has been deprived of his Semitic features; features have been added to Sancho’s visage, defaced in the original, and the detail of his hat has been deleted although the outline oddly remains. The other prince’s face and hair have been altered and the folio is shown without an Arabic numeral at the top right.<sup>760</sup>

This final detail is of note because it may help to determine when these page numbers were added, if not erased by Janer, in his copied images when they were added by him later. Fol. 73r is similarly altered, the writing and images are sharpened and the faces are slightly changed. The sharpening of the folio’s heading accentuates the scribe’s error in writing “de los” instead of “de las” and then making his *o* into an *a*. No reference is made in the text to the sharpening or alteration of the images because Janer most likely felt he was presenting the images at their best by polishing and restoring them.

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<sup>760</sup> In Justi’s time (1832-1912) there were also no Arabic page numbers. Janer’s study was published in 1874 so the page number was possibly not yet present. The modern numbering, which extends only to folio 97, appear to have been added sometime before Murray’s 1913 study which is the first chronologically to say that there are 98 folios.

Vázquez de Parga sees the king accompanied by his royal train of courtiers or players and a scribe on whose notebook are visible the first words of the “Libro de las tablas” with which the miniature opens. Vázquez de Parga pays careful attention to the scribes and their writing instruments in the inaugural illuminations of the first three treatises of the *LJ* (1987: 25).

Canettieri’s description agrees with mine.<sup>761</sup>

See also the Appendices D1 and D2 for a comparison of the iconographic and semi-iconographic portraits of Alfonso in the *LJ* and the possible non-iconographic *LJ* portraits of Alfonso.

#### **2.7.144 Fol. 72v**

Fol. 72v has only text and no illumination.

#### **2.7.145 Fol. 73r**

The hundred twenty-third miniature illustrates the manufacture of the tables board and pieces in an architectural framework of a red bottom, red sides and an irregular upper border of roofs and triangular peaks over three tri-lobed triangular arches supported by alternating green and red marble columns. Beneath each arch, reading from left to right, we see one phase in the production of the equipment for playing tables. First, a youth in a grey *saya* sits on a stool with one leg in red hose and a black shoe and the other leg and foot bare to operate his saw, recalling the fashioner of the chess pieces on fol. 3r. He cuts the round pieces for the game from a long wooden cylinder or dowel. Under the middle

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<sup>761</sup> “Come nella miniature al fol. 65r, Alfonso X è rappresentato al di sotto di una serie di archi, fra torrioni con merli. È incoronato e vestito con un mantello a scacchi rossi e bianchi con castelli e leoni d’oro; è seduto su un trono di dimensioni inferiori al precedente ed è rappresentato mentre detta a uno scriba il *Libro de las tablas* (sul foglio c’è scritto *Pues que auemos*, che sono le prime parole del libro). Sono presenti altri tre cortigiano o giocatori” (Canettieri 68).

arch, an older youth in a red *saya*, red hose and black shoes sits on a bench and works on the tables board. Under the third and final arch, we see the finished board with its red and yellowish piece bag suspended from a gold ring at the bottom of the board.

Janer presents this image sharpened and slightly altered as noted in the section on fol. 72r above. His description<sup>762</sup> agrees with mine, as does that of Vázquez de Parga (1987: 26). Canettieri reverses right and left but otherwise echoes Vázquez de Parga.<sup>763</sup>

### 2.7.146 Fol. 73v

The hundred twenty-fourth miniature illustrates the tables game *quinze tablas* in a rectangular framework of red verticals and black horizontals with an interlocking “S”-design. Two Christian men seated on a long bench covered with a red cloth embroidered with a stripe of figure-eights<sup>764</sup> sit on either side of a board set up to begin play of this variant. The man at left wears a red *saya*, red hose and gold shoes under a grey *tabardo* and a grey *capirote* while his opponent wears a green *saya encordada* under a red-and-white sleeveless *saya*, red hose and gold shoes under a green *capa con cuerda*. The three dice total seven, reading one, two and four. From the gold ring at the bottom of the board hang two piece bags, the upper one much smaller like those seen on fol. 43r.

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<sup>762</sup> “Taller de ebanistería en tres compartimentos. En uno está un tornero preparando un trozo de madera, en el de enmedio se halla un carpintero cepillando un tablero, y en el tercero se ve ya un tablero concluido, con la bolsa que ha de encerrar los dados, ‘como quier que las tablas ayan mester dados con que se iuegen.’” (Janer, “*Los Libros de ajedrez*” 252)

<sup>763</sup> “In un’officina due artigiani seduti su panchine gabbriano le pedine e il tavoliere. A sinistra è un tavoliere terminato” (Canettieri 68).

<sup>764</sup> See also fols. 35r, 35v, 39r, 40v, 55r, 61v, 63r, 75r, 78r and 78v on seat coverings and fols. 36v and 91v on clothing.

Florencio Janer misunderstands the organization of the “Libro de las tablas” and consequently is one game ahead of the match actually shown in the diagrams.<sup>765</sup> Steiger observes two knights who sit on richly dressed bolsters playing the game of the fifteen stones or pieces.<sup>766</sup> Vázquez de Parga describes the male player on the left as wearing a grey hood and cloak under which can be seen his red sleeves and the male player on the right as a richly dressed gentleman in a *saya encordada* and *pellote* (1987: 26). In this “Libro de las tablas,” Canettieri correctly identifies the games’s miniatures as following their descriptions and his description of this folio agrees with mine.<sup>767</sup>

See also the Appendices D1 and D2 for a comparison of the iconographic and semi-iconographic portraits of Alfonso in the *LJ* and the possible non-iconographic *LJ* portraits of Alfonso.

### 2.7.147 Fol. 74r

The hundred twenty-fifth miniature illustrates the tables game *doze canes* or *doze hermanos* in a rectangular framework of solid red verticals and black horizontals. The miniature occupies roughly the upper third of the folio. The board’s bottom edge has a ring, though not golden as usual, and no piece bag hangs from it.

Here two adult Christian princes stand behind and teach two young boys seated on a long bench with vertical incisions<sup>768</sup> how to play this variant.<sup>769</sup> The two dice shown

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<sup>765</sup> “Dos caballeros, sentados sobre escaños cubiertos de rica tela, juegan al iuego que llaman *los doze canes ó doze hermanos*” (Janer, “*Los Libros de ajedrez*” 252).

<sup>766</sup> “Zwei Ritter, die auf reich bekleideten Schemeln sitzen, spielen das Spiel der 15 Steine” (Steiger XXII).

<sup>767</sup> “Due giocatori ben vestiti, seduti su panche ricoperte di drappi rossi, giocano alle *quinze tablas*. Sul tavoliere si vede la posizione iniziale delle tavole; il punto ottenuto dal primo giocatore è un 7 (4+2+1)” (Canettieri 68).

<sup>768</sup> See a similar benches on fols. 46r and 57v.

total five, with a two and a three. The boy at left in a light blue *saya* and bare legs and feet is taught by a blond man in a long green *saya*, a white-lined and short red cloak, red hose and black single-strap shoes. The boy at right wears a red *saya*, white hose and black shoes; he is taught by a man wearing a long grey loose-sleeved tunic, red hose and black shoes.

Janer's description misidentifies the game, as noted before, and identifies the two younger figures closest to the board as either children learning the game or pages moving the pieces for the elders.<sup>770</sup> Vázquez de Parga sees two children seated on high stools playing under the direction of the two adults behind them (1987: 26). Canettieri also describes them as children as well as the position of this game in progress.<sup>771</sup>

See also Appendix D5 showing details of the miniatures which show children being taught to play a game, illustrating the *LJ* as a dial of princes and princesses.

### 2.7.148 Fol. 74v

The hundred and twenty-sixth miniature illustrates the tables game *doblet* in a green-shaded rectangular framework of an interlocking "S" design. Two Christian nobles or royals, marked by their rich clothing as opposed to the losers clad only in their underwear in the "Libro de los dados," and here portrayed in opaque white *cofias* under folded-brim hats, play this variant while seated on a long white bench whose upper edge

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<sup>769</sup> For other miniatures showing adults teaching children to play games see also fols. 15r, 16r, 33r, 33v, 58r and 93v.

<sup>770</sup> "Aqueste iuego llaman *doblet*. Sea que enseña á jugar á dos niños, ó que dos jovencitos que echan los dados, sentado junto al tablero, sean pequeños pajes de dos caballeros que están detrás y les dirigen, es lo cierto que son cuatro las figuras pintadas en esta miniatura" (Janer, "Los Libros de ajedrez" 252).

<sup>771</sup> "Due bimbi seduti giocano ai *doze canes* sotto la direzione degli adulti. Il gioco è già in fase avanzata. Il punto uscito nei due dadi, un 5 (3+2), è stato ottenuto dal giocatore con le pedine nere e comporta l'inserimento della tavola nella casella del 5, che in effetti l'altro giocatore sembra indicare. La tavola, però, è già stata collocata al giusto posto" (Canettieri 68).

is decorated in a red trefoil design. The player at left wears a green hat with a red brim, a grey *saya*, pale red hose and black shoes while his opponent wears a white-brimmed red hat, a split and green-lined red *saya*, red hose and black shoes.<sup>772</sup> The three dice total ten: three, six and one; and the board is set up for the beginning of play with black somehow having been able to unstack his men on his two-point.<sup>773</sup> However, the position is unrealistic because neither the roll shown nor any roll of three dice produce only the unstacking of a piece on the two-point.

Janer's description incorrectly identifies this game.<sup>774</sup> Vázquez de Parga describes the two male players as wearing round *capiellos* over white *cofias*, with their blond curls peeking out (1987: 26). Canettieri's description agrees with mine.<sup>775</sup>

### 2.7.149 Fol. 75r

The hundred and twenty-seventh miniature illustrates the tables game *fallas* in a rectangular framework solid red verticals and black "S"-patterned horizontals. The three dice total fifteen, three fives, and the board is shown ready to begin play of this variant executed by a blond and tonsured Christian cleric against what may be a Jewish man by his cap, both seated on a long, low red cushion whose edges are decorated in a white figure-eight pattern.<sup>776</sup> The Christian wears a black *saya* under a fringed red, loose-sleeved tunic

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<sup>772</sup> See previous section titled "Scarlet Stockings and Gold Shoes" in this second chapter.

<sup>773</sup> The twenty-four spaces on a backgammon board are also known as points. The points are identified on each quarter of the board by counting inwards from the outside edge; thus the two-point is that which is second from the edge.

<sup>774</sup> "*Este es el iuego que llaman fallas. Son dos caballeros los que están jugando á las tablas con toda formalidad*" (Janer, "*Los Libros de ajedrez*" 252).

<sup>775</sup> "Due giocatori ben vestiti giocando a *doblet*. Il gioco è alla seconda mossa perché la tavola near della casella del 2 è stata già separate dall'altra; il punteggio uscito nei tre dadi è un 10 (6+3+1)" (Canettieri 68).

<sup>776</sup> See also fols. 35r, 35v, 39r, 40v, 55r, 61v, 63r, 73v, 78r and 78v on seat coverings and fols. 36v and 91v on clothing.

and a fringed red *capa con cuerda*, and black shoes while his opponent wears a peaked brown cap,<sup>777</sup> brown *saya* and greenish-black *capa con cuerda* with black shoes. Both men wear trim beards. This is one of only a few miniatures that show a game between a Christian and a Jew and one of even fewer portraying the match as friendly.

Janer's description mistakes the game but identifies the Jew if not the cleric.<sup>778</sup> Vázquez de Parga sees two male players, agreeing that the capped one on the right with black hair and a black beard seems to be a Jew (1987: 26). Canettieri's description agrees with mine.<sup>779</sup>

### 2.7.150 Fol. 75v

The hundred and twenty-eighth miniature illustrates the tables game *seys dos & as* in a rectangular framework and is the last time that we encounter female figures in the *LJ*. The red verticals and black horizontals of the frame are scalloped in white. The board is set up at the beginning of play and the three dice totalling fifteen read six, four and five. The placement of this board, and those through the first miniature on fol. 77v, is unusual in that it rests not on the floor as it has since the beginning of the *LJ* but rather upon the bench with the players.

Two blonde maidens play this variant seated on black-and-white striped cushions atop a fringed, green-and-red striped rug. The shooter at left wears a red headband, white

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<sup>777</sup> See Appendix D7: Jewish and Oriental Headwear and similar hats on fols. 8v, 20r, 41v, 46v, 71v and 82v.

<sup>778</sup> “*Este es el iuego que llaman el seys, dos e as. Son dos las personas que juegan, y con gran atencion. Uno de los jugadores es judío, á lo ménos así lo quiso declarar el miniaturista pintándole una gran nariz*” (Janer, “*Los Libros de ajedrez*” 252).

<sup>779</sup> “*Due giocatori accovacciati giocano a fallas. Il giocatore di destra con barba near a pizzo è probabilmente un ebreo. Nel tavoliere si vedono le tavole nella posizione iniziale. Il punto ottenuto dal primo giocatore, quello di sinistra, è un 15 (5+5+5), ma non è possibile dire come sarà utilizzato*” (Canettieri 68).

*saya* cuffed in black stripes, a red bodice, a blue-grey sleeveless *saya* edged in black-and-white, and black shoes; she leans her left elbow upon a white cross-hatched pillow. Her opponent wears a black headband and a red, loose-sleeved tunic trimmed in black-and-white and revealing white-cuffed red sleeves.

Janer's description incorrectly identifies this game.<sup>780</sup> Steiger echoes Janer.<sup>781</sup> García Morencos uses this image in her study and follows Janer in her misidentification of the game shown.<sup>782</sup> While the description for the game *emperador* begins on this same folio, the game shown here is *seys, dos e as*, as illustrations of the backgammon variants follow their textual descriptions. Vázquez de Parga's description (1987: 26) agrees with mine, as does that of Canettieri.<sup>783</sup>

### 2.7.151 Fol. 76r

The hundred and twenty-ninth miniature illustrates the tables game *emperador* in an L-shaped framework, fashioned to fill the entire space between the top and bottom passages. The verticals are solid red and the horizontals are green shaded to black.

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<sup>780</sup> “Este iuego llaman en Espanna *emperador*, por que él lo fizo. No se dice quién fuese este *emperador*, aunque sería probablemente el mismo Don Alfonso. [New paragraph.] Sobra una hermosa alfombra de fajas encarnadas y verdes hay dos elegantes almohadones blancos con rayas negras, y en ellos se sientan para jugar dos rubias y lindas damas” (Janer, “*Los Libros de ajedrez*” 252).

<sup>781</sup> “Auf einem schönen, rot und grün gestreiften Teppich befinden sich zwei elegante weiße Kissen, die ihrerseits mit schwarzen Streifen geschmückt sind. Auf ihnen sitzen zwei schöne blonde Damen beim Spiel” (Steiger XXII).

<sup>782</sup> “El juego de tablas llamado ‘emperador’, porque él ‘lo fizo’” (García Morencos 39). In her *Relación de ilustraciones* she says of it, “El juego de tablas llamado ‘emperador’, así llamado en España porque él ‘lo fizo’, refiriéndose seguramente al propio Alfonso X, emperador ‘electo’ de Alemania” (García Morencos 54).

<sup>783</sup> “Due donzelle (portano la tipica fascia intorno ai capelli), sedute comodamente e ben vestite, giocano al *seys, dos e as*. Nel tavoliere le tavole sono in posizione iniziale. Il punto ottenuto dalla prima giocatrice, quella di sinistra, è un 15 (6+5+4)” (Canettieri 68).

Two Christian males in gold crowns are seated Indian style, supporting<sup>784</sup> their left elbows on red pillows<sup>785</sup> atop the richly colored and detailed rugs. The top red-and-white rug alternates vertically-striped segments with diagonally-checked ones. Beneath it is another rug comprised of vertical stripes, pale blue between red, yellow and black with white ends.

The board is shown with the pieces in the opening position and three dice totalling nine points: six, one and two. The monarch at left points to the six and wears a red *saya* under a gold-trimmed and loose-sleeved green tunic, red hose and gold shoes. The arm of his green tunic also bears a red and gold patch or *margomadura* with no name embroidered upon it.<sup>786</sup> His grey *manto* is richly embroidered on the edge with red, gold and blue which does not resemble the Castilian heraldry but which is somewhat similar to the possibly Sicilian patterned sash seen on fol. 8r or the one on fol. 71r. His opponent, at right, wears a gold-trimmed red *saya* with detachable sleeves and a green *manto* with red and gold quatrefoil escutcheons whose gold-leafed contents have been blurred with age, though some, like the one at his elbow, are possibly castles. Their presentation in no way differs from the many other depictions in the manuscript of King Alfonso except that clear insignia or other heraldic markers that might indicate their identity are here lacking.

Given that the text says that the variant these two rulers are playing is called “en Espanna ell emperador por que el lo fizo,” I believe that it may have been Alfonso’s intent when the text portion of this folio was written to include here a miniature of

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<sup>784</sup> See players reclining at left on fols. 22r, 47v and 58v; at right on: 55v; and both players on: 50v, 62v and 77r.

<sup>785</sup> See other similar red pillows on fols. 8v, 10r, 14r, 22r, 40v, 47v, 76v and 97v.

<sup>786</sup> See other similar arm patches on fols. 17v and 55v.

himself as Holy Roman Emperor possibly playing against another emperor or king, perhaps his mother's first cousin, Frederick II, through whom he made his imperial claim; his father-in-law Jaime I of Aragon (with whom Alfonso appears in *Cantiga* 160, panel 4, and with whom he may also appear on *LJ* fol. 15r); or his English brother-in-law, Edward. However, as the representation of the players differs so substantially from the expectation created by the text, I think that the miniature may have perhaps been painted after 1275 when Alfonso had given up his imperial aspirations. Supporting this conclusion is the fact that fol. 72r, which opens the "Libro de las tablas," also may have been painted after Fernando de la Cerda's death in 1275.<sup>787</sup>

While the ruler on the left is similar in appearance to the portrait of Frederick in his *De arte venandi cum avibus*, the latter is such an impersonal iconographic representation that it is impossible to say for sure. Alfonso and Frederick both share the distinction of being fair-haired European monarchs as well as the rulers of two of the nations most influenced by their Islamic neighbors. This impact is reflected in both their choice of game and their sitting posture. It is possible that Frederick invented this version of tables but why then would the text explicitly state that the variant is called "emperor" in Spain?

Janer's description refers to these men as kings rather than emperors and misidentifies the game.<sup>788</sup> Vázquez de Parga also calls them kings and notes that the

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<sup>787</sup> See also my description of fol. 72r.

<sup>788</sup> "Este iuego llaman el medio emperador, y le juegan dos reyes, con corona ceñida, túnicas y mantos recamados de oro, y sentados á la usanza oriental encima de ricas alfombras" (Janer, "Los Libros de ajedrez" 253).

player on the right is shown in profile and with his legs tucked under him, much like the position of the girls playing on the preceding folio.<sup>789</sup>

Canettieri identifies the two players as kings but feels that their long beards rule out Alfonso (68). He is correct in saying that none of the iconographic portraits of Alfonso show him bearded, with the possible exception of light facial hair in fol. 54v. However, two portraits of Alfonso from the “Libro del acedrex,” the less than iconographic miniature on fol. 47v and the other on fol. 48r, show him with a short beard or stubble. Canettieri’s study does not include these miniatures because his analysis only begins two-thirds of the way into the *LJ* with the “Libro de los dados.”

Canettieri also thinks the player at left may be signaling the arrival point of his opponent’s roll but I do not see this as likely.<sup>790</sup> Firstly, I would imagine that the player at right plays the light pieces which he moves around towards him and that his opponent at left does likewise with the dark pieces. Second, even if the man at right is the player of the dark pieces, a roll of nine would move one dark man at the one-point to the ten-point. If the man at left is not pointing at the die showing six, then he could be pointing at the seven-point but not the ten.

The *Carmina Burana*’s fol. 91v portrays three men around a tables board. The man at left in red sits on a plain bench with a cushion while the player at right in grey sits upon an intricately decorated and cushioned bench and receives a cup of wine from a

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<sup>789</sup> Vázquez de Parga 1987: 26. Compare also the postures of these European men and their cushions on fol. 76v with those of the Arabs playing chess tables on fol. 10r.

<sup>790</sup> “Due re con la barba, incoronati e riccamente vestiti, giocano all’*emperador*. Nessuno dei due è identificabile con Alfonso X, che nelle altre miniatu[r]e non porta barba lunga. Sul tavoliere ci sono le tavole nella posizione iniziale. Il punto ottenuto dal primo giocatore, quello di destra, è un 9 (6+2+1), che permetterà di spostare una delle tavole nella casella del 3 del comparto al lato di quello in cui il giocatore ha intavolato (l’altro giocatore forse indica proprio la casella di arrivo)” (Canettieri 68).

standing page in brown at far right. No dice are shown and the arrangement of the pieces seems to indicate a game of *emperador* in progress, but with an unrealistic number of pieces: seventeen red and eleven black.

### 2.7.152 Fol. 76v

The hundred and thirtieth miniature illustrates the tables game *medio emperador* in a rectangular framework of shaded red verticals and green horizontals. Two young Christian male players recline<sup>791</sup> facing each other upon red pillows<sup>792</sup> and black-and-white striped cushions. Beneath both players is a striped rug of alternating red-and-yellow with white-and-blue trios. The smooth-faced youth at left wears a green *saya encordada*, red hose and a reddish *capa con cuerda*. His lightly-bearded opponent at right has no pupil drawn in his one visible eye just as we find on the following folio (77r) where the man at right, in a similar posture, has no facial features depicted and his pupil-less eye and brow are barely sketched. The player at right on fol. 76v wears a white *saya* under a red one edged in black-and-white and a white-lined blue cloak which has fallen down around his hips. The two dice, totalling seven, read four and three. I am uncertain which player made this roll due to the positions of their hands. This lovely, ornate board shows the pieces in their starting positions for *medio emperador* and is only slightly different from the one shown in the previous miniature on fol. 76r.

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<sup>791</sup> See players reclining at left on fols. 22r, 47v and 58v; at right on: 55v; and both players on: 50v, 62v and 77r.

<sup>792</sup> See other similar red pillows on fols. 8v, 10r, 14r, 22r, 40v, 47v, 76r and 97v. These pillows in particular seem to be the same as the ones seen on fol. 40v, on opposite sides.

Janer's description agrees with mine except for the identification of the game played.<sup>793</sup> Vázquez de Parga follows Janer in noting the laced-up styling of the back of the *saya encordada* worn by the player on the left (1987: 26). Canettieri's description correctly identifies the game shown and agrees with mine.<sup>794</sup>

### 2.7.153 Fol. 77r

The hundred and thirty-first miniature illustrates the tables game *pareia de entrada* in a rectangular framework of green shaded verticals and black horizontals with an interlocking "S" design. Two Christian nobles recline,<sup>795</sup> even more so than those seen in a similar posture in the previous miniature, on a bench covered with a rug striped in red, yellow, white, black and blue. The man at left wears a red *saya*, red hose and black single-strap shoes under his loose grey garment. His opponent at right, whose face is either not shown or not drawn, wears a reddish *saya encordada* under a green *capa con cuerda* and black shoes. The dice, totalling ten, read six and a pair of twos. This illumination occupies roughly the upper third of the folio.

Janer mistakes the game but otherwise his description agrees with mine.<sup>796</sup> Vázquez de Parga notes that the reclining player on the right here, as on fol. 76v, is presented with his back towards the viewer (1987: 26). Perhaps this is a work-saving

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<sup>793</sup> "Este iuego llaman la *pareia de entrada*. Le juegan tambien sobre almohadones y alfombras, apoyándose además en cojines bordados, dos caballeros jóvenes. En sus trajes puede estudiarse el modo de abrocharse las vestiduras" (Janer, "Los Libros de ajedrez" 253).

<sup>794</sup> "Due uomini ben vestiti giocano al *medio emperador*. Sul tavoliere ci sono le tavole nella posizione iniziale. Il punto ottenuto dal primo giocatore, quello di sinistra, è un 7 (4+3), che permetterà di spostare una della tavole nella casella del 5 del comparto posto di fronte a quello in cui ha intavolato il primo giocatore" (Canettieri 68).

<sup>795</sup> See players reclining at left on fols. 22r, 47v and 58v; at right on: 55v; and both players on: 50v, 62v and 77r.

<sup>796</sup> "Este iuego llaman *cab e quinal.*, y le juegan tambien sentados sobre alfombras á la usuanza oriental dos caballeros castellanos" (Janer, "Los Libros de ajedrez" 253).

technique for the artist who then has one less face to paint. It does, however, result in a somewhat unnatural position of the player's left arm. It is possible that it could indeed be his right arm stretched across his torso, reaching down to his stack of pieces, except for the fact that the hand shown over the board has a thumb in a position such that it can only be his right hand. Wollesen uses an image of this miniature in his article with the caption, "27. Madrid, Real Bibl. del Escorial, j.T.6. fol.; fol. 77r, backgammon players" (306), and notes the realism of their comfortable positions here and on fol. 80r (304).

Canettieri's description agrees with mine except that I do not understand his assertion about the text's explanation of the game's name; it seems that he and the text are saying the same thing.<sup>797</sup>

### **2.7.154 Fol. 77v's Two Miniatures**

This folio is unique in the *LJ* as it is the only one to contain two miniatures. The hundred and thirty-second and hundred and thirty-third miniatures illustrate the tables games of three-dice *cab & quinal* (left) and its two-dice variant (right) in two adjoining but purposefully separate rectangular frameworks that occupy the same space usually allotted to one miniature, roughly the upper third of the folio. The miniaturists could have painted two separate game boards, as they have for the two varieties of the dice game *triga* on fol. 66r, but they did not do so.

In the miniature at left depicting the opening position of *cab & quinal* played with three dice, a six, two and one totalling nine, the players are young Christian men wearing

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<sup>797</sup> "Due uomini giocano alla *pareja de entrada*. È rappresentata la prima *manche*: il giocatore di destra ha ottenuto ai dadi una coppia di 2 e un 6 e ciò gli ha permesso di collocare due tavole nella casella del 2 e una nella casella del 6. Sulla base di tale raffigurazione si può ritenere che l'uscita della coppia fosse necessaria per inserire le prime tavole: ciò si ricava anche dal nome del gioco, anche se nel testo viene fornita un'altra spiegazione" (Canettieri 68).

long, red *capirotas* tied with a white band around the brow. The player at left wears a reddish *saya*, red hose and black single-strap shoes; he appears to finger some coins on the board. His opponent at right wears a green *saya* revealing black cuffs underneath, black hose and black shoes. Both players sit on a long, high bench covered with a red-and-yellow striped rug.

The hundred and thirty-third miniature at right shows the opening position of *cab & quinal* played with two dice, a five and a three, totalling eight. The two younger, bare-headed male Christian players of this variant are both seated on a long, but lower, green bench. The player at left wears a green *saya*, a red *pellote*, black hose and black shoes. His opponent at right wears a plain brown *saya*, red hose and black single-strap shoes. In this second frame, black and white have already begun play as shown by the black piece on the six-point of black's inner table and the white piece on the four-point of white's inner table.

I disagree with Janer's description, that this is *todas tablas* shown in two rooms.<sup>798</sup> There do not seem to me to be two rooms in a single structure, as Janer claims, because there is no column, door or other architectural feature separating them but rather two entirely complete and separate frames whose benches do not align indicating they are, in fact, two separate illuminations.

Both Vázquez de Parga (1987: 26) and Canettieri (68-69) note that the frame is divided in half, each with its own game board and pair of players, but do not speculate as to why or note the difference between these separately framed miniatures and the ones in

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<sup>798</sup> “Este iuego llaman *todas tablas*. La miniatura está dividida en dos habitaciones, y en cada una hay un tablero y dos jugadores” (Janer, “*Los Libros de ajedrez*” 253).

the book of dice that contain multiple boards within one single frame. Vázquez de Parga describes the left frame as containing a bench covered in yellow- and red-striped cloth and hooded players who are seated so high that their legs dangle whereas the players and the game board in the right frame rest directly on the floor (1987: 26).

Canettieri's description agrees with mine.<sup>799</sup>

### 2.7.155 Fol. 78r

The hundred and thirty-fourth miniature intends to illustrate the tables game *todas tablas* in a rectangular framework of red verticals and green horizontals. The top and sides are decorated with an interlocking "S" pattern while the bottom edge is dotted in white. This illumination occupies roughly the upper third of the folio. The importance of this miniature is two-fold: first, it is meant to illuminate the medieval tables variant that is almost exactly like modern backgammon but second, it is wrong. The miniaturist has incorrectly painted the opening position for this variant by dividing the board in half according to piece color, as in chess. The correct opening position is exactly as we find it in modern backgammon.<sup>800</sup>

Two bare-headed Christian youths play *todas tablas* dressed in black hose and black shoes under long, gold-buttoned *sayas* cinched at the waist by black belts. The

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<sup>799</sup> "Sono presenti due riquadri distinti, ciascuno con un tavoliere e due giocatori. Nel primo si gioca *cab e quinal* con tre dadi e nel secondo lo stesso gioco con due dadi. In entrambi i tavolieri le tavole sono rappresentate nella posizione iniziale. Nel primo riquadro il punto ottenuto dal primo giocatore è un 9 (6+2+1) e nel secondo riquadro un 8 (5+3)" (Canettieri 68-69).

<sup>800</sup> See section 1.3.7.10 for a description and diagram of this arrangement.

player at left wears blue and his opponent at right wears red. They share a long bench covered in a green cloth edged in a figure-eight pattern.<sup>801</sup>

Janer's description agrees with mine except for his misidentification of the game.<sup>802</sup> Vázquez de Parga states that fols. 78r-v and 79r-v each have miniatures which follow a similar format: two players seated facing out, on a bench surrounded by a simple, non-architectural frame, remarking that their clothing is the most notable variation in each of these four illuminations (1987: 26). Canettieri's description, which also notes the miniaturist's error, agrees with mine.<sup>803</sup>

### 2.7.156 Fol. 78v

The hundred and thirty-fifth miniature illustrates the tables game *laquet* in a rectangular framework with plain shaded red verticals and black, "S"-patterned horizontals. This illumination occupies roughly the upper third of the folio.

Two more Christian youths share this game of *laquet* on a long bench with arms covered with a green cloth edged in a figure-eight pattern.<sup>804</sup> The older boy at left wears a transparent white *cofia* under his red, folded-brim hat, a red *saya*, a red and fur-collared cloak and black shoes. His younger opponent at right wears an opaque white *cofia*, a red *saya*, black hose and black shoes under a loose-sleeved, grey tunic whose hood hangs

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<sup>801</sup> See also fols. 35r, 35v, 39r, 40v, 55r, 61v, 63r, 73v, 75r and 78v on seat coverings and fols. 36v and 91v on clothing.

<sup>802</sup> "Este iuego llaman *laquet*. Juéganle dos jovencitos, ambos con túnicas, abrochadas con botones en la abertura del cuello, y con el cabello *rizado*, llevando además uno de ellos dos grandes bucles en la frente" (Janer, "Los Libros de ajedrez" 253).

<sup>803</sup> "Due uomini ben vestiti seduti su una panca con drappo verde giocano a *todas tablas*. Nel tavoliere sono rappresentate le tavole in posizione iniziale, ma la collocazione delle due tavole nella casella dell'1 non concorda con la descrizione fatta nel testo (cfr. lo svolgimento del gioco). Il punto ottenuto dal primo giocatore è un 4 (3+1)" (Canettieri 69).

<sup>804</sup> See also fols. 35r, 35v, 39r, 40v, 55r, 61v, 63r, 73v, 75r and 78r on seat coverings and fols. 36v and 91v on clothing.

down his back. The board is shown with the pieces in their initial positions and two dice totalling eleven points: six and five.

Janer's description agrees with mine except for the identification of the game.<sup>805</sup>

Steiger follows Janer.<sup>806</sup>

### 2.7.157 Fol. 79r

The hundred and thirty-sixth miniature illustrates the tables game *buffa cortesa* in a rectangular framework of red, wave-patterned verticals and green, "S"-link horizontals. This illumination occupies roughly the upper third of the folio.

Again two Christian youths resembling those seen in the previous miniature in both physical terms and dress play *buffa cortesa* on a long bench covered with a red cloth. The older player at left wears a flat hat over his transparent white *cofia*, a red-lined and split green *saya*, black hose and black shoes. His younger opponent at right wears a transparent white *cofia*, a red *saya* under a grey *pellote* with a red hood down his back, black hose and black shoes. The board is shown in the early stages of the game, with the younger player of the dark pieces at right having just had a very lucky roll of seven, with a two and a five. His opponent appears ready to remove his light piece already occupying the five-point; his piece on the two-point is similarly doomed.

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<sup>805</sup> "Este iuego llaman en las otras tierras la *buffa cortesa*. Juéganle dos caballeros, sentados en bancos cubiertos con una tela verde bordada de blanco. El uno lleva meramente una *cofia* en la cabeza, y el otro *cofia* sutil y encima un bonete" (Janer, "Los Libros de ajedrez" 253).

<sup>806</sup> "Zwei Ritter spielen auf Bänken, die mit weißbesticktem, grünen Tuch bedeckt sind. Der eine trägt eine Haube und der andere eine aus feinerem Material hergestellte Haube und darüber noch eine Mütze" (Steiger XXII).

Janer's description misidentifies the game shown and even the spelling of the variant he gives.<sup>807</sup> Janer seems to have confused the *b* and *v* of this manuscript and indeed they are often similar; however I find the *b* of *baldrac* much closer to the *b* of *buffa* than to the *u* of *uencen* on this same folio or the *V* or *v* used for Venus on fols. 95v and 96r. Canettieri's description agrees with mine.<sup>808</sup>

### 2.7.158 Fol. 79v

The hundred and thirty-seventh miniature illustrates the tables game *buffa de baldrac* in a rectangular framework of shaded-red horizontals and black-and-red verticals decorated with a spiral motif. This illumination occupies roughly the upper third of the folio. The board shows the game already in progress and with the player of the light pieces at right having rolled a total of twelve with a five, a four and a three.

The miniature depicts two young Christian men playing this variant on a long bench covered with a red cloth with wide stripes and a beautiful floral motif.<sup>809</sup> The older, bearded player at left wears a white *saya*, green-lined grey *capa con cuerda* edged with black-and-white detail and red shoes. There is an apparently accidental blue mark on his left leg similar to those seen on Violante on fol. 54v and 56r.<sup>810</sup> His younger, beardless opponent wears a white *saya* under a red sleeveless one bordered in black-and-

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<sup>807</sup> “*A este iuego llaman la buffa de Valdrac. Son dos los caballeros que le están jugando, sin ofrecer cosa particular sus trajes, parecidos á muchos de los indicados anteriormente*” (Janer, “*Los Libros de ajedrez*” 253).

<sup>808</sup> “Due uomini ben vestiti seduti su una panca con droppo rosso giocano alla *buffa cortesa*. Nel tavoliere è rappresentata la prima *manche* di una partita giocata con due dadi. Il giocatore che ha tirato per ultimo, quello di sinistra con le tavole bianche, ha ottenuto 5+2 e ha quindi collocato una tavola nella casella del 5 e una tavola in quella del 2, mentro l'altro, che aveva giocato in precedenza, ha piazzato due tavole nella casella del 3 e una tavola in quella dell'1” (Canettieri 69).

<sup>809</sup> See also the similar cloth of Sancho's *birrete* on fol. 72r and Appendix D6.

<sup>810</sup> See Excel file “*LJ Manuscript Statistics*,” column “Wear and Tears.”

white with a similarly detailed gold-lined red *capa con cuerda*, red hose and black single-strap shoes.

Again Janer mistakes both the game and the spelling of the variant he names,<sup>811</sup> failing to recognize either the medieval graph for a capital “R” in the word “Romanos” or the first letter of the word that follows. Additionally, he expands that second word in a different manner. Steiger follows Janer.<sup>812</sup>

Canettieri correctly identifies the game and describes the scene well. He awkwardly tries to reconcile the roll of five, four and three with the light pieces played by the man at left.<sup>813</sup>

As I understand it, the rules state that if a whole roll cannot be taken then as much of it as can be taken should be. To me this means that if, as above, a player rolls a four that he cannot use then he simply does not use that number at all. Another explanation, then, for how white most likely has a second piece on his five-point could be that by going first he rolled some combination of five and used all five to move one of his men to his five-point.

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<sup>811</sup> “*Este iuego llaman los romanos se encontrar, y le juegan dos caballeros, ofreciendo novedad los dibujos de los tapetes rojos que cubren sus asientos*” (Janer, “*Los Libros de ajedrez*” 253).

<sup>812</sup> “*Zwei spielende Ritter. Die roten Teppiche, welche die Sitze bedecken, weisen neue Stickornamente auf*” (Steiger XXII).

<sup>813</sup> “*Due uomini ben vesititi seduti su una panca con drappo rosso giocano alla buffa de baldrac. Nel tavoliere è rappresentata una partita già iniziata. Il giocatore che ha tirato per ultimo, quello di sinistra con le tavole bianche, ha ottenuto 5+4+3 e ciò gli permetterebbe di collocare una tavola nella casella del 3, una in quella del 4 e una in quella del 5: poiché però la casella del 4 è già occupata da una tavola dell’altro giocatore, secondo la prescrizione (cfr. lo svolgimento del gioco), il punteggio non può essere realizzato completamente e la tavola dovrebbe esserre quindi collocata nella casella del 3. Probabilmente per errore la ritroviamo invece nella casella del 5*” (Canettieri 69).

**2.7.159 Fol. 80r**

The hundred and thirty-eighth miniature illustrates the tables game *reencontrat* in a full-folio architectural framework constituting the final illumination of the “Libro de las tablas.” The bottom and side edges are striped in black, red, blue and white with gold squares in the bottom corners. The irregular top edge is comprised of red-peaked turrets over three blue domes. Under each dome, and supported by columns vertically-striped in red and green, is a gold, mitered arch decorated with seven semi-circular beads. The two young Christian males playing this variant sit Indian style upon a green cloth over a red-and-white striped cloth. The younger, beardless player at left wears a green *saya* with gold buttons at the cuffs, a red hood down his back, red hose and black shoes under his loose, grey *pellote*. His older, bearded opponent at right wears a loose, red *pellote* revealing the darker red sleeves of his *saya*.

They are both shown in the act of playing and it seems that the dice and pieces were intended to be included in the composition though, in fact, the miniaturist has neglected to depict them. The placement of this board, like those from fol. 75v through the first miniature on fol. 77v, is unusual in that it rests not on the floor as it has since the beginning of the *LJ* but rather up on the bench with the players.

Janer’s description agrees with mine and discusses the game of great chess introduced on the facing folio.<sup>814</sup> Vázquez de Parga notes that between fols. 80r and 89v

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<sup>814</sup> “Una miniatura grande que ocupa toda una foja, representa dos caballeros, de mayor tamaño que las figuras anteriores, preparándose para jugar. En la foja siguiente se halla la explicacion de un juego que lleva este título: ‘Aqui comienza el iuego del grant açedrex que fue fecho en India a semeiança de como los reyes antigos solien fazer sus huestes de caualllos e de peones e pararlos todos en azes por amostrar su poder e que los temiessen mas sus enemigos. E otrossi de como mostrauan estando en las

a larger format of illumination is used than has previously been seen in the *LJ*, that these miniatures are vertical rather than horizontal rectangles and often occupy nearly the entire folio precluding the use of a heading at the top of the folio and that the upper part of each miniature has a highly decorated architectural framework (1987: 26). While Vázquez de Parga is correct, what he observes is actually part of a larger, overarching convention within the *LJ* of ending each treatise with a full-folio illumination followed by a blank folio. Wollesen notes the realism of the players's comfortable positions (304). Canettieri's description agrees with mine.<sup>815</sup>

#### **2.7.160 Fol. 80v**

Fol. 80v is blank. The second of only three errors that I have encountered in Edilán's facsimile edition of the *LJ*, Edilán's reproduction offers an inverted mirror-image of the original blank folio.

#### **2.7.161 Fol. 81r**

Fol. 81r has only text and no illumination.

#### **2.7.162 Fol. 81v**

Fol. 81v has only text and no illumination. There is hole in the left center of this folio.<sup>816</sup>

#### **2.7.163 Fol. 82r**

Fol. 82r has only text and no illumination.

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huestes aues o bestias estrannas por que los obedeciessen mas de grado los omnes e los touiessen por muy mas nobles.” (Janer, “*Los Libros de ajedrez*” 253-54)

<sup>815</sup> “Questa miniatura a tutta pagina è probabilmente incompleta: due uomini ben vestiti seduti su una panca con drappo verde dovrebbero giocare al *reencontrat*, ma nel tavoliere mancano sia la tavole che i dadi” (Canettieri 69).

<sup>816</sup> See Excel file “*LJ* Manuscript Statistics,” column “Wear and Tears.”

**2.7.164 Fol. 82v**

The hundred and thirty-ninth miniature illustrates the large chess variant called *grant acedrex* with a full-folio architectural illumination of straight, red edges, a gold top and seven differently-colored marble floor tiles. This floor is somewhat similar to the illumination on fol. 1r but here, and on fol. 85v, the colors are arranged symmetrically. The board's bottom edge has a golden ring but no piece bag hangs from it in this miniature.

Within the framework the architectural roof of four triangular peaks echoes the nature-theme of the animal chess pieces with caps of golden leaves on each peak, alternating with floral spires and the supporting gold columns with their green-leafed capitals. Beneath each triangular peak is a tri-lobed and mottled red, mitered arch.

The twelve-by-twelve square board sits upright beneath the two central arches and the two male players sit beneath the outer two arches on a long, tan bench. The pupils are not drawn in for either player, similar to the miniature we have previously observed on fol. 26v. The younger, brown-bearded player at left wears a peaked green cap with a gold brim, a gold-trimmed red *saya*, a gold-trimmed, green-lined grey *manto* and black shoes. His older, grey-bearded opponent at right wears a red, pointed and curved gold-trimmed hat,<sup>817</sup> a gold-trimmed and red-lined blue tunic, whose wide sleeves reveal the green *saya* underneath, a gold-trimmed violet *manto* fastened at his throat and black shoes. The unidentified headwear of these men is discussed further in Appendix D7 and may

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<sup>817</sup> See similar hats on fols. 11v, 41r, 42r, 43v, 61v and 91v.

indicate that the man at right is an Indian, as specified by the text of the game's origin, while the man at right may well be of any origin from India to Spain.

This miniature is remarkable for the realism with which the small animal chess pieces have been drawn. On the first and twelfth ranks, the twelve major pieces arranged from top to bottom (or from right to left if the board is oriented for the modern player) are as follows: a rook, a lion, a rhinoceros, a giraffe, a crocodile, a king, an aanca,<sup>818</sup> a second crocodile, a second giraffe, a second rhino, a second lion and a second rook. On the fourth and ninth ranks are ranged the players's twelve pawns.<sup>819</sup>

Janer's brief description agrees with mine, at least in the details he does give.<sup>820</sup> Steiger identifies these men as knights and notes the miniature's unusual size as well as the size of the players who are larger than those depicted in other miniatures.<sup>821</sup> This image is one of several found on stamps issued in 1984 by Laos to celebrate the 60th birthday of the FIDE although the colors are changed and the outlines have been sharpened. Other miniatures used in this series of stamps are from fols. 20v, 24v, 25v and 32r. García Morencos uses this image in her study and compares it to another large chess variant, that of Tamerlane.<sup>822</sup> Finkenzeller et al. show this miniature with a caption

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<sup>818</sup> See Chapter I's section on *grant acedrex* for a discussion of this perhaps mythical bird.

<sup>819</sup> See also the section of Chapter II devoted to medieval menageries and Kinkade's study of *Cantiga 29*'s realistically-painted animals and medieval menageries.

<sup>820</sup> "Otra miniatura, tambien de gran tamaño, presenta dos personajes con trajes orientales jugando á cada lado de un gran tablero, con leones y otros alimañas que anteriormente se citan" (Janer, "*Los Libros de ajedrez*" 254).

<sup>821</sup> "Das Große Schach. Eine ganzseitige Miniatur stellt zwei Ritter dar, von größerer Gestalt als die früheren Figuren. Sie bereiten sich zum Spiel" (Steiger XXII).

<sup>822</sup> Her caption reads, "El juego del *Gran Ajedrez*" (García Morencos 40, fig. 16). In her *Relación de ilustraciones* she says of it, "El *Gran Ajedrez*, inventado en la India, hecho a semejanza de las demostraciones de poder de los antiguos reyes y que tiene bastantes analogías con el conocido *Ajedrez del Tamerlán*, el gran conquistador asiático del siglo XV" (García Morencos 54).

correctly identifying the game and board dimensions.<sup>823</sup> Toledano uses fol. 82v in his article (7). Canettieri's description agrees with mine.<sup>824</sup>

### 2.7.165 Fol. 83r

Fol. 83r has only text and no illumination.

### 2.7.166 Fol. 83v

The hundred and fortieth miniature illustrates the eight-sided dice Alfonso had invented to speed the play of *grant acedrex* within a full-folio architectural illumination with a straight bottom of green, column sides and irregular upper edge of two green domes and a central red roof. Here the columns are of nearly every color: red, green, white and even blue. Beneath the central red roof is a large mitered arch filled with an exquisitely intricate pattern of red on white<sup>825</sup> around two horseshoe arches over the dice board. Under each green dome are two twin mitered windows over twin gold seven-lobed arches that the two Christian male players sit beneath. The brown board between the players is unusual in its square rather than rectangular shape and the dice on it total twenty-one: eight, seven and six

The darker-haired player seated on the floor at left wears a red *saya* and a white-lined blue *manto*. He bears a certain resemblance both to Maestre Roldán seen on fol. 65r

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<sup>823</sup> “The game known as ‘Great Chess.’ A miniature from the chess book of Alfonso the Wise. This alternative to the classical game was played with several pieces on a 12 by 12 board” (Finkenzeller et al. 109).

<sup>824</sup> “In questa miniatura a tutta pagina, due uomini di alta condizione sociale, forse un ebreo e un arabo, giocano al *grant acedrex*. Sul tavoliere le pedine sono disposte nella posizione iniziale” (Canettieri 69).

<sup>825</sup> See also the similarly-patterned cushions on fol. 76r. This pattern also recalls those designs used on the backs of modern playing cards.

and possibly fol. 72r and to the artisan seen on fol. 3r executing the intricate carving work of chess pieces that would be required to make such geometrically complex dice.

His opponent of higher rank sits at right on a slightly raised tan cushion. He wears Sancho's typical *birrete* in red with circular patterns of white dots, a green *saya encordada* under a sleeveless *saya* of red edged in white, a red cape or *manto* trimmed in ermine, red hose and gold shoes.<sup>826</sup> He reaches into a fringed and diagonally-checked black-and-white pouch, likely a coin purse, with his right hand. However, given the fact that this man is not defaced, that the total of both the arches and dice within the miniature are based on the number seven and that Alfonso invented these dice, it may also be an image of Alfonso himself testing out the dice crafted by the man at left.

Janer's brief description agrees with mine in what there is.<sup>827</sup> Toledano uses fol. 83v in his article (6). Canettieri's description also agrees with mine.<sup>828</sup>

### **2.7.167 Fol. 84r**

Fol. 84r has only text and no illumination.

### **2.7.168 Fol. 84v**

The hundred and forty-first miniature illustrates both forms of the seven-sided dice Alfonso had invented to speed the play of a decimal chess variant, not present in the *LJ*, as well as the large base-seven tables variant at the end of this same fourth treatise, together with the astrological checkers and tables variants of the seventh and final

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<sup>826</sup> For more on the *birrete* see this chapter's section titled "Sancho's *Birrete*" and Appendix D6.

<sup>827</sup> "*Aqui fabla de los dados de las ocho llanas e de como son fechoes. La miniatura tambien es grande, tiene bastantes detalles en su parte arquitectónica, y ofrece en el traje de uno de los dos caballeros que juegan bastante interés*" (Janer, "*Los Libros de ajedrez*" 254).

<sup>828</sup> "In questa miniatura a tutta pagina, due uomini ben vestiti giocano con tre dadi da otto face di fronte a una raffigurazione architettonica particolarmente elaborate. Il punto ottenuto è un 21 (6+7+8)" (Canettieri 69).

treatise. This full-folio architectural illumination is framed by shaded red verticals and blue horizontals.

The two Christian male players sit on a long green-carpeted brick bench beneath the outermost of four twin mitered arches, echoed above in the windowed gables of the green-tiled roof. The dice board is once again rectangular, its more usual shape in the *LJ*, but it is green like the boards of the tables games rather than brown as for most dice games. The two sets of dice total fourteen (six, seven and one) and eight (two and double threes or “ternas dos”).

The player at left wears a transparent white *cofia* under a yellow cap with a folded fur brim, a blue hooded *saya* under loose-sleeved brown, a gold-trimmed and fur-edged or fur-lined sleeveless grey poncho-style *manto*, black hose and black shoes. At his feet is an elegant black pitcher and in his left hand he holds out a delicate gold drinking vessel<sup>829</sup> to his opponent. His adversary at right wears a white-topped flat hat of yellow, red and gold over a transparent white *cofia*, a red hooded *saya* under a gold-trimmed tan *saya*, a blue, sleeveless poncho-style *manto* with a thick band of fur at the neck, red hose and red shoes. The man at right has just rolled the lower and oblong trio of seven-sided dice showing a total of eight.<sup>830</sup> The upper set were, I believe, added to the miniature later after their discovery as I explain below.

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<sup>829</sup> A similar gold cup is seen on fol. 68r in the “Libro de los dados”

<sup>830</sup> As explained in section 1.4.4, these seven-sided dice fall with two sides facing upwards due to their odd number of faces, and so each player counts as his roll that face which is closer to him on each die. Result: top die reads 2, bottom two read 3 each (2+3+3=8).

Janer's description, what there is of it, agrees with mine.<sup>831</sup> This miniature also appears reversed in the opening image to Grunfeld's chapter on dice (134). His caption notes, but misunderstands, the odd shape of the dice and the drinking vessel.<sup>832</sup> Grunfeld is the only researcher to name the item held by the man on the left which he identifies as a dice cup or throwing device. I believe it may rather be a drinking vessel because of several factors: First, its resemblance to the vessel seen on fol. 68r. Second, it seems to be held out in offer to the winner whose dice count of eight suggests he may have just rolled his own point number. Third, there is a ewer at the feet of the gentleman who offers the cup and we know that dicing and drinking are paired throughout the *LJ* and the *CSM*; indeed, a similar glass is seen in the "Libro de los dados." Fourth, it appears by the position of the hand of the player on the right, cupped and palm upwards, that he has just rolled the dice from his hand. And, finally, we note that no such device is shown being used in a similar dice game in the previous miniature on fol. 84v. Though cheating with dice was a concern, as mentioned by Alfonso in the introduction to the "Libro de los dados" and in the *LT*, Grunfeld correctly identifies these players as nobleman and as such they would not be considered cheaters.

The odd shapes of the dice to which Grunfeld refers are in fact intended to show the contours of the specially-made, seven-sided "dados deste acedrex de delas diez casas" discussed on the previous folio. Alfonso ordered the construction of these dice to speed

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<sup>831</sup> "Aqui demuestra de como son fechos los dados deste acedrex de las diez casas e quantos puntos a en ellos. Los caballeros que juegan lo hacen con dados que no son todos cuadrados. Uno de ellos ofrece al otro de beber en una copa de oro" (Janer, "Los Libros de ajedrez" 254).

<sup>832</sup> "Lords of the Spanish royal court, opposite, shake dice from a cup in this Gothic illustration from the games book of Alfonso X. The artist, more concerned with the score than the appearance of the dice, has given them various odd shapes. In actual fact, medieval dice were carefully shaped cubes" (Grunfeld 135).

the play of decimal chess which has seven different ranks of pieces (*rey, alferza, roque, cavallo, juyz, alfil, and peon*) and most probably due to his predilection for the symbolism of the number seven. These dice had the form of short tubes with two flat, pentagonal ends and five more or less rectangular facets around the girth. The second dice from the top has landed on one of its ends and clearly shows a pentagon shape, while the others have all landed along one of the five-sided facets. That these are not the same carefully made cube dice being fashioned in the miniature on fol. 65v is also made clear by their pip counts since six-sided dice would not have seven pips.

Canettieri's brief description also notes the two sets of seven-sided dice.<sup>833</sup> Once again, I agree with Canettieri's observations but not his interpretations. I feel, instead, that the two trios of seven-sided dice shown here reflect the text from fol. 84r. In it, two different forms of seven-sided dice are described and, by the coloration of the text, it appears that the second form was described at a later time and added to this folio. While a six-sided die which does not land flat is considered "cocked," requiring that the whole roll be thrown again, no such stipulation is indicated in the textual description of these dice. In fact, such a position would not be possible with the first form of dice which are described with eight triangular faces. The second form described have faces with two different shapes as shown in the miniature: two flat pentagonal ends showing six and seven and five rectangular sides showing one through five. Alfonso notes that when these dice fall on sides one through five they cannot help but fall edge up and so are read with

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<sup>833</sup> "In questa miniatura a tutta pagina, due uomini ben vestiti giocano con dadi da sette face. Probabilmente sono rappresentati due tiri: la serie in basso mostra i dadi con due facce in alto, condizione che comporta la ripetizione del tiro. Nella serie in alto, invece, i dadi sono tutti in una posizione dal punto determinabile, 13 (1+5+7). La raffigurazione architettonica è molto elaborata" (Canettieri 69).

the topmost side oriented towards the thrower. My intuition is, then, that the lower grouping of dice were painted first to reflect the first form of dice described. Indeed, their position seems natural given the location of the thrower's hand. The second form of dice in the upper portion of the board were, I believe, added in to illustrate their unusual outlines: one showing a pentagonal face with seven pips and the other two showing rectangular faces.

Sharing several themes with the *LJ*'s art is a miniature from the Persian manuscript *Miftah al-Fuzala* by Muhammad ibn Da'ud Shadiyabadi, produced in Mandu (Shadiabad), India, in the fifteenth century shows two men playing a game of *ziad*, a nard variant (*British Library Images Online*, Record number 18673, Shelfmark Or. 3299, fol. 144). The player at left holds a dice cup comparable to that on fol. 84v. Further, this image which its young and possibly servant observer in the doorway to the right also shares thematic similarities with *LJ* fols 7r, 68r and 68v, and to a lesser extent fols. 1v, 2r, 2v, 8v, 10v, 12v, 31r, 31v, 43r, 48r.

### **2.7.169 Fol. 85r**

Fol. 85r has only text and no illumination.

### **2.7.170 Fol. 85v**

The hundred and forty-second miniature illustrates the large tables variant based on the number seven within a full-folio architectural illumination with green verticals, red horizontals and seven differently colored marble segments making up the floor. This floor, like that of fol. 82v, is somewhat similar to the illumination on fol. 1r, but here, as on fol. 82v, the colors are arranged symmetrically.

The two male Christian players<sup>834</sup> sit on a long brown-covered bench beneath the outermost of the three tri-lobed arches under the heavily ornamented Gothic roof. The twenty-eight point board shows each player's seventeen pieces arranged for the beginning of play for *quinze tablas* or, in this case, *dieziete tablas*. The three seven-sided dice, totalling eighteen points, read seven, five and six.

The blond player at left wears a transparent white *cofia*, a loose-sleeved tunic that is half dark red and half light red with the sides reversed on the hood down his back, a black *saya*, black hose and black shoes. His older, darker and bearded opponent wears a grey *capirote*, one white glove with a circular design on the back of his left hand,<sup>835</sup> a green *saya* under a grey *pellote*, black hose and black shoes. He holds his other glove in his bare right hand, perhaps to move his pieces or in challenge to his opponent.

Janer's description, though brief, agrees with mine.<sup>836</sup> Wollesen uses an image of this miniature in his article with the simple caption, "19. Madrid, Real Bibl. del Escorial, j.T.6. fol.; fol. 85v, Backgammon players under gothicising architecture" (298). Canettieri's description is correct except for identifying the game, rather than the man at left, as "emperador," wherein the opening position has each player's pieces on the one-

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<sup>834</sup> The text on the previous folio indicates that this may possibly be Alfonso and his *ayo*, García Fernández de Villamayor. See also this chapter's section "Possible Non-Iconographic Portraits of Alfonso," Appendices D1 and D2 for a comparison Alfonso's iconographic portraits with the suspected non-iconographic portraits, as well as the catalogue entries for fols. 10v, 23r, 39r, 73v and 85v, showing a similar pair of players.

<sup>835</sup> See similar gloves on fols. 7r, 10v and 30v.

<sup>836</sup> "*Aquí comienza el juego de las tablas del Acedrex de las diez casas, e iuegase con los dados de las siete llanas*. La miniatura tambien es grande. Son dos los caballeros que están jugando, pero lo que llama más la atención, por su correcto dibujo y mayor simetría, son los arcos, chapiteles y columnas de la decoración arquitectónica" (Janer, "*Los Libros de ajedrez*" 254).

points.<sup>837</sup> The dice shown are, in fact, the second form of 7-sided dice discussed above with two pentagonal and five rectangular faces. The game appears to me to be the larger equivalent of *quinze tablas* as stated above and not *emperador*. Perhaps Canettieri was confused by the text which accompanies this miniature and its seeming assertion that the Emperor is portrayed here since this is the sole instance where the *LJ* text explicates the identity of someone in a miniature.<sup>838</sup> It is also possible that the miniaturist erred by not executing the portrait of the person identified by the text or that by the time the miniatures of this treatise were painted Alfonso's imperial hopes had been dashed, the recurrence of this similar pair of men throughout the *LJ* seems to argue that this is one of several possible non-iconographic portraits of Alfonso.

### **2.7.171 Fol. 86r**

Fol. 86r is blank.

### **2.7.172 Fol. 86v**

Fol. 86v is blank.

### **2.7.173 Fol. 87r**

Fol. 87r has only text and no illumination.

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<sup>837</sup> The twenty-four spaces on a backgammon board are also known as points. The points are identified on each quarter of the board by counting inwards from the outside edge; thus the one-point is that which is closest to the edge. "In questa miniatura a tutta pagina, quattro uomini ben vestiti giocano alle *tablas de las siete casas* (nel tavoliere ci sono sette caselle por ogni comparto) con tre dadi da sette facce (nella posizione con punto determinabile). Il gioco è quello dell'*emperador* con le tavole (17 per ciascun giocatore) in posizione iniziale. Il punto ottenuto dal primo giocatore è un 18 (5+6+7)" (69). "Otro iuego a y de tablas que llaman en Espanna ell emperador por *que* el lo fizo. & entablasse & iuegasse desta guisa. Deue poner ell un iogador las .xv. tablas; en la casa dell as. en la una *quadra*. E en ell otro las otras *sos quinze tablas* en la otra casa dell otra *quadra* que esta en esse *derecho* mismo" (Canettieri fol. 75v).

<sup>838</sup> "E este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura dell entablamiento. & de como se iuega ell emperador; en este tablero. & por esto pusieron aqui la su figura" (fol. 85r). See the previous section titled "Alfonso's Non-Iconographic Portraits" in this second chapter.

**2.7.174 Fol. 87v**

Fol. 87v has only text and no illumination.

**2.7.175 Fol. 88r**

Fol. 88r has only text and no illumination.

**2.7.176 Fol. 88v**

The hundred and forty-third miniature illustrates the four-player chess variant called “chess of the four seasons” within a full-folio architectural illumination with a framework of black verticals, green horizontals surrounding a Gothic roof over four trilobed, mitred arches. Four males are located one at each corner of the board and sit Indian-style on three striped rugs of different combinations of red, blue, black and white. A tear on the left side of this folio has been sewn.<sup>839</sup>

The board shows the opening array for this four-player chess variant and I believe the man at top right is Sancho given the intentional dry, scraping damage done to his face,<sup>840</sup> his white-dotted red *birrete*<sup>841</sup> and the fact that as the highest ranking player he would merit the privilege of being the player of Spring’s green which plays first. He also wears a red *saya* under a green *pellote* and black shoes. Beneath him at lower right, the player of Winter’s white is another intentionally defaced player whose identity remains a puzzle.<sup>842</sup> He wears a squarish white or unpainted cap, green *saya*, red *capa* and black shoes. Across the board from him on the lower left is the player of Fall’s black:

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<sup>839</sup> This tear is just outside the margins of my image. See Excel file “LJ Manuscript Statistics,” column “Wear and Tears.”

<sup>840</sup> See also defacing on fols. 1r, 72r, 96v and 97v.

<sup>841</sup> For more on the *birrete* see this chapter’s section titled “Sancho’s *Birrete*” and Appendix D6.

<sup>842</sup> Perhaps this is Alfonso’s favorite younger brother Manuel who in the end sided with Sancho against him?

a young blond man in one or two brown *sayas*, which resemble a Franciscan habit, and black shoes. At top left and shown in profile is a bearded and sharp-featured man,<sup>843</sup> playing Summer's red pieces in a red *saya*, grey *capirote* and grey *tabardo*, which partially resemble the Dominican habit.

Janer's description is brief but agrees with mine.<sup>844</sup> García Morencos uses this image in her study and correctly identifies the game shown, modernizing its name.<sup>845</sup> Vázquez de Parga notes that there are four players, two in the upper part of the frame and two beneath the game board, in the illuminations of both fols. 88v and 89v, and that the number of players corresponds naturally with the number of players permitted in the games shown (1987: 26). Wollesen uses an image of this miniature in his article, somewhat modernizing the game's name and mistaking the folio on which the miniature appears.<sup>846</sup> Though the text for this section begins on fol. 87r, the miniature occupies the whole of fol. 88v. Of the illumination, Canettieri says simply, "In questa miniatura a tuta pagina, quattro uomini seduti intorno a un tavoliere giocano al *acedrex de los quatro tiempos del año*. Le pedine degli scacchi sono in posizione iniziale" (69).

The same four colors of red, green, white and black (in the same order but opposite direction) are those used by five girls for the playing pieces in a game of

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<sup>843</sup> See similar man on fols. 53r, 60v and 70r.

<sup>844</sup> "Aquí se comienza otro *acedrex* que fue fecho a semeiança de los quatro tiempos dell anno, que assacaron los sabios antigos. Son quatro las personas que toman parte en este juego, hallándose sentadas en las quatro esquinas del tablero. Tambien es grande la miniatura" (Janer, "Los Libros de *ajedrez*" 254).

<sup>845</sup> Her caption reads: "*Ajedrez hecho a semejanza de los cuatro tiempos del año*" (García Morencos 41). In her *Relación de ilustraciones* she says of it, "*Ajedrez hecho a semejanza de los cuatro tiempos de año*, variedad de juego inventada por antiguos sabios, pero que refleja una de las grandes aficiones [¿la de astrología?] de Alfonso X" (García Morencos 54).

<sup>846</sup> "3. Madrid, Real Bibl. del Escorial, j.T.6. fol.; fol. 87r, the *Ajedrex de los quatro tiempos*" (Wollesen 280).

chaupar, a relative of pachisi, in the *British Library Images Online*'s opaque watercolor called "Girls playing chaupar," (Record number c7248-02, Shelfmark J.9.6., 1770-80). This may support a common origin between the *LJ*'s four-player games and their Eastern relatives as discussed in this dissertation's third chapter.

### **2.7.177 Fol. 89r**

Fol. 89r has only text and no illumination.

### **2.7.178 Fol. 89v**

The hundred and forty-fourth miniature illustrates the four-player tables variant called "the world" within a full-folio architectural illumination framed by black verticals, a green bottom horizontal and a red top one over a series of domes and roofs above five mitered arches topped with five lobes each. As in the previous miniature, four Christian men flank this board, seated Indian style atop three differently patterned rugs with a player at each corner of the board. The uppermost rug is composed of green and brown vertical stripes; the second rug contains yellow wavy lines<sup>847</sup> alternating with strings of blue diamonds arranged vertically on a black background, while the bottommost rug alternates solid black diamonds with blue diamonds crossed in white. A fringed white piece bag hangs from the golden ring at the board's bottom edge. A tear to the left side of this folio has been sewn.<sup>848</sup>

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<sup>847</sup> Herrero Carretero shows a pillow of Leonor de Castilla, Queen of Aragon until 1244, in a zigzag material similar to sections of the rugs and fabrics seen on fols. 1r, 26v, 31r, 47v, 48r and 89v (50-51).

<sup>848</sup> The edge of this sewn tear is visible on the left in the black border near the column decoration. The rest of the tear is just outside the margins of my image. See Excel file "*LJ* Manuscript Statistics," column "Wear and Tears."

The game shown here is in the middle of play, rather than at the beginning as for the four-player chess, but the colors are arranged in the same positions. All players seem to be anteing up some money for bets. Since there is no apparent intentional defacing, we can describe these men here in the order which follows the counterclockwise direction of play. The brown-haired player of green, at top right, wears a blue *saya*, white-lined red *capa con cuerda*, red hose and black single-strap shoes. The blond player of red across the board from him at top right, wears a red *saya encordada*, green *capa con cuerda*, red hose and black shoes. Beneath him at lower left is the brown-haired player of black in a green *saya*, white-lined blue *capa* without cords, red hose and black single-strap shoes. Finally, the blond player of white at lower right wears a blue *saya encordada*, red-lined darker blue *capa con cuerda*, red hose and black single-strap shoes.

Janer's brief description agrees with mine.<sup>849</sup> García Morencos uses this image in her study, correctly identifying and modernizing the game's name.<sup>850</sup> Canettieri's description agrees with mine.<sup>851</sup>

### 2.7.179 Fol. 90r

Fol. 90r is blank

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<sup>849</sup> “Este es el tablero de las tablas de los quatro tiempos del anno a que dizen el mundo que comienza assi. La miniatura ocupa casi toda la foja, y en esta hay pintados quatro jugadores, sentados sobre alfombras de diversos tejidos al rededor de un gran tablero con sus casillas puestas en forma de círculo” (Janer, “*Los Libros de ajedrez*” 254).

<sup>850</sup> Her caption reads: “*Las tablas de los quatro tiempos del año*” (García Morencos 42). In her *Relación de ilustraciones* she says of it, “*Las tablas de los quatro tiempos del año*, donde se distinguen claramente los respectivos colores que corresponden al verdor de la primavera, al fuego del estío, al negro del otoño y al blanco de las nieves del invierno” (García Morencos 54). This assignation of colors is first made in the chess variant of the four seasons that precedes this game.

<sup>851</sup> “In questa miniatura a tutta pagina particolarmente bella ed elaborata, quattro uomini seduti intorno a un tavoliere giocano alle *tablas de los quatro tiempos del año*. Nel tavoliere è rappresentata una partita già iniziata. Il punto ottenuto dal giocatore che ha tirato per ultimo è un 11 (6+4+1)” (Canettieri 69).

**2.7.180 Fol. 90v**

Fol. 90v is blank.

**2.7.181 Fol. 91r**

Fol. 91r has only text and no illumination. There is a hole and also a tear to the right-hand side of this folio which both appear to be accidental.<sup>852</sup>

**2.7.182 Fol. 91v**

The hundred and forty-fifth miniature illustrates *alquerque de doze* in a red-and-white rectangular frame with corners similar to those seen on fol. 62r, with white *x*'s or flowers on red fields, and here, each flanked by two gold squares. The board, edged in alternating dark and white woods, is set up between the two players in such a way as to indicate the beginning of play. An off-white fringed piece bag hangs from the golden ring at the board's bottom edge.

Four bearded and perhaps Indian males in the curved, pointed gold-trimmed hats<sup>853</sup> are seated on a long bench covered by a brown and fringed cloth. The two players sit closest to the board and behind each of them is an observer holding an archery bow. The brown-haired observer at far left wears a red, gold-brimmed hat, button-front green *saya* belted in brown, black hose and black shoes. In front of him is the player at left who wears a red hat over his blue-grey hair, blue *saya*, red gold-lined robe-like cloak, black hose and black shoes. His opponent at right wears a red hat, a button-front and loose red

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<sup>852</sup> See Excel file "*LJ* Manuscript Statistics," column "Wear and Tears."

<sup>853</sup> See Appendix D7: Jewish and Oriental Headwear and similar hats on fols. 11v, 41r, 42r, 43v, 61v and 82v.

*saya* with stripes of a figure-eight pattern,<sup>854</sup> black hose and black shoes. At far right, the second observer wears a green hat, button-front blue-grey *saya*, black hose and black shoes.

Janer does not describe this miniature in particular but rather generalizes fols. 91v through 93v.<sup>855</sup> Grunfeld uses this miniature to illustrate his section on *alquerque* (39). His caption indicates that Grunfeld is confused by the piece bag which hangs below.<sup>856</sup> Vázquez de Parga notes that with the miniature on fol. 91v, the first of the “Libro del alquerque,” the format of a smaller and more horizontal rectangle above the writing area resumes. He describes the four men shown as “tipos orientales con extraños tocados,” with the observers bearing hunting bows (Vázquez de Parga 1987: 26). Canettieri’s description agrees with mine.<sup>857</sup>

This miniature appears in Ruth Oakley’s *The Marshall Cavendish Illustrated Guide to Games Children Play around the World* (New York: Cavendish, 1989) with a caption identifying these bearded archers as “Spanish Nobles of the Middle Ages playing Alquerque” (27).

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<sup>854</sup> See also fols. 35r, 35v, 39r, 40v, 55r, 61v, 63r, 73v, 75r, 78r and 78v on seat coverings and fols. 36v and 91v on clothing.

<sup>855</sup> “*Este es el alquerque de doze que iuega con todas sus trebeios*. Los tableros que se representan en estas cinco miniaturas, que vuelven á ser de tamaño más reducido, tienen comparticiones especiales, y las figuras de los jugadores llevan trajes poco más ó ménos parecidos á los que hemos descrito anteriormente. En los ángulos de los cuatro últimos cuadros vuelven á aparecer los leones y castillos del escudo de armas de Don Alfonso” (Janer, “*Los Libros de ajedrez*” 254).

<sup>856</sup> “Two bearded gentlemen, accompanied by advisors who are also archers, play alquerque in this illustration from the royal games book of Alfonso X, produced in 1283 by artists working at the court of Seville. As in the other illustrations of Alfonso’s huge tome, the artist views the players from the side but shows the board from above—a brilliant solution to the ‘how to play’ and ‘how to make’ problems posed by the book. Equally ingenious is the way the artist has ‘attached’ the board to the frame of his picture with a cord whose tassel hangs down into the surrounding white space on the page” (Grunfeld 39).

<sup>857</sup> “Due uomini orientali seduti su una panca con drappo arancione giocano all’*alquerque de doze*, con due spettatori. Sul tavoliere le pedine dell’*alquerque* sono in posizione iniziale. Il giocatore di sinistra sta collocando una pedina” (Canettieri 70).

**2.7.183 Fol. 92r**

The hundred and forty-sixth miniature illustrates the game *cercar la liebre* which is played on the same board as the previous game, *alquerque de doze*. The miniature's rectangular border consists of black-and-white verticals and gold-and-white horizontals. All four corners bear the heraldic gold castles on red fields (upper left and lower right) and black rampant lions on white fields (upper right and lower left) in squares that slightly protrude beyond the edges of the gold quatrefoil escutcheons, marking the first return of heraldic corners seen in the *LJ* since fol. 55v in the "Libro del acedrex." Fol. 92r is the first in a series of four miniatures with the castle and lion escutcheons. The illumination occupies nearly the upper half of the folio. The upright board between the two players is set up as at the beginning of play and has six inlaid stars of David on its edges, as also seen on fols. 9r and 22r. A beautiful fringed and embroidered piece bag in the Castilian colors of red and pale yellow, hangs from the gold ring at the board's bottom edge. This is the final piece bag shown in the manuscript. There is a tear in the right-hand side of this folio which appears to be accidental.

The two blond and barely bearded, royal Castilian males playing this *alquerque* variant sit on a long, tan, vertically-striped bench. The player at left wears a black *saya* under a loose-sleeved grey tunic edged in black-and-white detail, a reddish *capa con cuerda* also edged in black-and-white detail, red hose and black single-strap shoes. His opponent at right wears a gold-trimmed red *saya encordada* with removeable sleeves under a yellow-lined grey *capa con cuerda* with a black-detailed edge, red hose and black single-strap shoes. I believe these are probably members of the royal family given the

escutcheons, dress and piece bag. Indeed, this variant has been a favorite of royalty throughout the centuries. It was a favorite pastime known as “fox and geese” to young Princess Victoria of England (b. 1819; r. 1837-1901).

Vázquez de Parga incorrectly observes that the two gentlemen are playing *alquerque de nueue* (1987: 26), also known as nine men’s morris, but the miniature shows the game *cercar la liebre* described on the previous folio, following the pattern of the rest of the manuscript where the illumination of a game follows its textual description. Canettieri correctly identifies the game and his description also notes the escutcheons and six-pointed stars.<sup>858</sup>

### **2.7.184 Fol. 92v**

The hundred and forty-seventh miniature illustrates a game already in progress of *alquerque de nueue* played in a rectangular frame with red, interlocking “S”-patterned verticals and black-patterned horizontals. In the frame’s corners are gold castles on red fields (upper left and lower right) and blank areas where the miniaturist has neglected to paint the usual rampant lions on white fields (upper right and lower left) in squares that slightly protrude beyond the edges of the gold quatrefoil escutcheons. The illumination occupies nearly one half of the folio beneath four lines of text and above the description of the same game played without dice.

Four blond, Christian young men surround the brown, triple mill board, two seated on the floor and two standing behind them holding long spears or lances. The

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<sup>858</sup> “Due uomini seduti su una panca giocano a *cercar la liebre*. Negli angoli della cornice del riquadro si notano alternatamente castelli e leoni. All’interno del tavoliere, ci sono tre stele di Davide sul bordo inferiore e sul superiore. Sul tavoliere le pedine dell’*alquerque* sono in posizione iniziale” (Canettieri 70).

larger or older player at left, having just rolled the illegible three dice at the bottom of the board, wears a red *saya* decorated with black horizontal stripes<sup>859</sup> which the miniaturist has left unfinished at his legs. Behind him at far left stands a man in a grey *saya*, brown *manto* slung over one shoulder, with red hose and black shoes who holds two lances.<sup>860</sup> The player on the right, still touching the black piece he has just played on the board, wears a yellow *saya* vertically striped in red and black and a red cloak. Behind him stands a man wearing a red *saya* horizontally striped in yellow and belted in black under a grey *manto* vertically striped in red, white and blue that is slung over one shoulder. This last man at far right holds one lance and the miniaturist has left his legs bare.

Grunfeld uses a full-size reproduction of this image and his description agrees with mine.<sup>861</sup> García Morencos also uses this illustration in her study, noting the similarity between the game and the prologue and the fact that the pieces of this game are similar to the chess pawns, also underscored by the text.<sup>862</sup> This illumination appears in Jack Botermans et al.'s *The World of Games* and its caption echoes that of Grunfeld.<sup>863</sup> Botermans et al. use this miniature to illustrate the chapter on “Games of Alignment and

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<sup>859</sup> See similar striped garments on fols. 22v, 66r, 67v, 69r and 92v.

<sup>860</sup> See also the lances on fol. 64r.

<sup>861</sup> “Two young Spanish noblemen—with friends to hold their lances and lend advice—play nine men’s morris at the thirteenth-century court of Alfonso ‘The Learned’ in Seville. They are using dice, a method of play that was eliminated from later versions of this ancient board game” (Grunfeld 60).

<sup>862</sup> “*Alquerque de nueve*” (García Morencos 43). In her *Relación de ilustraciones* she says of it, “*El alquerque de nueve; en estos llamados alquerque intervienen el ‘seso’ y la ‘uentura’, y sus fichas son semejantes a los peones del ajedrez*” (García Morencos 54).

<sup>863</sup> “Two Spanish noblemen playing nine men’s morris in the 13<sup>th</sup>-century court of Alfonso el Sabio (The Learned) in Seville. They are playing with gaming dice, which were eliminated from later versions of the game” (Botermans et al. 106).

Configuration” (106, citing ADM International). Vázquez de Parga’s (1987: 26) and Canettieri’s<sup>864</sup> descriptions agree with mine.

A king and lady are shown playing tables in the border decoration of the *Luttrell Psalter*’s Psalm 38 (*British Library Images Online*, Record number c6141-02, Shelfmark Add. 42130, fol. 76v, England, 1325-35). The couple is seated in a green area which resembles the triple mill of a nine men’s morris board with a rotating series of corner decorations which may represent the four seasons. In the dynamic little scene, his hand is outstretched as though from slapping her face, and her wimple flies backwards from the impact.

### **2.7.185 Fol. 93r**

The hundred and forty-eighth miniature illustrates a game already in progress of *alquerque de nueve* played without dice in a rectangular frame of red verticals with white circles, green-and-black patterned horizontals and heraldic escutcheons in the corners of the frame. While these blazons are the typical gold quatrefoils, their orientation is unusual in that all nine of the other cases of heraldic escutcheons in the miniatures’s corners have oriented the lobed of the quatrefoil on the vertical and horizontal axes. The gold quatrefoils on fol. 93r are oriented diagonally with slightly protruding lozenges of the usual gold castles on red backgrounds (upper left and lower right) and black rampant lions on white fields (upper right and lower left). Perhaps this spin of 45-degrees reflects

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<sup>864</sup> “Due cavalieri seduti al suolo sopra i talloni giocano all’*alquerque de nueve con dados*, mentre due servitori in piedi le osservano reggendo le loro lance. Agli angoli della cornice del riquadro si notano alternatamente castelli e leoni. Nel tavoliere è rappresentata una partita già iniziata” (Canettieri 70).

the diagonal and spinning nature of the mill games themselves. There is a tear at the top of this folio which has been repaired by sewing.<sup>865</sup>

Two noble Christian boys sit Indian-style on the floor on a red-and-white checked fabric. Each holds a piece in his hand, ready to place it on the board during his turn. The player at left wears a simple grey *saya*, red hose and black single-strap shoes. His opponent at right wears a parti-colored *saya encordada* that is red on his right side and green on his left,<sup>866</sup> red hose and black single-strap shoes. Given their clothing and the heraldic emblems, I believe these are probably princes playing the diceless version of nine men's morris.

Grunfeld uses this illumination to illustrate nine men's morris, which he groups separately from *alquerque*. His caption notes their Moorish posture.<sup>867</sup> Vázquez de Parga describes the two young nobles as playing while seated on a low bench with their legs crossed (1987: 26). Canettieri's description agrees with mine.<sup>868</sup>

### **2.7.186 Fol. 93v**

The hundred and forty-ninth miniature illustrates a game in progress of the simplest mill variant, *alquerque de tres*, and is the final illumination of the "Libro del alquerque." It occupies the center third of the textless folio within its rectangular border of red-and-white verticals and black-and-green horizontals. In the frame's corners are the usual and, once again, orthogonally-oriented gold, quatrefoil escutcheons with gold

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<sup>865</sup> See Excel file "*LJ* Manuscript Statistics," column "Wear and Tears."

<sup>866</sup> See also the parti-colored garments on fols. 57r, 61r and 65v.

<sup>867</sup> "Morris players from the game book of Alfonso X sit cross-legged in the traditional Morrish fashion" (Grunfeld 59).

<sup>868</sup> "Due cavalieri seduti con le gambe incrociate su una panca con drappo a scacchi bianchi e rossi giocano all'*alquerque de nueve sin dados*. Agli angoli della cornice del riquadro sono anche qui presente gli emblemi di Castiglia e León. Nel tavoliere è rappresentata una partita già iniziata" (Canettieri 70).

castles on red fields and gold rampant lions on white fields in squares that slightly protrude beyond the edges of the quatrefoil. However, this final example of heraldic corners on a miniature is unique in that the positions of the castles and lions are reversed (or perhaps again reflecting the spin of game, they are rotated 90-degrees) from those of the other nine illuminations in that the lions are here in the upper left and lower right and the castles in the upper right and lower left.

It is interesting to note that as the treatise's introduction indicates, the presentation of the games of *alquerque* have been shown in an orderly progression from most to least complex thus fulfilling the plan that the "Libro del acedrex" was unable to accomplish. This final and simplest version, *tres en raya*, much like our tic-tac-toe, is being played by the very youngest people portrayed in the *LJ*. The juvenile player at left, almost a toddler, wears a grey *saya* belted in red. Behind him is a young man in a red *saya* under a striped brown *manto* slung over one shoulder. The player at right, even smaller than his adversary, wears a red *saya* and is guided by the darker haired man behind him in a blue *saya* and striped green *manto* slung over one shoulder.<sup>869</sup> All four are bare-legged and barefoot. Once again, the heraldic emblems in the corners of the frame, as noted by Vázquez de Parga, would indicate that these people must be members of the royal family, perhaps Alfonso's sons and grandsons (1987: 26).

Vázquez de Parga describes two children and their teachers flanking the game board, noting that this otherwise normal illumination with castles and lions in the corners appears in the lower third of the folio and leaves the rest of the folio blank (1987: 26).

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<sup>869</sup> For other miniatures showing adults teaching to play games see also fols. 15r, 16r, 33r, 33v, 58r, 74r and 93v.

Edilán's third and final error is the appearance of the same strange and illegible marks at the bottom of this folio as found at the top of fol. 26v though these do not appear in the original. Canettieri's description agrees with mine.<sup>870</sup>

See also Appendix D5 showing details of the miniatures which show children being taught to play a game, illustrating the *LJ* as a dial of princes and princesses.

**2.7.187 Fol. 94r**

Fol. 94r is blank.

**2.7.188 Fol. 94v**

Fol. 94v is blank.

**2.7.189 Fol. 95r**

Fol. 95r has only text and no illumination.

**2.7.190 Fol. 95v**

Fol. 95v has only text and no illumination.

**2.7.191 Fol. 96r**

Fol. 96r has only text and no illumination.

**2.7.192 Fol. 96v**

The hundred and fiftieth miniature illustrates the astrologically-based game called *escaques* or astrological checkers within a full-folio architectural illumination with a framework of red verticals and green-and-black horizontals. Seven Christian men surround this heptagonal board, described more fully in Chapter I, here set up to reflect

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<sup>870</sup> “La miniatura di dimensioni e forma comuni è nel terzo inferiore del foglio, mentre il resto della pagina è bianco. Agli angoli della cornice del riquadro sono gli emblemi di Castiglia e León. Vi sono due bambini che, guidati da due uomini, giocano all’*alquerque de tres*. Nel tavoliere è rappresentata una partita già iniziata” (Canettieri 70).

the beginning of play with each man's planet in his respective zodiac sign. The markings visible on the lighter colored segments of the board within the zodiac ring, most resembling the letter "P," may have been utilized as an aid to the miniaturist in the drawing of this complex game. These markings appear to correspond to where the astrological symbols were to be painted in this complex geometric diagram. Its heptagonal exterior is painted in fourteen light and dark segments, mimicking to some degree the painting of the *LJ*'s other chessboards. Within the heptagonal is inscribed a circle which is divided into twelve sectors to correspond with the twelve zodiac signs, whose placement appears to be plotted marking visible only in the lighter segments of the heptagon where these fall. For example, there appears to be the letter *P* (perhaps standing for *p*lanet?) just above the 3:00 position. Each of the twelve "slices" of this "pie" are further subdivided into orbits of seven, six, five, four, three, two and one spaces, decreasing towards the center.<sup>871</sup>

Alfonso sits cross-legged on the floor at the very top of the miniature in front of a green couch or bolster. His garments are like those seen on fol. 72r but with the *saya* and *capa* in red. Rather than a formal gold crown, he wears the heraldic *birrete* also seen on fols. 47v, 48r and 97v. To his left is a round heraldic pillow, the appearance of which has always struck me, owing to the shading at the bottom which lends it an unusual three-dimensional quality. Although from the facsimile and other images it appeared to me that

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<sup>871</sup> The necessary skills for plotting and executing such a precise geometric figure in an illumination may derive from a book by the tenth-century Arabic astronomer and mathematician Abu'l Wafa whose *Kitab fi ma yah̄taj ilayhi al-ṣani' min al-a'māl al-handasiyya* ("Book on What Is Necessary from Geometric Constructions for the Artisan"). ("Abu-al-Wafa," *Encyclopædia Britannica*. 2007. *Britannica Concise Encyclopedia*. 4 Apr. 2007. <<http://concise.britannica.com/ebc/article-9003418/Abu-al-Wafa>>.)

this pillow might be raised, like a blob of wax, it is as flat as the rest of the miniature. This detail was, however, one of the artistic aspects I was most eager to see when examining the original manuscript, kneeling so that my eyes were at the same level as the book lying open on the table. I am not able to determine if the shading of pillow is the result of the artist's intention or the aging, or perhaps blending, of the pigments. This pillow bears the arms of Castile and León painted with pigments very similar to those used on the heraldic scabbard of fol. 12v. It is difficult to say if the deterioration of his face and that of the two figures to his left is intentional damage or due to ordinary wear and tear.

The other six blonde Christian men, three per side, are arranged in pairs facing each other across the board. As in the previous full-folio illuminations in the fourth and fifth treatises, these men sit Indian style upon three brightly colored rugs of different patterns. The uppermost rug is vertically striped in Castilian black, white, red and yellow; the middle rug is comprised of yellow and green vertical stripes; and the bottommost rug is composed of thick black stripes that alternate with thinner red, white and green ones.

Moving counterclockwise and following the direction of play, the man at Alfonso's right hand wears a red hat with a white folded brim, a red *saya* under a green *pellote* with a heavy band of fur at the neck, red hose and gold shoes. Given the comparative age of this man with those whom I suppose are Alfonso's children on the right-hand side of the board, I believe this second player may perhaps be Alfonso's favorite brother Manuel.<sup>872</sup> In the middle on the left-hand side is the third player who

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<sup>872</sup> See also fol. 51r for another suspected Manuel portrait.

wears a red *saya* under another grey one, a green *capa con cuerda* and either gold hose and black shoes or gold shoes edged in black. At bottom left, we see a fourth young player who wears a dark red *saya* under another lighter red one lined in green, sporting a thin gold scarf,<sup>873</sup> red hose and black shoes.

Across the board at bottom right, a fifth young player wears a yellow *saya* with gold cuffs, black hose and black shoes. Above him in the middle on the right-hand side is a man whom I believe to be Sancho, judging by his *birrete* and defacing.<sup>874</sup> The sixth player wears a green *saya*, a green *capa con cuerda*, red hose, gold shoes and a red *birrete* with horizontal black banding. Above Sancho at top right is a bare-headed seventh player arrayed mostly in green, with a dark green *saya* under a lighter green sleeveless one trimmed in black-and-white edging, a *capa con cuerda* of the same lighter green and with the same black-and-white edging, red hose and gold shoes. Given his respective position between Alfonso and Sancho, I believe this to be Fernando de la Cerda even though he had most likely died by the time this section of the *LJ* was completed.

At the top far right, standing behind the seventh player, is a young page holding a fan or fly-swatter similar to the fans depicted on fol. 15r.<sup>875</sup> He wears a split and white-lined red *saya* with black cuffs, red hose and black shoes.

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<sup>873</sup> See also the thin, yellow scarf on fol. 72r.

<sup>874</sup> For more on the *birrete* see this chapter's section titled "Sancho's *Birrete*" and Appendix D6. See also fols. 1r, 72r, 88v and 97v for other cases of Sancho's defacement. This case appears to be less intentional and less violent than other cases.

<sup>875</sup> A somewhat similar fan is seen in the *Códice rico* of the *CSM* in the miniature for *Cantiga* 89, panel 2, which shows a fan with peacock feathers.

Janer's description, though brief, agrees with mine.<sup>876</sup> The fourth section of Domínguez Rodríguez' second chapter of "Libro de los juegos" deals solely with the presentation of the king playing *escaques* and *tablas por astronomia*. She sees these two games as expressing Alfonso's conception of the world and, perhaps, a foreboding sense of his own imminent departure from this life and an attempt to convey in autobiographical form the difficult last five months before the end of his reign. In both this miniature on fol. 96v and the one on fol. 97v, Domínguez Rodríguez portrays Alfonso as the central figure presiding over the game boards, noting that his dress befits his station with a *manto*, *birrete* and seat embroidered with castles and lions. I, however, do not interpret these patterns on the couch as heraldic. Although his garments mark him as King Alfonso, his presentation is far from iconographic lacking both throne and crown. Domínguez Rodríguez accurately describes the scene as follows:

Lo más notable de estas imágenes del rey es el carácter casi pagano que se [respira] en las mismas: Don Alfonso se sienta a la turca como un soberano oriental. Los símbolos del poder occidentales, incluido el trono, han desaparecido. En vez de corona lleva el [*birrete*], más comfortable. Y en un ambiente de distensión, casi islamizado (salvo los vestidos de los jugadores) el rey Don Alfonso, identificándose con el planeta Sol (como los soberanos orientales) y con una concepción del mundo astrológica, quiso ser representado en los momentos finales de su vida. ("Libro de los juegos" 58)

According to Domínguez Rodríguez, Alfonso's dominant presence in both these illuminations underscores his desire to present himself as a *sabio* displaying his "concepción del universo que había presidido casi todas sus búsquedas científicas"

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<sup>876</sup> "Este es el tablero de los escaques e de las tablas que sse iuega por astronomia. En esta gran miniatura está el mismo rey Don Alfonso con sus insignias reales, teniendo al lado un *mundo* que lo cubren todo los leones y castillos de su escudo de armas. Un paje le hace aire con un largo abanico dorado, y alternan con el monarca, al rededor de un gran tablero circular sentados á la usanza morisca, sobre alfombras rayadas de diversos colores, seis caballeros" (Janer, "Los Libros de ajedrez" 254).

(“Libro de los juegos” 58). Her description of the *escaques* board is accurate, noting the square shape of the pieces and the gilt, central sphere representing earth even though the text says the the color is “brown.”<sup>877</sup>

García Morencos uses this image in her study with notes that also agree with my description.<sup>878</sup> Vázquez de Parga remarks that in the last two miniatures of the *LJ* (fols. 96v and 97v), the king alone occupies the upper portion of the full-folio illuminations. He describes him as presiding on a throne though I see rather that Alfonso reclines *a la mora* against a couch covered by a rich cloth. Vázquez de Parga continues to note that the king’s cap and the border of his *manto* are decorated with castles and lions. To either side of the king on fol. 96v, Vázquez de Parga describes two richly dressed courtiers and to the far right, a boy with a fly-swatter or fan (1987: 26).

Finkenzeller et al. shows a beautiful modern printed version of the Astrological Checkers board.<sup>879</sup> Wollesen uses an image of this miniature in his article with the incorrect caption, “4. Madrid, Real Bibl. del Escorial, j.T.6. fol.; fol. 95r, Astronomic Chess” (281). The text for astrological chess or *escaques* begins on fol. 95r while this

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<sup>877</sup> “El quarto es redondo a manera de pella & de color parda que es por ell helemento dela tierra” (fol. 95v). In contrast, four-seasons chess assigns earth the color black: “El Otoño es seco & ffrio por que es dell Elemento dela tierra. & esmas temprado que ell Estio ca tira mas ala friura que a la calentura. & las cosas que fincaron quemadas dell Estio; nacen & reffrescan en este tiempo. & por que el su elemento es la tierra & la su complexion friura & sequedat; por ende pusieron este tiempo de color negra” (fol. 87r).

<sup>878</sup> Her caption reads: “El Rey Sabio presidiendo el *juego de los escaques según la astronomía*” (44). In her *Relación de ilustraciones* she says of it, “Alfonso X presidiendo el *juego de los escaques según la astronomía*, que parece invención del propio Sabio y que resulta de un extraordinario interés por reflejar el grado de conocimientos de la época en este campo; los siete lados del heptagonal tablero corresponden a los entonces considerados como planetas” (García Morencos 54).

<sup>879</sup> The caption reads, “Right: The game known as Astronomy Chess is played on a round board. The firmament, the planets and the signs of the zodiac were the main elements.” The Picture Credits at the end of the book give credit for this image to “Jerzy Gizycki, *A History of Chess*, The Abbey Library, London 1972: ... 36 right ...” (207). See also section 1.7.1 of this dissertation.

miniature occupies the whole of fol. 96v. Canettieri's description agrees with mine and then focuses on the board.<sup>880</sup>

See also the Appendices D1 and D2 for a comparison of the iconographic and semi-iconographic portraits of Alfonso in the *LJ* and the possible non-iconographic *LJ* portraits of Alfonso.

### **2.7.193 Fol. 97r**

Fol. 97r has only text and no illumination. There are small holes in this folio and a large tear, now sewn, resulting from what is most likely collateral damage done to what I believe to be Sancho's portrait on the verso.<sup>881</sup>

### **2.7.194 Fol. 97v**

The hundred and fifty-first and final miniature of the *LJ* illustrates the astrologically-based variant of tables or astrological backgammon with a full-folio architectural illumination within a framework of white verticals and red horizontals, detailed in an S-design with the opposite color. As in the previous illumination, seven blond Christian men surround this heptagonal board. The center of the board contains a

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<sup>880</sup> “Si vede il Re sul trono nella parta più alta, con cappello in oro e con una veste rossa bordata con gli emblemi di Castiglia e León. Su lato destro c'è un bambino che fa aria al sovrano. Accanto al Re ci sono due cortigiani di alto rango che giocano con lui e poi altri quattro giocatori distribuiti due a due su panche ricoperte di drappi a strisce di differenti colori. Il tavoliere, che occupa la parte centrale del quadro, è grande e rotondo ed è iscritto in un ettangolo. Sulla fascia più scura del tavoliere si vedono i simboli dei segni zodiacali: all'altezza del Re ci sono l'Ariete e i Pesci; poi, procedendo in senso antiorario il Toro, i Gemelli (di fronte al giocatore alla destre del Re), il Cancro (di fronte al giocatore mediano), il Leone, la Vergine (di fronte al giocatore in basso), la Bilancia, lo Scorpione (di fronte all'altro giocatore in basso), il Sagittario (di colore nero), nella casella mediana all'altezza del cerchio più esterno; poi procedendo verso l'interno si vede Giove (di colore verde) nella quarta casella del quadrante del Sagittario; Marte (di colore rosso) nella prima casella del quadrante dello Scorpione; il Sole (di color oro) nella seconda casella del quadrante del Leone; Venere (di colore violetto) nella casella mediana del quadrante del Toro; Mercurio (multicolore) nella prima casella del quadrante della Vergine; la Luna (di colore bianco) nella casella del Cancro” (Canettieri 70).

<sup>881</sup> See Excel file “*LJ* Manuscript Statistics,” column “Wear and Tears.”

black, six-arm swastika edged in white that serves to indicate the game's counter-clockwise movement.

Alfonso, wearing a red and gold *birrete* with what appear to be heraldic markings, a green tunic bordered in red and gold, again probably with the heraldic castles and lions, red hose and gold shoes, sits Indian-style on the floor at the very top of the miniature before a red couch and next to a red pillow.<sup>882</sup> The six other men, three per side, are arranged in pairs facing each other across the board. As in the previous full-folio illumination and those in the fourth and fifth treatises, these men sit Indian style upon brightly colored rugs of different patterns. However, where in the other miniatures there are three rugs, here there are four. The uppermost rug is vertically striped in brown and yellow; the second rug from the top is comprised of red and white vertical stripes; the third rug has thick white stripes and narrow black and green ones; and the most beautiful, bottommost rug alternates solid green stripes with a black, floral-patterned band and a red, diamond-patterned stripe.

The player at top left, seated to the king's right, has been defaced with such violence that it appears that the folio itself has been torn and then sewn together. This participant wears a red *birrete*, red laced tunic, grey cloak, red hose and gold shoes and represents, I believe, Alfonso's second son, Sancho.<sup>883</sup> The other two players on the same side, perhaps Sancho's friends and conspirators against Alfonso in his final days, have also been defaced. The third and fourth players appear to be a scholar of some sort and

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<sup>882</sup> See other similar red pillows on fols. 8v, 10r, 14r, 22r, 40v, 47v, 76r and 76v.

<sup>883</sup> See also fols. 1r, 72r, 88v and 96v for other cases of Sancho's defacement.

another prince or noble. The scholar wears a beret,<sup>884</sup> loose red tunic over blue sleeves, blue hose and black shoes. The prince at the bottom wears a green *birrete*, a laced red tunic edged in black and white trimming, a grey cloak similarly edged, red hose and gold shoes.

Across the board from these players, beginning at bottom right is the fifth player, another noble in a green tunic, red double-string cloak, red hose and black single-strap shoes. Above him in the middle on the right is the sixth player wearing a red tunic, grey double-string cloak, darker red hose and black single-strap shoes. Finally, at top right the seventh player wears a laced red, white and blue tunic, a red double-string cloak, red hose and gold shoes. The miniaturist in painting the background has oddly tinted his hair and beard an anomalous blue even though this man is playing Mars whose pieces are vermillion red.<sup>885</sup>

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<sup>884</sup> Berets appear on Christians and Muslims on fols. 6v, 25v, 31r, 47r, 58v and 97v.

<sup>885</sup> Fol. 97r's explanation of the game determines that the blue-haired player has the pieces for Mars which are described as *uermeio* in color. The text also uses this term to describe the *aanca*'s beak and the rhino's eyes (in description of *grant acedrex*, on fols. 81r and 81v, but neither detail is borne out in miniature on fol. 82v), the season of summer (in descriptions of four-seasons chess and tables, on fols. 87r, 87v and 89r and borne out in their miniatures on fols. 88v and 89v) and the inner circle representing fire on the *escaques* board (in description on fol. 95v, and borne out on fol. 96v) but the paint has aged the latter to appear reddish brown. There is one other instance of blue hair in the "Libro del alquerque" (fol. 91v) but this player does not seem as old as that one; as well as more instances of blue marks resulting from the pigment used for the background on fols. 54v, 56r, and 79v.

Janer's description agrees with mine, noting Alfonso's comfortable presentation.<sup>886</sup> This miniature appears reversed on the opening page of Grunfeld's *Games of the World* whose introduction claims the *LJ* as its point of departure (8).

Domínguez Rodríguez describes Alfonso as presiding over the game board in a heraldic *manto* and *birrete* but does not mention the intentional damage. Her description of the board as astrological backgammon is accurate, noting that Alfonso plays the yellow pieces representing the sun. Confusing the word *tablas* (playing pieces) for the sections of the board described immediately before a passage, she incorrectly says that two of the text's indications for the board have not been shown in the miniature: first, that "cada una de las tablas de los sectores radiales debía ser del color de un planeta" and second, that "sobre cada lado habría de 'ser figurada la planeta a que pertenece aquel lado, pinteada y coloreada del color que le conviene'."<sup>887</sup> However the pieces are indeed portrayed in their planetary colors though she is correct on the second point that the

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<sup>886</sup> "Este es el tablero de las tablas segund la natura de los escaques que se iuegan por astronomía. Tambien preside el monarca castellano este gran juego, en que sentados sobre hermosas alfombras toman parte otros seis jugadores. El rey, á pesar de tener detrás un gran sofá, cubierto de tela con flores y adornos bordados, está sentado en el suelo como sus demás compañeros de solaz y esparcimiento" (Janer, "Los Libros de ajedrez" 255). Janer's description concludes his descriptions of the miniatures at the end of his 40-page study of the *LJ* with the following paragraph: "Hemos bosquejado un estudio artístico arqueológico del códice que contiene los *Libros de los juegos del ajedrez, de los dados y de las tablas*. Nos hemos ocupado de la forma del códice y de la materia en que se halla escrito, manifestando el carácter paleográfico y la condicion especial de su ortografía. Acerca del mayor ó menos mérito de su parte pictórica y de su correccion del dibujo, hemos manifestado nuestra opinion, valiéndonos tambien de la de un crítico contemporáneo muy inteligente en este género de estudios (Footnote 1 reads: Dr. D. José Amador de los Rios), y hemos llamado la atencion acerca del conocimiento que tan peregrino códice facilitó del mobiliario é indumentaria del la época, no ménos que de la arquitectura de aquel tiempo. Aun podría valorarse el interés y el mérito de los *Libros de los juegos*, estudiando la mayor ó menor dificultad que los diferente juegos ofrezcan, como recreacion y combinacion de suertes de azar, pero este estudio nos apartaria ya de nuestro propósito artístico arqueológico, y preferimos dejar abierto tan vasto campo á la curiosidad y destreza de los jugadores de ajedrez, de dados y de tablas" ("Los Libros de ajedrez" 255).

<sup>887</sup> Domínguez Rodríguez, "*Libro de los juegos*" 58. "Et cadaunas delas tablas destos lados; han de seer dela color de las planetas. Et las tablas han de seer tantas como son las casas. Et sobre cada un lado a de seer; figurada la planeta a que pertenece; aquel lado pintada & colorada daquella color quel conuiene. Saturno de negro" (fol. 97r).

planet's personifications are not shown above each sector, unless she is referring to the players themselves. Domínguez Rodríguez, then, correctly observes that, despite the fact that the *LJ*'s text provides a painstaking description of each planet's anthropomorphization, these changes are not displayed in the miniatures except in terms of their representative colors here and in the square pieces on fol. 95v.

Vázquez de Parga does not mention the violent and intentional defacing of the figures on the left side of the game board on fol. 97v (1987: 26). Canettieri does not mention it either but rather focusses on the board itself as he has for the previous illumination.<sup>888</sup>

See also the Appendices D1 and D2 for a comparison of the iconographic and semi-iconographic portraits of Alfonso in the *LJ* and the possible non-iconographic *LJ* portraits of Alfonso.

### **2.7.195 Fol. 98r**

Fol. 98r is blank.

### **2.7.196 Fol. 98v**

Fol. 98v is blank except for the lower left quadrant which contains an outline of two men who appear to be playing a game which has not been drawn. This may have

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<sup>888</sup> “Il Re sta in alto seduto al suolo sopra cuscini, davanti ad un trono riccamente tappezzato. Intorno i cortigiani sono seduti a due a due su panche coperte con drappi a strisce di vari colori. Le tavole (sette per ciascun giocatore) sono nella posizione iniziale. Il Re è di fronte a quelle relative al Sole (di colore giallo). Seguono, in senso antiorario, Venere (viola), Mercurio (multicolore), la Luna (bianca), Saturno (nero), Giove (verde) e Marte (rosso). Il giocatore di sinistra con le tavole multicolore relative a Mercurio ha lanciato i dadi ettaedrici e ha ottenuto un 13 (7+5+1). Al centro un disegno circolare con sei diametri e circonferenza interrotta in corrispondenza di ciascun diametro indica una rotazione inversa a quella dei giocatori, che è in senso antiorario” (Canettieri 70).

been a practice sketch by one of the *LJ*'s artists or perhaps was added later by someone imitating the figures in the miniatures. There is a small hole at the top of fol. 98r.<sup>889</sup>

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<sup>889</sup> See Excel file "*LJ* Manuscript Statistics," column "Wear and Tears."

**CHAPTER III: METAPHYSICAL DIMENSIONS OF ALFONSO X'S*****BOOK OF GAMES******3.1 Sub Specie Ludi***

In Chapters I and II of this dissertation, we have examined the two most obvious dimensions of the *Book of Games*, the ludic and the artistic. This final chapter shows that between the lines of this book of games lies the inevitable metaphysical dimension that forms a necessary counterpart to every medieval text. Here we shall see that the key to understanding why Alfonso X ordered the compilation of the *LJ* requires us to look beyond the literal meaning of the visible and temporal work in order to discover the invisible and spiritual meaning hidden within its pairs of metaphysical symbols: skill and luck, chess and tables, sevens and twelves. The *LJ* uses a Scholastic syllogism to juxtapose repeatedly a series of numerological, geometrical and ludic concepts traditionally viewed as opposites and whose synthesis illustrates the metaphysical Hermetic principle: "As above, so below." The juxtaposed symbols and games all reinforce the *LJ*'s overall structural and astrological symbolism which, in turn, reveal the *LJ* and its games as a series of human and earthly microcosms symbolic of celestial and divine macrocosms. Alfonso discloses his religious and scientific beliefs in cosmological symbolism *sub specie ludi* and is strongly influenced by Hermetism, Scholasticism and Cabala. It is, in fact, the multiple levels of these mystical symbologies within the *LJ* that both explain Alfonso's interest in these games and provide a greater understanding of their mysterious origins.

As a Hermetic text, the appearance of the *LJ* may at first deceive but its coded content ultimately will reveal to the careful observer an abundance of clues that support a much more complex interpretation of these games and their guiding role in the life of Alfonso el Sabio. As another sort of a *speculum principum*, the *LJ* is also a mirror of thirteenth-century Castile's perception of the Aristotelian concept of Nature as well as the Ptolemaic universe model of concentric, counterclockwise orbits entirely in keeping with the Alfonsine corpus of astronomical and astrological works such as the *Tablas alfonsíes*, the *Libro complido de los iudizios de las estrellas*, the *Libros de saber de astronomía* and the *Lapidario*.<sup>1</sup> To arrive at a fuller understanding of this cosmic scheme, we may profitably apply the very same numerologically-based Scholastic exegetical methodology so familiar to Alfonso, ascending, like the medieval Cabalistic scholar, through the four progressive levels of interpretation that extend from the literal, to the allegorical or homiletical, and from there to the tropological and, finally, to the anagogical meanings to be discovered behind the individual ludic and artistic elements of the *Book of Games*.

The most prominent symbolism in the *LJ* is numerology. Numerological symbolism is evident throughout the work in both its overall structure as well as its individual elements, e.g. the sixty-four folios of the "Libro del acedrex" and the seven players of the planets in the *LJ*'s final astrological games. Extending the concept of

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<sup>1</sup> Alfonso X, Rey de Castilla, *Lapidario* (Madrid: Odres Nuevos-Castalia, 1980). Edilán has also produced a facsimile edition titled *Lapidario del Rey Alfonso X*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Editora Internacional de Libros Antiguos, 1982). The companion vol. 2 contains studies by María Brey Mariño, José Luis Amorós Portolés and Ana Domínguez Rodríguez. HSMS transcriptions of the last three works are also available on: Lloyd August Kasten, John J. Nitti and Wilhelmina Jonxis-Henkemans, eds., *The Electronic Texts and Concordances of the Prose Works of Alfonso X, El Sabio*, CD-ROM, (Madison, WI: HSMS, 1997): *Judizos de las estrellas*: Madrid: Nacional 3065 (text.juz), *Libros del saber de astronomia*: Madrid: Universitaria 156 (text.ast), and *Lapidario de Alfonso X*: Escorial Monasterio h.1.15 (text.lap).

numerology to the second dimension, geometry, reveals that the shapes of the game boards and other play elements, are also rich in symbolism ultimately rooted in the Hermetic spiritual exercise of squaring the circle.<sup>2</sup> Application of this concept to the game boards reveals that their central point plays a key role in both the play of the games and in their symbolism, underscoring once again the metaphor of man being written little while the universe is written large. If man is a miniature map of the universe, by extension cruciform game boards can be seen as miniature maps of man. Each dimension of this metaphor is linked from one level to the next by the key umbilical central point in a continuous chain, as child to mother, or, speaking the language of playthings, Russian *matryoshka* dolls or, to borrow a literary analogy, Chinese boxes.

Following the medieval system of Cabala, four dimensions of symbolism within the work are analyzed. These four levels—the literal, allegorical, tropological and anagogical—reveal how all the *LJ*'s games, but particularly its battle-game chess and race-game tables, are much more closely related than commonly supposed in terms of flexibility to express many different kinds of geomantic symbolism. While other Arabic and European works on games, particularly chess, depend on the allegorical level of

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<sup>2</sup> The opposite geometric shapes of the round circle and the linear square respectively represent heaven and earth and the alchemists believed that resolving the differences between the two or finding a way of synthesizing them in the Scholastic sense would bring spiritual enlightenment. Extensions of the alchemical idea of squaring the circle as a spiritual exercise can be seen in this chapter's later examples of cathedrals and other temples, in astrologically-based stone circles, mandalas and game boards. The *LJ*'s syllogism juxtaposing square battle games of chess with circular race games of tables is another extension of this symbol. Contemplation of such geometric images results in a raising of the consciousness in much the same way as religious architecture, where man contemplates his relationship with the divine, represents an even larger variation on the same theme of intersecting circles and squares. It is the manipulation of the basic elements of time and space, through regular demarcation, which creates the unique and separate reality which Johan Huizinga defines as a principal characteristic of play, "a voluntary activity or occupation executed within certain fixed limits of time and place, according to rules freely accepted but absolutely binding, having the consciousness that it is 'different' from 'ordinary life'" (*Homo Ludens; a Study of the Play-Element in Culture* [Boston: Beacon, 1950] 28).

game symbolism alone, the *LJ* uniquely synthesizes multiple dimensions of symbologies for each type of game. Its first three treatises present the three basic games of chess, dice and backgammon on a literal and sometimes allegorical level. Any symbolism stated explicitly relates to the actual play of the games or their role as worldly simulacra. The final four treatises each expand sequentially upon the symbolic nature of the games, adding a new dimension of space and/or time. The fourth treatise expands upon the size of the games, hinting that the metaphors will grow larger and larger until they are representative of the space of the whole universe. The fifth treatise doubles the number of players, from two to four, and likewise doubles the symbolic dimensions. Now the games represent not only the twofold microcosmos and macrocosmos, i.e. this life and the afterlife, but the fourfold series of time based upon the four seasons and its alchemical correspondences to the microcosmic human body and to the macrocosmic elements of earth, air, fire and water. The final treatise continues the extension of the micro/macrocosmic metaphor by adding a celestial dimension of space and time with the seven planets which influence men's lives, moving through the twelve zodiacal signs of the year. This chapter's in depth exegetical analysis of these aspects of the *LJ*'s organization of its games will deepen our understanding of the similarities of the games chess and tables by relating their symbolism to other scientific and religious cosmographs.

Finally, it is hoped that the comparisons of the *LJ*'s games to similar representations in other fields of research, along with textual exegesis of the *LJ*'s synthetic pairing of battle and race games, will offer new insight into the age-old search

for and debate on the origins of chess. Rooted in the historical context of these games presented in the *LJ*, this dissertation presents undeniable and profound similarities between the deeper mechanisms of the play of both chess and tables, two games generally held to be fundamental opposites, which suggests that the answers to our questions about the origin of chess as well as race games may be found by examining a broader field of inquiry which includes their divinatory, geomantic and cosmological symbolism.

### **3.2 Numerological Symbolism in the *LJ***

The most prominent symbolism in the *LJ* is its numerology, which reveals the metaphysical meanings behind the various numbers used in the *LJ*'s structure and content. An understanding of numerological symbolism is fundamental to understanding the *LJ*'s layered dimensions of meaning and thus numerology will be the first symbology examined in this chapter. Numerology helps us to understand the meaning behind the purposeful arrangements of Alfonso's *LJ*—such as those numbers to be found in the quantity of folios, the game equipment, the number of games and even the number of illuminations—to which the medieval mind assigned symbolic importance of divine origin. As part of the reason for this, Umberto Eco points to the triad of terms by which God arranged all things in the Book of Wisdom of Solomon, from the Old Testament Apocrypha: *numerus*, *pondus* and *mensura*.<sup>3</sup> As discussed in Chapter I, I firmly believe the *LJ* is both whole and complete quite simply because its 98 ( $7 \times 7 + 7 \times 7$ ) folios, 151 ( $1 + 5 + 1 = 7$ ) illuminations and 144 ( $12 \times 12$ ) games correspond so closely to Alfonso's

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<sup>3</sup> Literally number, weight and measure. Umberto Eco, *Art and Beauty in the Middle Ages* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 1986) 19.

religious and philosophical beliefs as expressed in the *Setenario* that it is difficult to imagine these key numbers, related to sevens and twelves, are merely a coincidence (see also Table 11, “Dual Structural Scheme of the *LJ* Based on the Seven Treatises and their Twelve Divisions”).<sup>4</sup> This numerological examination will also address the symbolic meanings of the games’s key geometric figures of squares, crosses and circles belonging to numerology’s second-dimension: sacred geometry.

Numerology, or the use of numbers to represent certain metaphysical characteristics or to divine the future, “is based on the Pythagorean idea that all things can be expressed in numerical terms because they are ultimately reducible to numbers, i.e. all things are numbers.”<sup>5</sup> The idea that numbers possess a metaphysical importance of their own is seen in nearly all of Alfonso’s works, whether scientific, legal, religious or otherwise.<sup>6</sup> The games and structure of the *LJ* are built upon Alfonso’s numerological concepts in much the same way as those works of his in which numerology is perhaps more obvious, such as his astrological works and the *Cantigas de Santa María (CSM)*. Numerology applies not only to numerical units but also naturally extends its symbolism to the second and third dimensions of the geometry of the *LJ*’s game boards and other elements of play. The two most important geometrical symbols in terms of board games, those which drive nearly every aspect of their design and movement, are the circle, related principally to the number one but also to the celestial three, and the square, related

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<sup>4</sup> Kenneth H. Vanderford, ed., *Setenario* (Barcelona: Crítica, 1984).

<sup>5</sup> “Numerology,” *Encyclopædia Britannica*. 2005. Encyclopædia Britannica Online. 20 Sept. 2005, <<http://search.eb.com/eb/article-9056499>>.

<sup>6</sup> “Moreover, numbers had by the Middle Ages acquired a metaphysical significance of their own, and according to Mâle were thought to be endowed with occult power. They consequently found their way into nearly every aspect of cathedral building, from the number of pillars in the choir ... to the division of the rose windows” (Cowen 91).

to the earthly number four. These two shapes are universal archetypal symbols with extensive philosophical and religious significance.<sup>7</sup> Their combination, the squaring of the circle, seen in game boards, calendars, clocks and even rose windows, is a Hermetic spiritual exercise in the reconciliation of opposites based on the metaphysical concepts of sacred geometry. The *LJ* reconciles the opposing shapes of squares and circles in two ways: first, within the structure and play of each game and second, in terms of the battle and race games which correspond to these shapes. Square-based chess and the circular-tracked game of tables are, like the earthly number four and the heavenly number three, yet two more Hermetic symbols of microcosm and macrocosm which reinforce the *LJ*'s cohesive underlying theme.

Pythagoras (c. 580 - c. 500 B.C.) "is generally credited with the theory of the functional significance of numbers in the objective world and in music."<sup>8</sup> Rooted in the philosophy called Pythagoreanism, medieval numerological beliefs include:

- (1) the metaphysics of number and the conception that reality, including music and astronomy, is, at its deepest level, mathematical in nature;
- (2) the use of philosophy as a means of spiritual purification;
- (3) the heavenly destiny of the soul and the possibility of its rising to union with the divine;
- (4) the appeal to certain symbols, sometimes mystical, such as the *tetraktys*,<sup>9</sup> the golden section, and the harmony of the spheres...;
- (5) the

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<sup>7</sup> "In many of the world's religions, *symbolic* geometry is used as a kind of shorthand: circles, squares, triangles and stars, for example, are used to embody a meaning much more profound than they have in, say, a traffic sign or an advertising logo. Squares and circles, particularly, seem to have almost universal significance in symbolizing the finite and the infinite, earth and heaven, or matter and spirit. In Sufi thought, the centre, radius and circumference of a circle symbolize, respectively Truth, the Path to Truth and the Law" (Cowen 94).

<sup>8</sup> "Pythagoras," *Encyclopædia Britannica*. 2005. Encyclopædia Britannica Online. 23 Aug. 2005, <<http://search.eb.com/eb/article-9062073>>.

<sup>9</sup> "The sacred decad in particular has a cosmic significance in Pythagoreanism: its mystical name, *tetraktys* (meaning approximately "fourness"), implies  $1 + 2 + 3 + 4 = 10$ ; but it can also be thought of as a "perfect triangle," from "Pythagoreanism," *Encyclopædia Britannica*. 2005. Encyclopædia Britannica Online. 23 Aug. 2005, <<http://search.eb.com/eb/article-68373>>.

Pythagorean theorem; and (6) the demand that members of the order shall observe a strict loyalty and secrecy.<sup>10</sup>

The reflection of these beliefs in the many numerological aspects of the *LJ* are examined below.

This section provides an overview of the importance of each key integer to the *LJ* during the thirteenth century as a means of illuminating medieval thinking about the divinely placed metaphysical significance behind numbers and the application of this symbolism to astrology as well as the sacred geometry of cathedrals and other religious structures which resemble game boards.<sup>11</sup> The numbers one to eight were the most important, together with the all-important number twelve, each also having a sacred geometrical equivalent. Generally, and in the *LJ* particularly, divine triads, earthly quaternities, celestial sevens and zodiacal twelves were some of the most important symbolically.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> "Pythagoreanism," *Encyclopædia Britannica*. 2005. Encyclopædia Britannica Online. 23 Aug. 2005, <<http://search.eb.com/eb/article-68373>>.

<sup>11</sup> Paul Calter's website for the course Math 5, Exploring Mathematics: Geometry in Art and Architecture at Dartmouth College, based on his book, *Squaring the Circle: Geometry in Art and Architecture* (Key College, 2005), addresses several key aspects of numerology, and its practical application in geometry, that can be applied to the study of the *LJ*. Four units of his course in particular illuminate the medieval thinking about the meaning behind numbers and the application of this symbolism to music, astrology and cathedrals and other religious structures which resemble game boards. Unit 3 "Pythagoras & the Music of the Spheres," Unit 4 "Number Symbolism," Unit 8: "Number Symbolism in the Middle Ages" and Unit 9: "The Circle, the Wheel of Fortune & the Rose Window" all rest on Pythagorean and Aristotelian philosophy. Calter's book *Squaring the Circle: Geometry in Art and Architecture*, due out Dec. 2006, developed as a result of his website for his course at Dartmouth on Geometry in Art and Architecture. All units are available online where links to information about the book may also be found.

<sup>12</sup> "Number Symbolism," *Geometry in Art and Architecture*, Paul Calter, 1998, 25 Sept. 2001, <<http://www.dartmouth.edu/~matc/math5.geometry/unit4/unit4.html>> and "Number Symbolism in the Middle Ages," *Geometry in Art and Architecture*, Paul Calter, 1998, 27 Aug. 2005, <<http://www.dartmouth.edu/~matc/math5.geometry/unit8/unit8.html>>. Henceforth, Calter's Unit 5 and Calter's Unit 8.

### 3.2.1 Numerology: Ones and Circles

One, rather than a number itself, was considered to be the source of all other numbers. It represented the first cause, and therefore God, as the unity or synthesis of all things just as Scholasticism's synthesis represents the combination of an opposite or paradoxical duality. In games, it is the number one's equivalents in sacred geometry—the circle and its center—which are most symbolic because the circle represents both the notion of the global or universal whole as well as the indivisible, individual self or unit.<sup>13</sup> Paul Calter addresses the symbolism of various forms of the perfect geometric form, the circle.<sup>14</sup> The circle's smaller twin, the omphalic dot at its center, is the simplest symbol whose imagery also stretches to cover both sides of the equation from micro- to macrocosmic.<sup>15</sup> A circular shape with elements rotating around a fixed point at its center is fundamental to the medieval concept of the wheel of Fortune which explains the rise and fall of the tides of man's fortunes; both the shape of race game boards and the path of those games's pieces; as well as games like modern roulette and Alfonso's four-seasons tables and astrological backgammon, illustrate the rhythmic cycle of the year's seasons. It also forms the basis of the quartered circle or nine-square pattern which I believe may be the root of all early microcosmic game boards, discussed in this chapter under the

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<sup>13</sup> Cowen 76. He further observes that “[s]ince early Christian times the circle has signified eternity, God, worship, perfection, the year and heaven. And it is for this reason, according to Vitruvius, that some ancient temples are round, representing the form or figure of heaven” (Cowen 94). In terms of games this can be seen in the circular boards and smaller circular playing pieces of games like the *LJ's el mundo*.

<sup>14</sup> “The Circle, the Wheel of Fortune & the Rose Window,” *Geometry in Art and Architecture*, Paul Calter, 1998, 25 Sept. 2001, <<http://www.dartmouth.edu/~matc/math5.geometry/unit9/unit9.html>>. Henceforth, Calter's Unit 9. See also note on Calter in Sec. 3.2.

<sup>15</sup> In terms of games, an illustration of this principle is seen in the *LJ's escaques* which place the smaller microcosmos of earth, represented by its four elements, in the omphalic center of the seven planetary orbits and outer band of twelve zodiac constellations.

numerological symbolism of the number five.

The sky or heavens are often described as a wheel and the Christian religion marks a connection to holy figures with a circular, heavenly halo. The divine and celestial overtones of such a symbol are clear in the nimbus, whether whole or cruciform, i.e. divided into four quarters by an equilateral or Greek cross;<sup>16</sup> Ezekiel's vision of the heavens as wheels within wheels, or microcosms within macrocosms, as Alfonso noted in his *Setenario's* Ley LXIX, mentioning the Jewish *Martala*, probably a reference to the ancient Jewish commentary on the Book of Ezekiel known as the Merkabah; and the rose windows of medieval gothic cathedrals such as we find at Chartres.<sup>17</sup>

Not only religion but also science makes use of circular imagery. Early maps and calendars, such as the O-T maps and the Aztec calendar, were circular because they mirrored the shape of the earth and the movements of the sun through the sky. Even modern maps project the 360° in a circle onto the spherical globe of the earth in two perpendicular ways, forming a chess board-like grid of the 360 parallels of longitude and meridians of latitude. Modern measurements of time still use a circular shape, such as the

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<sup>16</sup> The crossed circle divides the celestial space into four as with maps and the *LJ's* fifth treatise games, especially *el mundo*. The cruciform nimbus is used only for Christ, "In the San Giovanni ceiling, notice that the figure of God is also in the shape of a Greek cross, within a circle. Both can be taken as examples of squaring the circle" (Calter's Unit 9). See the discussion of geometry in the games, particularly of the circle, the *x* and the squaring of the circle previously in this chapter. This shape also relates to the Vitruvian man discussed below.

<sup>17</sup> "The great cathedrals are a symbol of the Middle Ages. By the Middle Ages numbers had acquired a metaphysical significance of their own, and were thought to be endowed with occult power. Thus they found their way into nearly every aspect of cathedral design, from the numbers of the pillars in the choir and layout of the facade, and, inevitably, to the division of the rose windows. A year after St. Denis was finished work was started on rebuilding Chartres, and it was here that the Medieval craze for numbers and geometry seemed to reach its peak. According to [Cowen], 'The scholars at Chartres were clearly fascinated by number and ... geometry ... as a key to understanding nature. Their preoccupation with numbers led to a trend of almost reducing theology to geometry'" (Calter's Unit 9).

round faces of analog clocks, because they describe the same sort of heavenly solar movement.

### 3.2.2 Numerology: Twos and Manichean Dualities

Conceptually, the circle is also the point of departure for the formation of the square. First, through the bisection of the circle we have two mirror-image halves that are the many classic religious and philosophical dualities represented in the Manichean light and dark sides of chess, tables and other two-player games as well as yin/yang, male/female, above/below, left/right, good/evil. Early forms of dice such as throwing sticks or shells often gave only one of two readings, so they were used in groups as with the I Ching's eight trigrams of solid and broken lines which combine exponentially to form sixty-four possible combinations ( $4^3$ ).<sup>18</sup> Twos represent duality and paradoxical opposites, as in chess and nard, stemming from the one synthetic harmony, or *concordantia discordantium*, resulting from the Scholastic debate played out by each player's discordant elements such as the black and white playing pieces of chess and tables.

A second bisection of these classic dualities results in groups of four, lending the form of the square as in Aristotle's four basic elements corresponding to the four natural qualities of hot and cold, wet and dry and the *LJ*'s games four-seasons chess and tables which are based on the circle of the year but subdivided into the four seasons and their various correspondences, including Aristotle's four natural qualities. Those physical and

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<sup>18</sup> The ancient Chinese system of philosophy and divination called I Ching is similar to both chess and other philosophical and divinatory games in the *LJ*. As a system of interpreting the metaphysical and occult meanings behind sixty-four hexagrams, the I Ching is meant to symbolize all phenomena of the universe, both natural and human (Kynes 216).

terrestrial qualities along with their scientific, religious and ludic connections will be examined after the spiritual number three.

### 3.2.3 Numerology: Heavenly Threes

Three and four are the root factor numbers for both the *LJ*'s key symbolic ciphers, representing their sum seven ( $3+4=7$ ) and their product twelve ( $3\times 4=12$ ). Threes are related traditionally in many cultures with heavenly and fateful things while fours are connected with earthly matters. The synthetic combination of three and four throughout the *LJ*'s structure is another example of Alfonso's coded language for his microcosm-mirroring-macrocosm philosophy.

According to Calter, divine trios include the holy trinity of Christianity; the three primary gods of Babylon, Anu, Bel and Ea representing heaven, earth and the abyss; the three Egyptian sun gods, Horus, Ra and Osiris representing rising sun, midday sun and setting sun; the generally negative female trios including Greek mythology's Three Fates, Clotho, Lachesis and Atropos; Plato's three Sirens; *Macbeth*'s three witches; Roman mythology's three Furies and three Graces; the theological virtues, Faith, Hope and Charity from I Corinthians 13, 13.<sup>19</sup> They also include the classical god of magic and the occult, Hermes Trismegistus, the thrice great, who was, like Alfonso, a patron of music and whose Egyptian parallel was the lunar god Thoth.<sup>20</sup> Other significant triads include the human understanding of time as reflected in the grammatical tense divisions of our language into past, present and future; and Scholasticism's triangular method for arriving

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<sup>19</sup> Calter's Unit 8.

<sup>20</sup> Hermes Trimegistus was credited with authoring arguably the most important Hermetic Alchemy text known as the Emerald Tablet or *Tabula Smaragdina*, discussed later. Hermes makes an appearance in the *LJ* seventh treatise under his Roman name Mercury where he is described as writing in a book.

at the truth by resolving the dialectical *sic et non* into a synthesis which, in turn, provokes an antithesis that then equals a new thesis. The triangle is, of course, the geometrical equivalent of three.<sup>21</sup> Finally, the *LJ* game *escaques* uses trine, the astrological aspect connecting any three zodiacal signs by an equilateral triangle placed within their circle as part of its play. Three also give us the first three Liberal Arts or trivium: grammar, dialectic and rhetoric.<sup>22</sup>

### 3.2.4 Numerology: Earthly Fours, Squares and Crosses

Earthy quaternities include the four elements which were believed to make up all matter and their four qualities (hot, cold, wet and dry); the four seasons of the year; the four corners of the earth<sup>23</sup> or the cardinal points or directions, north, south, east and west and their corresponding sets of three zodiacal signs each; the four winds of Boreas or Aquilo from the north, Zephyr or Favonius from the west, Notus or Auster from the south, and Eurus from the east; the four phases to the earth's moon (new, waxing, full and waning), each of which last the key number of seven days; four times of day (morning, noon, evening and night); four ages of man (infancy, youth, adulthood and

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<sup>21</sup> While no games in the *LJ* use a triangular board, numerous Oriental relatives of the hunt game *cercar la liebre* do use variations of such a board, including those described under *cercar la liebre* in this dissertation's first chapter. Significantly, the leopards and tigers game, Siam's len choa and Ceylon's hat diviyan keliya (Murray 1952: 106), is played on a triangular ten-point board which recalls the Pythagorean tetractys already noted above.

<sup>22</sup> Perhaps not coincidentally, the division of the seven Liberal Arts into trivium and quadrivium corresponds to Alfonso's division of the seven treatises of the *LJ*. The first three treatises illustrate the three basic games named in the opening prologue, i.e. chess, dice and tables. The remaining four treatises present increasingly complex variations on that same theme. Notably, the seventh liberal art and the seventh treatise of the *LJ* both deal with astrology.

<sup>23</sup> This phrase itself may be an allusion the Alchemistic goal of squaring the circle: why is something round like the Earth referred to as having any number of corners but particularly four? Alfonso's usage of the symbolic numbers seven and twelve may stem in part from the repeated usages of these same numbers in the Book of Revelation. This highly symbolic book of the Bible also mentions the four corners of the earth twice (7: 1; 20: 8) and may be the source of Alfonso's other symbols including stars (9: 10-11) and kings of the East (16: 12), as well as scorpions, which appear frequently in Alfonso's profane poetry (9: 3, 5, 10).

senectude); the four bodily humors (blood, phlegm, choler and melancholy). The majority of these elements are described in the *LJ*'s fifth treatise as being represented by its four-player games. Fours also give us the last four Liberal Arts or quadrivium: arithmetic, music, geometry and astronomy. The latter science in Alfonso's time also included the divinatory aspects of astrology.

Terrestrial fours appear in such diverse cultures as Hinduism, Islam, classical Greek mythology, Judaism and Christianity. Hindu thought divides human and earthly groups into fours, such as castes, Vastu Shastra and Vastuvidya (their arts of placement and architecture similar to Chinese Feng Shui) and their sacred literature, the four Vedas. The representation of the four rivers of the Earthly Paradise mentioned in the Old Testament (Pison, Gihon, Hiddekel and Euphrates) forms the basis of both Muslim and Christian courtyard designs, and also greatly resembles mandala-like game boards such as the early race game Indian *ashtapada*, played on the same 8x8 board as chess. There were also four rivers of Hades in classical mythology: Acheron, Styx, Phlegethon and Cocytus.<sup>24</sup> There are four consonants in the tetragrammaton or secret name of God in the Hebrew alphabet. Examples of fours on earth from the New Testament include the Four Creatures of Revelation, the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse and the gospels written by the four evangelists Matthew, Mark, Luke and John.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> "Number Symbolism," *Geometry in Art and Architecture*, Paul Calter, 1998, 25 Sept. 2001, <<http://www.dartmouth.edu/~matc/math5.geometry/unit4/unit4.html>>. Henceforth, Calter's Unit 4.

<sup>25</sup> Calter's Unit 8. The *Setenario*'s Law LXIX explains the symbolism of the four evangelists and their theriomorphic representations—John as an eagle, Matthew as a man, Mark as a lion and Luke as a bull—who also symbolize the four geographic quarters of the world. Alfonso cites from ancient Jewish and Muslim traditions to support this symbolism comparing the Christian Bible with Aristotle's *De las poridades*, what he calls the *Martala* (probably the Merkabah or ancient Jewish commentary on the Book of Ezekiel) and the words of the prophet Muhammad in the *Amochrch*, Alfonso's term for the *al-Mi'raj* or ascent, based on Sura 17 of the Koran and probably translated by Alfonso's *fisico* or doctor, Abraham, as

Four's geometric equivalents are the square with its four sides and the cross with its four limbs which, as we have previously mentioned, is the etymological root of the Sanskrit name for the earliest known chess variant, *chaturanga*. The symbols of the square and the cross are twin forms of the same concept of quaternity. A cross can be viewed as an inside-out or microcosmic square in that it comprised of the same number of lines and right angles, the difference being that the cross's angles point microcosmically inwards whereas the square's angles point microcosmically outwards. Our understanding of spacial area as a two-dimensional thing measured by regular distances lends itself easily to representation in a grid form of many squares. We talk about the four corners of the earth. Mathematical graphs as well as maps are shown in grid. The longitude and latitude that make up the vertical warp and horizontal woof of our earth were converted into a spherical grid by Mercator's projection map.<sup>26</sup> The square and

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the *Escala de Mahoma* (See Norman Roth, "Jewish Collaborators in Alfonso's Scientific Work" in Robert I. Burns, ed., *Emperor of Culture* [Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1990] 70.). This explanation constitutes a direct link to the four-player games of the *LJ*'s fifth treatise, four-seasons chess and the tables variant called "the world."

<sup>26</sup> The metaphor of the universe as the loom where space and time are woven in the warp and woof of universal fabric appears time and again, as already seen in Khayyam's stanza 393. For example, "What is decisive for such a view is not the measurable and enumerable nature of things, conditioned as it is by their temporal causes and circumstances; rather it is their essential qualities, which one can imagine as the vertical threads (warp) of a woven material, taken as representing the world, round which the shuttle alternately winds the horizontal thread (woof), thus making the woven material a unitary and compact material. The vertical threads are the immutable contents or 'essences' of things, whiel the horizontal threads represent their 'substantial' nature, dominated by time, space, and similar conditions. On the symbolism of woven material, see René Guénon, *The Symbolism of the Cross*, chapter XIV, Luzac, London, 1958" (Burckhardt *Alchemy* 41). "In many cultures, spinning thread on a spindle and weaving on a loom have an allegorical or direct connection with fate and destiny" (Nigel Pennick, *Secret Games of the Gods*. 1989 [York Beach, ME: Weiser, 1997. Rpt. of *Games of the Gods: The Origin of Board Games in Magic and Divination*. London: Rider, 1988] 29). "The loom of time" ... "Just as the form of the Kogi temple is designed to be a microcosmic image of the universe, so is the loom, upon which cloth is woven" (Pennick 114). Finally, on the connection of pattern to play, Huizinga says "[i]n nearly all higher forms of play, the elements of repetition and alternation ..., are like the warp and woof of a fabric" (10).

intersection patterns also form integral parts of the heraldic symbols for lands and families.

The square is the shape of the astrological aspect called quadrature, which connects four zodiac signs by placing a perfect square within their circle and is used in the *LJ*'s game *escaques*. The cross is, of course, both the *homo quadratus* and Christianity's key symbol of the crucifix as well as the foundation for most Western Church architecture, with the four arms oriented in the four cardinal directions. The boards of the classic games chess and backgammon are square and each is composed of smaller squares subdividing the main one. Chess's 64-square board can be described as a square that is quartered three times ( $4^3$ ). Backgammon's 24-point board can be described as a square that is quartered with each quarter then divided into six columns. The backgammon board's four-armed outline, created by the subdivision of the basic square, is the fundamental component of the grid and, like the ancient game *chaturanga* mentioned above, is also based on the human body with its four limbs.

While some of the most common games, like chess and checkers, are played by placing the pieces inside the spaces or squares on the board, others, like mill, Chinese chess and go, are played by placing the pieces on the intersections of their grid game boards. "The relationship of square to line is important, for it determines whether there will be a central point on which a playing-piece can stand, which, symbolically, is the major distinction in board games" (Pennick 161). Furthermore, it is interesting to note that all games which can be played within the squares can also be played on boards with

the appropriate number of intersections but not conversely.<sup>27</sup> Games that are played on the lines or intersections cannot always be played inside the squares. For example, tic tac toe or *alquerque de tres* (the modern *tres en raya*) can be played on either a nine-squared grid (#)<sup>28</sup> or an eight-point star, but *alquerque de doze* or *de nueue* cannot be played on a board of squares (Pennick 161).

Related to the grid, the word *tables* belongs equally to games, mathematics and astrology.<sup>29</sup> To tabulate is to count by means of organizing quantities into tables. In each case the word *tables* has its root in the letter T or *tau*, whose form was originally a static equilateral cross (+) or a dynamic decussate cross (x). The basic cruciform shape of many board games may also give us terms for their names: *tablas*, *tabula*, [hnef]tafl, *tawla*, *tau*; the equipment with which they are played (Spanish term for backgammon's playing pieces *tablas*, *talus* or anklebone from which many early dice called astragali were made); where they are played (*tables*, *taverns*, *tahurerías*, *tafurerías*); situations which arise during play (Spanish term *tablas* for a draw in chess); and the worst of those who play them (*tafures*).<sup>30</sup> Even modern calculating and gaming devices show their "square"

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<sup>27</sup> For instance, a game of chess can be played on the sixty-four intersections of a board made up of a grid of nine lines by nine lines. The origin of these differences of playing on the spaces between or intersections of grid lines may lie in the materials used in region of the game's origin, for instance holes scooped out of soft sand, as in the African game *mancala* or *wari*, versus lines scratched into harder earth by sticks, like Indian *pachisi*.

<sup>28</sup> The overlapping of two cross or plus forms (+) gives the number or pound symbol (#), which is also the game board form for the modern *tres en raya* and tic tac toe, both descendants of the *LJ's alquerque de tres*.

<sup>29</sup> The mathematical link to games is evident in other parts of their shared terminology. We calculate or count by means of *calculi*, which are literally stones, and these are the some of the same names given to playing pieces. A synonym of calculation is tabulation.

<sup>30</sup> Tau itself is also the name of an ancient Egyptian game, whose invention was credited to the god Thoth, their equivalent of Hermes. Later it also known as the game of the robbers: *latrunculis*, *latroni* (Pennick 18) or *ludus latruncularum*. I also own a branded-name version of this game, *Ludus Romanus: The Classic Game from Ancient Rome* (Oxford Games). The Egyptian's word for *tau* or its hieroglyph was

roots in their names which are based on the letter *x*: the names of Microsoft's accounting spread sheet program Excel and Xbox for video games are both composed of the letter *x* and a word describing the other integral elements of the grid, square cell or box.

The superimposition of a grid over areas of land is a familiar concept and “[t]he grid,” says Pennick “was a powerful symbol of the structure of the world, and of divine or human dominion over it. The form of the world, the layout of the countryside, the capital city, the holy temple of the gods and the palace of the king were all symbols of order expressed as the grid” (143-44). Because our perception and representation of time is linear and, because it moves in only one direction, there is no perpendicular to describe any given moment along this axis, it is difficult to conceive of time as a grid. However, our most basic modern method of marking the division of time, the calendar, indeed uses a grid with a base of seven like the *LJ*'s larger variant of tables and both clocks and calendars are, like gameboards, two-dimensional grids or checkerboards. Indeed, the calendar's consecutive squares that mark off the divisions of time as though it were space show the implicit connection between time and space.

According to Pennick, gods and goddesses were sometimes displayed as grids or wearing grids because this shows their dominion over space and time (6-7). According to Huizinga, “[s]uch objects [as beautifully ornamented garments] had magic power, they were charged with symbolical value as very often they represented a mystic identity.”<sup>31</sup>

*The Horizon Book of the Middle Ages* offers an illumination from the “Decret de

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a row of three duck-like birds (Falkener 16). The meaning of the word *latrunculis* evolved over time from soldier to thief or robber (39). See Botermans 26 for a description of this game.

<sup>31</sup> Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens; a Study of the Play-Element in Culture* (Boston: Beacon, 1950) 167.

Gratien,” (Ms. 34, fol. 185), depicting the ruler of time as an old king in a checkered robe, holding a game board-like table of consanguinity (101). Similarly, Alfonso’s robe on fol. 65r portrays his dominion over the geographic spaces of Castile and León. The pattern of his hat and the trim on his other robes on fols. 47v, 48r, 72r, 96v and 97v carries out this same motif, as does his robe on fol. 1r but this time using circles instead of squares. Combined with the divinatory purpose of games like *escaques*, Alfonso’s checkered garments portrayed in the *LJ* may possibly be construed as reflecting his desire to have dominion over time by being able to predict the future with these games.

Square-based or reticular boards are utilized for games in a wide range of sizes (Pennick 244, app. 3). The 3x3 grid is used for the related games of *alquerque de tres*, tic tac toe and nine holes. Five or six men’s morris is played on the 4x4 board. *Sadurangam*<sup>32</sup> and *thayyam* are played on the 5x5 grid. The 6x6 grid forms the basis of the boards used for *alquerque de nueue*, nine men’s morris and Indonesian *surakarta*. *Bradubh* of the tafl family and *ashta kashte*, related to pachisi, are played on the 7x7 board. The 8x8 board is used for both the ancient games of *ashtapada* and *chaturanga* and, with the squares checked light and dark, for the modern games of chess and checkers.<sup>33</sup> Lappish *tablut*, of the tafl family, and *saturangam*<sup>34</sup> are played on the 9x9

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<sup>32</sup> Both *sadurangam* and *saturkangam* are race games from Southern India or Sri Lanka and are played on square boards for two to four players. The difference between the two is of size, the smaller *sadurangam* with a *d* is played on a 25-square board (5x5) while the larger *saturangam* with a *t* is played on an 81-square board (9x9) (Botermans 34-35, Parlett 56).

<sup>33</sup> According to Pennick, in “Vedic India [1500 B.C. to 500 B.C.] the eight by eight chequerboard was called the *ashtapada*” (145). “The board on which *Chaturanga* was played was that of *Ashtapada*, the eight by eight (64 squares) grid of a version of race game which, like modern Ludo, was played with dice” and “*Ashtapada* is one of a group of race games played on a square board, whose movements have some connection with the layout of traditional unicursal labyrinths” (Pennick 187). For more on the Indian game and 8x8 board of *ashtapada*, see Botermans 33 and Parlett 54-55 and 282-283.

<sup>34</sup> Also *saturankam*. See previous note on *saturangam* above.

board.<sup>35</sup> Many varieties of decimal chess, as well as the Danish or German game called either gala or farmer's chess as well as Polish or Continental checkers are played on the 10x10 board.<sup>36</sup> Another tafl family game, *tawlbwrdd*, is played on the 11x11 square board. The *LJ's grant acedrex* is played on the 12x12 board. Ólaf's Kongs tafl is played on the 13x13, *Halma* is played on a 16x16, while *hnefatafl* and the game of go are played on the 19x19 board. Magic squares from 3x3 to 9x9 are said to be "assigned to various planetary powers" which follow the same order of heavenly bodies described in the Chaldean order of the planets in the *LJ's escaques*: 3x3 Saturn, 4x4, Jupiter, 5x5 Mars, 6x6 Sun, 7x7 Venus, 8x8 Mercury and 9x9 Moon.<sup>37</sup>

### 3.2.5 Numerology: Human Fives

The tetragonal symbol of four easily becomes the pentagonal symbol of five by counting either the central intersection or crux of the cross or, if a human figure is used, by counting its head as the fifth projection. The addition of the quintessence found at the cross's heart, the *omphalos*,<sup>38</sup> center or womb, relates to the Virgin Mary whose number is five in her role as divine intercessor for mankind because five is symbolic of mankind, with our five digits, five senses and silhouette. Both Mary and her Son, who died on this

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<sup>35</sup> "In the Hindu tradition ... this layout is based upon the *Paramasayika* grid, which is a square composed of 81 smaller squares (nine by nine)." "The whole 81-square grid is identical with the board of the northern European game *Tablut*, and the Sri Lankan game of *Saturankam*. In both of these games, the central square [*omphalos*] is most important" (Pennick 130).

<sup>36</sup> Gala is a two-player chess variant with the two armies split into the four corners of the board in a manner resembling the *LJ's* four-seasons chess. Polish Checkers is a two-player checkers variant invented in Paris in the nineteenth century, despite its misleading name.

<sup>37</sup> Pennick 157-159. Magic squares are a type of mathematical exercise in which each row and column arranges a series of numbers so that the same sum is had from each vertical column and horizontal row. Falkener shows many, beautiful magic squares related to knight's tours (309-56).

<sup>38</sup> Greek for navel, also per *Oxford English Dictionary Online* 23 Aug. 2005 2. *Ancient Greek Archaeol.* a. With *the*. In the temple of Apollo at Delphi: a sacred stone of a rounded conical shape, supposed to mark the centre of the earth; also *omphalos stone*. Conceptually the *omphalos* represents the link or *axis mundi* between the lower and upper worlds, i.e. between the micro and macrocosmos (Pennick 111).

cross, represent the human, umbilical connection to Christianity's God. Five is also the number of wounds suffered by Christ on the cross and became during the Middle Ages a number identified with religious ecstasy such as the number of wounds or *stigmata* received by St. Francis on Mt. Averno.<sup>39</sup> Many game boards, including those of the *LJ*, can be seen as projections of the human form onto the grid of space and time.<sup>40</sup> Medieval man believed that the human body was a living microcosmic mirror of the macrocosmic universe, both containing and representing all cosmic elements and forces.

Geometric symbols of the number five include the pentagon and pentagram, or five-pointed star long associated with the dark and illegal side of magic. "In medieval magic the pentagram was called the pentacle," writes Calter, "and became a symbol for man, the microcosmos."<sup>41</sup> Used more recently by the Freemasons, the pentagram was also known in Alfonso's time. It can be seen in *Cantiga* 125A whose fourth and sixth panels portray an evil necromancer or magician priest casting a love spell from inside a circle inscribed with a pentagram and other very specific magical symbols, which are unlike any symbols Alfonso uses.<sup>42</sup> The five-pointed star, which reflects the human form's four limbs and head, is also found in the *Siete Partidas* and its injunction against

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<sup>39</sup> Calter's Unit 8.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. "Rubáiyát" stanzas 340 and 355 already cited below.

<sup>41</sup> Calter's Unit 8.

<sup>42</sup> Keller and Cash note that "Cantiga 125A, panel 4. "How the Priest made a circle and conjured devils so that they might bring the damsel to him" (Keller and Cash *Daily Life* pl. 55, discussed on 49). The priest is seated within a five-pointed star (head, arms and legs neatly arranged to show the connection between the human figure and the number five). Other magical writing appears between each arm of the star and around the edge of the circle surrounding the pentagram. These exact same symbols are repeated in the same places in panel 6 of the same cantiga, showing that they had meaning and that it was known. Outside the pentacle numerous dark, hairy devils seethe.

the manipulation of affections by magic.<sup>43</sup> Even in his seated position, the magician's head and limbs correspond to each of the star's five points, thus emphasizing the human connection to the number five in much the same way as Da Vinci's drawing of the Vitruvian man, which used the human body as the basis for logarithms to design proportionate beauty in architecture (see fig. 172).

Transposition of the human body onto the landscape of the world explains words used for measurement such as hands, feet, *codos* (Sp. lit. elbow-lengths) and *pulgadas* (Sp. "inches," lit. thumb-widths), implying those corporal units. Architectural components with corporal names such as jamb (Fr. "leg"), capital (from L. "head"), pedestal (from L. "foot") also reveal bodily connections.<sup>44</sup> In *De architectura*, the first-century B.C. Roman architect, Marcus Vitruvius Pollio, proposed that the ideal proportions for architectural aesthetics could be derived by the geometric logarithm based upon the human body. Leonardo da Vinci's "Vitruvian Man" (c. 1492, see fig. 172)

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<sup>43</sup> Part VII, Title XXIII, Law II on necromancy: "Ley segunda. delos que encantan los spiritus o fazen ymagines o otros fechizos o dan yeruas para en amoramiento delos onbres o delas mugeres. Nygromañia dizen en latin. es vn saber estranno que es para encantar spiritus males & por que los onbres se trabaian a fazer. desto viene muy grand danno ala tierra & sennaladamente alos que creen & les demandan alguna cosa en esta razon & acaesçiendoles muchas ocasiones por el espanto que resçiben andando de noche buscando estas cosas atales en los lugares estrannos de manera que algunos dellos mueren o fincan locos o demuniados. porende defendemos que ninguno no sea osado de se trabaiair nin de vsar de tal enemiga commo esta. porque es cosa que pesa a dios y viene ende muy grand danno alos onbres. Otrosi defendemos que ninguno non sea osado de fazer ymagines de çera ni de metal ni otros fechizos para enamorar los onbres con las mugeres ni para departir el amor que algunos ouiesesen entresi. E avn defendemos que ninguno no sea osado de dar yeruas ni bevrαιe a algund onbre ni a muger por razon de enamoramiento. porque acaesçe alas vegadas que destos bevrαιos vienen a muerte los onbres que los toman & han muy grandes enfermedades de que fincan ocasionados para sienpre" (John O'Neill, ed., "*Siete Partidas de Alfonso X* [Seville, Oct. 1491] New York: Hispanic Society. Transcribed by Ivy A. Corfis [text.spo]," *Electronic Texts and Concordances: Madison Corpus of Early Spanish Manuscripts and Printings*, CD-ROM [Madison, WI: HSMS, 1999] fol. 408v).

<sup>44</sup> "The body repeats the landscape. They are the source of each other and create each other. We were marked by the seasonal body of earth, by the terrible migrations of people, by the swift turn of a century, verging on change never before experienced on this greening planet."—Meridel le Sueur (1900-1996), "The Ancient People and the Newly Come" from "Literary Connection," *Death of the Dream: Farmhouses in the Heartland*, PBS, accessed 28 Sept. 2005, <[http://www.pbs.org/ktca/farmhouses/lit\\_combined.html#lesueur](http://www.pbs.org/ktca/farmhouses/lit_combined.html#lesueur)>.

illustrates Vitruvius's squaring of the circle by inscribing man's silhouette within a sphere.<sup>45</sup> The human connection to this sacred cosmographic geometry is implicitly present in the *LJ* within the correspondences given to the four bodily humors in the four-seasons chess.

The geometric shapes produced by corporal projection are rich in symbolism. The square symbolizes the earth, with its four directions and other correspondences in groups of four, while the circle symbolizes heaven and thus the sacred space or game board which combines these elements and symbolizes their union. Pennick explains that “[o]ur place in the cosmos, both in space and time, is related largely to the form of our physical bodies,” with their four-limb extremities and central navel, a form “fundamental to astrology, divination and geolocation, for at the centre of this fourfold division is the individual person. In the landscape and on game- or divining-boards, this central point is the navel, known in geomantic terminology under its Greek name of *omphalos*” (Pennick 101). Game boards and other cosmographs combining the symbols of the square and the

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<sup>45</sup> “Vitruvius, the architect, says in his work on architecture that the measurements of the human body are distributed by Nature as follows that is that 4 fingers make 1 palm, and 4 palms make 1 foot, 6 palms make 1 cubit; 4 cubits make a man's height. And 4 cubits make one pace and 24 palms make a man; and these measures he used in his buildings. If you open your legs so much as to decrease your height 1/14 and spread and raise your arms till your middle fingers touch the level of the top of your head you must know that the centre of the outspread limbs will be in the navel and the space between the legs will be an equilateral triangle. The length of a man's outspread arms is equal to his height. From the roots of the hair to the bottom of the chin is the tenth of a man's height; from the bottom of the chin to the top of his head is one eighth of his height; from the top of the breast to the top of his head will be one sixth of a man. From the top of the breast to the roots of the hair will be the seventh part of the whole man. From the nipples to the top of the head will be the fourth part of a man. The greatest width of the shoulders contains in itself the fourth part of the man. From the elbow to the tip of the hand will be the fifth part of a man; and from the elbow to the angle of the armpit will be the eighth part of the man. The whole hand will be the tenth part of the man; the beginning of the genitals marks the middle of the man. The foot is the seventh part of the man. From the sole of the foot to below the knee will be the fourth part of the man. From below the knee to the beginning of the genitals will be the fourth part of the man. The distance from the bottom of the chin to the nose and from the roots of the hair to the eyebrows is, in each case the same, and like the ear, a third of the face” (*The Notebooks of Leonardo DaVinci* Vol. 1 [New York: Dover, 1970] 182-83).

circle include an overlapping array which includes Da Vinci's Vitruvian man, maps of the heavens used in plotting horoscopes or other celestial phenomena and the *LJ*'s four-seasons chess and tables variants.

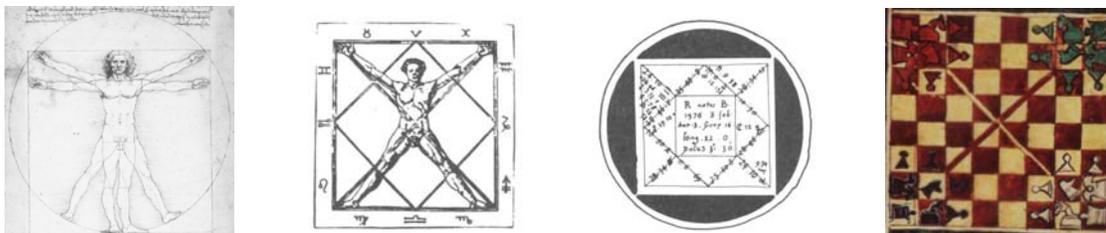


Fig. 172. Comparison of Da Vinci's "Vitruvian Man" (1492), "Man in the Microcosm," a Horoscope and the *LJ*'s Four-Seasons Chess (fol. 88v).<sup>46</sup>

These interrelated diagrams all show man projected onto earthly or celestial space. In some cases man or his parts may represent larger forces of nature such as the areas of the sky or zodiacal signs. In the case of the *LJ* games of four-seasons chess and tables, the square inscribed with an *x* in the former and the latter's quadripartite, round board are examples of the Hermetic spiritual exercise of reconciling the round heaven and the square earth, i.e. squaring the circle. Four-seasons tables is also called *el mundo* in the *LJ* because on one level it represents the earth. Additionally, the four-seasons tables and chess variants simultaneously comprise four levels of interpretation in their four-fold use of colors, each of which represents the four seasons, the four elements and projecting the human body onto that world canvas, even though it is not drawn onto the board as in the other diagrams, via the four bodily humors.

<sup>46</sup> "Vitruvian Man by Leonardo da Vinci," *Web Gallery of Art*, Emil Krem and Daniel Marx, 30 Dec. 2005, <<http://gallery.euroweb.hu/html/l/leonardo/10anatom/1vitruviu.html>>. Both "Man in the Microcosm" and Richard Burton's horoscope from his tomb at Christchurch, Oxford, are from Pennick 131. Miniature detail of four-seasons chess board from fol. 88r.

The *LJ*'s *escaques* board precedes, by nearly half a millenium, Robert Fludd's projection of man onto the map of the cosmos in his *Utriusque cosmi, maioris scilicet et minoris, metaphysica, physica atque historia* (c.1620). On Alfonso's board, the human connection is made, not by showing the figure of a man, but with the four concentric circles at the board's center. These four circles, the text explains, represent the four elements of fire, air, water and earth harkening back to the fifth treatise's four-seasons games whose correspondences make explicit the connection between the year, the world and the body. The *LJ* does use figures of men, however, showing them almost as gods who control their universe by moving the planets. An angel carries out a similar function of *primum mobile* in Fludd's diagram; his feet can just be glimpsed in the image's upper right corner.

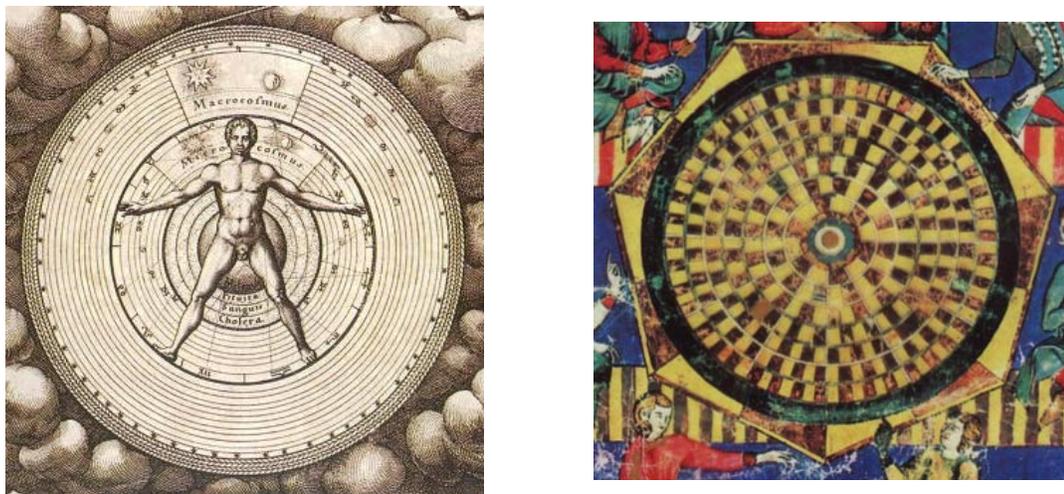


Fig. 173. Fludd's Man as Microcosm<sup>47</sup> and the *LJ*'s *Escaques* (fol. 96v). Man was related microcosmically to the four central spheres representing the earth in the *LJ*'s fifth treatise.

<sup>47</sup> Cover art of first tome of the *Utriusque cosmi maioris scilicet et minoris metaphysica, physica atque historia* (1745) "Robert Fludd," *Gnosis*, 1993-2004, 30 Dec. 2005, <[http://www.gnosis.art.pl/iluminatornia/mysterion/fludd\\_utrisque\\_cosmi02.htm](http://www.gnosis.art.pl/iluminatornia/mysterion/fludd_utrisque_cosmi02.htm)>.

Regardless of the force man represents or the dimensions of the grid onto which he is projected, the central point or *omphalos* is most significant position in terms of both symbolism and strategy because it marks the connection between the micro- and the macrocosmic. In architecture or geometric religious symbols, the central area is reserved for the most sacred. The *yantra*, or geometrical diagram used by Hindus in spiritual contemplation, has a *bindu* which serves as a focal point of departure for meditation and represents both the microcosmic, umbilical link and the macrocosmic *axis mundi*. Christ hangs in the center of the crucifix. Games acknowledge this importance by assigning the *omphalos* a special name and/or by making it a square of condition, i.e. with special powers. Humanoid game boards, or those whose shape projects the human body onto a playing surface, are found in games such as the Ballinderry board whose head and legs define its central point as a navel.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> A 49-hole (7x7) wooden game board 23 cm<sup>2</sup> for brandubh (Botermans 119) was excavated at a *crannog* or artificial island dwelling at Ballinderry, “near Moate, county Westmeath, Eire, in October 1932” (Pennick 136-37 [In the caption to his fig. 38 (p. 139), Pennick says that the Ballinderry board was excavated in 1934 but the earlier date is correct.]). It “bears decorative elements which date it around the tenth century and was most likely used to play a sort of tafl game, the same group to which *alquerque* belongs. Also see the board with the human form without navel in Murray’s fig. 10 which is a drawing of a “Terra-Cotta Plaque from Gezer (after Macalister)” (Botermans 23). The board’s central whole is decorated with a double-circle border, marking it as the king’s or branán’s space as well as the body’s navel; there is also a head and a knob opposite the head which may be meant to represent feet. It is now in the collection of the National Museum of Ireland, Dublin. R. C. Bell’s chapter on Fithcheall offerings a drawing (2: fig. 23) as does Murray (1952: 59).



Fig. 174. Humanoid Game Board with *Omphalos* from Ballinderry, Ireland.

The *LJ* influenced my understanding of board games and their origins by forcing me to ponder their geometry. At the root of nearly every game board I have encountered, including and especially chess and tables, is the shape of a cross within a circle or a square, based on the number five. Whenever a cross is used to subdivide a larger space, whether circular or square, the cross becomes symbolic of man's four-limbed body projected onto a larger field, such as the earth or sky. Its central point, at man's heart or navel, links the two dimensions together. In games, this central point of the circular or square game board corresponds to the central pound sign or physical enclosure of the nine-squared double cross.<sup>49</sup>

I believe that this geometric concept of the number five, as represented by the four-limbed cross added to the circle (4 arms of cross + circle symbolic of the number  $1=5$ ) is a symbolically rich sigil, is suggestive of man as the microcosm of the world and may be the root of nearly all game boards, including the *LJ*'s chess, tables and *alquerque*.

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<sup>49</sup> Huizinga says that "whether square or round [a legal court where justice is handed down] is still a magic circle" (77).

This geometrical figure of five can be represented by either of two ways: with lines or with squares. The line version presents a quartered or crossed circle, the square-based version forms an inner cross of nine squares within a circle or, more frequently, a larger square. In each case, the figure consists of nine playable areas. The crossed circle's nine playable areas are the following: the center, each of the four radiating arms and the four arms that connect the latter. This variant of the symbol represents the wheel of heaven subdivided into the four cardinal directions and may be the source of games played upon lines rather than squares. In the nine-square, these consist of the center, the four squares orthogonally connected to the center and the four corner squares. This variant of the symbol is used in geographic subdivision and may be the root of games played on squares rather than on their intersections.

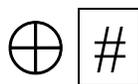


Fig. 175. The Crossed Circle (left) and the Nine-Square (right).

The figures relate to ancient, medieval and modern race and battle games including all the *LJ*'s chess and tables variants. The smallest divisible unit or meaningful group of squares that results in the checked pattern of the chess board is four squares (2x2, i.e. a square subdivided by a cross).<sup>50</sup> The entire board can be conceived of as this grouping raised to the third power ( $4^3=64$ ). This can be visualized by mentally isolating any four corner squares of a chess board. A quadrupling of this four-square pattern results

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<sup>50</sup> There is no term for the minimal and individual unit of a game board that cannot be analyzed into smaller units akin to the Spanish literary term *narrema* and the linguistics terms grapheme, lexeme, morpheme, phoneme, sememe, toneme. I would like to suggest ludeme or, in the case of chess, scaqueme.

in sixteen total squares (4x4), forming exactly one quarter of a chess board. Yet another quadrupling renders the total of sixty-four (16x4).

This process of visualizing the board as a series of ever larger versions of the smallest unit is the symbolic concept of the macrocosmos as an enlarged mirror of the microcosmos. From the human microcosm, this concept of fourfold divisions around a center can be applied to a series of ever-expanding, man-made macrocosms: game boards, rooms or quarters (*cuartos*) within buildings, especially sacred structures built around a *cella* or inner sanctum; cities built around a central plaza; fields around a common well; countries like Spain and ancient Peru with their centrally located secular and religious capitols of Madrid, Toledo and Cuzco;<sup>51</sup> describing the earth as having four corners; and seeing the earth, as medieval man did, as the center of creation. The Hermetic concept of symbolic architecture which represents every level of the human experience is seen in Cessolis's explanation of the chess board as at once a multi-level symbol of the city, the empire, the world and the universe.<sup>52</sup>

The same quartered circle is also the root of tables boards with their four quarters called tables, their central bar division and the area perpendicular to the bar which separates the tracks of each table. It also exactly mirrors the form of the *LJ*'s four-seasons tables called *el mundo*. Although the modern boards for chess and tables games which share this quartered circle as their root have evolved to be quite dissimilar in their appearance, their similarity in early manuscript illuminations, including the *LJ* and its

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<sup>51</sup> "The name of the center of the Incan empire, Cuzco, Peru means navel; the city itself was divided into four quarters which met at this navel" (Pennick 126).

<sup>52</sup> "In the sacred world view, every human artefact which might be seen as an image of the world—whole kingdoms, cities, sacred enclosures, temples, shrines, and even board games—were designed according to this sacred cosmic image" (Pennick 118).

sources, is quite striking.<sup>53</sup> In the same way, the floor plans of Christian churches and other religious temples tend to have four arms pointing to the four directions often oriented, as are Catholic churches, towards the rising sun in the East. Medieval architects designed windows based upon the natural geometric shape of a rose and Italian Renaissance builders added circles around and between the branches of the cross.

The nine-square pattern, with its concept of eight pips surrounding a central pip in a 3x3 grid, which Murray macrocosmically calls the “nine-castle,” is particularly important in games.<sup>54</sup> Pennick says that the nine-square grid or “[t]he ‘one surrounded by eight’ pattern is almost universal, having a basic geometrical structure in square geometry, and universal symbolism” (153). In fact, the “utmost simplicity of Nine Holes makes it probable that many surviving boards have gone unrecognized as to their use” (Pennick 163). This simple symbol may have its roots in the well-field division of land, so called because of its arrangement of eight plots of land around a common area or well. Pennick remarks that “It is believed that as a system of land division this grid of nine squares originated in a very ancient system of feudal land tenure, which may have begun in ancient India .... In China, the nine-square arrangement means that eight peasant families tended an area of land which surrounded a central ninth square which was cultivated communally for the benefit of the lord [and which] contained the communal

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<sup>53</sup> For example, see the strongly cruciform and beautifully floral board from the Persian manuscript *Miftah al-Fuzala* by Muhammad ibn Da’ud Shadiyabadi, produced in Mandu (Shadiabad), India, in the fifteenth century shows two men playing a game of *ziad*, a nard variant (*British Library Images Online*, Record number 18673, Shelfmark Or. 3299, fol. 144). This miniature shares several themes with the *LJ*’s art. The player at left holds a dice cup comparable to that on fol. 84v. Further, this image which its young and possibly servant observer in the doorway to the right also shares thematic similarities with *LJ* fols 7r, 68r and 68v, and to a lesser extent fols. 1v, 2r, 2v, 8v, 10v, 12v, 31r, 31v, 43r, 48r.

<sup>54</sup> H[arold] J[ames] R[uthven] Murray, *A History of Chess* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913. Oxford: Oxbow-UP, n.d) 133.

well” (132). As a universal symbol, though, it is also found in places quite far removed from India and China, such as in the Norse lands, where the nine-square “platform of the seeress, on which the female shaman or *vólva* sat to have prophetic visions, was seen as the centre of the world” and she “could see things hidden to others” (Pennick 132-33).

The central square, where the well or seeress would have been located, is the most important in terms of both symbolism and game play. As the center or heart, that square is the microcosmic *omphalos* which connects it to the larger, macrocosmic whole which it mirrors. In games, the central square is often assigned with special powers or used as the placement of a special piece. The double-cross pattern [#] which creates the subdivision now shares the name with that central square, i.e. the pound.

The nine-square pattern dictates the arrangements of pips on dice, both the *LJ*'s and modern dice, as well as modern dominoes and cards, all arrayed around the central point. It is also seen in the disposition of the playing pieces and form the root of square game boards. Tic-tac-toe, the modern descendent of the *LJ*'s *alquerque de tres*, uses this nine-square pattern as its board and its players continually reenact the reconciliation of the opposite forms with the marks of *x*'s and *o*'s. Experienced players know that playing first allows them the best shot of winning by occupying the central square. The Welsh tafl variant, *tawlbwrdd*, places the king piece in the central square and arrays his eight defender's around him in this same pattern (Pennick 136).

Game boards in a range of grid sizes, all squares with *omphaloi*, include games of every type including many of the *LJ*'s games. Related to the *LJ*'s *alquerque de tres*, three men's morris names its central square, the key square for forming rows of three, the

“pound” (Pennick 151). This term, related to the modern pound sign or double cross [#], is also the name of the board itself. In the Indian game of pachisi, the central home and final goal of pachisi is the *char koni*, meaning “throne” (Pennick 206) or “all square.”<sup>55</sup> Pachisi’s throne can be seen as the inner sanctum of a 3x3 mandala-shaped temple, surrounded by its circumambulatory path of four playable ladder-shaped arms and four sometimes round, sometimes square beginning areas.<sup>56</sup> The royal nature of pachisi’s throne continues in the central four squares of the game *gala*, also known as farmer’s chess. It is from those center four squares of condition that “a beleaguered king may leap to safety” somewhere else on the traditional 8x8-square chess board (Pennick 231). Another game whose central point has a regal connection is Lappish *tablut* whose central point of a 9x9-line grid is called the *konakis*. *Tablut*’s king, known as the *kona*, begins on the *konakis* which is also a square of negative condition in that the king can be pinned there by an enemy piece against it. Since the king represents a connection with God

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<sup>55</sup> David Sidney Parlett, *The Oxford History of Board Games* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1999) 43.

<sup>56</sup> Bicycle Board Games CD-ROM (Microsoft 2001) calls its version of pachisi “crosses & circles.” For more on the rich history of pachisi, see Botermans 172-73 and for more on its variations of *chauput*, *chausar* and *ashta kashte*, see Falkener 263-66 and Parlett 42-57 who groups both *chauput* and *chausar* and several other variant spellings all as versions of the same game, *chaupar*. For the variant *chatuspada* and its Chinese version *t’shu-p’u*, see Botermans 35-37, Parlett 43 and Murray 1952: 36. Pachisi’s nine-square may have also influenced the layout of the modern detective board game *Clue* (Parker Brothers, original copyright for *Cluedo* obtained by Waddingtons Games of Great Britain, 1946). The relationship is first indicated by the name which blends the words *clue* and *ludo*. A comparison of their two boards is easily made in the marketing by Avon in 2001 of Hasbro’s boxed set offering both games together on a reversible board. Both boards feature the game’s name in their central, omphalic region and both have pathways surrounding this center. *Clue*’s nine rooms are arranged neatly around the center over what is essentially a 24x24 grid, with two rooms together at the left side or nine-o’clock position. Moving clockwise from top right each board’s areas correspond as follows: the lounge/green’s start circle; the dining room/green’s home path; the kitchen/yellow’s start circle; the ballroom/yellow’s home path; the conservatory/blue’s start circle; the billiard room and the library/blue’s home path; the study/red’s start circle; the hall/red’s home path. While *Parcheesi* (a branded name now held by Hasbro) is for two to four players, each with four pieces, and *Clue* is for three to six players, each with only one piece, both games based the players’s identities on color: green, yellow, blue and red for *Parcheesi* and Colonel Mustard (yellow), Miss Scarlet (red), Professor Plum (purple), Mr. Green (green), Mrs. White (white) and Mrs. Peacock (blue) for *Clue*.

through his rule by divine right, the location of the king piece at the center, like the real-life king who rules by divine right, is “a microcosmic image of the Cosmic Axis, which supported the stability of the heavens” (Pennick 137). The game board for pachisi’s ancestor, *ashtapada* played on an 8x8 grid, designates the central four squares, among others, with special markings. Backgammon and the *LJ*’s tables divide their board’s four quarters with a bar whose center serves as the matrix from which captured men are reborn into play. In the *LJ*’s four-seasons chess, the board’s central point is marked by the *x* which crosses its playing area. Even in modern chess, developing your pieces so as to attack the central sixteen squares is vital for control of the whole board. In the Sri Lankan game of *saturankam* (9x9), the central square is the most important (Pennick 130). The central point of *fanorona*’s 9x5-line board is called the *foibeny* in Madagascar and *pusat* in the Malay version, both literally meaning “navel” (Pennick 146).

Other games and their boards may feature certain squares of condition in addition to or instead of the center. These squares of condition tend to be grid arrangements which reflect the basic 3x3 shape. Such areas are often given names further up along the micro-macrocosmic continuum, such as city, citadel, fortress, castle or parts of a building. In *ashtapada* these markings indicate where the players enter their men and where they begin their final ascent to the central *char koni*. In the ancient Egyptian game of *senet*, markings called *tavloo*, thought to mean “doors,” may also have indicated entry points.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Edward Falkener, *Games Ancient and Oriental, and How to Play Them; Being the Games of the Ancient Egyptians, the Heira Gramme of the Greeks, the Ludus Latruncolorum of the Romans, and the Oriental Games of Chess, Draughts, Backgammon, and Magic Squares* (New York: Dover, 1961) 45. Like the game found at Ur by Wooley, *senet* is a possible tables ancestor whose board of three rows of squares form an *s*-shaped track. Several space of *senet*’s board are marked with the *nefer* symbol. This symbol,

Pachisi boards have spaces called castles (Falkener 258) or citadels (Murray 1913: 42) where the pieces are safe from capture; in the modern version of pachisi there are generally twelve such safety spaces. Chinese chess delimits each king's citadel or fortress, a 3x3-line grid which he is not permitted to leave. This fortress is identical in size and marking to the *LJ's alquerque de tres* board and may, in fact, be its root. In the game *asalto*, as in Chinese checkers, the object is to occupy the opponent's starting position known as his fortress (Pennick 198). Players of the game jungle (7x9) each maneuver around two central bodies of water to be the first to get to their opponent's den, surrounded by three traps.<sup>58</sup>

Both these geometric forms represent the idea of squaring the circle in that they seek to reconcile two opposites, i.e. the circle and the square, via their combination or synthesis. This idea is precisely the same goal achieved by the *LJ's* combination or synthesis of its apparently opposite game types, to wit, square-based chess and circular-pathed tables (discussed further in this chapter's section on the origin and evolution of games). Indeed all the *LJ's* games synthesize round and square elements. Chess is most obviously square with its board of checkered squares. The beautiful circular nature of the several *noria* or water-wheel problems addressed in this dissertation's first chapter,

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which sometimes means fair or beautiful as in Nefertiti, is similar in form to the ankh (also called *crux ansata* or tau), which in turn is related to the swastika symbol discussed in Chapter II of this dissertation.

<sup>58</sup> (CD-rom versions by eGames and EdMark). *Shou dou qi*, as it is called in Chinese, is used to teach children to play the more difficult xiangqi. Each player has eight animal pieces which rank as follows from most to least powerful: elephant, lion, tiger, panther, dog, wolf, cat and rat. In some variants the elephant may not capture the rat. However, a rat can trap an elephant unless the rat approaches from the water. No piece may enter its own trap areas and any piece in an opponent's trap area can be captured by any opponent piece without regard to rank. Only a rat may enter the water and a lion or a tiger may leap straight across unless a rat blocks its path. The bodies of water occupy two identical 2x3 rectangles at the squares b4, c4, b5, c5, b6, c6 and e4, f4, e5, f5, e6, f6. Each player's den, at squares d1 and d9, is inside a group of traps, squares c1, d2, e1 and c9, d8, e9.

especially Problems 1, 2, 8, 15, 38, 40 and 95, reconcile these two basic geometric forms. Square-faced dice roll as the wheel of Fortune spins. The four-square frame of tables houses the circular path of its racing pieces. Even mill's diagonals add the dynamic element of circular rotation to its squared boards. The square-circle combination in games is not limited to the *LJ* however. Falkener's unusual chess notation uses various symbols for the pieces, including a solar circle for the king and a square for the rook, likely based on the shape and range of their movements.<sup>59</sup> The diamond-shaped geometric pattern of Bidev's fil analysis is remarkably similar to that seen in square-within-a-square horoscope charts and diagrams showing the divisions of the sky and illustrating the human body as governed by the signs of the zodiac.<sup>60</sup>

The squaring of the circle or resolution of opposites is also the same goal achieved by the *LJ*'s dual combination or syntheses of the heavenly number three and the terrestrial number four, resulting in the sum of seven and the product of twelve. In the *LJ*'s scheme, then, the threes, circles and race games like tables represent heavenly and celestial or divine themes, while its fours, squares and battle games represent earthly and human ones. All are synthesized in a totality of the work by the *LJ*'s final astrological games which present the man/earth/four/square concepts as microcosms of the larger God/heavens/three/circular ones.

### **3.2.6 Numerology: Metaphysical Sevens**

The integer six does not figure strongly in the *LJ* and so we move directly on to the first and foremost of that work's two key ciphers, the number seven. The *LJ*'s

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<sup>59</sup> Falkener 117.

<sup>60</sup> Bidev's Diagrams 1-3, especially 3, in "Mathematical Model." See also the examples in Pennick 131.

organization and mystical symbolism are determined by a heavy concentration of numerological symbolism existing in perfect harmony with the rest of the Wise King's literary production. The noble number seven, symbolic of metaphysical enlightenment, is particularly prevalent in his legal and scientific works. Seven determines the titles, organization and content of the Wise King's two largest legal works the *Siete Partidas* and the *Setenario*, where the relevance of this cipher is also explained. The introduction to the *Partidas*, after revealing that it took seven years to complete that code of law, explains that the word 'setenario' was used by the *sabios antiguos* or ancient wise men to designate works which were noble and worthy of much praise because in them were to be found many notable and good things which were divided into groups of seven.<sup>61</sup> The twenty-one (7x3) examples given include the following seven natural divisions and fourteen (7x2) religious ones.<sup>62</sup> It is significant that the examples given to support this are

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<sup>61</sup> Work began on the *Siete Partidas* on the eve of the day of St. John the Baptist 1256. (Alfonso closes his argument symmetrically with another St. John, the Evangelist, Alfonso's inspiration for the *LJ*'s dual structure based on sevens and twelves). "**SEtenario** es cuento muy noble a que loaron mucho los sabios antiguos porque fallan enel muchas cosas & muy sennaladas que se departen por cuento de **siete**: asi como todas las criaturas que son departidas en **siete** maneras. Ca segund dixo aristotiles & los otros sabios: ..." (John O'Neill, ed., "*Siete Partidas de Alfonso X* [Seville, Oct. 1491] New York: Hispanic Society. Transcribed by Ivy A. Corfis [text.spo]," *Electronic Texts and Concordances: Madison Corpus of Early Spanish Manuscripts and Printings*, CD-ROM [Madison, WI: HSMS, 1999] fol. 2v).

<sup>62</sup> The seven natural divisions are the following: 1. Aristotle and other wise men say that all creatures can be divided into seven groups: 1. ángel o alma; 2. cuerpo simple; 3. cuerpo elementado; 4. alma; 5. razón; 6. criamiento; and 7. mineral (Vanderford 27). 2. All natural things can move in seven directions: up, down, forward, back, right, left or spinning around. 3. The seven heavenly bodies called planets: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sol (the Sun), Venus, Mercury and the Moon. [Cf. *Setenario*, Law XXVI.]; 4. These seven planets thus ordered the seven days of the week. [Cf. *Setenario*, Law XI.]; 5. The wise men also divided into seven the parts of the Earth which are called climates. [Not listed at this point in the *Setenario*.]; 6. They also divided metals into the same number. [Cf. *Setenario*, Law XI after the seven Liberal Arts: oro, plata, argente biuo, cobre, fierro, estanno, plomo. Next he talks about minting coins... possible connection with fol. 23v]; 7. Into this same number are divided the fields of knowledge which are called the Seven Arts, composed of the Trivium and the Quadrivium [Cf. *Setenario*, Law XI.]. The fourteen religious divisions are the following: 1. Noah was to put seven pairs of even type of animal into the ark; 2. Jacob's seven years with Rachel; 3. Jacob's seven years with Leah; 4. Joseph; 5. the Pharaoh—seven years of famine...seven years of plenty; 6. the Pharaoh's dream—seven sheaves of wheat and seven cows; 7. Moses—candelabra of seven branches; 8. David—wrote the Psalm book in which there are seven morning

multiples of seven from the world of natural science and religion since the *LJ*'s symbolism revolves around these same concepts and themes. Furthermore, I believe its complete number of folios, ninety-eight, is also a multiple of seven (7x7x2).

Begun by Alfonso when still a prince, but finished after the completion of the *Siete Partidas*, the *Setenario*'s Law XI explains that its own title strictly adheres to the septenary model because the number seven is the most noble number of all.<sup>63</sup> The seven-fold reasons for the book's title are also directly in keeping with the *LJ*'s philosophy, content and purpose : *entendimiento*,<sup>64</sup> *natura*,<sup>65</sup> *ssabiduria*,<sup>66</sup> *razon*,<sup>67</sup> *astrologia*,<sup>68</sup>

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psalms and seven evening psalms [this is the same Biblical *Rey* David who sang it to the pretty girls in "Las mañanitas"]; 9. Seven things: Prophecy, prayer, praise, blessing, contrition, advice and penitence.; 10. Seven gifts of the Holy Spirit [*Setenario*, Law XXXVII discusses the Holy Spirit but does not list the seven gifts received at confirmation which are based on Isa. (11: 1-3): wisdom, understanding, right judgment, courage, knowledge, reverence and wonder.] 11. Seven joys of the Virgin Mary, compare with *CSM*'s first *cantiga* "Des oge mais": annunciation, nativity, adoration by Magi, Mary Magdalen's account of Jesus's resurrection, His ascension to heaven, the coming of the Holy Spirit and the coronation of the Virgin in heaven; and with the *LBA*: annunciation, nativity, Magdalen told Mary Jesus was alive, Jesus's ascension to Heaven, Holy Spirit placed into the disciples and assumption (Kinkade, *Erótica*, 137-38]; 12. Seven sacraments [*Setenario*, Laws LXX and LXXI: faith through baptism, hope through confirmation, charity or love of God through penitence, strength or firm belief through communion, understanding through extreme unction, restraint through ordination, justice or each having what they deserve through matrimony.]; 13. Seven requests of the Pater Noster prayer [1. hallowed be thy name, 2. thy kingdom come, 3. thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven, 4. give us our daily bread, 5. forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us, 6. lead us not into temptation, 7. deliver us from evil]; and 14. Saint John the Evangelist, relative and friend of Jesus Christ, who wrote a book of "muy grandes poridades que el le mostro y las mayores cosas que en el scrivio son todas partidas por este cuento de siete." [*Setenario*, Laws LXVII-LXIX where he is compared with Ptolemy.]

<sup>63</sup> "*Setenario* pusiemos nombre a este libro porque todas las cosas que en él sson van ordenadas por cuento de siete. Et esto ffué porque es más noble que todos los otros" (Vanderford 24).

<sup>64</sup> I. Entendimiento: dios, virtud del mouimiento del çielo noueno, los mouimientos de los cuerpos çelestiales, las fformas de las cosas criadas, que gana omne sabeduría de la natura, que aprende omne de los ssaberes ante que salgan de la materia, el entendimiento material (Vanderford 25).

<sup>65</sup> II. Natura naturador—Dios, natura naturador—ángeles, natura simple, natura conpuesta, natura ordenador, natura obrador, natura ascondida—miraglos; siete maneras naturales: spiritual: ángel [o] alma, cuerpo simple—cuerpos çelestiales, cuerpo elementado—los elementos, alma—animalias, rrazón—omne e mugier, criamiento—plantas, mineral—metales, piedras e minerales; siete maneras de mouimiento: ssuso, yuso, adelante, atrás, a diestro, a siniestro, en derredor; siete hedades de omne: ninnez—non sabe nin puede comer e mama, moçedat—aprende las cosas, quáles sson en ssí e cómmo han nonbre, mançebía—edat que podría casa e auer ffijos ffasta los quarenta, omne con sesso—los quarenta, fflaqueza—los ssesenta, veiedat—ha visto e prouado todas las cosas e las connosçe çiertamente, pierde el sentido e torna a sser commo ninno, ffallesçimiento (Vanderford 25-29).

*física*<sup>69</sup> and *metafísica*.<sup>70</sup> Within this work are also found the clear textual expressions in Alfonso's own words of his world view which support my interpretations of *LJ*'s coded symbolism as an exposition of the Wise King's metaphysical cosmovision.

Fundamental to the Wise King's world view as expressed in the *Setenario* and the *LJ* is the Hermetic concept of microcosm mirroring macrocosm, as viewed through the scientific and religious understandings of the thirteenth century. Alfonso's perception that the astrological study of the heavens serves as a means to discovering the secrets of God is revealed in Law LXVII of the *Setenario* which presents St. John the Evangelist's Book of Revelation as prefiguring the astrological studies of Ptolemy. It praises Ptolemy as one of the greatest philosophers in the art of astrology because he, like St. John, divided things according to the seven planets and their spheres, in an effort to achieve a greater understanding of the workings of the heavens.<sup>71</sup> The same seven planets of the Ptolemaic

<sup>66</sup> III. Sabiduria, Siete Artes: [Trivio] De coraçon—1. Gramática, 2. Rretórica, 3. Lógica = la Trinidad, De cuento—Aristmética 1. contando, 2. doblando, 3. muchiguando, 4. partiendo, 5. ordenando, 6. sacando la raíz del cuento, assumando, C. De medida—Geometría: 1. Siete partes de geometría, a. linna derecha, corua, çerco, ssobreffaz, longueza, ancheza, cuerpo conplido, 2. And how all these things are like qualities of God: a. derechurero, curuo, çerco rredondo, ssobreffaz, longueza, ladeza (ancheza), cuerpo conplido, [Cuadrivio] D. De acordança, E. De vista, F. De proeua, De entendimiento (Vanderford 29-34).

<sup>67</sup> IV. [Razon], Acordança o música: con uoz, con sson, con punto, con tueno, concordança, instrumento, contenente (Vanderford 34-35).

<sup>68</sup> V. Astrología: por vista, por entendimiento, por [obras], por mudamiento, por cuenta, por medida, por acordança (Vanderford 35-36).

<sup>69</sup> VI. Ffísica: por conosçer, por rrazón, por entendimiento, por saber, por guarda, por sennales, por obra (Vanderford 36-38).

<sup>70</sup> VII. Metaffísica: enz, prima causa, inteligencia, causas segundas, intellectu, sustancia, accidentes (Vanderford 38-40).

<sup>71</sup> "Tolomeo ffué vno de los grandes filosofos que nunca ouo en la arte de astrología; ca éste ffabló más alto en fecho de los çielos et de las estrellas que otro que ffué. Et departió más de cosas en ffecho de las planetas e de los ssignos que otro; ca ffué omne que entendió e punnó en saber más las poridades de los çielos. [new paragraph] Et aquella carrera misma touo Sant Iohán euangelista entre los apóstolos e los otros ssantos; ... Et sopo tanto de las poridades que ouo de ffazer libro, que llaman *apocalipsi*, que quier dezir en griego visiones maravillosas de los secretos de Dios. E este libro es partido por cuento de siete e de doze, en que mostró el cuento derecho de las siete planetas uerdaderas e de los doze signos" (Vanderford 112, Ley LXVII "Commo Tolomeo fabla altamente en ffecho de astrología, así ffizo Sant Iohán en las propiedades de Dios").

system used as playing pieces in the *LJ*'s *escaques por astronomia* are treated in Laws XXV and LXVI through LXXII of the *Setenario*. Both works employ precisely the same language to describe the personified planets.<sup>72</sup> It is here that Alfonso expresses his belief that these seven spheres of the macrocosm are moved and protected by angels and receive power from these same spiritual beings in order to influence the seven principal phenomena in this microcosmic physical world: elements, animals, plants, minerals, time or seasons (*tienpos*), ages and lives. Precisely this combination of microcosmic science and macrocosmic religion is also observable in the *LJ*'s astrological games.

In addition to the key number seven, the *Setenario* also reveals an important clue to understanding the *LJ* through its unique combination of symbolic sevens with the number twelve. Alfonso's description of the *Apocalypsis* includes two facts which elucidate the meaning and purpose of the *LJ*. First, the work is divided into both sevens and twelves. Second, the book's title *Apocalypsis* is a Greek term which means "visiones maravillosas de los secretos de Dios."<sup>73</sup> The Wise King's astrological interpretation of

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<sup>72</sup> See my critical text, fols. 95v-96r where the personifications of the planets are described. It should be noted that while Domínguez Rodríguez addresses some of these same aspects, she does not compare the *LJ* and the *Setenario*. Instead she only compares the *LJ*'s planetary personifications to other, similar expressions found in the lesser Alfonsine works such as the "*Iudizios de las estrellas*," the "*Tercer Lapidario*" and the "*Picatrix*" and in non-Alfonsine works such as the "*Calendario del año 354*" and another possible *Picatrix* which she calls the "*Manuscrito astrólogo Vaticano* (Reg. lat. 1283)" (Ana Domínguez Rodríguez, "*El Libro de los juegos y la miniatura alfonsí*," *Libros del ajedrez, dados y tablas de Alfonso X. Ed. facsimil.* 2 vols. [Madrid: Poniente; Valencia: García, 1987] 2: 65-81).

<sup>73</sup> Vanderford's fol. 36v. Alfonso's comparison of the two ancient authors shows how John's *Apocalypse* is filled with things that are divided into counts of seven and twelve, directly comparing each number to astrological phenomena. The division by counts of seven and twelve, most probably refers not to the actual division of the Book of Revelation whose 22 chapters are not divisible by seven or twelve, but instead to the large number of things grouped in sevens and twelves within the text. In the first twenty chapters of Revelation, the majority of the numbers is at first seven or multiples of seven and then switches at Chapter 21, perhaps not coincidentally, to twelve or its multiples, this being a reverse of the same two integers. References to the number seven in Revelation include the following: seven churches in Asia (1: 4, 11, 20), seven spirits before God's throne (1: 4), seven golden lamp stands (1: 12, 13, 20; 2: 1), seven stars (1: 16, 20; 2: 1; 3: 1), seven angels of the seven churches (1: 20), seven lamps (4: 5), seven spirits of God

these visions is seen in the direct correlation the *Setenario* makes between the twelve stars in the Biblical woman's crown (Rev 12:1), the twelve astrological signs of the zodiac and Christianity's twelve apostles who, like stars, illuminated the world by making men know the true God of law and by causing them to renounce the erroneous ways of other sects.<sup>74</sup> By organizing this final work of his cosmovision by sevens and twelves, I believe Alfonso was imitating both the structure and content of the work of St. John the Evangelist. In other words, the *LJ* with its then-scientific models of the universe, layered symbolic natural and astrological content arranged in groups of seven and twelve, may be considered Alfonso's marvelous visions of the secrets of God, the justification of his unorthodox study of astrology and his imitation of St. John.

Two other works, the *Espéculo* (1255) and the *Cantigas de Santa María*, support my numerological reading of the *LJ*'s structure to a lesser but still significant degree. The original plan for Alfonso's *Espéculo* also projected seven books despite the fact that only the first five books were compiled.<sup>75</sup> Its title reflects Alfonso's literary mission in nearly all his works and is derived from the prologue in which he says, as he also does in the

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(4: 5; 5: 6), seven seals (5-8), the slaughtered lamb's seven horns and seven eyes (5: 6), seven trumpets (8: 1, 2, 6), seven angels (8: 1, 6; 10: 7; 11: 15; 15: 1, 6-8; 16: 1, 17), seven thunders (10: 3, 4), seven thousand people killed (11: 13), dragon's seven heads and seven diadems (12: 3; 13: 1; 17: 3, 9), forty-two months (14: 5), seven plagues (15: 1, 6, 8), seven bowls of the wrath of god (15: 7); seven mountains (17: 9) and seven kings (17: 10-11). References to the number twelve in Revelation include the following: 144,000 of the tribes of the children of Israel (7: 4; 14: 1, 3), 1,260 days (11: 3, 12: 6), garland of twelve stars (12: 1), twelve gates (21: 12), twelve angels (21: 12), twelve tribes of the children of Israel (21: 12), twelve foundations (21: 14), twelve apostles of the Lamb (21: 14), twelve thousand furlongs (21: 16), 144 cubits (21:17), twelve precious stones of the foundation (21: 16-17), twelve pearl gates (21: 21), twelve fruits (22: 2) and twelve months (22: 2).

<sup>74</sup> Law LXVIII states "Ffizo Dios las estrellas e púsolas en el ffirmamento del çielo, que las viessen ssobre la tierra e departiesen el día de la noche et la luz de las tiniebras, e ffuesen ssennales e mostrasen los tienpos e los días e los annos" (Vanderford's fol. 37r-v).

<sup>75</sup> John O'Neill, ed., "*Espéculo*. Madrid: Nacional MS. 10123 Transcribed by Robert A. MacDonald (text.spc)," *The Electronic Texts and Concordances Madison Corpus of Early Spanish MSS and Printings*, CD-ROM, (Madison, WI: HSMS, 1999).

*Siete Partidas*, that the book is a mirror by which all his kingdom is to be judged and aims to return it to the former glory of those emperors and kings from whom his father descended, so “that it may be known as an empire, not a kingdom, and he, not a king, but an emperor.”<sup>76</sup> Although religious rather than legal or scientific in nature, Alfonso’s *Cantigas* also bases its overall structure and some of its content numerologically on the symbolic Marian number five.<sup>77</sup> Five is not the predominant number in the *LJ*, but it is another example of numerology acting as a guiding influence in a religious work in the same way as numerology is used in Alfonso’s legal and scientific works, offering evidence that such numerological structure in both the individual components and the work as a whole is at once intentional, meticulously planned and suited to the particular subject matter of the *LJ*.

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<sup>76</sup> “Legislative Works,” *List of works commissioned by Alfonso X, el Sabio*, ed. Suzanne H. Peterson, accessed 28 Sept. 2005, <<http://faculty.washington.edu/petersen/alfonso/alfworks.htm>>. “Este es el libro del ffuero que ffizo el rrey don Alffonso ffijo del muy noble rrey don fferrnando & de la muy noble rreyna dona beatrix / El qual es llamado especulo que quiere tanto dezir como espeio de todos los derechos” and “Et por ende nos el ssobredicho Rey don alffonso veyendo & entendiendo todos estos males & todos estos dannos que sse leuantauan por todas estas rrazones que dichas auemos ffeziemos estas leys [fol. 7v] que sson escriptas en este libro que es espeio del derecho por que sse judguen todos los de nuestros rregnos & de nuestro ssennorio” (John O’Neill, ed., “*Espéculo* Madrid: Nacional MS. 10123 Transcribed by Robert A. MacDonald [text.spc],” by Alfonso X, *Electronic Texts and Concordances: Madison Corpus of Early Spanish Manuscripts and Printings*, CD-ROM [Madison, WI: HSMS, 1999] (fols. 2r and 7r-7v). Cf. the similar explanation from the *Siete Partidas*. This phrase in itself is also a Hermetic clue, referring to the Emerald Tablet, according to which whatever is below is like that which is above, and whatever is above is like that which is below—there is a reference to a mirror-like inversion of the two sides” (Burckhardt 83).

<sup>77</sup> The overall structure of the *CSM* is based on the number ten (5x2) with every tenth *cantiga* being a song in praise of the Virgin Mary rather than a miracle tale. Similarly, Berceo’s *Milagros de la Virgen* offers twenty-five (five squared) miracles. Many *cantigas* contain references to the Marian number five and even today the mysteries of the Catholic rosary are grouped in fives. Even some individual miracles reflect the Marian number five, *Cantiga* 70 of the E Codex enumerates in five stanzas the Virgin’s five qualities based upon the five letters of her name María, giving a list of qualities which forms an anagram of her name. Five is also the number of humanity, whom she links with the divine. Humans have five senses, five digits on each extremity, five extremities to their silhouette with four limbs and one head, and it is Mary who serves as man’s umbilical connection to the divine. *Cantiga* 56 “Gran Dereit” explains why it is most meet that the number five be assigned to the Virgin.

Sevens figure more prominently in the *LJ* than any other number, whether textually, visually or ludically. The number seven appears in the text, reflected in the number of *libros* or treatises, the number of letters in the word *acedrex*,<sup>78</sup> the number of folios in the section treatise “Libro de los dados,” in the total number of folios: 98 (twice seven squared) and the word *siete* itself appears sixty-three (9x7) times. Its Roman numeral appears six times, words equivalent to seventh appear 40 times and *setenas* once.<sup>79</sup>

In terms of the games, more chess problems are played with seven pieces than any other total<sup>80</sup> and seven problems are solved in seven moves;<sup>81</sup> Problem 77 (7x11) on fol. 49v (seven squared) has seven total pieces and seven moves in its solution; Alfonso invents seven-sided dice and probably also the base-seven backgammon with twenty-eight (7x4) points; seven types of chess pieces are listed for decimal chess; seven players play the final astrologically-based games which contain seven planets; and forty-nine

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<sup>78</sup> I myself would not have thought to count the letters in the game’s name, but was inspired to do so by Alfonso’s analysis of the number of letters in his name and his father’s name in the *Setenario*.

<sup>79</sup> *Uno* appears 41 times and *una* 64 but they are also indefinite articles; words equivalent to first, 399; *as* appears 65; *dos* appears 184 times; two’s Roman numeral seven times, and second 574 times; *tres* appears 89 times, third appears 578, *tria* 22 and *ternas* 14; *quatro* 122, four’s Roman numeral 11, fourth 457 and *quaternas* 13; *cinco* 77, five’s Roman numeral 22, fifth 56 and *quinas* 11; *seys* 102, six’s Roman numeral 18, sixth 42 and *senas* 10; *ocho* 34, eight’s Roman numeral 14 and eighth 32; and *nueue* 19, nine’s Roman numeral 5 and ninth 27. For comparison, I also offer similar statistic for the *Siete Partidas*: Within the text of the *Siete Partidas* the word *siete* is used twenty-five times in the introduction alone and 245 (7<sup>2</sup>x5) in the entire work, ranking it in the top 3% of the most frequently used words in the text (390 out of the total 18,361 words used). The *HSMS* concordance lists each synonymous term separately by spelling, with “Vij” used 128 times, “Vii” used ten times, “septimo” used five, “setimo” three, and “setena,” “setenario” and “setentrion” are each used once. By way of comparison with other numbers, the number seven is used with a relatively high frequency. *vno* used 1177 times, *Uno* 4, *Vn* 800, *un* 800, *una* 9, the Roman numerals I 134 and J 85 = 3009; 2. *dos* used 865 times, its Roman numerals II 14, Ij 253 = 1283; 3. *tres* used 563 times, Iii 13, Iij 275 = 1538; 4. *quatro* used 288 times, iiii 9, iiij 230 = 527; 5. *cinco* used 7 times, v 178 = 185; 6. *seis* used twice, vi used 54, vj 92 = 148; 7. *siete* used 245 times, Vij 128, Vii 10 = 383; 8. *ocho* used once, viij 108, viii = 116; 9. *nueue* used twice, ix 123 = 125; 10. *diez* used 360 times, X 101 = 461; 11. *onze* used 54 times, xj 41 = 95; 12. *doze* used 105 times, xii 14, xij 70 = 189.

<sup>80</sup> Twelve problems use seven pieces: Problems 68, 76, 77, 79, 82, 84, 85, 86, 87, 91, 94 and 103.

<sup>81</sup> Problems 14 (7x2), 26 (with 21 pieces), 29, 37, 77, 81 and 85 (with 7 pieces).

(seven squared) pieces are played upon the forty-nine spaces of astrological backgammon (incidentally totalling the same number as the number of folios,  $49+49=98$ ).

The number seven is found with even greater frequency in the *LJ*'s visual images: there are a total of 151 ( $1+5+1=7$ ) miniatures; seven lobes in the arch on fol. 1r, over Alfonso, and on fols. 40v and 83v; a seven-stringed instrument on fol. 18r and a fourteen-string harp on fol. 22r; seven inlaid diamond shapes on the chess board on fol. 23v; seven columns on fols. 37v and 60r; seven rings supporting the curtain on fol. 47v; seven towers on fol. 49r, itself the square of seven; seven roof segments on fol. 54v; seven people shown on fols. 65v and 97v; and fourteen ( $7 \times 2$ ) figures on fol. 66r; the dice rolls shown on fols. 66r (21), 68r (7), 69r (7), 71r (7), 73v (7), 76v (7), 79r (7), 83v (21) and 84v (14) are all multiples of seven; there are seven decorative beads over each arch on fol. 80r; seven segments on floor on fols. 82v and 85v; seven cases of women playing chess against men; and seven miniatures of adults teaching games to children.

Several mathematical "coincidences" seem to link purposefully the total number of folios in the *LJ* to the number seven ( $2 \times 7^2 = 98$ ). At first ninety-eight seems an unusual number of folios given that the first treatise, "Libro del achedrex," neatly contrives to use the same number of folios as the sixty-four squares on its chessboards. Although Piero Grandese (1987) believes that the absence of a description for the decimal chess game mentioned on fol. 84r constitutes a lacuna of at least two folios and posits that the *LJ* originally had one hundred total folios, I believe it is complete at ninety-eight on the basis of the *LJ*'s overwhelming usage of numerology and other usages by Alfonso of multiples

of seven as combinations of the natural and spiritual.<sup>82</sup> In my opinion, ninety-eight is not just the number of folios at which the *LJ* casually happened to end, or even the number of folios in an incomplete text which tragically remains two folios shy of an ideal one hundred, but rather it is an interesting and important number in its own right rooted in both Hebrew temporal traditions as well as geometric relationships with the number seven.

Grandese operates on his instinctive assumption that the number one hundred would have been a more desirable or perfect number of folios for the *LJ* manuscript but I believe he may well have been unduly influenced by the prominence of this number within our Western base-ten numeral system since it is not a number that is present anywhere else in the *LJ*.<sup>83</sup> Ninety-eight folios, however, is really twice the square of the most symbolically important number in Alfonso's literary corpus ( $7 \times 7 = 49$ ). While I concede that, upon first reading the manuscript, I was confused when reaching the rubric for seven-sided dice which describes them not by their number of faces but as the dice to be used to speed the play of the decimal chess game of *acedrex de las diez casas*. I wondered if something were not missing, too. After all, the eight-sided dice to speed the game of great chess immediately follow its description. Whenever a subsequent or related game follows one that has previously been described, Alfonso notes the previous description in his language. Phrasing to this effect is conspicuously absent in the section

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<sup>82</sup> Piero Grandese, "Sulla Composizione del *Libro dei Giochi* di Alfonso X El Sabbio," (Annali di Ca'Foscari) *Rivista della Facolta di Lingue e Letterature stranieri dell'U di Venezia* 27 (1988) 171-81. For my refutation of Grandese's arguments, see Sec. 1.4.3.1. For numerological examples, see this chapter's introduction.

<sup>83</sup> Except, of course, in the decimal chess variant which he argues is missing; its 10x10 board has one hundred squares.

that follows this supposed lacuna of the decimal chess variant and so I conclude that no such folios are missing.

Sevens abound in the realm of astronomy and natural science including seven stars in the Pleides, both Ursa Major and Ursa Minor, and the seven heavenly bodies called planets which were identified by many cultures with the days of the week.<sup>84</sup> In science, there are many sets of seven including the seven notes and scales of music, seven colors of the rainbow and, more recently discovered, seven rare gases and seven possible crystalline configurations. Shakespeare described the seven ages of man in Act II, Scene IV of *As You Like It*, after the perhaps more well-known passage describing the world as a stage and all men as players upon it.

Seven also appears frequently in religion, from Christianity and Judaism to Buddhism and Islam. In the Christian religion, the Bible describes the house of Wisdom as having seven pillars (Prov. 9: 1); Noah was commanded to take seven pairs of clean animals onto the ark (Gen. 7: 2-3); and there are seven acts of creation described in Genesis.<sup>85</sup> The Paternoster contains seven requests; there are seven Virtues and Vices,

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<sup>84</sup> Both the Friends (also known as Quakers) and Portuguese-speakers circumvent this pagan system of naming the days by numbering them beginning with the sabbath, so that Monday is second-day or *segunda-feira*. While the Chinese do not use gods of western mythology, they do ally their seven days of the week with elemental symbolism, much of which directly corresponds. My friend Ping Situ explained to me how in their Chinese pictographs, Sunday relates to the sun, Monday to the moon, Tuesday to fire, Wednesday to water, Thursday to tree or wood, Friday to metal and Saturday to soil. See also Culin, *Chess and Playing-Cards* 679n1.

<sup>85</sup> The seven acts of creation according to the Bible's Book of Genesis were as follows: 1. light, 2. firmament, 3. planets, 4. heavenly bodies, 5. fish and fowl, 6. animals and humans, 7. rest.

seven deadly sins, seven sacraments of the Roman Catholic Church, seven Archangels, and the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit.<sup>86</sup>

The Jewish tradition computes time on the basis of sevens. There seven days of Creation, Passover and Sukkot as well as the seven branches to mark days on the Menorah. The idea of the Sabbath as the seventh day of rest was extended to the seventh or sabbatical year (Lev. 24: 1-4), the seven weeks of the counting of the Omer, the seven weeks or forty nine days leading up to the Festival of Shavuot and seven sabbaticals or the forty-nine (7x7) years leading up to the Jubilee year, as in retirement or the Spanish verb *jubilarse* (Lev. 25: 8-11). With state-owned land in Israel, the customary forty-nine year lease, representing control of land or space over the course of time, usually is automatically renewable for a total of ninety-eight years—again, an appearance of the same number of folios in the *LJ*.<sup>87</sup>

Ninety-eight, the total number of folios in the *LJ* is then a double jubilee ( $98 = 7 \times 7 + 7 \times 7$  or  $7^2 + 7^2$ ). In the physical world as Alfonso conceived of it, ninety-eight refers to the sum of time and space, echoing the format of the game boards that, like chess, operate in terms of square numbers (e.g.  $8^2 = 64$ ). Thus, ninety-eight represents the sum of the squares of time (both within the Jewish tradition and based on the seven-day week, i.e.  $7 \times 7$ ) and the square of space (based on the seven heavenly bodies, also  $7 \times 7$ ). From

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<sup>86</sup> Calter's Unit 8 also notes that there are seven vices or deadly sins "sometimes shown as the seven-headed dragon of Revelation 12:3." The gifts of the Holy Spirit are one of many sets of seven given in the *Setenario*'s Law XXXVII.

<sup>87</sup> "the state may and does rent (lease) it's real-estate, keeping the ownership always to itself. The rent (lease) is usually for a period of 49 years that automatically renews itself for another 49 years, so in total 98 years." "Palestine: Facts and History," *Silicon Investor*, accessed 28 Sept. 2005, <<http://www.siliconinvestor.com/stocktalk/msg.gsp?msgid=17839374>>.

this perspective, I believe that ninety-eight, the number of folios in the *LJ*, represents the sum of scientific knowledge at the time and therefore it cannot be other than intentional.

Alfonso's symbolic usage of the number seven may also stem from Muslim traditions. Alfonso ordered a now-lost translation of the *Escala de Mahoma* (also called the *Me'raj* or *Mi'rag*). A summary of it appears in the *Estoria de Espanna*<sup>88</sup> and Bonaventure da Siena's French translation of it made in Seville that same year of 1264 survives.<sup>89</sup> It tells of the nocturnal journey of *Muhammad*, mentioned in Sura 17 of the Koran, in which he travelled from Mecca to Jerusalem and ascended into the seven heavens and returned to earth. The *Me'raj* has twenty-nine traditions or chapters. Traditions 11 through 21 tell of his ascent through the seven heavens and what he saw in them. Other traditions also ascribe great importance to the number seven, including the Hindus who see the body as comprised of seven chakras (Sk. wheels) or energy centers.

Man also groups important secular things by sevens such as the seven seas, the seven continents, seven hills of Rome and the seven wonders of the world. The number seven also appears frequently in superstitions like the seven years of bad luck that breaking a mirror supposedly earns or the special powers attributed to the seventh son of a seventh son. Seven is still popularly held as a lucky number even today and Alfonso's association of the term with the law and its enforcement is one compelling argument for the seven-pointed star many police departments use as their badge.

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<sup>88</sup> See "De como Mahomat dixo *que* subira fasta los syete cielos" (Lloyd August Kasten, John J. Nitti and Wilhelmina Jonxis-Henkemans, eds., "*Estoria de España*: Escorial: Monasterio [text.ee1]," by Alfonso X, *The Electronic Texts and Concordances of the Prose Works of Alfonso X, El Sabio*, CD-ROM [Madison, WI: HSMS, 1997] fols. 169r-69v).

<sup>89</sup> "Alfonso X, el Sabio Escuela de Traductores [1252-1277]," Alfonso X, ed. Suzanne H. Peterson, accessed 23 Sept. 2005, <<http://faculty.washington.edu/petersen/alfonso/esctra13.htm>>.

### 3.2.7 Numerology: Zodiacal Twelves

Second in importance to the number seven for Alfonso was the number twelve. While the most obvious structure in the *LJ* reveals seven books, the practical divisions by prologue and eleven textual headings total twelve. The astrological numbers of seven and twelve, the dual foundations of the *LJ*, often appear together, principally in the lunar cycle of twenty-eight days (7x4) wherein each phase lasts seven days. In this sense, the *LJ*'s base-seven backgammon can be seen as a symbolic representation of the four phases of the lunar cycle. The year has approximately twelve such cycles, each associated with a sign of the zodiac and ruled by one of seven planets.

Twelve also figures prominently in other games of the *LJ*: there are twelve-move solutions for Problems 2, 4, 6, 7, 11 and 20; twelve dice games; and twelve pieces used in the tables game of *doblet*. The dice total shown on fol. 79v is twelve. Twelve is the highest possible roll with two 6-sided dice and a winning roll in the game of *guirguesca*. There are twelve points on each side of the tables board; twelve squares on each side of the *grant acedrex* board and forty-eight total pieces (12x4), twelve major pieces and twelve pawns each side; twenty-four total pieces (12x2) in four seasons chess; twenty-four (12x2) spaces on the board and forty-eight (12x4) total pieces for four-seasons tables; twelve pieces per player for *alquerque de doze*; one player in *cercar la liebre* may use twelve pieces; twelve zodiacal houses in *escaques*; and one hundred forty-four (12x12) games total. In the illuminations within the *LJ*, there are twelve total lobes on fol. 72r matching twelve points on one side of the tables board and twelve miniatures in the “Libro de los dados.” Scientifically, and for the purposes of wagers in the *LJ*'s game

*escaques*, each of the twelve zodiacal signs is related to as many as twelve others via their astrological relationships.<sup>90</sup> Another game not in the *LJ*, but sharing in much of its quaternary symbolism, is pachisi whose modern variants generally offer twelve squares of condition called safety spaces. This may represent another instance of a game combining, as do the *LJ*'s astrological games of its seventh treatise, a circle of twelve arrayed around a central basis of four.

In the realm of religion, there are twelve tribes of Israel<sup>91</sup> and twelve apostles;<sup>92</sup> both seven and twelve figure strongly in and form the structure of the book of Revelation which Alfonso saw as a prefiguration of Ptolemy's astronomical calculations. Painton Cowen says that "[t]welve and twenty-four are the most common numbers in rose windows" which decorate Christian cathedrals.<sup>93</sup> Greek mythology offers the twelve gods of Olympus and twelve labors of Hercules.

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<sup>90</sup> Any one sign is related to two others via trine, three others via quadrature and five others via sextile as well its possible relationships with one or more via opposition and one or more via conjunction.

<sup>91</sup> The biblical description (Num. 2: 3-31) of God's circular arrangement of their camps, based on the cardinal directions and around a central tabernacle is very much like a game board and may have served, along with the seven planets, as a symbolic guide for the grid-iron floorplan of the astronomically-oriented Escorial where the *LJ* is housed (Pennick 149-51). The *Beatus* of Ferdinand I and Queen Sancha shows the twelve leaders of these tribes arranged in arches around a center of squares of alternating colors, much like a chess board. Umberto Eco, ed., *History of Beauty* (New York: Rizzoli, 2004) 78. The tenth-century *Beatus of Liebana* (manuscript 644, vol. II, fol. 222v) shows a Spanish illumination of the plan of the Heavenly Jerusalem as a chessboard where the figures under the arches are the twelve apostles, listed with their corresponding gemstones (Titus Burckhardt *Chartres and the Birth of the Cathedral* [Bloomington, IN: World Wisdom, 2004] 31). The image is available online at *The Morgan Library & Museum* site edited by Todd Eberle, 2006, <<http://www.morganlibrary.org/collections/collections.asp?id=66>>. Huizinga offers a similar description of the ideal Chinese war camp placed according to the twelve signs of the zodiac, saying that "[i]n making [early Chinese battle] camp the lay-out is carefully orientated to the four zodiacal quarters. Everything pertaining to the arrangement of an army camp in cultural epochs as in ancient China was strictly prescribed and full of sacred significance, for the camp was modelled on the Imperial city and this was modelled on heaven. No doubt Roman camp-buildings too bore traces of their ritual origin" (97-98).

<sup>92</sup> Alfonso equated the twelve zodiac signs with Christ's twelve apostles in the *Setenario*.

<sup>93</sup> Painton Cowen, *Rose Windows* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, a Prism Edition, 1979) 92.

Scientifically, the twelve hours in each day and night are reflected in the divisions of our clock faces. Other cultures such as the Egyptian, Chinese and Aztec divide their calendars into twelve celestially-based units although they use different animals or symbols. The use of animal groups of twelve is reflected in the *LJ's grant acedrex* with each army's twelve major pieces being predominantly animal in nature.

### **3.2.8 Numerology: The *LJ's* Dual Structure**

The preponderance of sevens and twelves are, as we have shown above, numerological allusions to Afonso's macrocosmic model, the Creation, which he conceived of in terms of John's *Apocalypse* and the Ptolemaic model as revealed in his *Setenario*. The *LJ's* dual structure based on the seven treatises and twelve subdivisions by heading and theme is an arithmetic metaphor of the symbolic connection between heaven and earth: the seven days of the earthly microcosmic week are derived from the smaller sum of the four earthly elements plus the spiritual Trinity and are ruled, in turn, by the seven heavenly bodies or planets while the twelve months of the year and the corresponding macrocosmic twelve signs of the zodiac represent the larger product of four multiplied by three. In this way, Alfonso's creation of the *LJ* with its seven treatises and twelve divisions mirrors the Creation of the cosmos with its seven celestial spheres operating within the corresponding twelve signs of the zodiac (Wollsen 285). The *LJ*, then, represents a philosophical-cosmological attempt to explain the world presented in the form of a hermeneutic exercise using the principle "As above, so below," and presented as a puzzle. The following chart reveals the complex organization of the *LJ's* games in terms of its seven treatises, denoted by a capital roman numeral at left, and the

contents of each treatise by heading, denoted by a lower case roman numeral at right. In the center of the table, counts for each section's ludic and artistic elements discussed in this dissertation's first two chapters reveal numerical totals whose constant return to the two key numbers of seven and twelve cannot be coincidental.

Table 11. Dual Structural Scheme of the *LJ* Based on the Seven Treatises (VII) and their Twelve Divisions (xii).

TREATISE	GAME	FOLS. <sup>94</sup>	MINS.	GAMES	HEADING(S)	CONTENTS	FOLS.	DIVISION
I	chess	1r-64v	109	104	“Libro del acedrex”	prologue	1r-4v	i
						chess	5r-64v	ii
II	dice	65r-71v	12	12	“Libro de los dados”	dice	65r-71v	iii
III	tables	72r-80v	17	15	“Libro de las tablas”	tables	72r-79r	iv
IV	large games	81r-86v	4	4	“Libro del acedrex”	chess	81r-82v	v
					“Libro de los dados”	dice	83r-84v	vi
					“Libro de las tablas”	tables	85r-85v	vii
V	four-player	87r-90v	2	2	“Libro del acedrex”	chess	87r-88v	viii
					“Libro de las tablas”	tables	85r-85v	ix
VI	mill	91r-94v	5	5	“Libro del alquerque”	mill	91r-93v	x
VII	astrological	95r-98v	2	2	“Libro del acedrex”	chess	95r-96v	xi
					“Libro de las tablas”	tables	97r-97v	xii
TOTALS: <sup>95</sup>	7	98 or (7 <sup>2</sup> )x2	151 or 1+5+1=7	144 or 12 <sup>2</sup>	12	12	98 or (7 <sup>2</sup> )x2	12

<sup>94</sup> Total number of folios for each treatise includes the blank folio at the end of every treatise except for that of “Libro de los dados” which does not have one. These blank folios are also important because they provide a physical reminder which supports the thematic separation of the treatises.

<sup>95</sup> The total number of folios is calculated including all blank folios at the end of each treatise, especially the final one. A count of 151 miniatures is obtained if we count 77v with its unique double miniature as containing two miniatures, thus giving at total 151 miniatures and 144 games. A total of 144 games is arrived at through the following computation:

1 *iuogo (forçado) de donzellas*;

103 chess problems (forced to arrive at 64 folios for “Libro del acedrex”);

12 dice games (probably original plan was for 6 folios like sides on a die but it ran long);

15 tables games (seems to have been planned to end at fol. 78v, see Critical Text);

4 large variants (not counting the decimal chess I believe to be purposefully absent);

2 four-handed variants;

5 mill variants; and

+ 2 astrological games.

total 144 *LJ* games

### 3.3 Metaphysical Exegesis in the *Setenario*

While the *LJ*'s text is Hermetically tacit as to any other purpose than the obvious ludic principle of enjoyment, exegetical explanations of Alfonso's cosmivision are indeed overtly expressed in his other works, especially the *Setenario*, which can be used as a key to the metaphysical code of the *LJ*'s text, images and games. Metaphysics, according to the *Setenario*, is the noblest and highest expression of the seven Liberal Arts, each with its seven subcategories, because it deals more fully with the subtle, dual nature of the Arts in both their temporal and spiritual dimensions.<sup>96</sup> Thus, the learned individual must scrutinize the seven Arts in order to better know and understand God through an observation of the reflection of his macrocosmic spiritual designs upon the microcosmic temporal scope of His creation according to the Hermetic principal, "As above, so below."<sup>97</sup> The highest of these seven Arts was astrology as corresponds to the highest and noblest expression of games in Alfonso's *LJ*, the astrological games of the seventh treatise. By close observation of the relationship between the movement of the heavens and life on earth, as a reflection of God's greater scheme of things, Alfonso and other medieval astrologers hoped to be able to divine the future, at once transcending their humanity and harnessing the power of the divine knowledge of Creation. Jens T. Wollesen notes how Alfonso's interest in endeavouring "to master his life and explain the

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<sup>96</sup> "Metaffisica es la ssetena destas ssiete artes, e más noble e más ssotil que todas ellas porque por ésta se conosçen todas las cosas ssegunt ssu natura, tan bien spirituales commo tenporales" (Vanderford 38).

<sup>97</sup> According to Alfonso's *Setenario*, the seven arts are things that "sson en Dios conplidamiente. ... Onde por estos ssiete ssaberes a que llaman artes ssopieren los omnes conosçer a Dios e a todas las cosas que él ffizo, quáles son en ssí e cómmo obran" (Vanderford 39). Titus Burckhardt aligns each liberal art with the seven planets in his *Chartres and the Birth of the Cathedral*. Trans. William Stoddart. Bloomington, IN: World Wisdom, 1996) 71: Grammar/moon, Dialectic/Mercury, Rhetoric/Venus, Arithmetic/Sun, Music/Mars, Geometry/Jupiter and Astronomy/Saturn.

course of the world in astrological and astronomical terms” and “to reveal the secrets of life and his existence by means of intelligence and learning” through the art of Arabic astrology rather than in “conventional western theology,” combined logically with his interest “in such games as a means to rather different and not purely entertaining ends” because the *LJ*'s games are, he states, microcosmic mirrors of medieval cosmography.<sup>98</sup>

### 3.3.1 Metaphysics: The *LJ* as a Hermetic Text

Ana Domínguez Rodríguez identifies Hermetism as the underlying motive behind the King's direct participation in his texts, both textually and his presence in so many illuminations.<sup>99</sup> She cites the *Libro de los buenos proverbios* and a description of the style of its opening miniature as visual evidence of his Hermetic model.

E en el comienzo del Libro auie figura del philosopho iluminado y assentado en su siella y las figuras de los philosophos antel deprendiendo lo que dizie... Y si en el libro a muchas razones de muchos sabios ffazen en el comienzo la figura del sabio que dixo aquella razon iluminada. (Domínguez Rodríguez, “*Libro de los juegos*” 45)

Here Alfonso is the philosopher, the illuminated Sabio, dictating these revelations which, according to Hermetism, are made known to one who is ready to receive them, much as he revealed to the faithful the miracles of the Virgin in the *CSM*. Domínguez Rodríguez also notes Alfonso's clearly Hermetic cosmovision in the introduction to the *Libro de las cruces* where he, like a latter-day Solomon, expresses his role as king, appointed by

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<sup>98</sup> Jens T. Wollesen, “Sub Specie Ludi... Text and Images in Alfonso El Sabio's *Libro de acedrex, dados e tablas*,” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 3 (1990): 277-308. Quotes taken from 279, 289, 289 and 278, respectively.

<sup>99</sup> Domínguez Rodríguez, “*Libro de los juegos*” 45. Regarding the term *Hermetism* “Also from Hermes, messenger of the gods, comes *hermeneutics*, the art of textual interpretation, and according to the author of the *Buch der Heiligen Dreifaltigkeit* (Book of the Holy Trinity, 1415), the first alchemical text in the German language, this occurs in four directions: in the natural, supernatural, divine and human sense. As used by its most distinguished representatives, alchemical literature possesses a suggestive language, rich in allegories, homophony and word-play” (Alexander Roob, *The Hermetic Museum: Alchemy & Mysticism* [Köln: Taschen, 2001] 9).

divine right, to rule and discover hidden or occult sciences and expose their mysteries to the world.<sup>100</sup> Alfonso can be seen in much the same way in the *LJ* as the enlightened master dictating his revelations of God's secrets in the symbolism behind the work's games.

In the second part of her second chapter of "*El libro de los juegos*," Domínguez Rodríguez discusses the portraits of Alfonso as the *Rey trovador de Santa María* in which he daringly acts as man's go-between with the divine. While he is most frequently presented as kneeling in the presence of the Virgin, a posture which is, according to her, totally unique for a Western king, what is even more exceptional is the fact that he sometimes actually dares to touch the clothing of the Virgin or of Jesus. This direct contact by Alfonso with the divine and his own belief that he is, in turn, a divine conduit to the masses, reinforces his personal identification with the Virgin who was the saving

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<sup>100</sup> Domínguez Rodríguez, "*Libro de los juegos*" 45. "Esto es el prologo del libro de las cruces. Assi como dixo tholomeu en el almageste. Non morro el qui abiuo la sciencia. & el saber ny fue pobre el qui fue dado a entendimiento. Onde en quanto el angel es mas alto. & mas noble que el homne. por su grand entendimiento. & por su grand saber que dyos li dyo. Assi el ombre en qui dyos quiso posar seso. & entendimiento es mas alto. & mas noble entre todos los homnes. Onde nostro sennor el muy noble Rey don Alfonso Rey despanna. fyio del muy noble Rey don ferrando. & de la muy noble reyna dona beatriz. en qui dyos puso seso. & entendimiento. & saber sobre todos los principes de su tyempo. leyendo por diuersos libros de sabios. por alumbramiento que ouo de la gracia de dyos de quien uienen todos los bienes. siempre se esforço de alumbrar. & de abiuar los saberes. que eran perdidos al tyempo que dyos lo mando regnar en la tierra. Et por que el leyerá. & cadaun sabio lo affirma. el dicho de aristotil. que dize que los cuerpos de yuso que son los terrenales. se mantienen. & se gouiernan. por los mouementos de los corpos de suso que son los celestiales por uoluntat de dyos. Entendio & connocio que la sciencia. & el saber en connocer las significaciones destes corpos celestiales sobredichos. sobre los corpos terrenales era muy necessaria a los homnes. Onde este nostro sennor sobredicho. que tantos & diuersos dichos de sabios uiera. Leyendo que dos cosas son en el mundo que mientras son escondidas non prestan nada. Et es la una seso encerrado que non se amostra. Et la otra thesoro escondido en tierra. El semeiando a Salamon. en buscar. & espaladinar los saberes. doliendo se la perdida. & la mengua que auian los ladinos en las ciencias de las significaciones sobredichas. fallo el libro de las cruces que fizieron los sabios antigos. que esplano oueydalla el sabio. & faulo en las costellaciones de las reuoluciones de las planetas. & de sus ayuntamientos de lo que significan en los compeçamentos de los regnos. & de los sennorios. & de los accacements del ayre grandes. & generales" (Lloyd August Kasten, John J. Nitti and Wilhelmina Jonxis-Henkemans, eds., "*Libro de las cruces*: Madrid: Nacional 9294 [text.crz]," by Alfonso X, *The Electronic Texts and Concordances of the Prose Works of Alfonso X, El Sabio*, CD-ROM [Madison, WI: HSMS, 1997] fol. 2v).

intermediary in the miracles he retells. His position as middle-man between the heavenly and the earthly, the spiritual and the temporal, is precisely depicted by his mid-hierarchical position in the opening miniature of the Florentine codex of the *CSM* (Domínguez Rodríguez, “*Libro de los juegos*” 50). Domínguez Rodríguez goes on to explain that the heterodoxy of this daring new religiosity, based on Alfonso’s direct contact with and personal interpretation of the divine by right of his royalty, was only understood within his immediate circle and that this open oriental Hermetism, like divination and the games themselves, could easily be interpreted as contrary to Catholic doctrine. Domínguez Rodríguez’s argument supports my theory that Alfonso justified the use of divination and divinatory games through his position as head of his government. Ruling by divine right, he may have viewed this connection as working both ways. That is, he may have perceived that he had both the right and the responsibility to interpret the marvelous secrets of God for the good of his realm.

Further evidence of the Hermetic nature of Alfonso’s daring new religiosity and use of astrological divination, particularly relating to the *LJ*, is seen in *Cantiga* 110 (Domínguez Rodríguez, “*Libro de los juegos*” 54). Here Alfonso portrays himself as interpreter of both Christian and pagan astrology. In the third panel, Alfonso kneels and indicates the science of astrology represented by an Eastern *sabio* poised to write about the reflection of the celestial macrocosm on the earthly microcosm below. Domínguez Rodríguez sees “en ambas imágenes un significado que va más allá del literalismo aparente en relación con los versos” (“*Libro de los juegos*” 54) and in her fourth chapter treats how the courtly atmosphere portrayed in the *LJ* expresses the huge scientific

revival, dominated by astrology and very open to the influence of oriental Hermetic ideas, that the King wished to effect (1987: 59).

The fact that the *LJ* does not directly and openly declare its purpose as a Hermetic text is, in fact, very much in keeping with the occult and Hermetically tacit nature of such works in which true alchemists “only express themselves in symbols, metaphors and similes, so that they can only be understood by saints, sages, and souls endowed with understanding” (Synesios cited in Burckhardt, *Alchemy* 28). Alfonso perfectly achieves the balance between clarity and obscurity prescribed in the early fourteenth century by Geber<sup>101</sup> in his *Summa perfectionis magisterii*:

One must not explain this art in obscure words only; on the other hand, one must not explain it so clearly that all may understand it. I therefore teach it in a way that nothing will remain hidden to the wise man, even though it may strike mediocre minds as quite obscure; the foolish and the ignorant, for their part, will understand none of it at all.... (Burckhardt, *Alchemy* 28)

A literal reading of the *LJ* is of course possible, just as a literal reading of Don Melón’s bad example is also possible in his naughty adventures in the *Libro de buen amor* (*LBA*). However, the *LBA*’s author, Juan Ruiz, Arcipreste de Hita, openly cautions his readers to avoid the literal reading as a manual of sin and to seek beneath the “feo libro” a metaphysical interpretation of “saber non feo” that is the exegete’s reward.<sup>102</sup> The closest Alfonso comes to warning his reader about the Hermetic nature of his text is nearly at the end of the work when he says, “Conuiene agora que se muestre otra natura

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<sup>101</sup> Latinized pseudonym based on the name Jabir ibn Hayyan, an eighth-century Arab alchemist. “No doubt it was because the name Jâbir had become the hallmark of much alchemical lore that the author the *Summa Perfectionis*, a thirteenth-century Italian or Catalan, also assumed the name of its latinized form of Geber” (Burckhardt, *Alchemy* 19).

<sup>102</sup> Juan Ruiz, *LBA* stanza 16 (Vermont: Tuttle, 1999) 14.

de iuego muy noble & muy estranno e muy apuesto. e de grand entendimiento; pora los entendudos. e mayormiente pora aquellos que saben la Arte de Astronomia” (fol. 95r). Here, the Wise King is giving us a wink and a nudge to look beyond the obvious, physical game to its metaphysical meaning and purpose. This premise of reading between the lines guides this chapter’s later interpretation of the *LJ* based upon numerology and the four levels of medieval Cabalistic exegesis.

In order to look beyond the literal view of the *LJ* as a book containing games, we turn to the chief Arabic Hermetic work known as the *Tabula Smaragdina* or Emerald Tablet, attributed to Hermes Trismegistus. It explains that the “perspective of Hermetism proceeds from the view that the universe (or macrocosm) and man (or the microcosm) correspond to one another as reflections, whatever there is in one must also in some manner be present in the other” (Burckhardt, *Alchemy* 34). This basic Hermetic concept of correspondence is summarized by Burckhardt in the first of the Emerald Tablet’s twelve points, “In truth certainly and without doubt, whatever is below is like that which is above, and whatever is above is like that which is below, to accomplish the miracles of one thing” (*Alchemy* 197). This concept aligns perfectly with both the explicit symbolism in the allegorical explanations of the chessmen’s powers in the “Libro del acedrex” and the philosophy behind the entire *LJ* as revealing, to man on earth, the marvelous visions of the secrets of God. The Emerald Tablet’s seventh point also aligns neatly with Alfonso’s divinatory goals for the seventh treatise on astrological games and Muhammad’s celestial journey to enlightenment through the seven spheres as described in the *Me’raj* or *Mi’rag*: where Muhammad traveled “from earth to heaven and comes

down again from heaven to earth, and thus acquire[d] the power of the realities above and the realities below ... In this way you will acquire the glory of the whole world, and all darkness will leave you” (Burckhardt, *Alchemy* 199-200). From this perspective, the *LJ*'s astrological games become tools to allow Alfonso like Muhammad to view the cosmos from a divine perspective on his spiritual journey of enlightenment.

It is easy enough to see the *LJ*'s games as microcosms—chess as a miniature battle or an allegory of life, *escaques* as a miniature solar system or universe—but to understand the *LJ* fully we must also come to see the whole manuscript itself as a Hermetic puzzle. Like those paremiological collections of tales within a tale, the *LJ* is a collection of games within a game. An exegetical examination of the *LJ*'s symbolic elements and structure, into which its medieval author would not have placed anything haphazardly or by coincidence, reveals that the *LJ*'s larger framework of a book of games is itself a puzzle to be solved reflecting the larger game of life. Thus, the *LJ* is a Hermetic text which is, in fact, a mirror of Alfonso's world view, just as he himself explains that his *Siete Partidas* is a mirror into which kings may peer in order to see how best to govern.<sup>103</sup>

Although the largest physical portion of the *LJ* is devoted to the chess problems of the first treatise, that game represents only the first of seven rungs on the spiritual ladder

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<sup>103</sup> “segund dixo el rey salamon que fue sabio & muy iustiçiero que quando el rey estuuiese en su cadira de iustiçia que ante el su acatamiento se desatan todos los males. ca pues que los entendiere guardara asi & a los otros de danno. & por esta razon fezimos sennalada mente este libro porque sienpre los reyes de nuestro sennorio se caten enel asi commo en **espejo** & vean las cosas que han ensi de emendar & las emienden & segund aquesto que fagan en los suyos” (John O'Neill, ed., “*Siete Partidas de Alfonso X* [Seville, Oct. 1491] New York: Hispanic Society. Transcribed by Ivy A. Corfis [text.spo],” *Electronic Texts and Concordances: Madison Corpus of Early Spanish Manuscripts and Printings*, CD-ROM [Madison, WI: HSMS, 1999] fol. 2v, emphasis mine).

of enlightenment which is hidden within the text. Each treatise of the *LJ* builds upon the previous one up to the culmination in the seventh treatise on astrological games which represents the sum total of Alfonso's scientific knowledge as well as a combination of all the previous game elements.<sup>104</sup> It is this progression which reveals that the games of greatest symbolic importance are not those which come first in the hierarchy but those which come last, i.e. the astrological games. This inversion of the traditional medieval concept of hierarchies, as seen in the organization of games within the "Libro del acedrex" and the "Libro del alquerque," is the result of a larger framework based on Scholasticism which places emphasis on the synthetic whole.<sup>105</sup> Considered as a synthetic whole, the *LJ*'s groupings of seven and twelve both mirror and underscore the importance of the noblest and highest metaphysical games, which are most literally microcosms of Alfonso's known universe of seven planets moving through the twelve heavenly zodiacal houses.

As made obvious by Alfonso's description of *escaques* as a game "por entendimiento e por uso" (fol. 95r) of learned men and especially for those educated in astrology, this is neither a game just for playing nor a game for everyone. According to Burckhardt, alchemical doctrine is hidden within riddles precisely because it is not meant

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<sup>104</sup> "The gradation of heavenly spheres reflects the ontological order of the world, according to which each degree of existence proceeds from a higher one, in such a way that the higher degree 'contains' the lower one, just as cause 'contains' effect. Similarly, the yang is said to contain the yin within itself" (Titus Burckhardt, *Alchemy: Science of the Cosmos, Science of the Soul* [Louisville, KY: Fons Vitae, 1997] 46).

<sup>105</sup> This hierarchical organization based on relative size is like, and may be based upon, the typical arrangement of the chapters of the Koran, longest to shortest and not chronologically. While the "Libro del alquerque" successfully carries out the plan specified on fol. 91r of presenting its games from largest to smallest, the "Libro del acedrex" does not. A similar plan is expressed on fol. 5r but the hierarchical organization breaks down completely after Problem 69. See the Excel spreadsheet "*LJ* Manuscript Statistics," column "total pieces," and the section devoted to the "Libro del acedrex" in this dissertation's first chapter.

for everyone. Alchemy, also known as *ars regia*, presupposes, like *escaques*, a more than ordinary understanding:

‘Is it not recognized’, writes Artephius, a famous alchemist of the Middle Ages,<sup>106</sup> ‘that ours is a cabbalistic<sup>107</sup> art? By this I mean that it is passed on orally, and is full of secrets. But you, poor deluded fellow, are you so simple as to believe that we would clearly and openly teach the greatest and most important of all secrets, with the result that you would take our words literally?’ (Burckhardt, *Alchemy* 28)

### 3.3.2 Metaphysics: The *Setenario* as Key to the Hermetic *LJ*

As with the *LJ*, the true purpose and content of the *Setenario* has escaped the notice of most readers. Kenneth H. Vanderford could just as easily be describing the *LJ* when he notes in the introduction to his critical edition that “[e]l *Setenario* alfonsí ... desconcierta a quien por primera vez se acerca a sus páginas” because of the difficulty in seeing a plan behind “las diversas formas de religiosidad, el paganismo y la fe verdadera” in its obsessively seven-fold groupings (x). For example, Constable asserts that the *LJ* contains no “theological overtones, allegorical intent or explicit life lessons to be learned from chess.”<sup>108</sup> Her omission of the *LJ*’s metaphysical dimensions appears to be forced by her misapprehension of the *LJ*’s structure, which she sees as only containing the three sections based on its later title and with the remaining twelve games (including those of the greatest symbolism: great chess, the larger dice, all four-player games and alquerque)

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<sup>106</sup> Burckhardt’s note 5 explains that “Artephius is perhaps the latinized name of an otherwise unknown Arab author [who] must have lived before 1250.”

<sup>107</sup> As Artephius explains, the word “cabbalistic” is not used here in the sense of the esoteric Jewish mystical tradition of the same name. The Hebrew word “kabbala,” meaning tradition or, literally, that which is received was coined by the eleventh-century Spanish philosopher Ibn Gabirol and Cabalistic beliefs, particularly relating to numerology, were common in medieval Spain. Alfonso ordered translations of several Jewish works including the Talmud and the Cabala, though his translations are now lost, so his writings may have been influenced by the by this magical side of Jewish philosophy.

<sup>108</sup> Olivia Remie Constable, “Chess and Courtly Culture in Medieval Castile: The *Libro de Ajedrez* of Alfonso X, el Sabio,” *Speculum* 82.2 (Apr. 2007): 301-47; citing from 317.

lumped under the too generalized descriptor “astrological.” However, a comparison of these two works reveals that the *LJ* expresses much of the same heterodox religiosity as the *Setenario* but coded Hermetically within a ludic metaphor, making the *LJ* therefore that much more indirect and difficult to understand than even that earlier work. Therefore, the undeniable connections between the two works mean that the *Setenario*’s text can be used as a codebreaker to explicate many of the *LJ*’s metaphysical symbols.

Vanderford’s critical edition of the *Setenario* explains that one of the work’s chief aims was to show that while “el paganismo idólatra era falso, ... vislumbraba de manera inconsciente algo de la creencia verdadera” (x). For example, the *Setenario* explains how those who worshipped the four elements, the seven planets and the zodiac signs—the same symbolic features which drive both the *LJ*’s formal structure and ludic content—prefigured Alfonso’s own Christian beliefs because they were, in fact, worshipping various aspects of the Catholic faith. Similarly, the *Setenario* reveals Alfonso’s belief that the entire universe is a symbolic reflection or mirror as well as a metaphor and augury of God’s divine purpose in an almost modern or Borgesian sense wherein “[e]l mundo está, pues, concebido como un inmenso libro escrito en clave por su Hacedor” (Vanderford xiv-xvi).

Jens T. Wollesen divines this to be the same spiritual message found in the *LJ*’s content, which while designed for Alfonso’s royal pleasure, “is also, if not primarily, a mirror of his unorthodox view regarding the realities of the world and the cosmic forces which govern it” based upon “the astrological sciences as they were then available in translation of Arabic texts containing Hellenistic, that is Aristotelian and Ptolemaic

ideas.”<sup>109</sup> Similarly, Vanderford says that in the *Setenario* Alfonso reveals what is to him “la significación trascendental del universo, con lo que se ofrece un panorama de la cosmovisión que había de presidir la obra entera del monarca.”<sup>110</sup> Alfonso’s *LJ*, however, rather than being written clearly and unequivocally like the *Setenario*, is composed in what we may call a type of medieval code and with Hermetic opacity because its author is, like Hermes or his Roman equivalent Mercury, writing in the elite symbolic language of the learned.<sup>111</sup> While the *LJ*’s prologue “remains silent as to the philosophical dimensions” of the work, “Alfonso ... intentionally chose this intelligent (and playful) disguise for his... astrological and cosmic ideas of life” which are to be found and deciphered by the learned reader “concealed behind their [the games’] choice and arrangement” (Wollesen 307 and 278).

This very personal and revealing nature of the *Setenario*, as noted by Vanderford, forms yet another connection between that work and the *LJ*. The *LJ* at times is so intimate that portions of it read nearly as if they were Alfonso’s own autobiography. For example, Alfonso seems to match the prologue’s every categorical description of those

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<sup>109</sup> Jens T. Wollesen, “Sub Specie Ludi... Text and Images in Alfonso X el Sabio’s *Libros de acedrex, dados e tablas*” (*Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 3 (1990): 277-308) 277-78. The prologue in Alfonso’s *Libro de las cruces* expresses its own justification and that of the importance of the study of astrology as the effect that the motions of the stars have on man by the will of God which he read in Aristotle: “Et por que el leyerá. & cadaun sabio lo afirma. el dicho de aristotil. que dize que los cuerpos de yuso que son los terrenales. se mantenen. & se gouiernan. por los mouementos de los corpos de suso que son los celestiales por uoluntad de dyos. Entendio & connocio que la sciencia. & el saber en connocer las significaciones destos corpos celestiales sobredichos. sobre los corpos terrenales era muy necessaria a los homnes” (Lloyd August Kasten, John J. Nitti and Wilhelmina Jonxis-Henkemans, eds., “*Libro de las cruces*: Madrid: Nacional 9294 [text.crz],” by Alfonso X, *The Electronic Texts and Concordances of the Prose Works of Alfonso X, El Sabio*, CD-ROM [Madison, WI: HSMS, 1997] fol. 2r).

<sup>110</sup> P. viii of Raphael Lapesa’s *Estudio preliminar*, not to be confused with Vanderford’s introduction which also uses lower case Roman numerals. For more on Cabalistic studies see Pennick 74-75.

<sup>111</sup> The *LJ*’s *escaques* describes Mercury’s anthropomorphic playing piece as “escruiendo en un Libro” (fol. 96r).

who benefit from the play of its games: someone who at the end of his life, old and ill,<sup>112</sup> unable to partake in forms of play on horseback or on foot,<sup>113</sup> besieged in the city of Seville<sup>114</sup> and suffering from the troubles and cares<sup>115</sup> of a monarch whose son and noble friends have turned against him, sought out these games which could be played while sitting,<sup>116</sup> day or night,<sup>117</sup> to find some solace and comfort in occupying his remarkable mind.<sup>118</sup> Both the *LJ* and the *Setenario* contain private family details and history, such as the *Setenario*'s use of gematria—the mystical numerology or explanation of words rooted in Cabalistic studies—to interpret Alfonso's seven-letter name which begins and ends with the alpha and the omega of Christ's parable. The *Setenario* paints an intimate and realistic portrait of the Wise King's father, Fernando III, multiplying seven-fold his many praiseworthy qualities, including his skill as both a chess and tables player in much the same way as the *LJ* offers realistic portraits of other members of Alfonso's immediate family.<sup>119</sup> The *LJ* as well as the *Setenario* must then be seen as a very personal

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<sup>112</sup> “& otrossi los omnes que son uieios & flacos” (fol. 1r).

<sup>113</sup> “Onde por esta razon fallaron & fizieron muchas maneras de iuegos & de trebeios con que se alegrassen. Los unos en caualgando assi como boffordar & alañar & tomar escud & lança & tirar con ballesta o con arco. o otros iuegos de qual manera quiere que sean; que se pueden fazer de cauallo. E como quiere que ello se torne en usu & en pro de fecho de armas por que non es esso mismo; llaman le iuego. E los otros que se ffazen de pie. son assi como esgremir. luchar. correr. saltar. echar piedra o dardo. ferir la pelota. & otros iuegos de muchas naturas en que usan los omnes los miembros por que sean por ello mas rezios & recibam alegria” (fol. 1r).

<sup>114</sup> “o los que son en poder ageno assi como en prision o en catiuero o que uan sobre mar” (fol. 1r).

<sup>115</sup> “por que pudiessen soffrir las cueytas & los trabajos quandoles uiniessen” (fol. 1r).

<sup>116</sup> “Los otros iuegos que se fazen seyendo; son assi como iogar açedrex. & tablas & dados. & otros trebeios de muchas maneras” (fol. 1r).

<sup>117</sup> “pero por que estos iuegos que se fazen seyendo son cutianos. & se fazen tan bien de noche como de dia” (fol. 1r).

<sup>118</sup> “buscar algunas maneras de iuegos con que hayan plazer & se conorten & no esten baldios” (fol. 1v) and “POr que toda manera de alegria quiso dios que ouiessen los omnes en si naturalmiente” (fol. 1r).

<sup>119</sup> *Setenario*, Law VII: “Era muy sabidor de caçar toda caça; otrosí de jugar tablas e escaques e otros juegos buenos de muchas maneras” (Vanderford 12). This is yet another conceptual link between the

manifestation of Alfonso's complex and superstitious character and beliefs. Rather than a book on chess with an appendix of merely unusual games, it is an atlas of his world view with a coherent and unifying underlying philosophy in harmony with his entire literary corpus.

### 3.3.3 Metaphysics: The Legitimate (Royal) Practice of Divination

Ultimately, Alfonso's interest in the more complex games of the *LJ*, such as the astrologically-based *escaques*, reveals his interest in the controversial and even possibly heretical practice of divination. Such a usage of games is logical in the light of modern research by Botermans, Culin and Pennick which traces the origins of nearly all games back to geomantic divinatory rites adapted from religious practices.<sup>120</sup> Without calling the sincerity of the Wise King's Christian faith into question, his *Setenario* shows that his mind was open enough to examine wisdom from other times, cultures and faiths to discover the ways in which they supported his religious beliefs.

As king, Alfonso was responsible for maintaining the temporal and spiritual welfare of his people to the best of his abilities and knowledge, and he used both his

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noble pastimes of games and hunting in general, and as previously discussed in the second chapter of this dissertation between the *LJ* and Frederick II's *De arte venandi cum avibus* specifically.

<sup>120</sup> Jack Botermans, Tony Burrett, Pieter van Delft, and Carla van Splunteren, *The World of Games: Their Origins and History, How to Play Them, and How to Make Them* (New York: Oxford, 1987, 1989); Stewart Culin, *Korean Games: With Notes on the Corresponding Games of China and Japan* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania, 1895. New York: Brooklyn Museum in assn. with Dover, 1991); Stewart Culin, *Chess and Playing Cards. Catalogue of Games and Implements for Divination Exhibited by the United States National Museum in Connection with the Dept. of Archæology and Paleontology at the U of Pennsylvania at the Cotton States and International Exposition, Atlanta, GA, 1895* (Washington: GPO, 1898); Stewart Culin, *Games of the North American Indians* (New York: Dover, 1975. rpt. of Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Smithsonian Institute, 1902-03. W.H. Holmes, Chief, ed. GPO: 1907); and Nigel Pennick, already cited, who asserts that "[b]oard games are inextricably linked with divination, astrology and sacred geometry, and the designs of traditional gameboards preserve their sacred origins. In some cases, the boards on which the games are played are identical with the canonical plans of temples, sacred enclosures and holy cities. Chess, the best known and most widespread board game in modern times, is of divinatory origin" (144).

scientific interests and divination to do so.<sup>121</sup> In the *Siete Partidas*, he explains his goal to know God by stating that man's use of his *seso* is the beginning, middle and end of all things.<sup>122</sup> Shortly thereafter in the next law, he provides us with the example of King David who said that the knowledge of God was the beginning of all knowledge.<sup>123</sup> Since the king is the figurative head of the body politic, he is, at the same time, the very *seso* that rules this body.<sup>124</sup> Thus Alfonso saw his responsibility as monarch to acquire as much knowledge about his realm, including its future, by any means possible.

Despite the unequivocal position of the Church against divination as heresy, Alfonso's view was both more generally tolerant and personally revealing. The opening of the *General estoria* explains that the attraction towards the use of divination is a natural phenomenon because all men desire to know the future.<sup>125</sup> In Part VII, Title XXIII, Law I of his *Siete Partidas*, Alfonso provides himself with a legal loophole to practice what he defined as taking God's power to know the future by means of the

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<sup>121</sup> See *Siete Partidas* Part II, Title II, Law XVI. Most governments secular and religious have astrologers and psychics that they consult. The Vatican sponsors an observatory near Tucson, Arizona. Emblematic governmental and religious buildings also reveal astrological connections. For instance, the Capitol Building in Washington DC has 365 steps, one for each day of the year, and Christopher Wren's St. Paul's cathedral in London measures 365 from basement foundation to top of dome for the same reason.

<sup>122</sup> Part II, Title II, Law II: How the king must know God and for what reasons.

<sup>123</sup> Part II, Title II, Law III.

<sup>124</sup> "E naturalmente que dixieron los sabios que el Rey es cabeça del reyno. Ca assi como dela cabeça nasçen los sentidos porque se mandan todos los miembros del cuerpo bien assi como el mandamiento que nasçe del Rey que es sennor & cabeça de todos los del reyno quese deuen mandar & guiar & auer vn acuerdo conel para obedesçer le: & anparar: & guardar: & endereçar el reyno: Onde el es alma & cabeça delos miembros" (fol. 77r), from the *Siete Partidas* Part II, Title I, Law V on what is a king.

<sup>125</sup> Cf. the opening of the *General estoria*: "Natural cosa es de cobdiciar los omnes saber los fechos que acahescen en todos los tiempos. tan bien enel tiempo que es passado. como en aquel en que estan como enel otro que ha de uenir" (Lloyd August Kasten, John J. Nitti and Wilhelmina Jonxis-Henkemans, eds., "*General estoria I*: Madrid: Nacional 816 [text.ge1]," by Alfonso X, *The Electronic Texts and Concordances of the Prose Works of Alfonso X, El Sabio*, CD-ROM [Madison, WI: HSMS, 1997] fol. 1r). Regarding divination's prohibition, consider the Deut. 18.11, "[10] There shall not be found among you any one that maketh his son or his daughter to pass through the fire, or that useth divination, or an observer of times, or an enchanter, or a witch, [11] Or a charmer, or a consulter with familiar spirits, or a wizard, or a necromancer. [12] For all that do these things are an abomination unto the LORD ..." ("Deuteronomy," *KJV Bible*, <http://www.hti.umich.edu/k/kjv/browse.html>, accessed 17 Oct. 2005).

seventh liberal art, astrology.<sup>126</sup> While forbidding its practice to the uninitiated or casual observers of the planets, stars and books by wise men as well as punishing trickery with it by death, this law legalizes divination for a few learned individuals such as himself.

Alfonso's famous astronomical tables show his abiding scientific interest in the heavens and document his interest in understanding them. Other works such as the *Lapidario* show his superstitious interest in astrology's special effects and powers on stones. His *LJ* shows an interest in the study of symbolic patterns of board games of ever increasing astrological complexity. With sufficient understanding of how game pieces or men move in the microcosms of their game board worlds built to mirror our own, Alfonso, I believe, hoped to improve his understanding of how the stars ruled his own life.

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<sup>126</sup> "Titulo .xxiii. Delos agoreros & delos sorteros & delos otros adeuinos & delos fechizeros & delos truhanes. ADeuinar las cosas que han de venir cobdiçian los onbres naturalmente. ... Ley primera. que cosa es adeuinança. & quantas maneras son della. Adeuinança tanto quiere dezir commo querer tomar el poder de dios para saber las cosas que [fol. 408v] estan por venir. E son .ij. maneras de adeuinança. La primera es la que se faze por arte de astronomia que es vna delas siete artes liberales. esta segund el fuero delas leyes non es defendida de vsar alos que son maestros & la entienden verdadera mente. porque los iuyzios & los asmamientos que se dan por esta arte son catados por el curso natural delas planetas & delas otras estrellas. & fueron tomadas delos libros de tholomeo & delos otros sabidores que se trabaieron de esta çiençia. Mas los otros que no son ende sabidores non deuen obrar por ella commo quier que se deuen trabaier de aprender & de estudiar enlos libros delos sabios. ... Acusar puede cada vno del pueblo delante el iudgador alos agoreros & alos sorteros & a los otros baratadores. de que fablamos enlas leyes deste titulo. & si les fuere prouado por testigos o por conosçençia dellos mesmos que fazen & obran contra nuestro defendimiento alguno delos yerros sobre dichos deuen morir porende" (John O'Neill, ed., "*Siete Partidas de Alfonso X* [Seville, Oct. 1491] New York: Hispanic Society. Transcribed by Ivy A. Corfis [text.spo]," *Electronic Texts and Concordances: Madison Corpus of Early Spanish Manuscripts and Printings*, CD-ROM [Madison, WI: HSMS, 1999] fols. 408r and 408v). Alfonso is described as just such a learned man in the prologue of his *Libro de las cruces*: "Onde nostro sennor el muy noble Rey don Alfonso Rey despanna. ... en qui dyos puso seso. & entendimiento. & saber sobre todos los principes de su tyempo" (Lloyd August Kasten, John J. Nitti and Wilhelmina Jonxis-Henkemans, eds., "*Libro de las cruces*: Madrid: Nacional 9294 [text.crz]," by Alfonso X, *The Electronic Texts and Concordances of the Prose Works of Alfonso X, El Sabio*, CD-ROM [Madison, WI: HSMS, 1997] fol. 2r).

### 3.3.4 Metaphysics: The *LJ* as a Christian Apology of Games

Despite the heterodoxy of his views on astrology and divination, Alfonso may also likely have subtly been acting as a Christian apologist of games by ordering the composition of a book describing them. That games were controversial throughout the Middle Ages, both in Muslim and Christian communities, is a given.<sup>127</sup> For a Christian monarch to have written a book on games, even solely about their methods of play, is a royal act which confers upon them certain legitimacy.<sup>128</sup> However, Alfonso goes beyond merely legitimizing these games by approving not only their enjoyment but also their symbolic utilization by the most learned men. This distinction between the act of playing and the type of players who may be involved, in fact, goes two steps beyond most other medieval moralities since it not only demonstrates how the games can be interpreted symbolically—along allegorical lines for strictly orthodox Christian purposes—but also how the games can be employed for metaphysical and mystical objectives such as interpreting the world’s natural processes symbolically—at the tropological level—and for constructing a model universe in order to better understand God—the anagogical level.

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<sup>127</sup> See Chapter I’s Sec. 1.2.1.3 “On Licitness” for partial list of monarchs and religious leaders who forbid chess and other games.

<sup>128</sup> See also Alfonso’s *Siete Partidas*, Part II, Title III, Law XXI: “**Ley veynte & vna. de que alegria deue el rey vsar alas vegadas para tomar conorte enlos pesares & en las cuytas.** Alegrias ay otras sin las que diximos enlas leyes ante desta que fueron falladas para tomar onbre conorte enlos cuydados & enlos pesares quando los ouiesen. E estos son oyr can tares & sones & estormentes & iugar axedrez o tablas o otros iuegos semeiantes destes. E eso mismo dezimos delas estorias & delos romançes & los otros libros que fablan de aquellas cosas de que no onbres resçiben alegria & plazer. & maguer que cadavna destas fuesse fallada para bien con todo esto non deue onbre dellas vsar sino enel tienpo que conuiene & de manera que aya pro & no danno & mas conuiene esto alos reyes que a los otros onbres. ca ellos deuen fazer las cosas muy ordenadamente & con razon. E sobre esto dixo el rey salamon que tienpos sennalados son sobre cada cosa que conuiene a aquella & no a otra: asi commo cantar alas bodas & llantear alos duelos” (John O’Neill, ed., “*Siete Partidas de Alfonso X* [Seville, Oct. 1491] New York: Hispanic Society. Transcribed by Ivy A. Corfis [text.spo],” *Electronic Texts and Concordances: Madison Corpus of Early Spanish Manuscripts and Printings*, CD-ROM [Madison, WI: HSMS, 1999] fol. 87v).

Even more notable, then, is the absence of an openly Christian agenda in the *LJ*, so explicit in other Alfonsine works from the *Setenario* to the *CSM*. The sole references made to God are found in the *LJ*'s prologue on fol. 1r explaining why games exist and by whose grace Alfonso is king.<sup>129</sup> The only other deities mentioned are the Roman gods whose personifications represent the planets used as playing pieces in the penultimate game of *escaques*. This absence cannot be explained away entirely by saying that the *LJ* is a translation of non-Christian sources because, while the bulk of material does appear to have come from principally Muslim texts, this information has been revised, reorganized, manipulated and augmented by the Wise King or his compilers to effectively coincide with his own very unique vision and purpose.<sup>130</sup>

This Christian imprimatur is seen first and most strongly in the prologue's exemplum. No other source I have found contains the same explanation of the games's origin and it is precisely this myth which hints at a Christian apology of games. Echoing the parable, in his father's *Libro de los doze sabios o Tractado de la nobleza y lealtad* (c. 1237), of the wise king who always consulted the sages he kept at court, this myth with its trio of learned courtiers also bears a striking resemblance to the Christian narrative of the adoration of the Magi.<sup>131</sup> Indeed, this tale forms the plot of the earliest known Spanish

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<sup>129</sup> "POr que toda manera de alegria quiso dios que ouiessen los omnes en si naturalmiente por que pudiessen soffrir las cueytas & los trabajos quandoles uiniessen; por end los omnes buscaron muchas maneras por que esta alegria pudiessen auer complidamiente" and "E Por ende nos don Alfonso por la gracia de dios Rey de Castiella. de Toledo de Leon de Gallizia de Seuilla & de Cordoua de Murcia de Jahen & del Algarue; mandamos fazer este libro en que fablamos en la manera daquellos iuegos que se fazen mas apuestos. assi como acedrex & dados & tablas" (both from fol. 1r, underscoring mine).

<sup>130</sup> Cf. Antonio G. Solalinde, "Intervención de Alfonso X en la redacción de sus obras," *Revista de Filosofía Española* II (1915): 283-88.

<sup>131</sup> Fernando III, el Santo, *El libro de los doze sabios o Tractado de la nobleza y lealtad* [Ca. 1237] (Anejos del Boletín de la RAE, XXIX. Ed. John K. Walsh: Real Academia Española de la Lengua, 1975). The Biblical passage Matt. 2 does not specify the number of wisemen or their names, but common

drama, the *Auto de los reyes magos* (c. 1199) and is even mentioned indirectly by Alfonso in his *Siete Partidas*, Part I, Title VI, Law XXXIV, when he remarks that such a presentation within the confines of the church is preferable to clerics playing dice and tables therein.<sup>132</sup>

The three wise men who came to adore Jesus at his birth with gifts of gold, frankincense and myrrh are popularly held to have travelled from the East by following a star. Here in the prologue to the *LJ* we find the same number of wise men from the same area of the world, though Alfonso's preface more specifically identifies them as being from India, which happens to be the same geographical area from which the games themselves are said to have arisen. The wise men of the *LJ*'s prologue are astrologers who also arrive bearing gifts for a king, in this case both the Indian ruler and later for Alfonso. The traditional names of these three oriental kings vary by region but Alfonso would have known from the *Auto* as Baltasar, Caspar and Melchior.<sup>133</sup> Another, similar parallel from further east exists in traditional Chinese philosophy with its three wise men, immortals or stellar gods known as Fu (fortune or wealth), Shou (longevity or good

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tradition always holds them as three. That they were known to Alfonso as three is documented next. In the *LBA*'s twenty-seventh stanza Gaspar, Melchior and Baltasar appear in the third joy of Mary.

<sup>132</sup> This law governs how clerics should tell the hours and do those things which are appropriate and good and guard themselves against those which are otherwise. After explaining what behaviors like dice and tables are prohibited to clerics in order to keep the church from being turned into a "cueua de ladrones," several religious plays are specifically permitted: "pero representacion ay que pueden los clerigos fazer assi como dela nascencia de nuestro sennor iesu xpisto & muestra como el angel vino a los pastores & como les dixo como era iesu xpisto nascido & otrosi de su aparicion como los tres reyes magos lo vinieron adorar" (fol. 29r). See also Keller *Alfonso*, 125.

<sup>133</sup> "A mi dizen Caspar, est otro Melchior, ad achest Baltasar" (*Crestomatía del español medieval*, 1.72).

health) and Lu (happiness) who bear items which are traditional symbols of the qualities they embody.<sup>134</sup>

Finally, two of the *LJ*'s treatises seem to share symbolism with the Bible. The *LJ*'s four-seasons games of the fifth treatise and its concentric astrologically-based games of the seventh treatise recall Ezekiel's vision of the universe as wheel's within wheels surrounded by four angels (Ezek. 1: 5-10). The *LJ*'s heavy use of the symbolic numbers seven and twelve overall, but especially in the seventh treatise, recalls Alfonso's explanation in the *Setenario* Law LXVII that he is following the model of St. John's use of sevens and twelves in the biblical Book of Revelation because of the parallels between St. John's religious and astrological visions and the wisdom of Ptolemy. This imagery will be presented below under the third and fourth exegetical dimensions of the *LJ*.

In addition to the similarities between the *LJ* and the *Setenario* already presented, both underpin their diverse subject matter with a Christian foundation. The latter's unique mixture of science and religion reflect Alfonso's scientific studies, including his astronomical works such as his *Tablas alfonsíes*, as well as his profound Christian faith, as seen in his Marian devotion in the *CSM*. As such, the *LJ* represents a Christian apology or defense of these often controversial games on the basis of his Euhemeristic interpretation of their symbolism in the *Setenario*. Since the natural processes of the world and the cosmos reflect God's creation, the games that represented them were to Alfonso a key to achieving a more perfect understanding of the divine rather than an immoral diversion. Closely observed, the *LJ* reveals a careful layering on of multiple

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<sup>134</sup> "Fu-Shou-Lu," *Encyclopædia Britannica*. 2005. Encyclopædia Britannica Online. 27 Sept. 2005, <<http://search.eb.com/eb/article-9035546>>.

dimensions of Alfonso's scientific and religious philosophy which clearly explains his deep interest in these games and also provides insight into their ritualistic or divinatory origins. It is because these games are serious representations of Alfonso's quest for knowledge in the fields of science and religion that they share perfect similarities with contemporary and even later scientific and religious explanations of creation.

### **3.3.5 Metaphysics: Four Exegetical Dimensions of the *LJ*'s Ludic Symbolism**

Almost all previous scholarship of the *LJ* has, after a cursory examination of the work at the literal level, determined it to be a book about certain activities engaged in solely for the purpose of diversion or amusement. Wollesen's study steps beyond these initial limits to the second level of interpretation by recognizing that Alfonso was presenting his world view allegorically, though not explicitly so, following the Hermetic principle under the guise of games. Domínguez Rodríguez's analysis of other Alfonsine literary and illuminated works, but not the *LJ*, applies the four-level method of interpretation which she says is based on Dominican hermeneutical interpretation of certain biblical passages in order to discover the hidden meaning behind holy writings.<sup>135</sup> This dissertation goes one step beyond the works of both Wollesen and Domínguez Rodríguez by examining the *LJ*'s multiple levels of interpretation within the cultural context of the three dominant religions in thirteenth-century Castile.

While it might be considered minimal or even tacit in the text, and only slightly more obvious in the artwork of the illuminations, the Christian content of the *LJ* is indisputable in light of what we know of the Christian monarch who ordered its

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<sup>135</sup> "...el sentido literal o histórico y además un sentido alegórico (paralelismos con el Antiguo Testamento), un sentido tropológico (desvelando una verdad moral oculta bajo la letra) y un sentido anagógico (relación con la vida futura)" (Domínguez Rodríguez, "*Libro de los juegos*" 63).

compilation. However, the vast majority of the game content and a large percentage of the artwork reveal Muslim sources, models, artists and perhaps scribes. Although a smaller percentage of the miniatures possibly show Jews and only one of the games may possibly be mentioned in the Talmud, some scholars such as Keats (1993) have argued, though with difficulty, about the role of Jewish scribes or miniatures in the *LJ*'s creation.<sup>136</sup> Apart from the nominal evidence argued by Keats (1994) regarding Jewish scribal signatures in the *LJ*, esoteric Cabalistic philosophy may have played a significant role in Alfonso's appreciation of the levels of symbolism in games.

The four-fold Dominican hermeneutical interpretation employed by Domínguez Rodríguez ("*Libro de los juegos*" 63) did not originate with the Order of Black Friars founded in the thirteenth century but is nearly identical to and finds its origin in Cabala, the same esoteric branch of Jewish philosophy which provided Alfonso with his knowledge of gematria as portrayed in the *Setenario*. It was thirteenth-century Iberian Cabalistic scholars who devised four progressive and multi-dimensional levels of interpretation for sacred texts like the Talmud. Their exegetical method was called Pardes (Heb. literally, paradise or garden) or PRDS, an acronym composed of the four initial consonants of the names for each level: Peshat, Remez, Derash and Sod representing,

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<sup>136</sup> Keats cites one translation of iskundrée, the game mentioned in the Talmud, as chess (1: 81-93). However, following Keats's own etymological evidence that the name derives from either the Persian or Arabic version of Alexander the Great's name or a word meaning round tokens or false coins, I believe iskundrée most likely to be *alquerque* or mill which is also known by a name of similar meaning, merels (1: 105-6). Murray gives the etymology of merels as "L. *marelli* ('coins', 'counters', or 'tokens': a diminutive form of L. *marrus*)" (1913: 613). Precedents of other games whose names derived from pieces include Alfonso's usage of the game name *tablas* and even chess, from its shah or king piece. While there are also game pieces which derive their name from the name of the game by means of backward formation, such as checkers and Alfonso's terming the tables pieces as *tablas*, I believe that the name iskundrée for *alquerque* may perhaps originate from coins with the image of Alexander the Great, also known as Iksandr or Iskandar.

respectively, the literal, allegorical or homiletical, tropological and anagogical stages of interpretation by which the Cabalistic scholar ascended from one plane of spiritual understanding to the next.<sup>137</sup> This schema of multi-layered interpretation is entirely applicable to the *LJ* which, though not an expressly religious work, is predicated upon the underlying theme of games that entails a single, coherent philosophy of invisible spiritual meanings behind their visible, temporal and ludic nature.

Applying the four levels of interpretation to the *LJ* and its games results in the following generalities. On the first and literal level, these are, in fact, games which, as the prologue states, are played for pleasure. The second, allegorical level shows that these games and their various elements are allegorical representations of human life and that the end of such a game therefore symbolizes death; understanding the games on this second level teaches the player about his own life. The third level's tropological meaning is best seen in the four-seasons games whose scientific nature represents God's creation from the temporal perspective of man, who observes time as a passage of seasons through the year; playing these games imparts an understanding of medieval earth science and biology. Here, the Cabalistic interest in numerology, especially the number four, becomes very important. Lastly, the fourth, anagogical level of symbolism is seen mostly clearly in the *LJ*'s final astrological games which present that same creation from a broader, divine perspective which portrays time on the larger scale of the movement of planets through the heavens; the play of these games is thus elevated to a spiritual exercise in which a greater understanding of God can be achieved via knowledge of His creation as

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<sup>137</sup> "Biblical literature," *Encyclopædia Britannica*. 2005. Encyclopædia Britannica Online. 17 Oct. 2005 <<http://search.eb.com/eb/article-73509>>.

conceived of by medieval astrology. In this final level, the numerological importance of the numbers seven and twelve are explicated.

Although the *LJ* has been most extensively studied at the first, literal level as mere games, Wollesen's article reveals that the *LJ* also functions at the deeper second level of interpretation. On the human, homiletical or allegorical dimension, the games can be interpreted as symbols of earthly life and death, or life in the next world. Thus, at the microcosmic level of the game of chess, the chess king looks and moves like a king in real life and the same may be said of the fers, knight, giraffe, or any other *LJ* game piece. However, Wollesen's accurate observation only raises the *LJ*'s use of symbolism to the level of most medieval chess works, which stop at the point of being moralities that present the various types of chessmen, each with their unique powers of movement and capture as mirroring the various systematic social inequalities within the feudal model which are all levelled at the end by Death, the Great Equalizer.

Domínguez Rodríguez affirms that many Alfonsine works function at two higher levels of interpretation, although the *LJ* is not one of the works she analyzes in terms of Hermetism ("*Libro de los juegos*" 45). This type of interpretation is, however, equally applicable to the *LJ* because the third or tropological level of interpretation, deals both with life in this natural world and sometimes the supernatural. On this plane, the *LJ* becomes yet another example of medieval paremiology, a collection of metaphorical lessons in the form of games that will benefit the reader in other areas of life. Tropologically, the four-player games of the fifth treatise also build upon the temporal nature of this world, its seasons, the solar year, natural qualities and the related

physiology of humans in the context of the four basic elements and their congeners, the four humors. In other words, these games are scientific metaphors of life in this world as Alfonso understands it and their boards represent his conceptions of the planet Earth and the universe as a whole. It is at this point that the *LJ* soars above the other, more pedestrian medieval European works on chess in two important ways: First, by becoming a manual on how to live well, an oriental *niti shastra*, and, second, as a scientific work.<sup>138</sup>

Finally, the fourth anagogical level of interpretation deals with understanding the games from the divine perspective of the future and the world to come. Studying the workings of and patterns in the microcosm of the games allows us to gain insight into the macrocosm they also represent. Knowledge of the divine dimensions of the games would give the learned exegete, “los entendidos ... que saben la Arte de Astronomia” (fol. 95r), the power to predict the future. Thus the *Book of Games*, as a collection of the ways of playing out possible cosmic variations, is not simply a compilation of recreational diversions but rather an implicitly didactic text, as are almost all Spanish works of medieval literature. The games are at once *dulces et utiles* and teach on four levels: the strategic level of the game (the sweet and literal level), the allegorical level of life’s human-to-human interaction (the useful level), and the spiritual level of human-to-divine interaction (the tropological and anagogical interpretations). Viewed in this manner, the

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<sup>138</sup> Keller takes care to explain that works of *niti shastra* are specifically books about living well during this life, and not the next one like Christian morality works (59). This fits into the discussion of the four levels of interpretation of the *LJ* because as a *niti shastra* it is a manual for living well in this life matching the second level of interpretation, but in addition the third and fourth levels take its meaning further in an attempt to understand the whole of creation in terms beyond just each man’s life. To the average person of Alfonso’s times, such imposing matters as the movement of the planets and the instruments used in computing these movements smacked of the dark arts. The *Tables*, then, were responsible for much of the King’s fame as a man of mystery and as a sage” (137).

collection of games and problems created by Alfonso is yet another mirror of princes.<sup>139</sup>

Alfonso might have later come to regret how well his son Sancho learned in this *speculum principum* that while the king was not to be captured, he could indeed be checkmated, “quel pudiessen dar xaque por quel pudiessen fazer salir de aquel logar do souiesse; como desonrrado. E sil arenconassen de guisa que no ouiesse casa do yr; pusieron le nombre xamat que es tanto como muerto” (fol. 3v).

### 3.3.5.1 The First Metaphysical Dimension: Literal Ludic Symbolism

The first chapter of this dissertation is dedicated to the games of the *LJ* on a literal level. This literal dimension of ludic symbolism corresponds roughly to Murray’s first of three divisions of ancient game literature which are merely didactic works on how to play a given game (1913: 418 ff.). Other medieval examples of literal, didactic game works include the eleventh-century Einsiedeln poem<sup>140</sup> and the twelfth-century *Carmina Burana*<sup>141</sup> from southern Germany; the Winchester poem;<sup>142</sup> Alexander Neckham’s “De

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<sup>139</sup> The miniatures also indicate that *LJ* is a tool for teaching the young. Seven illuminations show older players tutoring younger ones in chess, tables and mill games (fols. 15r, 16r, 33r, 33v, 58r, 74r and 93v). This strong theme of family throughout the *LJ* indicates that not only that it is a mirror of some princes but a literal mirror of Alfonso’s princes (and princesses) in the tradition discussed in Chapter II’s section on “Teaching Royal Children to Play Games.” These works include Fernando’s *Libro de los doze sabios*, Alfonso’s translation of the *Panchatantra* and its connection to chess as explained by Murray, Fadrique’s translation of *Libro de los engaños*, Juan Manuel’s *Conde Lucanor*, and even Sancho’s *Castigos e documentos para bien vivir* (Keller *Alfonso*, 52).

<sup>140</sup> Also known as “Versus de Scachis,” this 98-line (same as total *LJ* folios) Latin poem exists in two manuscripts at Einsiedeln, Switzerland and describes the movement of the pieces after addressing the licitness of games in the reader’s particular area, as well as the absence of gambling and dice elements from chess (Murray 1913: 497-99 description; 512-14 transcription).

<sup>141</sup> *Carmina Burana* (Cod. Lat. 4660) fols. 91r through 92r. See also the catalogue of miniatures in this dissertation’s second chapter for a comparison of the *Carmina Burana*’s game miniatures with the *LJ*’s fols. 5r, 66r and 76r. This Latin work includes four lines of text including one line which is “an attempt to include the names of all the chessmen in a single hexameter line” and is accompanied by a miniature whose position is compared to that seen in the *LJ*’s *iuogo de donzellas* in the first chapter of this dissertation (Murray 1913: 503 description; 515 transcription).

<sup>142</sup> Also known as “De Shahiludio: Poema tempore Saxonum exaratum,” this 36-line Latin poem exists in one copy held at the Bodleian Library at Oxford and poetically describes the moves and captures of the pieces. For example, this parabolic description of the fil/bishop’s diagonal move and capture which

scaccis”<sup>143</sup> from twelfth-century England; the thirteenth-century French *Vetula*,<sup>144</sup> the European Elegy<sup>145</sup> and Deventer<sup>146</sup> poems and even the Hebrew poem of ben Ezra,<sup>147</sup> all three twelfth century works which explain the rules of the game in verse. Murray’s second category is also didactic and includes those works which provide practice for the learner of a game in collections of problems to be solved.

Not surprisingly, given Alfonso’s distaste for dice players, the *LJ* offers no explicit symbolism for dice games, except perhaps in the specification that opposite faces of every die must add up to the symbolically-important number seven as a precaution to

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somewhat resembles the *LJ*’s explanation for the pawn’s optional double-step first move: “Cadit caluus per transuersum. tertiam ad tabulam. / Sedet semper in occulto. Quasi fur ut rapiat. Sepe namque suo furto. Se parat uictoriam. (The Bald-head moves diagonally to the third square; he lies in ambush like a thief.)” (Murray 1913: 515, 499). The *LJ*’s pawn move is described as “a semeiança que quando el pueblo menudo roban algunas cosas; que las lieuan acuestas” (fol. 4r). See also Murray 1913: description 499-500; transcription 514-15.

<sup>143</sup> Chapter clxxxiv “De scaccis” of *De Naturis Rerum* Alexander Neckham (1157-1217), English scholar and foster brother of Richard I of England, credits Ulysses with the invention of chess and discusses the names and moves of the pieces as well as the vanity and violence of chess players, including an example of someone who slew his opponent with one of the chessmen (Murray 1913: 500-501 description; 517 transcription). Wollesen cites the edition edited by T. Wright, London 1963, 324-26.

<sup>144</sup> A poem in Latin, the *Vetula* contains what Murray calls “an interesting digression upon games” including tables, chess, merels and rhythmomachy (1913: 507; Parlett 333; also spelled “rhithmomachy” in Murray 1952: 85), making its content perhaps the most similar to that of the *LJ* of the early games manuscripts. Murray offers a transcription of the chess passage, which ascribes the invention of the game to Ulysses and the movement of the pieces as inspired by the movements of the planets (1913: 520-21). “Similar to chess was the philosopher’s game in which the board was in the form of a parallelogram with squares marked. Instead of chessmen, the counters used had numbers on them. Each player had twenty-four counters, of which one was a king” (Lilly C. Stone, *English Sports and Recreations* [New York: Cornell UP, 1960] 24).

<sup>145</sup> Also known as the “Elegia de ludo scachorum” exists in many copies throughout Europe dating from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries and describes the board as well as the pieces (Murray 1913: 503-4 description; transcription 515-17).

<sup>146</sup> Very similar to the Elegy in content and diffusion, the Deventer poem presents itself to be memorized as a chess teaching aide (Murray 1913: 505-6 description; 516-17 transcription).

<sup>147</sup> Abraham ben Meir ibn Ezra, also known as ben Ezra (1092/3-1167), was “best known as a biblical exegete whose commentaries contributed to the Golden Age of Spanish Judaism” but who “also had a good knowledge of astronomy and cast horoscopes, and he believed in numerological mysticism as well” (“ibn Ezra, Abraham ben Meir,” *Encyclopædia Britannica*. 2005. Encyclopædia Britannica Online. 29 Nov. 2005, <<http://search.eb.com/eb/article-9041914>>.) Ben Ezra wrote a poem on chess describing the game as a battle between four-limbed armies of the black Ethiopians and the red Edomites, on a board and with rules like those of the *LJ* except the lack of the double-step first move for the pawns. (Murray 1913: 509-11 description; 526-28 translation).

cheating and perhaps in some literal explanations of the names of the games.<sup>148</sup> Since the seven-folio “Libro de los dados” is the only treatise to lack a blank folio separating it from the following treatise, it appears that this second treatise may have exceeded a plan to allot the symbolic number of six folios for this treatise, one for each face on a cubic die.

It is not that this most ancient game equipment is without symbolism (see Sec. 1.2.1.2) but rather that nearly all of its symbolism is now negative because dice suffer from a bad reputation, possibly owing to their roots in divination. “The original use of dice in divination,” says Ken Whyld, “is embedded in the word *die* and its plural *dice*, which come from the Low Latin *dadus*, meaning ‘given’, that is ‘given by the gods.’”<sup>149</sup> There may also be an etymological connection rooted in Hindu cosmology in the “Sanskrit words for God (Deva) and play derived from the same root—‘div.’”<sup>150</sup> While modern mathematics explain how the rolls of dice behave according to the laws of probability, dice and their ancestors like *astragali* (knuckle bones), cowrie shells and throwing sticks may have originally been invented to show the will of the gods through their power to assign random numbers, because the central belief which underlies all divination is that nothing in the universe happens by chance. “The throw of the dice, then, was not seen as a random, chance event, but as controlled by and accessing the will of the

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<sup>148</sup> *Azar pujado*’s name is explained on fol. 70v.

<sup>149</sup> “The Birthplace of Chess—Some Reflections,” Kenneth Whyld at Caistor, Great Britain, 1996, *On the Origin of Chess*, Gerhard Josten, 18 Oct. 2005, <<http://www.mynetcologne.de/~nc~jostenge/whyld.htm>>.

<sup>150</sup> “The History of Dice: Part III, by Mark Driver” *Gammon Village*, 22 May 2001, accessed 03 July 2001, <[http://www.gammonvillage.com/news/article\\_display.cfm?resourceid=774](http://www.gammonvillage.com/news/article_display.cfm?resourceid=774)>. See also Huizinga regarding *divyati*, 31-32, and ordeal as play accessing the divine will, 79 and 81, because “luck and fate seem to lie very close to the realm of the sacred” (56).

gods” (Pennick 32). Caesar’s remark upon crossing the Rubicon, “*Alea jacta est*” (The die is cast), would seem to indicate this same sense of the inevitable and that the gods were on his side in this declaration of war upon Rome. Thus, according to Whyld, “[g]ames of skill were mere diversions, but games of chance engaged the gods in dialogue.”<sup>151</sup>

Most religions seem to have disapproved of dice for play on the basis of their possible use for or connection with divination or the supernatural. Rather than seeing the dice as expressing the will of the gods or God, they saw them as tools or playthings of the devil. Following that train of thought, only a sinner or blasphemer would play with dice. At the same time, Christianity contains a particularly negative paradigm of dice games in the account of the soldiers who gambled for Christ’s clothing at the foot of the cross. Consequently, both religious and secular leaders argued against dice on moral grounds, often in contrast to other games which were purported to be morally superior. Most early Arabic manuscripts present this argument exalting chess over nard because games which used dice were contrary to the idea of free will.<sup>152</sup> In other, later cases, games like dice and their decendent, cards, were totally rejected by some religions or sects as dangerous and evil.

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<sup>151</sup> “The Birthplace of Chess—Some Reflections,” Kenneth Whyld at Caistor, Great Britain, 1996, *On the Origin of Chess*, Gerhard Josten, 18 Oct. 2005, <<http://www.mynetcologne.de/~nc~jostenge/whyld.htm>>.

<sup>152</sup> Interestingly and unlike Alfonso X, Jorge Luis Borges sees chess as lacking free will and the chessplayer as a “manipulador manipulado,” when according to Clark M. Zlotchew, “[e]l manipulador descubre con pesadumbre que una fuerza superior a él lo manipula. En Borges el concepto del manipulador manipulado, de seres humanos como herramientas de una fuerza superior, se repite casi obsesivamente” (“El manipulador manipulado: el determinismo ajedrecista en Borges,” *Kánina: Revista de artes y letras de la U de Costa Rica* X.2 [1986] 30). Even “jugadores de naipes, como sus semejantes los ajedrecistas, a pesar de creerse manipuladores, no son sino efimeros intrumentos del juego inmortal” (31).

In contrast, the absence of any explicit symbolism given for tables, except to a slight degree in the names of some games,<sup>153</sup> is surprising since contemporary Arabic sources provide rich astrological symbolism for the game and both tables and astrology appear to have been such personal favorites of the Wise King. The *Chatrang-namak* cited by Calvo (1987) “treats of the introduction of chess into Persia, and of the invention of nard in the time of Khusraw I Anushak-rubano (Nushirwan [also Ardeshir], 531-578).”<sup>154</sup> It describes the Persian game of *nard* as invented by Wajurgmitr for the Shahanshah (literally, king of kings, i.e. Nushirwan) in reply to India’s invention of chess and their challenge to discover its meaning. Wajurgmitr solved the riddle of the Indian game chess which he likened to a battle between two kings with their attendant armies and included the Persian cosmovision into his reply which constituted, in essence, his invention of the game of *vinardshir* (also *narshir* or *nard*), named for his ruler.

Wajurgmitr’s game of *nard* contained thirty men symbolic of the days in a month, half dark and half light for day and night, all of whom progress in a circular fashion after the movement of the heavens. The dice pips are similarly explained in keeping with Persian thought: 1 for their single god; 2 for the duality of heaven and earth; 3 for good words, works and thoughts; 4 for the four humors and cardinal directions; 5 for the five heavenly lights of sun, moon, stars, fire and heaven’s light; and 6 for the days of creation. The arrangement of pieces on the board was said to be fashioned after this world’s link with the heavenly bodies, i.e. the seven stars moving through the twelve zodiacal circles.

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<sup>153</sup> The following game names are explained on the folios indicated: *Doze canes* or *doze hermanos* (fol. 73v), *fallas* (fol. 74v), *seys dos & as* (fol. 75r), *emperador* (fol. 75v) and tie in that game (fol. 76r), *medio emperador* (fol. 76r), *pareia de entrada* (fol. 76v), *cab & quinal* (fol. 77r), and, finally, *todas tablas* (fol. 77v).

<sup>154</sup> Murray 1913: 150.

The removal of men from the board was said to be symbolic of death and a new game symbolic of resurrection. One can imagine that these astrological and cosmological connections for tables, which also greatly resemble *escaques*, would have delighted Alfonso. Khuri summarizes backgammon's symbolism another way, and with some differing but equally scientific and astrological correspondences:

The connection between games and ideology is nowhere better expressed than in the Arab belief that backgammon is styled after the cosmos. The board, when open, is a perfect square signifying the globe; the red and black striped *khanats* (entries) signify day and night; the four houses signify the four directions or seasons; the twelve entries on one side signify the twelve months of the year; the six *khanats* in the house, the six working days of the week; the thirty stones or chips, the thirty days of the month; and the twenty-four entries, the twenty-four hours of the day. The game represents the universe in all its dynamism, movement and flux. The game is moved by dice (the will of God) ....<sup>155</sup>

### 3.3.5.2 The Second Metaphysical Dimension: Allegorical Ludic Symbolism

The simplest allegorical symbolism—that a game represents human life and death—is found in most medieval works that mention games, including the *LJ*. The major difference between the *LJ* and works such as the “*Rubáiyát*,” and what Murray terms the Chess Moralities, is that the latter do not address the play of chess as a game, but instead focus on two rather limited comparisons. The first comparison is between the differently ranked pieces of chess and the hierarchy of medieval feudal society, with its “different ranks and occupations of men” (Murray 1913: 533). The second comparison is of the game's battle to the death as a metaphor of the afterlife.<sup>156</sup> These games share a mutual

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<sup>155</sup> Fu'ad Ishaq Khuri, *Tents and Pyramids: Games and Ideology in Arab Culture from Backgammon to Autocratic Rule* (London: Saqi, 1990) 17.

<sup>156</sup> In addition to the emblematic battle between two armies described by Alfonso in the *LJ*, there is other symbolism attributed to chess. The two armies of chess, white and black respectively, represent the

morality, that the common conditions of birth and death for all regardless of rank signify that as in medieval feudalism “[b]efore the commencement of the game, and after its conclusion, the pieces are kept in promiscuous confusion in the bag, where the King lies sometimes above, and sometimes below, the Pawn”.<sup>157</sup> The *LJ*, of course, explicates each game fully and offers a very wide range of games, as presented in this dissertation’s first chapter. Moreover, the *LJ* accomplishes its didactic and moralistic tasks in its first four folios and uniquely continues its more highly developed application of this allegorical conceit on two further levels: the tropological and anagogical. Alfonso’s *LJ* therefore transcends Murray’s neat division of early chess literature into three types, being instead a combination of all three: a literal didactic work and a moralizing allegorical one as well as a collection of end-game chess problems (1913: 418).

Alfonso repeatedly takes great pains in passages throughout the *LJ* to explicate the allegorical symbolism of the game of chess, from chess as a battle metaphor (fol. 2v) to the descriptions and explanations of the pieces in terms of being worldly simulacra of real humans and real-life conditions. The distinction between giving check and checkmate to a king is described as a symbolic attack on a king versus a king’s symbolic death (fols. 2v-3v). The king is, as in real life, head of his army (fols. 3r and 81r), of the highest rank (per the rolls of a die, fols. 4v, 83r and 84r) presented iconographically (fol. 4v) and remains uniquely uncapturable (fols. 3v and 4r). His movement is compared to

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Manichean struggle between the classic dualities of light and dark, good and evil, air (the spiritual) and earth (the terrestrial).

<sup>157</sup> Murray 1913: 533. Cf. Jean-Pierre Cuvillier’s “Échecs et Féodalité,” *Bulletin de l’Amateur* 12, (1998) which describes Alfonso’s “Libro del acedrex” as a “codification d’un système symbolique” and the army of the chess board in it as the hierarchy “d’une armée féodale de ce temps.” This article also available online at <<http://www.mjae.com/feodalite.html>>, 1997-2005, accessed Jan. 11, 2006.

that of a king in real life who should not rush into battle but instead move carefully (fol. 3v). Similarly, the pieces of fers,<sup>158</sup> fil, knight, rook and pawn are described either iconographically or symbolically as standard bearers, battle elephants used in pairs so as to always have a spare, mounted knights who head up the ranks, wide ranks for soliders and common people (fols. 3r and 4v). Their respective movements, captures and other features such as the pawn's promotion, are explained micro- to macrocosmically (fols. 3v and 4r).

Detailed and frequent explanations of allegorical game symbologies predominate in the text of the *LJ*'s fourth and fifth treatises. Just as chess in the “Libro del acedrex” was presented as a battle, so too the game of great chess, but here, rather than a king presiding over an army of human soldiers, there is a king exercising his command over exotic and legendary beasts (fol. 81r). The appearance of the pieces as well as their macro- and microcosmic movement and capture rationales are realistically modeled on their living counterparts, including the fantastic aanca bird (fols. 81r-81v), the crocodile, the giraffe, the rhinoceros and the lion together with the rook and pawn used in regular chess (fol. 81v). From a larger playing surface in the fourth treatise, the *LJ* continues to expand the chess metaphor in the fifth treatise with an ever greater number of players.<sup>159</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> Cf. The *Siete Partidas*'s description of the king's standard bearer Part II, Title IX, Law XVI; Alfonso's second will (8 Nov. 1282) in which he proclaims himself to be the *alferez* or standard-bearer of Spain's patron St. James of Compostela and *Libro de buen amor*, stanza 218 as cited in this dissertation's first chapter.

<sup>159</sup> Life-size games are a natural continuation of the metaphor expressed with the *LJ*'s sequential presentation of traditional chess on an 8x8 board, followed by a board of increased size (12x12), followed by a board with an increased number of players (4 rather than 2). They constitute a logical middle step between the games played on board and the sacred architecture which they mirror. Life-size games of chess are also known as living chess games because the pieces used are living men, as in the one “dating back to medieval times [1454, that] is replayed at Marostica in northern Italy” (Anthony Saily, *World of Chess* [NY: Random, 1974], 22 caption) and (Keats 1985: 152 and 2: 99, fig. 25). Chess is not the only game to

Every aspect of the four-fold alchemical or geomantic symbolism of the colors used by each player in the four-player chess and tables variants is painstakingly delineated in the text: from the seasons of the year and their qualities to the four elements of the earth and their calendrical correspondences, all relating to the analogous four humors of the body (fols. 87r-87v and 89r).

In the sixth *LJ* treatise on *alquerque* or mill games, rather than explicate the game's own symbolism, the text explains the relationships between this new type of game and the others in the *LJ*, such as chess, since its pieces resemble chess pawns and it, like chess, allows the optional use of dice, as well as the game of tables whose board shares similar markings (fol. 91r). As also occurs in the second and third treatises, there is symbolism in some of the names of the mill games such as the hunt allegory embodied in the variant called *cercar la liebre* and others which indicate the number of pieces used by each player.<sup>160</sup>

Examples of other medieval works on chess, which function only in the second or symbolic allegorical dimension, include the “Rubáiyát” and the so-called chess moralities

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inspire life-size boards and pieces. Prince Akbar had a courtyard inscribed with a pachisi board on which he could play with slave girls as pieces, each dressed in one of four colors. These boards still exist at in the courtyard pavements of Agra, Allahabad and Fatephur Sikri (Pennick 206). The *Encyclopedia of Chess* compiled by Anne Sunnucks (London: Hale, 1970: 413) and *The Even More Complete Chess Addict* by Mike Fox and Richard James (London: Faber, 1993: 4) incorrectly identify these as living chess boards. Nine men's morris was played in Europe using boards of hedges with children or servants as pieces (CD-Rom *Strategy Challenges Collection 1: Around the World* [Edmark, 1996]). A game of living nine men's morris was played on June 24, 1897, during the celebrations of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee at Saffron Walden, Essex (Pennick 207). The inaugural miniature of the *LJ*'s “Libro de las tablas” (fol. 72r) shows an arcade containing an arrangement of men which seems purposefully rather than accidentally to show an life-size backgammon position. Alfonso and various members of his entourage are arranged singly or in pairs under the rounded arches in a composition quite similar to that seen on the scalloped-edge playing board illustrating the game *doze canes* (fol. 74r). By definition, an arcade is both a row of arches and a place where games are played. These arcades are, then, not only microcosmic galleries where portraits are shown, but they also represent macrocosmic arcades, in the modern sense, where courtly games are played with real men as playing pieces.

<sup>160</sup> *Alquerque de nueve*'s name is explained on fol. 92v and *alquerque de tres* on fol. 93r.

such as the Innocent Morality,<sup>161</sup> Cessolis's *Liber de moribus hominum et officiis nobilium*,<sup>162</sup> the *Gesta Romanorum*<sup>163</sup> and *Le Livre des Eschez Amoureux*<sup>164</sup> which

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<sup>161</sup> According to the *Encyclopedia of Chess* (262-63), the Innocent Morality (separate entry on 181) is "an allegory written in the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, probably by an English friar, John of Waleys. ... The *Innocent Morality* also appears in a manuscript collection of Pope Innocent III, but does not accord with his exalted view of the clergy; it, like the Winchester poem, characterizes the fil or bishop piece as thief-like. 'The alphins are the various prelates of the church, Pope, Archbishop, and their subordinate bishops, who rise to their Sees not so much by divine inspiration as by royal power, interest, entreaties, and ready money. These alphins move and take obliquely three points, for almost every prelates mind is perverted by love, hatred or bribery, not to reprehend the guilty, or bark against the vicious, but rather to absolve them of their sins: so that those who should have extirpated vice are in consequence of their own covetousness become promoters of vice and advocates of the Devil'. ... this is the earliest known printed reference to chess."

<sup>162</sup> Also known as the *Tractatus de ludo scacorum* (1273). Cessolis describes chess as an extended metaphor from the microcosmic chess board and town to macrocosmic empire and universe. His presentation of the game metaphor as a series of micro- and macrocosms along a continuum will become important later in this chapter. See also Murray 1913: 461 and 529, *Encyclopedia of Chess* 72-73 and 262-63. Its many translations include Caxton's English one called the *Game and playe of chesse*. Murray lists also the French *Le gieu des eschas moralisé*, the Italian *Libro de giuochi di scacchi intitulato de costumi degli huomini et degli officii de nobili*, the Catalan *Lo libre de les costumes dels homens e dels oficis dels nobles sobre Joch dels Escachs*, the Castilian *Dechado de la vida humana moralment[e] sacado del juego del Axedrez*, as well as the English one and German, Dutch, Swedish and Czech versions (Murray 1913: 545-55). Cessolis compares each of the chess men to various members of society and the illuminations show the people the chessmen represent. Very similar to some of Alfonso's own *LJ* portraits and his description of the proper presentation of kings and emperors, the blond and bearded king in the 1447 copy of Cessolis's work called the *Tractatus de ludo scacorum* (facsimile edition by Luis Vázquez de Parga [Madrid: Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, Dirección General de Archivos y Bibliotecas, 1970]) is shown seated on a throne before an arcade, wearing a gold crown and a rich cloak, with one leg in red hose and the other with a gold garter and holding a gold orb and a gold bouquet or scepter. The *Tractatus's* richly arrayed queen is also enthroned before an arcade and holding a gold floral scepter. The bishop is shown as two gray-bearded scholars who consult a book as do the wise men in the *LJ's* prologue and as does Alfonso's Mercury in astrological checkers. The bishops wear simple, belted, full-length robes and are seated in backless four-legged chairs. The knight appears in full armor astride his battle horse. The rook appears as a wealthy gentleman bearing flowers and riding a richly caparisoned horse. The pawn appears to be a merchant of some kind who holds a cylindrical container in his right hand and consults the book or ledger in his left. He is seated upon a bench not unlike the thrones of the king and queen.

<sup>163</sup> According to the *Encyclopedia of Chess* (262-63), the *Gesta romanorum* (separate entry on 151-52) is "a morality consisting of many tales compiled in England at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> or beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. About 165 MSS exist with between 100 and 200 tales, each ending with a moral. ... Although the stories name some real people they have no historical basis. One is about the Roman emperor Antonius who reflects, when playing chess, that the king is sometimes high, sometimes low. The moral is drawn that men should not be arrogant about their stations, for all chessmen are equal when put in the bag." [The Middle English text, which refers to the bag as a *poket* (pocket or pouch) is available online: "[XXI.] Antonius the Emperoure. (The Moral of the Game of Chess.) Harl. MS. 733," "Early English Versions of the *Gesta Romanorum*, edited by Sidney J. H. Hertzage," *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse*, 28 Dec. 2005, <<http://www.hti.umich.edu/cgi/c/cme/cmexd?type=HTML&rgn=DIV1&byte=6475845>>.] An equivalent Italian saying refers to the container as a box rather than a bag or pocket. Compare also these two lines from Lope de Vega's *La dama boba* "Leandro: Es Madrid una talega ... reyes, roque, arfiles, peones ..." and Mariano José de Larra's (1809-1837) pre-suicide sentiment that "Madrid es el cementerio.

Pero vasto cementerio donde cada casa es el nicho de una familia, cada calle el sepulcro de un acontecimiento, cada corazón la urna cineraria de una esperanza o de un deseo.” “El día de difuntos de 1836. Fígaro en el cementerio,” *Proyecto Mariano José de Larra en Internet*, 13 Sept. 2005, <[http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/bib\\_autor/larra/autor.shtml](http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/bib_autor/larra/autor.shtml)>.

<sup>164</sup> Cf. Françoise Guichard-Tesson and Bruno Roy’s critical edition of *Le Livre des Echez Amoureux Moralisés* (Montreal: CERES, 1993) and Reginald Hyatte and Maryse Ponchard-Hyatte’s critical edition of *L’Harmonie des sphères* (New York: Lang, 1985). According to Murray *Les Eschez Amoureux* is an imitation of the *Roman de la Rose* (1913: 555) and within this allegorical game of courtly love there is a commentary known as “L’Harmonie des sphères” attributed to Evrart de Conty which relates the game of chess to astronomy and music (both belonging to the quadrivium or last four Liberal Arts rooted in numbers). Two similar carved ivory mirror backs showing chess are item #803-1891 in London’s Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A) (image in Schafroth 52 and cover of Apr. 2003 *Speculum*) and item OA 117 in Paris’s Musée du Louvre (image in Ross 29, fig. c; Camille, 124, fig. 110; Constable 328, fig. 11, and 328n77). Both are remarkably similar and feature sexual allusions such as one or both players grasping the tent’s erect central pole and the suggestive folds of the woman’s clothing, the difference being that the V&A’s mirror shows four figures, two players and two attendants, while the Louvre’s couple is alone. Talking of the first mirror, Michael Camille demonstrates “[t]hat courtly couples were constrained by a different set of moves, which made love into a game, can be seen in an ivory mirror case representing a couple playing chess ([Camille’s] fig. 110). Even when a couple are shown in the second stage of love and not physically touching as here, there are hints that the third, fourth, and fifth stages are quickly approaching. The mirror is an elaborate allegory of desire in which the man is about to ‘check’ his mate as he crosses one leg elegantly over the other in expectation and grasps the central tent pole like a phallic lance. This thrusting imagery continues in the presentation of the lady, whose body has literally been gouged out of the creamy ivory in a series of swaying Gothic folds, emphasizing her penetrability. Even the parted curtains that frame the whole intimate scene, are, as we shall see again, a well-understood sign, not only of the curtains around a bed, but also the anatomical opening of the woman’s body, which cannot be represented as such. The two servants here have been given the job of carrying the traditional symbols of lovers—the feeding falcon and the chaplet—since so much focuses on the battle for possession of the bodies on the board” (*The Medieval Art of Love: Objects and Subjects of Desire* [New York: Abrams, 1998] 124). The second mirror is shown in Jerry Mason’s *The World of Chess* (New York: Random, 1974) with the caption “Delicate ivory mirror-back from the 14<sup>th</sup> century, depicting a game in progress” (69). The *Horizon Book of the Middle Ages* shows another nearly identical mirror, lacking the four corner animals, two human observers and adding a crosshatch to the gentleman’s bench, held in the Cleveland Museum (117). Other carved ivory mirror backs with amorous themes are found in Camille (40, 54, 57, 101, 111, 124 and 130). Camille continues with chess as lovers symbol, “Chess was the perfect allegorical device because it articulated the playful tension and the often violent conflict inherent in the strategies of seduction that formed the medieval art of love. Associated with warfare, mathematics, and male rationality, the chessboard became a simulacrum of medieval society. A superbly intact Burgundian chessboard from a century later still plays on these allusions between the game and the conquest of the lady in its delicately carved outer frame ([Camille’s] fig. 111 [shows an ivory and wood chessboard from the late fifteenth century now in Florence’s Museo Nazionale del Bargello]). Armored knights with immensely long lances tourney along the outer edge of one, perhaps the male player’s side of the board, while elegant ladies in their pointed Burgundian headdresses picnic and dance on the other. This object literally spatializes gender difference across its playing field, making every game of chess a literal war between the sexes” (124). In the sixteenth century, St. Teresa of Ávila (1515-1582) gave the chess metaphor a new spin in the sixteenth chapter of her *Camino de perfección* showing the continuing Christian allegorical potential for the game. St. Teresa is known for her contrafacti, popular love songs of her time that she reworked to describe a mystical union between the soul and God by using language originally meant to describe a sexual union between to lovers. St. Teresa uses chess to describe her mystical union with the divine as checkmating God in a unique twist on the use of chess as an allegory of the battle between men and women in the field of love in such fifteenth-century works as Lucena’s *Repetición de Amores y Arte de Axedres* and *Le Livre des Echez Amoureux Moralisés* and the chess board in the Bargello.

establish a parallel between life and a game of chess by showing the game as a metaphor for the different occupations of men in this life and their subsequent levelling by Death at its end.<sup>165</sup> This is the same metaphor alluded to by Golden Age works such as Cervante's *Don Quijote* and Calderón's *El gran teatro del mundo* as well as the twentieth-century chess poems of Jorge Luis Borges.<sup>166</sup>

Of the early works cited, two—the “Rubáiyát” of Omar Khayyam and Cessolis's *Liber de moribus hominum et officiis nobilium*—contain important symbolism that is key for an understanding of chess as a cosmographic representation.<sup>167</sup> Khayyam's use of game terminology is wholly symbolic, never considering games anything other than microcosmic reflections of life and the universe. The “Rubáiyát” of Omar Khayyam (d. 1122 CE), whose title derives from the Arabic root word for 4, consists of five hundred

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<sup>165</sup> See also previous note on the *Gesta romanorum*.

<sup>166</sup> Cervantes used chess as a social simulacrum and Calderón used a death as the great equalizer of all social levels. In Chapters XI and XII of the *Quijote's* second part, a travelling show puts on *Las Cortes de la Muerte* wherein the players assume roles of many different ranks “pero al fin, que es cuando se acaba la vida, a todos les quita la muerte las ropas que los diferenciaban, y quedan iguales en la sepultura” which Sancho recognizes as an old allegory “del juego del ajedrez, que mientras dura el juego, cada pieza tiene su particular oficio; y en acabándose el juego, todas se mezclan, juntan y barajan, y dan con ellas en una bolsa, que es como dar con la vida en la sepultura” (from “Capítulo XII,” *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, 9 Sept. 2005, <<http://www.terra.es/diadellibro/elquijote/p0000069.htm>>). In the edition by John Jay Allen (Madrid: Catedra, 1994), a footnote indicates that this *auto* seems to be the *Auto sacramental de las cortes de la muerte* by Lope de Vega. In Calderón's play, the cast consists of the author (god), several allegorical characters and a range of people of different social ranks who walk from one end of the stage, which is the cradle, to the other, which is the grave. See also Thomas Middleton's *A Game at Chess* (performed at the Globe Theatre in London, 1624) where “there are many allusions to the bag which holds the chessmen when not in use, and in the last scene the Black men are one after the other popped into the bag” (Murray 1913: 536nn11-12; 840). The first of Borges's chess sonnets also expresses this same idea: “I. En su grave rincón, los jugadores / Rigen las lentas piezas. El tablero / Los demora hasta el alba en su severo / Ámbito en que se odian dos colores. / Adentro irradian mágicos rigores / Las formas: torre homérica, ligero / Caballo, armada reina, rey postrero, / Oblicuo alfil y peones agresores. / Cuando los jugadores se hayan ido / Cuando el tiempo los haya consumido, / Ciertamente no habrá cesado el rito. / En el oriente se encendió esta guerra / Cuyo anfiteatro es hoy toda la tierra / Como el otro, este juego es infinito.” from “Sonetos de Borges,” *Metajedrez*, Fernando Pedró, 10 Aug. 2005, <<http://www.metajedrez.com.ar/borges.htm>>.

<sup>167</sup> Several translations of Khayyam are offered in the Dissertation Outline. Jacobus de Cessolis, *Tractatus de ludo scacorum [Liber de moribus hominum et officiis nobilium]*, ed. Luis Vázquez de Parga (Madrid: Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, Dirección General de Archivos y Bibliotecas, 1970).

quatrains with the rhyme scheme AABA in which a conflicted Muslim touts wine, women and song because life is fleeting. It also contains what may be the earliest and most beautiful wording of the bag metaphor in stanza 270. In Edward FitzGerald's English translation (1859), many verses reference games, including dice<sup>168</sup> and chess<sup>169</sup>—the game with its board as a whole as well as the individual pieces like the queen and the pawn,<sup>170</sup> Fortune,<sup>171</sup> the round world<sup>172</sup> and the circle of life,<sup>173</sup> the body as the basis for

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<sup>168</sup> “31. ‘Tis labor lost thus to all doors to crawl, / Take thy good fortune, and thy bad withal; / Know for a surety each must play his game, / As from heaven's dice-box fate's dice chance to fall.” Except as noted, his and all quotes from Omar Khayyam, “Rubaiyat,” Trans. Edward FitzGerald on *Bookshop Classics*, CD-ROM (Concord, MA: Simply Media, 1999).

<sup>169</sup> FitzGerald published several versions of his translation of Khayyam's work, each with a different number of stanzas and sometimes different wording. Two of his renderings of this beautiful passage are: “270. We are but chessmen, destined, it is plain, / That great chess-player, Heaven, to entertain; / It moves us on life's chess-board to and fro, / And then in death's dark box shuts up again” (Omar Khayyam, “Rubaiyat” Trans. Edward FitzGerald. *Bookshop Classics*, CD-ROM [Concord, MA: Simply Media, 1999]) and “We are no other than a moving row / Of Magic Shadow-shapes that come and go / Round with the Sun-illuminated Lantern held / In Midnight by the Master of the Show; / But helpless Pieces of the Game He plays / Upon this Chequer-board of Nights and Days; / And one by one back in the Closet lays” (*The Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám*, rendered into English quatrains by Edward FitzGerald [Roslyn, NY: Walter J. Black, Inc., 1942] 145-46). Zlotchew quotes a portion of this passage in a Spanish translation, referring to “otro tablero / De negras noches y de blancos días” (31). Another rendering by an unspecified translator is: “270. ‘Tis all a Chequer-board of Nights and Days / Where Destiny with Men for Pieces Plays: / Hither and Thither moves, and mates, and Slays, / And one by one, back in the Closet Lays” (Theodore P. Hines, *Pool Checkers or Spanish Pool: Scientifically Known as Minor Polish Draughts* [Philadelphia: McKay, 1947] n.p.).

<sup>170</sup> “356. Me, cruel Queen! you love to captivate, / And from a knight to a poor pawn translate; / You marshal all your force to tire me out, / You take my rooks with yours, and then checkmate!” and “447. My heart is weary of hypocrisy, / Cupbearer, bring some wine, I beg of thee! / This hooded cowl and prayer-mat pawn for wine, / Then will I boast me in security.” and “492. O skyey wheel, all base men you supply / With baths, mills, and canals that run not dry, / While good men have to pawn their goods for bread: / Pray, who would give a fig for such a sky? ”

<sup>171</sup> “495. Dame Fortune! all your acts and deeds confess / That you are foul oppression's votaress; / You cherish bad men, and annoy the good; / Is this from dotage, or sheer foolishness?”

<sup>172</sup> “409. I sweep the tavern threshold with my hair, / For both world's good and ill I take no care; / Should the two worlds roll to my house, like balls, / When drunk, for one small coin I'd sell the pair!” and “458. You know all secrets of this earthly sphere, / Why then remain a prey to empty fear? / You can not bend things to your will, but yet / Cheer up for the few moments you are here!” and “474. If, like a ball, earth to my house were borne, / When drunk, I'd rate it at a balrleycorn; / Last night they offered me in pawn for wine, / But the rude vintner laughed that pledge to scorn.”

<sup>173</sup> “340. Man is the whole creation's summary, / The precious apple of great wisdom's eye; / The circle of existence is a ring, / Whereof the signet is humanity.”

understanding the universe,<sup>174</sup> the potter's "wheel of heaven"<sup>175</sup> and the numerical structure of the universe.<sup>176</sup>

Cessolis's moralistic work uses chess as a Christian analogy for life, with its different feudal ranks, and death, where all are made equal as in the chess-piece bag metaphor. Also offering a key to the medieval concept of the chess-as-microcosm analogy is Cessolis's expansion of that same idea in a series of ever-increasing macrocosms from board to town to empire to universe, showing that the analogy

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<sup>174</sup> "355. To find great Jamshid's world-reflecting bowl / I compassed sea and land, and viewed the whole; / But, when I asked the wary sage, I learned / That bowl was my own body, and my soul!"

<sup>175</sup> "437. Ah, potter, stay thine hand! with ruthless art / Put not to such base use man's mortal part! / See, thou art mangling on thy cruel wheel / Faridun's fingers, and Kai Khosrau's heart!" and "393. We come and go, but for the gain, where is it? / And spin life's woof, but for the warp, where is it? / And many a righteous man has burned to dust / In heaven's blue rondure, but their smoke, where is it?" and "25. Ah! wheel of heaven to tyranny inclined, / 'Twas e'er your wont to show yourself unkind; / And, cruel earth, if they should cleave your breast, / What store of buried jewels they would find!" and "123. Heaven's wheel has made full many a heart to moan, / And many a budding rose to earth has thrown; / Plume thee not on thy youth and lusty strength, / Full many a bud is blasted ere 'tis blown." and "147. They at whose lore the whole world stands amazed, / Whose high thoughts, like Borak, to heaven are raised, / Strive to know Thee in vain, and like heaven's wheel / Their heads are turning, and their brains are dazed." and "154. The wheel on high, still busied with despite, / Will ne'er unloose a wretch from his sad plight; / But when it lights upon a smitten heart, / Straightway essays another blow to smite." and "306. Your course annoys me, O ye wheeling skies! / Unloose me from your chain of tyrannies! / If none but fools your favors may enjoy, / Then favor me--I am not very wise!" and "310. This wheel of heaven, which makes us all afraid, / I liken to a lamp's revolving shade, / The sun the candlestick, the earth the shade, / And men the trembling forms thereon portrayed." and "316. Ah! by these heavens, that ever circling run, / And by my own base lusts I am undone, / Without the wit to abandon worldly hopes, / And wanting sense the world's allures to shun!" and "390. O Love, forever doth heaven's wheel design / To take away thy precious life, and mine; / Sit we upon this turf, 'twill not be long / 'Ere turf shall grow upon my dust, and thine!" and "393. We come and go, but for the gain, where is it? / And spin life's woof, but for the warp, where is it? / And many a righteous man has burned to dust / In heaven's blue rondure, but their smoke, where is it?" and "396. 'Take up thy cup and goblet, Love,' I said, / 'Haunt purling river bank, and grassy glade; / Full many a moon-like form has heaven's wheel / Oft into cup, oft into goblet, made!'" and "408. These heavens resemble an inverted cup, / Whereto the wise with awe keep gazing up; / So stoops the bottle o'er his love, the cup, / Feigning to kiss, and gives her blood to sup!" and "471. Who framed the lots of quick and dead but Thou? / Who turns the troublous wheel of heaven but Thou? / Though we are sinful slaves, is it for Thee / To blame us? Who created us but Thou?" and "492. O skyey wheel, all base men you supply / With baths, mills, and canals that run not dry, / While good men have to pawn their goods for bread: / Pray, who would give a fig for such a sky?" and "499. O wheel of heaven, what have I done to you, / That you should thus annoy me? Tell me true; / To get a drink I have to cringe and stoop, / And for my bread you make me beg and sue."

<sup>176</sup> "120. Ten Powers, and nine spheres, eight heavens made He, / And planets seven, of six sides, as we see, / Five senses, and four elements, three souls, / Two worlds, but only one, O man, like thee." and "431. Child of four elements and sevenfold heaven, / Who fume and sweat because of these eleven, / Drink! I have told you seventy times and seven, / Once gone, nor hell will send you back, nor heaven."

functions on multiple levels. This analogy works because the chess board and, indeed, most games are designed as small-scale models of a larger part of the world, such as a battlefield or even the whole world itself. The similarities in these global patterns show that architecture, city planning and games have a common religious ancestor in what we may call sacred geometry.

Working the same metaphor in the opposite direction, i.e. from game board to architecture, there is evidence that several ancient cities were designed upon a reticular mandala resembling the 8x8 and 12x12 chess boards found in the *LJ*. The Bible's Revelation 21:16-17 describes the plan of a square city, the New Jerusalem, 12,000 furlongs on each side surrounded by a wall measuring 144 cubits. According to Pennick, the *Arthashastra* by Candragupta Maurya's prime minister, Kautilya, gives the canonical form for Indian cities as having a "layout of eight by eight square blocks" resulting from a grid of nine by nine squarely-intersecting streets and the city of Chou followed this same plan resulting in a "'chessboard' grid of 64 squares" (145). The legendary city of Krishna, Dvaravati "laid out with eight streets crossing at right angles" (145) and Jundushapur "'was after the fashion of a chessboard: it was intersected by eight times eight streets'." Finally, the "Roman city of Thamugadi (Timgad), in modern Algeria [was laid out] with a grid of 12 squares by 12 (144 in all)" (Pennick 146) like the *LJ*'s great chess.

Sometimes whole countries are compared to game boards, such as those allegories in Irish literature "which compare Ireland to a *Brandubh*."<sup>177</sup> Indeed, it is this concept which lent the chess board's name to the office of the exchequer or royal treasury created

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<sup>177</sup> Pennick 135. *Brandubh* belongs to the *tablut* family of games and uses a 7x7 board. See also the section 3.2.5 Numerology: Human Fives.

by William the Conqueror (1066-1087) (Keats 2: 29), because such a person recorded the payments from various landowners on a gridded board marked out like a chess board, “which was a conceptual map of the area” (Pennick 135). The interchangeability of the metaphor’s direction, from a microcosmic game board on which pieces move to the macrocosm of land on which men walk, reinforces the concept of medieval chess moralities as symbolic of the Game of life. While some European works which mention chess, such as the *Carmina Burana*, limit their comparison to the two worlds of play and reality, the *LJ*’s Arabic influences are revealed in its similarity to the “Rubáiyát” which uses multiple metaphors to trace a connection between several levels: ludic, earthly and spiritual.

The games of the *LJ*’s fourth treatise in particular are illustrations of the spatial metaphor of the game board equalling the battlefield because they enlarge upon the normal playing surface of each type of game. Great chess (12x12 board of 144 squares) and decimal chess (10x10 board of 100 squares) encompass greater territory than the more usual 8x8 board with its 64 squares shown in the “Libro del acedrex.” The 8- and 7-sided dice have more faces than the 6-sided dice shown in the “Libro de los dados.” Such expansions and the inclusion of a great number and variety of creatures as playing pieces suggest that a comparison is being made between the first playing surfaces presented and the whole world.<sup>178</sup>

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<sup>178</sup> The animal pieces of great chess may relate indirectly to both fables and the zodiac. The connections between chess and *Calila e Digna* have already been well established as discussed in Chapter I of this dissertation, as have the relationship of the *LJ* to Oriental paremiology in this chapter. Further, the Eastern tradition of brief, exemplary anecdotes otherwise known as fables, which often contain anthropomorphized animals with the power of human speech, is comparable, in some degree at least, to the warrior animal pieces of great chess that battle alongside human brothers in arms. The connections between

Temporal metaphors include the larger variant of tables in the fourth treatise, which uses seven rather than six as its base number and turns the tables board into a scientifically correct calendar of a lunar month with its 28 spaces corresponding to the number of days. Alfonso does not claim authorship of this base-7 or 28-point backgammon as he does other games and features in the *LJ*, but his reverence for the number seven and the fact that it appears in no other manuscript in the world seem to indicate that it may have been of his own personal invention. While the connection is not made explicitly in the text, the perspicacious reader will see that this forms a most logical connection to the four-seasons calendrical games of the following fifth treatise.

Finally, the *LJ* is not merely a collection of chess problems such as the myriad games analyzed by Murray for while two-thirds of its folios are indeed dedicated to this purpose, Alfonso's *Book of Games* expresses the larger scientific and spiritual purpose of cosmography within the last two exegetic levels we have previously mentioned and which will be discussed next.

### **3.3.5.3 The Third Metaphysical Dimension: Tropological Ludic Symbolism**

Both of the four-player games in the fifth treatise of Alfonso's *LJ*, one a chess variant and the other a tables variant, make use of a quadripartite representation of the earthly elements and their corresponding colors, bodily humors and seasons which are

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chess and the zodiac are also abundant (as discussed in this chapter's final section on the evolution of games), especially in this particular variant whose board has the same number of squares per side as there are signs in the zodiac. Even stronger than the numerological connections is the fact the word *zodiac* (Gk. circle of animals, for the the circle of constellations through which the sun appears to move during the cycle of the year) refers to predominately animals constellations but also includes some human figures. Similarly animal pieces predominate in great chess, with five animal pieces outnumbering the three human ones of the king, rook and pawns.

more commonly associated with scientific cosmography rather than with games.<sup>179</sup> The Pythagoreans identified ten sets of four things with which their ten-dot figure called the tetractys was symbolically associated, including the four elements and the four seasons of the year—two of the same symbolic quaternities associated with the four-player games of the *LJ*'s fifth treatise.<sup>180</sup> To these four-fold symbolisms, Alfonso added the calendrical ranges of the seasons of the year, whether each season was a combination of hot or cold and wet or dry, the bodily humor associated with each season's characteristics as well as the colors of pieces which symbolized each season/element/humor, most likely drawing on the natural qualities of wet and dry, hot and cold in relation to the four basic elements of Aristotelian science<sup>181</sup> and the descriptions and dates for the seasons found in Ch. VII,

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<sup>179</sup> The *Hippocratic corpus* (fourth or fifth century B.C.) may be the earliest Western authority on these connection between humors, seasons and elements: blood/spring/air; yellow bile/summer/fire; black bile/fall/earth; phlegm/winter/water. Juan Ruiz's *Libro de buen amor* (c. 1300-1350): Stanza 1300 equates the men directly with the months "El tablero y la mesa, la danza y carretera / son las cuatro estaciones del año que te espera / Los hombres son los meses: cosa es verdadera / que andan y no se alcanzan al seguir su carrera" ([Vermont: Tuttle, 1999] 322)

<sup>180</sup> The tetractys is formed by a base row of four dots followed by successive rows of three dots, two dots and one dot arranged in a pyramid like modern bowling pins. Its name, meaning "a set of four things," referred to each side of the triangle having four dots (Calter's Unit 3). The *LJ*'s *escaques*'s zodiacal segments build upon this arrangement for the number twenty-eight, with each base row consisting of seven spaces per zodiac sign in Saturn's orbit and descending down to one space per zodiac sign in the moon's orbit.

<sup>181</sup> Either Aristotle or Isidore of Seville, or perhaps both since Alfonso cites both in other works, may have been the *LJ*'s source for the interrelationship between the four natural qualities of wetness, dryness, heat and cold in terms of the seasons of the year, as expressed on fol. 87r: "Et por que en el primero tiempo del verano que desuso dixiemos se crian todas las cosas & reffrescan los omnes. & uerdeçen los Aruoles & las yeruas. por que el su elemento es ell ayre que es mas claro que en ninguno delos otros tiempos; por ende pusieron este tiempo uerde. Et ell estio que es caliente & seco mas que los otros tiempos. pusieron lo a semeiante del fuego que es dessa natura; & por ende pusieron este tiempo uermeio; por el su elemento que es tal. Ell Otonno es seco & ffrio por que es dell Elemento dela tierra. & esmas temprado que ell Estio ca tira mas ala friura que a la calentura. & las cosas que fincaron quemadas dell Estio; nacen & reffrescan en este tiempo. & por que el su elemento es la tierra & la su quexion friura & sequedat; por ende pusieron este tiempo de color negra. Et ell yuierno pusieron por ell elemento dell agua que es fria & humida ca en aquella sazón faze los grandes frios. & eladas & nieues. & grandes aguas de lluias. & por que el su elemento es ell agua; por endel pusieron de color blanca. Et esta semeiança les dieron segund los quattros humores que se crian en el cuerpo dell omne. assi como la sangre; que pusieron al verano . & la Colera; all Estio. & la melenconia all Otonno. & la flema all yuierno." See also Burkhardt 95 for a chrismon diagram of the relationships between the natural qualities and the four

“De temporibus,” of Isidore of Seville’s *De natura rerum*.<sup>182</sup> By using such geomantic symbolism in the *LJ*, Alfonso is tacitly making a connection between the divinatory nature or origins of games in general, such as those basic and classic games presented in the first three treatises, with the work’s culminating astrological games of the seventh treatise.

Here the micro- macrocosmic metaphor seen in the “Libro del acedrex” continues but at a higher level with the addition of another dimension, that of time seen from man’s perspective as represented by the four seasons. Thematically related to each of the seasons are three more groups of four symbols of life’s organic processes according to the current scientific understanding: the earth’s four elements of air, fire, earth and water via their qualities of dryness, warmth, cold or wetness, as well as their counterparts found in the humors of man’s body, i.e. blood, choler, melancholy and phlegm. A complete chart of the symbolic correspondences specified in the text for these four-player games includes: the seasons, the months they occupy, the corresponding elements, their natural

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elements. Further, the difference between the symbolic colors assigned to the elements of earth (black and brown) and air (green and light bluish violet) between four-seasons chess (fol. 87r, quoted above) and *escaques* (fol. 95v for the center of the board: “Et otrossi ha y quatro cercos redondos que son segundo los quatro helementos; que son de dentro destos ocho. El primero es uermeio que es por ell helemento del fuego. El segundo es cardeno claro por ell helemento dell ayre. El tercero es blanco; por ell elemento dell agua. El quarto es redondo a manera de pella & de color parda que es por ell helemento dela tierra”) may also signal different sources for each game.

<sup>182</sup> Isidore of Seville, *De Natura Rerum. Isidore de Seville: Traité de la Nature*. Ed. Jacques Fontaine. (Bordeaux: Féret, 1960). Wollesen was the first to suggest Isidore as a source for the *LJ*’s philosophy (285n21 [the second as there are two notes numbered 21 within the text in error]). Roob shows two counterclockwise circular diagrams from *Isidore of Seville, De natura rerum, manuscript anthology, c. A. D. 800*, which together show the interrelationships of the qualities of hot, cold, wet and dry to the seasons, earthly humors, the four elements and the four cardinal directions which together all comprise man, the year and the cosmos as marked in the diagrams’s centers (44). Warm, wet spring corresponds to blood, air and the East; warm, dry summer corresponds to choler, fire and the South; cold, dry autumn corresponds to melancholy, earth and the West; and, finally, cold and wet winter corresponds to phlegm, water and the North. These interrelationships exactly match those described in the *LJ*’s fifth treatise.

qualities of temperature, dryness and wetness, the corresponding bodily humors and colors, as well as their relative position on the boards found on fols. 88v and 89v.

Table 12. The *LJ*'s World Correspondences (as given on fols. 87r, 87v, 88v and 89v).

SEASONS	DATES	ELEMENTS	QUALITIES	HUMORS	COLORS	POSITION
<i>verano</i>	mid-Mar. to mid-June	<i>ayre</i>	claro (caliente e humedo)	<i>sangre</i>	<i>uerde</i>	upper right
<i>estio</i>	mid-June to mid-Sept.	<i>fuego</i>	caliente e seco	<i>colera</i>	<i>uermeio</i>	upper left
<i>otonno</i>	mid-Sept. to mid-Dec.	<i>tierra</i>	seco e ffrio	<i>melenconia</i>	<i>negro</i> (not <i>prieto</i> )	lower left
<i>ynuierno</i>	mid-Dec. to mid-Mar.	<i>agua</i>	frio e humedo	<i>flema</i>	<i>blanco</i>	lower right

Complicating these relative positions, however, is the fact that the chess board on fol. 88v does not show a light-colored square at the lower right, meaning that the board must be rotated either 90° or 270° counterclockwise like all other chess boards shown in the “Libro del acedrex.” Given the primacy of Spring, air, blood and green in the game, in terms of being the first discussed and the first to move, I believe the position most likely to be correct would show green at lower right. Since Alfonso begins his year with Spring, if green is at the bottom right, the remaining seasons are laid out counter-clockwise around the board. This organization does not align perfectly with Isidore’s relationship of all these quaternities to the four cardinal directions and such a correction cannot easily be made. In order to “correct” the opening array of the *LJ*'s four-seasons chess so that the seasons march in order around the board and manage to correspond to the appropriate cardinal directions, the colors would need to be reversed to a mirror image of their actual arrangement (green Spring in the East at lower right, red Summer in the South at lower

left, black Autumn in the West at upper left and white Winter in the North at upper right). This apparent complication, then, is perhaps the reason why Alfonso does not mention the four cardinal directions with which each color is traditionally associated. Alfonso may have intentionally inverted the perspective of this movement in order to match the counter-clockwise presentation of the movement of the planets through the zodiac in the final astrological games of the treatise.

Proof of the relationship between these time-based, four-season games and other scientific divisions of earth (or space) and sky (or time) are seen in the similarities between these games's boards and early closes as well as the Hermetic symbols within the *LJ* which may suggest connections with that medieval occult science. Relating these games to religious representations of creation are the opposing shapes of these two game boards, one square and the other round, used in several Oriental and Christian spiritual art forms, including rose windows and mandalas. Other evidence includes the association of the earth in Tarot cards with the tetramorphs of the four Evangelists forming a logical bridge between this quaternary symbolism and the astrologically-based symbolism of the *LJ*'s final treatise.

The *LJ* is not unique in this context although it may represent the first and one of the last Western treatises to make the connection between games and geomantic divination. Other two- and four-player games also employ the same four-fold and/or seasonal symbolism, including the Chinese game of “go” or “wai k'i,” which divides its board of 361 squares—approximately the number of days in the year—into four corners which are named after the four seasons (Culin, *Chess and Playing Cards* 870). The 144

squares of the tile-based game *mah jong* also employs the symbolism of the four seasons. The earliest known chess, the four-player Indian game of *chaturanga*, is four-fold in both name and game structure. The obsolete two-player chess variant *gala* from Germany's Schleswig-Holstein region uses an opening array which strongly resembles that of the *LJ*'s four-seasons chess in that both games divide the armies among the four corners of the board to begin.<sup>183</sup> Indian four-player race games such as *thayyam* and *pachisi* emphasize the same quaternity of color and directional symbolism because they are based upon a square board containing the figure of a cross and differentiate each player's pieces on the basis of color.<sup>184</sup>

<sup>183</sup> Once a popular regional game in Germany, *gala* or farmer's chess, resembles the *LJ*'s decimal chess variant for two players in the size of its board, ten by ten squares. Its division of the two armies into four corners gives *gala* a quaternity that Pennick calls "the most geomantically significant design of any version of side-to-side board games [because it] reproduces the four-square pattern which underlies ancient Indian earth harmony" (220). See also "Gala," Hans L. Bodlaender, 2001, *The Chess Variant Pages*, accessed 25 Jan. 2006, <<http://www.chessvariants.org/historic.dir/gala.html>>.

<sup>184</sup> "Thayyam's board reproduces the canonical colours of the four directions. South, top, yellow; west, right, black; north, bottom, white; and east, left red. The playing-pieces, four of each colour, are related to these directional colours" (Pennick 197). Even though their order is not the same, white and red being contiguous rather than opposite each other as on the *LJ*'s fol. 88v, three of the colors of *thayyam* are the same as those used for the *LJ*'s four-seasons games (black, red and white) and although the yellow is not the same there is apparently some contradiction among Alfonso's sources for the element of air. Culin's reference to "Part II of Mayer's *Chinese Reader's Manual*" and its chart of Chinese correspondences between directions, seasons, colors, elements, planets, metals and grains (*Korean Games* xix, footnote) may indicate a closer connection between the *LJ* and Chinese symbolism than Indian. On fols. 87v, the *LJ*'s four-seasons chess lists the color for Spring's element of air as green but on fol. 95v, *escaques*'s central representation of earth shows air as "cardeno claro". *DPCRAX* "de color amoratado ... se dice de la tela de lana o seda de un violeta azulado" (359).

Table 13. Colors of the Four Elements in the *LJ*'s Four-Seasons Chess (fol. 87v) and *Escaques* (fol. 95v).

	air	fire	earth	water
fol. 87v	<i>verde</i>	<i>uermeio</i>	<i>negro</i>	<i>blanco</i>
fol. 95v	<i>cardeno claro</i>	<i>uermeio</i>	<i>parda</i>	<i>blanco</i>

	N white	
W black		E red
	S yellow	

Fig. 176. The Board for *Thayyam* with Directions and Colors.

Hoyle's version of the four-player Indian race game pachisi uses earth, water and two types of fire to illustrate the starting areas for the typical colors used in the modern game: blue (a wave of water), green (the planet Earth), yellow (the sun) and red (fire).<sup>185</sup>

Geomantic quaternities are obvious in other early games besides those in the *LJ*'s fifth treatise, including Bengali *ashta kashte*, Korean *nyout* and some versions of North American Indian *patolli*. Bengal's *ashta kashte*, a circular race game for two to four players, is played on a 7x7 square board which is marked similarly to a pachisi board. Korean *nyout*<sup>186</sup> is another circular race game which is also played only on the shaded squares of what is essentially a 7x7 square board, very similar to that of *ashta kashte* minus the corners, by means of throwing sticks instead of dice. *Nyout* has the form of a four-player, pachisi-style game but it is only for two players and is constructed like the *LJ* tables variant *pareia de entrada*, where all pieces begin off the board and move around the track in the same direction. Each player tries to move his four pieces from the single starting point (marked by the *x* in the figure below) to exit at the opposite side of the board. Darker spaces, marked on some boards with a circle, as in modern pachisi, allow a

<sup>185</sup> *Hoyle Board Games* CD-ROM (Sierra 1998).

<sup>186</sup> For more on the Korean game of *nyout*, Pennick 43ff., Murray 1952: 142 and Parlett 40-42.

player to move his piece off the outer track and take a shortcut. As in tables and backgammon, single pieces or blots may be hit but a space held by two or more of a player's pieces is safe from capture. While many researchers including Culin have pointed to *nyout* as an ancestral game, this study of the *LJ* provides an important missing link to support game evolution by showing how such a circular, four-player game is linked both conceptually and thematically to early philosophical world views, in both a race and a battle game format.<sup>187</sup>

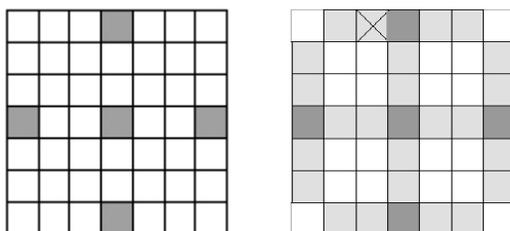


Fig. 177. The Very Similar Boards of *Ashta Kashte* (left) and *Nyout* (right).<sup>188</sup>

The explicit relationship between the four-player games of the *LJ*'s fifth treatise and these multiple levels of symbolism, expressed on fols. 87r-89v, are supported also by non-textual alchemical clues, in the form of hexagrams and swastikas within the *LJ*'s miniatures, which hint at the work's Hermetic and alchemical connections. The colors assigned to each season and its correspondences exactly match those used in alchemy: cold blackening (nigredo or melanosis), wet whitening (albedo or leukosis), hot yellowing (citrinitas or xanthosis) and dry reddening (rubedo or iosis).<sup>189</sup> In alchemy, a

<sup>187</sup> Culin compares *nyout* to both the I Ching and pachisi (*Korean Games* 66-67).

<sup>188</sup> My diagram of the *nyout* board is based upon one marked "Carlisle Co." purchased by the author from Micro Games of the World by Alpi International, Ltd. Oakland, CA 94608. Other boards are more circular in nature.

<sup>189</sup> An allegorical or spiritual level to these physical processes also existed, "Heaven, by its movement the measurer of time, the determiner of day and night and the seasons, .... The circular movement of the heavens implies the existence of a motionless and invisible axis," i.e. the *Axis Mundi* or

six-pointed star is formed when the triangular symbols representing the four terrestrial elements are joined together.<sup>190</sup>

Table 14. Triangular Alchemical Symbols for the Four Elements.

fire	water	air	earth	the world
				

This hexagram, also known as the Seal of Solomon, is seen several times as we have already noted in the second chapter of this dissertation.<sup>191</sup> According to Burckhardt, “[t]he whole contents of the Emerald Tablet are like an explanation of the Seal of Solomon, whose two [conjoined] triangles respectively represent essence and substance, *forma* and *materia*, spirit and soul, Sulphur and Quicksilver, the volatile and the stable, or spiritual power and bodily existence” (*Alchemy* 201), i.e. the microcosm and the

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*omphalos* hence the four cardinal directions, “following which the cosmic qualities which govern all life distribute themselves respectively as cold and warm, dry and humid. We shall see later has this order is repeated within the microcosm of the human soul” (Burckhardt 43). “The scheme outlined above also has a meaning in regard to the soul; and here the qualities expansion, contraction, dissolution, and solidification take the place of hot, cold, wet, and dry. ... The ‘speculative’ value of this alchemy—in the ancient sense of *speculatio*, that is to say, a ‘mirroring’ of spiritual truths—rests on the fact that the observation of a single visible case can be a key to the grand rhythms of nature” (Burckhardt 95).

<sup>190</sup> According to Hermetic tradition the natural order of the elements is represented ... by the individual parts of the ‘Seal of Solomon’, which consists of two intersecting equilateral triangles. The triangle pointing upwards  $\triangle$  corresponds to fire, and the triangle pointing downwards  $\nabla$  corresponds to water. The triangle representing fire, with the horizontal side of the other triangle, represents air  $\triangle$ , while the upturning of this sign represents earth  $\nabla$ . The complete seal of Solomon  $\star$  represents the synthesis of all elements and thus the union of opposites” (Burckhardt 68-69).

<sup>191</sup> Six-pointed stars, today as Stars of David and used as symbols of Judaism, appear a total of twenty-one times in the *LJ*, on fols. 9r (6), 22r (6), 22v (2), 38r (1) and 92r (6). Fols 9r, 22r and 92r each have game boards decorated with three stars on their upper and lower borders; fol. 22v shows a chess board whose upper and lower borders are decorated with a star in the center of two diamond shapes. Finally, fol. 38r marks the first Dilaram problem with a red star on the piece bag; see also Chapter II for my questioning of Victor Keat’s theory that this is the signature of a Jewish scribe. This same symbol also appears occasionally in the *CSM*. As mentioned in Chapter II, fol. 89r, in *Cantiga* 25 the curtain in panel one has Arabic script and two 6-pointed stars, obviously not as a Jewish symbol, and *Cantiga* 187’s 2<sup>nd</sup> page of illumination, panel 3, has 6-pointed stars.

macrocosm.<sup>192</sup> Swastikas appear much more frequently in the *CSM* than in the *LJ*, however the latter does contain two important uses of this symbol.<sup>193</sup> On fol. 33v, a series of four Hermetic symbols including a swavastika, the mirror image of a swastika, appear beneath the young novice monk at right while on fol. 97v, a 6-rayed swastika in the center of the board indicates the game's counterclockwise direction of play.<sup>194</sup> Domínguez Rodríguez says that Alfonso is portrayed as tracing Hermetic symbols in one of two manuscripts illuminated for Wenceslas II of Bohemia around 1400 (“*Libro de los juegos*” 46).

Given their temporal symbolism, it is natural that both the *LJ*'s four-seasons chess and tables variants display the same symbolism as certain types of early clocks, especially those which show twenty-four hours on their faces rather than twelve, or those which incorporate the four Evangelists.<sup>195</sup> These clocks bear obvious thematic relationships with the *LJ*'s four-seasons tables because all use the same four-fold divisions of land or sky to convey the concept of movement through time in terms of

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<sup>192</sup> Burckhardt supports his analysis using commentary from an eighth-century Arabic text by Jabir ibn Hayyan.

<sup>193</sup> As also mentioned in Chapter II, fol. 89r in *Cantiga 25* where the curtain in panel one has a pillow with a swastika; *Cantiga 47* shows swastikas on Mary's altar; *Cantiga 78* again has swastikas on her altar; *Cantiga 84* also swastikas on the altar; *Cantiga 91* has on the cloth or *paños*; *Cantiga 118* shows swastikas in panels 1 & 3 on pillows; *Cantiga 144* again on Mary's altar; *Cantiga 152* also on Mary's altar; *Cantiga 164* again on Mary's altar; and finally in *Cantiga 188* panel 5 on the pillows.

<sup>194</sup> In an image from an eighth-century manuscript miniature from the “Pauline Letters from Northumberland” in the Würzburg University Library, Burckhardt shows an “Irish or Anglo-Saxon from of the two dragons on the world tree. The swastika on the trunk of the tree (which corresponds to the world axis) represents the movement of the heavens” (45).

<sup>195</sup> Alfonso's interest in clocks is shown by his five works on the subject, the *Libro del relojio dela candela*, *Libro del relojio de la piedra de la sombra*, *Libro del relojio dell agua*, *Libro del relojio dell argen uiuo* and *Libro del relojio del palacio de las oras* whose contents describes a palace with twelve windows arranged so that sunlight passing through them would tell the time on the patio. Adapted from “Alfonso X, el Sabio Escuela de Traductores [1252-1277],” Alfonso X, ed. Suzanne H. Peterson, accessed 19 Nov. 2005, <<http://faculty.washington.edu/petersen/alfonso/esctra13.htm>>. See also Norman Roth, “Jewish Collaborators in Alfonso's Scientific Work,” 67, for information of the translations of Rabiçag Aben Cayut on clocks.

movement through physical space, much like a playing piece along the track of a race game. All act as markers of our place in time and space within the universe and represent an example of the topological symbolism which can be read into these games as metaphors of the world. There are also clocks which incorporate the zodiac; these will be discussed below with the hidden analogical symbolism of the *LJ*'s astrological game boards which are metaphors of the next world.<sup>196</sup>



Fig. 178. Uccello's 24-hour Clock and the *LJ*'s *El mundo*.<sup>197</sup>

Paolo Uccello's Florence cathedral clock, with its four figural corners framing the circle with twenty-four hours of the day, particularly resembles the *LJ*'s four-player tables variant called "el mundo" (fol. 89v). Uccello (1397-1475) designed the fresco face for the Duomo's indoor clock as well as its stained-glass windows in 1443. Many twenty-

<sup>196</sup> "The need for clocks in Europe, as previously in Asia, evolved because of the demand for instruments to help track [228] stars and planets. ... [229] The astrolabe and equatorium, both Islamic instruments, calculated positions of planets and later aided blacksmiths in understanding how to build the first mechanical clocks, which were placed in towers. In 1309 Saint Eustorgio had one in Milan. ... In 1336, in the tower of Milan's Visconti palace chapel, [there was a clock which automatically struck a bell once for each of the twenty-four hours.] ... When Jacopo di Dondi, the first known maker of mechanical clocks, created a clock for the Carrara palace at Padua in 1334, it showed the phases of the moon. His son, Giovanni, in 1364 built a clock for the castle of Pavia. Its seven dials depicted astronomical motions as well as a calendar showing the holy days. Of lesser concern was a small dial telling time. The colossal clock constructed at Strasbourg in 1354 housed an astrolabe with pointers, which showed the movement of the sun, moon, and planets" (Jerry Ellis, *Walking to Canterbury* [New York: Ballentine, 2003] 227-29).

<sup>197</sup> *Web Gallery of Art*, eds, Emil Kren and Daniel Marx. 5 May 2005 <<http://www.wga.hu/html/u/uccello/3florenc/3clock.html>> and detail of *LJ* fol. 89v.

four and astrological clocks bear a great resemblance to the *LJ*'s four-seasons tables and *escaques* boards, but it is Uccello's clock which best resembles them because of the scalloped edges of its hour segments, its counter-clockwise motion and location of its midnight.

Like the *LJ*'s four-seasons tables variant, Uccello's round dial occupies a square frame with a man presiding at each of the four corners. This configuration is also seen in the arrangement of four prophets squarely framing the round rose window façade at Orvieto. The zero-hour of Uccello's clock is located at the bottom of the dial, or at what is now our six-o'clock position, the same position we find in Cremona's clock discussed below. If the four-seasons chess board on fol. 88v is rotated so that there is a white square at the bottom right of the board, as must be done for all chess boards in the *LJ* to make them easily intelligible for the modern chess player, then either the black or green chess pieces occupies the position at lower right. Given the similarities between the four-seasons tables board and this clock, I rather think that it must be Spring's green at this position since it is named in the text as the first to play. By rotating the four-seasons tables board on fol. 89v ninety degrees to the right, green is also at the lower right position.

Tarot cards were not invented until a century or more after the *LJ*'s completion but their symbolism, like that of all playing cards, is rooted in the classic board games. In addition, the early twentieth-century Rider-Waite Tarot Deck card for The World may employ the same Christian symbolism for the four elements as Alfonso explains in his *Setenario*. In it, the world is represented by a woman in a circle framed by symbols of the

four evangelists, apparently clockwise rather than in the *LJ*'s counterclockwise orientation.<sup>198</sup>



Fig. 179. Rider-Waite Tarot Card of “The World.”

The tetramorphs or animal forms by which the Evangelists are traditionally represented correspond to the quadrature of fixed astrological signs, thus making a symbolic connection between the *LJ*'s third tropological level of temporal symbolism and its fourth analogical level of astrological symbolism. Most easily recognizable are Mark's lion for the sign Leo and Luke's ox for Taurus. Matthew's man corresponds to Aquarius and John's eagle with Scorpio. Through the element associated with each of these astrological signs, the Evangelists may then also be related to the four elements and the four seasons, according to the following table.

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<sup>198</sup> This significance of this shift in perspective, from man's scientific perspective of the zodiac as arranged clockwise around the sky, versus a divine perspective outside of our world which would see the arrangement as counterclockwise will be addressed below.

Table 15. Comparative Symbolism for the Four Evangelists.

Evangelist	John	Mark	Luke	Matthew
Symbol	eagle	lion	ox	man/angel
Astrological sign	Scorpio	Leo	Taurus	Aquarius
Element	air	fire	earth	water
Season	spring	summer	fall	winter
<i>LJ</i> (counterclockwise)	top right	top left	bottom left	bottom right
Tarot's The World XXI (clockwise)	top right	bottom right	bottom left	top left

Culin's *Korean Games* explains these symbolic relationships between religious and scientific concepts in games as rooted in the geomantic

attempt at classification according to the directions which is practically universal among primitive people, [wherein] things and affairs were encountered which did not in themselves reveal their proper assignment. To effect their classification resort was had to magic. The processes, at first serious and divinatory, afterward practiced as a means of diversion as children play at the serious business of life, become games. The games which thus originated hold a peculiar position among the world's amusements, and maybe regarded as games *par excellence*. They frequently retain something of their original character and often survive in two forms, more or less distinct—as a divinatory rite and as a simple amusement. (xix)

Similar to game boards, this symbol, like the Vitruvian man or the Celtic cross, represents man's desire to imitate and thereby recreate the operative forces and elements of the universe in order to understand how they work. According to Huizinga, man is not only being mimetic by synchronizing or harmonizing himself with nature in rituals which imitate natural and cosmic phenomena, but rather he is also being methectic as an active participant helping nature along or ensuring that the cycles continue (15).

Hindu and Buddhist mandalas, thangkas and yantras are all two-dimensional artistic representations of the universe which often bear striking structural and symbolic similarities to many game boards based on the number four, especially the *LJ*'s four-

seasons chess and tables. Like game boards, “[m]andalas,” says Richard Webster, “traditionally use squares and circles. The circle symbolizes the cosmos, and the square, the Earth” corresponding to the I Ching’s yin/yang duality.<sup>199</sup> Indeed, the word *mandala* itself derives from the Sanskrit for “circle.” In both Buddhist and Hindu mandalas, a central square of 8x8 units, identical to the board used for chess, forms a hub which is touched by the edges of four surrounding circles whose intersecting points determine the various features of the mandala’s shape. Himalayan Buddhist iconography assigns spiritual significance to colors used in each quarter of the mandala even as Alfonso does for the colors of the players’s pieces in four-seasons chess and tables. According to Wester, the purpose of contemplating mandalas and wearing other traditional oriental geometric talismans, which also derive from the same geomantic roots as the I Ching and Feng Shui, was to live well by living in harmony with the Earth and its seasons.<sup>200</sup>

Tibetan Buddhist thangka paintings are also geometrically-based and contain many of the same elements as mandalas. Further, they show the transition between life and death in somewhat the same way that games do. In this way, for example, I believe the four-player game pachisi represents man’s journey from birth, through the labyrinth of life, death and ascension to heaven, discussed below, and even how the game of hopscotch, whose simplistic nature might mislead the casual observer to assume it lacks any deeper meaning, represents the same journey of the human soul from earth to heaven

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<sup>199</sup> Richard Webster, *Talismanic Magic: Yantra Squares for Tantric Divination* (St. Paul, MN: Llewellyn, 1995) 3.

<sup>200</sup> In order “to maintain the working of these parallels at all levels [... man commemorated] the seasons which were seen as the necessary human element in the uninterrupted maintenance of the cycles of time” (Pennick 118). “Harmony was attained by the perfect co-ordination of the heavenly, human and earthly orders in a cycle of ritual activities” (Pennick xi).

(Botermans 10) that the *LJ*'s *escaques* describes. For, as Huizinga notes, "In play we may move below the level of the serious, as the child does; but we can also move above it—in the realm of the beautiful and the sacred" (19).

A yantra or geometric diagram whose symbolism is used for meditation in the tantric Hindu tradition, literally means something which both supports and frees.<sup>201</sup> "All pictorial yantras have a dot or small circle at the center. This is known as the *bindu*" (Webster 1), which signifies the oneness of God, and corresponds to the central area or *omphalos* on game boards. Of the nine overlapping isocetes triangles around the *bindu*, the five pointing downwards represent the male and the four pointing upwards the female and the resultant star shape represents the four elements as in the alchemical seal of Solomon. Around the triangles is a circular border consisting of an eight- and a sixteen-petalled lotus framed by a square with a door at each cardinal point.<sup>202</sup> "The most complex and best known of the pictorial yantras is also one of the oldest. This is the Shri [literally, Great] Yantra [which] combines the elements of Shiva and Shakti, who together comprise the cosmos" (Webster 4), which happens to be the same function achieved in the myth of creation being the result of "Shiva's dice game." Astrological yantras use the energies of what Webster refers to as the nine planets. Also called the *navgraha* in Urdu, this heavenly *ennead* includes the same seven Ptolemaic bodies as the *LJ*'s astrological games and what Webster calls the two nodes of the moon or the head

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<sup>201</sup> The Ptolemaic cosmivision and the modern heliocentric view of the solar system are two "mutally opposed ways of looking at the world, or nature in the widest sense of the word. [The latter is impelled by scientific curiosity.] The other strives after the spiritual centre, which is at once the center of men and of things, while *supporting* itself on the symbolical character of appearances, in order to presage and contemplate the realities immutably contained in the Divine Intellect" (Burckhardt 55, emphasis mine).

<sup>202</sup> Compare to Pennick's description of the city of Chou (145).

and tail of the dragon constellation, and corresponds to the nine overlapping triangles of the Shri Yantra.<sup>203</sup> Webster recommends the construction of these yantras as amulets on the days of the week and/or from materials which exactly match the Alfonsine correspondences for the seven planets.

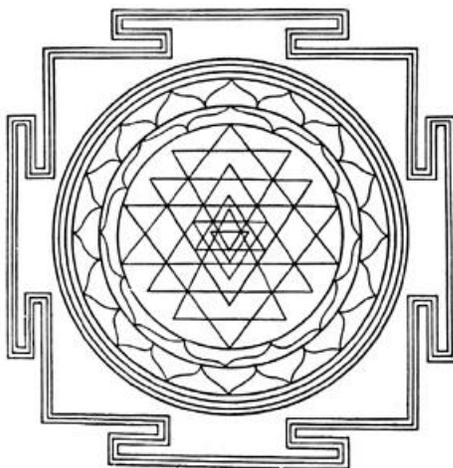


Fig. 180. Sri Yantra.

Cowen's study of rose windows in medieval cathedrals compares them directly with mandalas.<sup>204</sup> Rose windows began to appear in French cathedrals beginning in the twelfth century, flourishing in the early thirteenth. Both the shape of rose windows and some of the *LJ*'s games, especially four-seasons chess and *escaques*, appear to be

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<sup>203</sup> The seven Ptolemaic bodies are the Sun, Moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn, the *LJ* follows their arrangement in what is known as the Chaldean order. "The North Node is known as *Rahu*, or the Dragon's Head, and the South Node is *Ketu*, or the Dragon's Tail" (Webster 5). Alfonso's *Setenario* mentions the Dragon's head and tail constellations in Law XXXIV.

<sup>204</sup> "Rose windows are, to use the term popularized by C. G. Jung, mandalas. Their radially and predominantly fourfold form is that which spontaneously appears in dreams and in art as an expression of the human aspiration towards wholeness and coherence: 'a pattern of order which like a psychological viewfinder marked with a cross on a circle—or a circle divided into four—is imposed on the psychic chaos so that each content falls into place and the weltering confusion is held together by the protective circle'" (Cowen, 10n3: "C. G. Jung, *Collected Works*, vol. 10, Princeton and London 1964, p. 803." [141]).

manifestations of the same medieval, Pythagorean numerology. Geometry, the two-dimensional extension of numerology, was equally rich in symbolism.

Every rose window is a direct expression of number and geometry—of light in perfect form. At Chartres all of them are divided into twelve segments, the number of perfection, of the universe, and of the Logos. The scholars at Chartres were clearly fascinated by number and its derivative geometry, not as ends in themselves but as keys to understanding nature. They studied Pythagorus. (Cowen 91)

Because of the four figures arranged in the corners of their exterior square around a central circle, like the players of the game on fol. 89v, at least four medieval rose windows may be said to strongly resemble the *LJ*'s four-player tables. Both sets of four figures recall the positions of the “angels turning the cosmic mechanism” seen in the fifteenth-century Harley manuscript 4940, fol. 28.<sup>205</sup> The rose windows at both Saint-Denis (*c.* 1144), in the French town of the same name, and Saint-Gabriel (*c.* 1180), in the Provençal town of Tarascon, portray the figures of the four symbolic animals of the Evangelists the difference being their orientation.<sup>206</sup> Saint-Denis has a static square, resting on one side, with the four animals in the four corners, while Saint-Gabriel has a dynamic square, standing on one point like a diamond, meaning that the animals in the corners are oriented at the 12, 3, 6 and 9 o'clock positions. Saint-Etienne, in Beauvais (*c.* 1100) has a similarly-arranged wheel of fortune around its window. Lastly, the

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<sup>205</sup> “Half-title: Angels turning the cosmic mechanism, from a fifteenth-century manuscript. The British Library, Harley MS 4940, f. 28” This image also appears on the title page of Peter Whitfield's *The Mapping of the Heavens*. (San Francisco: Pomegranate Artbooks in assn. with the BL, 1995) and Morris Bishop's *The Horizon Book of the Middle Ages* (London: Cassell, 1968: 275). Especially notable are the game board-like elements of the checkered background, the circle within the square and the four elements at center. This concept is seen in Fludd's diagram discussed above.

<sup>206</sup> “The first rose window: this wheel at Saint-Denis is thought by many scholars to be the first rose. It is similar in size to the Beauvais wheel, but was probably the first to be filled with stained glass. The four symbols of the Evangelists—somewhat restored here—can be related to the motif of Fortune via the four fixed signs of the Zodiac (see p. 88). This transformation from the Zodiac to the evangelists is paralleled in the evolution of the wheel of fate into a rose of life” (Cowen's caption for pl. 26).

fourteenth-century window at Orvieto depicts Saints Gregorius, Hieronimus, Ambrosius and Augustin.<sup>207</sup> “The mandala aspect of any rose window,” explains Cowen, “helps us to understand this three dimensionality [of the two-dimensional form] and suggests its ‘cosmic’ significance: the two-dimensional form represents a three-dimensional image which with the imagination takes us to a four-dimensional reality.”<sup>208</sup>

Chartres Cathedral, a Gothic structure in northwest France, was consecrated in 1260 and has a strong association with the Virgin because her veil was supposed to have been kept there making it a site for medieval pilgrims. It is notable for its arcades and its 176 stained glass windows, several of which will be discussed in further detail under the hidden symbolism of the *LJ*'s astrological games. Because of its association with Mary, Chartres Cathedral, like the *CSM*, has many instances of the number five including the “The five windows of the choir hemicycle (a semicircular arrangement) [which] relate in various ways to the Virgin Mary.”<sup>209</sup> Other numerological symbols are seen in the southern rose window depicting the Apocalypse and the western rose window based on the zodiac with its twelve zodiacal signs, the labors of each month, towers of sun and moon, as well as a sundial and an astronomical clock outside the church. Cowen, in his study of the rose windows of Chartres, notes that there is window which uses sacred geometry based upon Plato's *Timaeus*: “According to Eco, ‘The School of Chartres remained faithful to the Platonic heritage of *Timaeus*, and developed a kind of “Timaeic”

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<sup>207</sup> “[T]he square containing the wheel and four of the early Church Fathers is made up of fifty-two heads—presumably one for each week of the year. (Orvieto, 14<sup>th</sup> c., by Andrea da Cione, alias Orcagna)” (Cowen's caption for plates 47 and 48).

<sup>208</sup> Cowen 84. For high-quality images of the intricate details of these windows, Cowen's work should be consulted.

<sup>209</sup> “Chartres Cathedral,” *Encyclopædia Britannica*. 2004. Encyclopædia Britannica Premium Service. 27 Nov. 2004, <<http://www.britannica.com/eb/article?tocId=9106228>>.

cosmology. For the School of Chartres, the work of God was order, opposite of the primeval chaos.”<sup>210</sup>

Geometrically the window is made up of twelve pentagons which surround the centre—a reflection of the fifth of the Platonic solids, the dodecahedron, the twelve faces of which are pentagons. In the *Timaeus*, the four elements of earth, fire, air and water, are represented by the solids of the cube, the pyramid, the octahedron, and the icosahedron. ... The fifth element, ether, could be said to be represented by the dodecahedron, “the whole spiritual heaven.” (Cowen 84)

The four-fold divisions of a circle corresponding to the earthly quaternities of space and time may be observed in cultures as distant as the Zia Indians of New Mexico with their traditional sun symbol, a central circle with four parallel rays extending from each of the cardinal directions. The top four rays of the Zia sun are said to represent the four winds of these directions; the bottom four signify the four seasons of the yearly cycle; the leftmost rays represent the four stages of life (infancy, youth, adulthood and

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<sup>210</sup> Eco, *Art and Beauty in the Middle Ages* 33, qtd. in Calter’s Unit 9. Another medieval art invention, the sonnet, may also have been inspired by a mathematical formula from Plato’s *Timaeus*. According to Levin, the sonnet form was invented by one of Frederick II’s courtiers, likely Giacomo da Lentino. “*The Penguin Book of the Sonnet: 500 Years of a Classical Tradition in English* edited by Phillis Levin is a different kind of anthology from Keillor’s, yet it has much of the same wide appeal. This is not a potpourri of poetry selected from a radio show but a well-researched scholarly collection, in the best sense. Levin provides a comprehensive introduction to the sonnet, its history and evolution in the English language, as well as astute criticism of the ways various writers, like Shakespeare, Milton, and Wordsworth, approached and transformed the sonnet. One of the more compelling aspects of the introduction is the section in which she discusses the several fascinating possible origins of the sonnet. Far from being a form pulled from thin air, one of those origins for the sonnet may be found in the science of the day, and I am giving but a brief synopsis of this argument. According to various critics, Giacomo da Lentino (who invented the form and who wrote the first sonnets on record between 1225-1230) was influenced by the Pythagorean-Platonic theory of numbers. The actual architecture of the sonnet, the decision to add six lines to the familiar *strambotto*, or eight-line stanza, may be based on discussions of harmonic proportion in Plato’s *Timaeus* and the numerical relations to the sonnet, as well as the ideal ratio proposed by Pythagoras—the Golden Mean, later known as the Divine Proportion—a ratio that characterizes the motion of the world soul in its entirety. She further reveals that certain numbers and combinations also relate the sonnet to the Fibonacci series [1 1 2 3 5 8 13 21 34 55 89 144 233 377 610 987 1597 2584 ...], named after the Italian mathematician Leonardo Pisano Fibonacci (1170-1250). Sounds like something from the *Da Vinci Code*, but the possibilities are intriguing, and her introduction reveals the mystical aspects of the sonnet as well as its enduring qualities.” “The Age of Anthologies by Sonny Williams” 21 July 2005 <<http://www.cprw.com/SWilliams/anthologies.htm>>.

senectud); and the four rays at the right indicate the four times of day (morning, noon, evening and night).<sup>211</sup> Like eastern temples based on four-fold mandalas, the New Mexican State Capitol building was constructed on the form of the Zia sun.<sup>212</sup> Finally, the four-fold symbolism of the *LJ*'s fifth treatise may also be a silent nod confirming that there are indeed four possible levels of interpretation of the whole text.

The alchemical symbolism of the *LJ*'s four-seasons games, previously mentioned, forms a thematic link and also serves as the nucleus of the final fourth, exegetical dimension. Alchemy in thirteenth-century Europe was firmly linked with astrology in an attempt "to discover the relationship of man to the cosmos and to exploit that relationship to his benefit. ... Moreover, both have always been pursued in the belief that the processes human beings witness in heaven and on earth manifest the will of the Creator and, if correctly understood, will yield the key to the Creator's intentions."<sup>213</sup> An illustration of this concept is seen in the center of the *LJ*'s *escaques* board which builds the cosmos around the four concentric circles representing the earth as composed of its four elements.

Another conceptual link between the tropological and anagogical dimensions of interpretation may be seen in the spinning nature of the family of games known as *alquerque*, mill or morris, presented in the intervening sixth treatise. The introduction of a wholly new type of game at this point in the *LJ* represents a transition between the smaller scale of the earthly perspective of time, via the circular progression of the seasons

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<sup>211</sup> "Zia Sun Symbol," *New Mexico Office of the Governor*, 6 Oct. 2005, <<http://www.governor.state.nm.us/MEDIA/PDF/ziasunsymbol.pdf>>.

<sup>212</sup> "New Mexico, flag of," *Encyclopædia Britannica*. 2005. Encyclopædia Britannica Online. 6 Oct. 2005, <<http://search.eb.com/eb/article-9103964>>.

<sup>213</sup> "Alchemy," *Encyclopædia Britannica* from Encyclopædia Britannica Online. <<http://search.eb.com/eb/article-9108512>> [Accessed 6 Sept, 2005].

through the year, and the larger view of time as measured cosmically in terms of the planets and their orbits through the zodiacal constellations. The wheel-like nature of these games is apparent in both their names and the use of diagonal lines upon their boards. Mills obviously connote rotation and I believe that the *LJ*'s Arabic name for the *alquerque* game family (from the Ar. *al-quirq*) may possibly be rooted in the Greek word for "circle," *kyklos*. The introduction of playable diagonals is unique to the boards of the sixth treatise and it foreshadows the complex astrological boards of the seventh treatise.<sup>214</sup>

The mill family of games uses a variety of boards based upon the two ways of expressing a 3x3 grid, which is perhaps the most symbolically significant and the root of all reticular sigils. The first way of constructing a playing surface with nine playable points is seen in the *LJ*'s board for *alquerque de tres*. The board used to play *alquerque de doze* and *cercar la liebre* are merely four of these smaller units placed together. A modern relative or descendent of *alquerque de doze* is *fanorona*, the national game of Madagascar, now the Malagasy Republic. It uses a board of 9x5 (45 intersections) with alternate corners connected diagonally or, in other words, two *alquerque de doze* boards placed side by side. Both Pennick and the Provenzos note that the Malagasy consider this game to have divinatory powers and its outcome is thought to have predicted their defeat by the French in 1895.<sup>215</sup>

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<sup>214</sup> The use of diagonals on game boards first appears in the four-seasons chess of the fifth treatise, but its presence is merely directional and not functional; the pieces are not played upon it.

<sup>215</sup> Pennick 215 and Asterie Baker Provenzo and Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr., *Favorite Board Games You Can Make and Play* (New York: Dover, 1990. Rpt. of *Play It Again: Historic Board Games You Can Make and Play*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice, 1981) 67. Huizinga notes that "[s]ometimes an armed combat is accompanied by a game of dice. While the Heruli are fighting the Langobards their king sits at

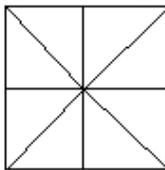


Fig. 181. The 3x3-Line Grid with Diagonals of the *LJ's Alquerque de tres*.

This figure of the *alquerque de tres* board is like a pinwheel: a square subdivided into eight triangles. The second way to create a 3x3 grid is perhaps much more familiar to the modern player of tic tac toe (also noughts and crosses or nine-hole), a modern descendent of *alquerque de tres*. Tic tac toe's board in the form of a double cross results in the same number of nine playable areas and is also an ancient protective sigil known today as the number or pound sign.<sup>216</sup> In fact, three men's morris, another English

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the playing-board, and dice was played in King Theoderich's tent at Quierzy" (81). Jorge Luis Borges and Adolfo Bioy Casares, in their *Cuentos breves y extraordinarios* (first published in the early 1950s), compare this divinatory usage of the board game *fanorona* to that of the oniric chess game between Owain and the Emperor Arthur in the Mabinogion's tale "The Dream of Rhonabwy." "Dos reyes enemigos juegan al ajedrez, mientras en el valle cercano sus ejércitos luchan y se destrazan... Hacia el atardecer uno de los reyes derriba el tablero, porque le han dado jaque mate, y poco después un jinete ensangrentado le anuncia: tu ejército huye, has perdido el reino" from Jorge Luis Borges and Adolfo Bioy Casares, *Cuentos breves y extraordinarios* (Buenos Aires: Losada, 1989) 69. Chess also figures in two other tales from Lady Charlotte E. Guest's translation of the *Mabinogion's* "The Dream of Maxen Wledig" and "Peredur Son of Evrawc" (Mineola, NY: Dover, 1997).

<sup>216</sup> See Pennick 134, fig. 37; and 172. The two simplest and very similar three-based mill variants use different boards: tic tac toe uses a double cross forming a grid of nine squares and tres en raya uses a circle or square divided into nine playable points by a four-rayed star or asterisk. What appear at first to be such dissimilar boards are actually quite similar in that they are, like squares and crosses mentioned above, two different ways of arranging four straight lines. The pentagram game, pentalpha, pentalfa or penta grammal is another member of the mill family played on the ancient magical symbol known as the pentagram in Egypt and Greece. Since it shares this connection with the *LJ's alquerque de tres* and the fact that, like *alquerque de doze's* board, a mill game or a hunting game similar to *cercar la liebre* may be played upon it, it will be mentioned briefly here. Pennick 211-12: It is "played by entering nine pebbles or pieces into the board one at a time, making three moves in a straight line at each entry until all nine are entered. ... Once a piece is entered, it remains where it is" as in the *LJ's alquerque de tres*. The Indian hunt game, called *kaooa*, is played with one tiger and seven *kaooas* (Parlett 195 and Pennick 211-12). Extrapolating from other games in this family, a *kaooa* may be a type of goat or sheep. In a solitaire version by this name the piece moves from where it is off the board onto a space and then two more in a straight line with the ability to hop an intervening piece. Finally, this board was found in ancient Egypt as was the earliest known mill board. Its shape relates it even more directly to the stars than does the millboard's shape. From the instructions: "A shape found carved in a temple in Egypt, whose design was borrowed by the Greeks for this game that is still played today in Crete. ... The object of the game is to enter the nine pieces onto the ten spaces of the pentagram, using a three step move for each piece. ... Each piece must

member of this game family which uses the same board, calls the central square “the pound” (Pennick 151). The difference between the two shapes lies in whether the pieces are played upon the intersections, as in the *LJ*, or within the spaces, as we do today. In fact, it is quite remarkable that Alfonso uses this board since the miniature presents a very simple variant of this child’s game which does not allow the second phase of the game, i.e. movement of the pieces along the lines once all pieces have been placed on the board. What this means is that the diagonals, and in fact all the lines, are unnecessary for the *LJ* version of the game which could just as well be played on a modern nine-space board. Therefore, it is possible that the diagonals in *alquerque de tres* may have been included as a coded hint to the reader, relating the earthly calendars of the fifth treatise, with its cyclical four-seasons games, to the games of the seventh treatise, based on rotating heavens.

The *LJ*’s *alquerque de nueve* used a slightly different board configuration known as the triple mill.

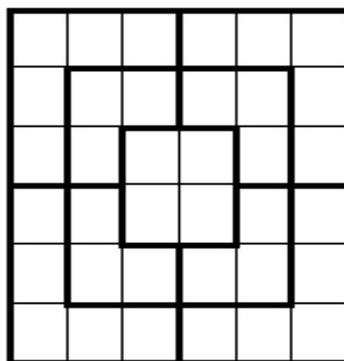


Fig. 182. The 7x7-Line Grid of the *LJ*’s *Alquerque de nueve*, a.k.a the Triple Mill.

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enter the board on an unoccupied space, then move, in a straight line, in one direction only, two more spaces to any other unoccupied space. The first space moved over need not be unoccupied” (Micro Games of the World by Alpi International, Ltd. Oakland, CA 94608).

Of the two types of lines in the above figure, only the bold lines normally appear on a mill board. However I have included the other lines in order to show how the configuration used for *alquerque de nueue* or nine men's morris is based upon a 6x6-square or 7x7-line grid. Players of both variants of *alquerque de nueue*, with or without dice, may only play their pieces on what are shown as the intersections of the bold lines and once all of a player's pieces are placed they may only be moved along what are the bold lines. The result is a wheel-like board composed of three concentric squares, or a triple mill, connected by spokes at the cardinal points. Like the diagonals of the other *LJ* mill variants, this resemblance to a wheel is symbolic of rotation. The board also forms an outer group of four squares united at the center by a fifth. In this regard, it is similar to the Indonesian *surakarta* board with its roundabout corner loops resembling "medieval European cosmographic mosaics found in many cathedrals, which symbolize the four elements and the *Quintessence* at the centre" (Pennick 217).

#### **3.3.5.4 The Fourth Metaphysical Dimension: Anagogical Ludic Symbolism**

The two final games of the *LJ* in the seventh treatise are a symbolic tour-de-force combining astrology in general (fol. 95r) and the zodiac in particular (counter-clockwise list on fol. 95v). The text explicates which planets rule which zodiacal houses (fol. 96r), as well as the physical appearance of the Roman gods whom the planet playing pieces symbolize and the colors which represent them (fols. 95v-96r and 97r). The connections between these games and other contemporary scientific and religious cosmographs examined here in the context of their shared anagogical, metaphysical symbolism reinforce the *LJ*'s divinatory subtext. As with the third tropological dimension, where we

saw relationships between the scientific and religious symbolism of the games of the *LJ*'s fifth treatise and other cosmographs such as clocks and maps and certain religious visions of creation including rose windows, the fourth anagogical dimension of the *LJ* includes some connections to scientific cosmography including calendars, clocks and maps but also especially a kinship with representations of early and medieval Christian expressions of the wonder of God's creation as seen in the rose windows, Bible and manuscript illuminations. What makes Alfonso's scientifico-religious cosmovision even more beautiful and remarkable than these others is the fact that the playable nature of the games converts the static image of the miniature into a type of two-dimensional armillary sphere or astrolabe whose moveable parts form a working model of the universe as the Wise King envisioned it.

Whereas the four-player games of the fifth treatise showcase Alfonsine scientific knowledge, i.e. this world seen from man's perspective, the seven-player games of the seventh treatise represent a larger view of the cosmos from a divine perspective via the counter-clockwise orientation of the zodiacal signs. Seen from the earth, the sun appears to move through these constellations in a clockwise path during the year. This is why modern star charts arrange the signs clockwise so that they may be held up to the sky and understood by us here scientifically. The *LJ*'s and at least two other Arabic horoscopes arrange the twelve signs in exactly the opposite manner because their goal is not scientific knowledge, an understanding of which is considered a prerequisite, but rather an attempt to view this knowledge from what they presumed to be a divine perspective, i.e. from outside the celestial sphere, in order to gain a god-like understanding. The

ceiling murals at the Villa Farnese in Caprarola, Italy (1573) and New York's Grand Central Station (opened 1913) imitate this god's-eye view. Thus, the difference between a clockwise and a counter-clockwise presentation of the zodiac is comparable to the difference between the smaller, mundane and scientific view of the four seasons games and the larger, cosmic and metaphysical view of the astrological games.

A full description of these game boards is offered in Chapter I of this dissertation, so only the most salient numerological and astronomical characteristics will be addressed here. *Escaques*, the *LJ*'s penultimate game, most accurately and completely reveals Alfonso's scientific vision of Creation with its board of eighty-four total squares (7x12, or the number of days in a week multiplied by the number of months in a year), although he acknowledges that space limits the detail permitted in this mapping of the heavens.<sup>217</sup> Ptolemy describes three such universal models in his *Almagest* and the related Arabic models of the twelfth century may be the basis for all later armillary spheres.<sup>218</sup> The Ptolemaic cosmivision used in *escaques* may also have been known to Alfonso through French scientific works which illustrate the same universal plan,<sup>219</sup> or Catalan<sup>220</sup> and

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<sup>217</sup> "Et como quiere que los Siete cielos son departidos en mas partes; & non podrien aqui caber en este tablero que fuessen apuestos; tomamos destos departimientos segunt aquella cuenta lo mas breue que conuiene a este juego" (fol. 95v).

<sup>218</sup> "Armillary sphere," *Encyclopædia Britannica*. 2006. Encyclopædia Britannica Online. Accessed 6 Dec. 2006 <<http://search.eb.com/eb/article-9009526>>.

<sup>219</sup> The English scholar and astronomer Johannes de Sacrobosco's authoritative medieval astronomy text *De Sphaera Mundi* (c. 1230), which combines Ptolemaic and Arabic astronomy, was published at the University of Paris. Its illustration of the four-elemented earth and its place within the seven spheres of the universe is identical to that of the *LJ*'s *escaques*. "Sacrobosco," *Wikipedia*. 2006. <[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/De\\_sphaera\\_mundi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/De_sphaera_mundi)>. Accessed 6 Dec. 2006.

<sup>220</sup> "There is also an anonymous Hermetical manuscript, written in Latin and probably of Catalan origin, in which the spiritual meaning of the heavenly spheres successively surrounding one another is presented in a manner reminiscent of the Divine Comedy. The ascent through the spheres is described as an ascent through a hierarchy of spiritual (or intellectual) degrees, by mean of which the soul, which successively realizes these, gradually turns from a discursive knowledge bound to forms to an undifferentiated and immediate vision in which subject and object, knower and know, are one. This

Arabic metaphysical writings which depict the soul as ascending through a hierarchical series of concentric spheres, as if climbing up the rungs of the ladder of enlightenment, as seen in Burckhardt<sup>221</sup> and others.<sup>222</sup> The final *LJ* game, an astrological tables variant for

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description is illustrated by drawings which show the heavenly spheres as concentric circles, through which men ascend, as if on Jacob's ladder, to the highest sphere, the Empyrean, on which Christ sits enthroned. The heavenly circles are complemented in a downward direction—that is, towards the earth—by the elements. Next to the lunar sphere is a circle of fire; under this is the circle of air, which encloses water, which immediately surrounds the earth. It is noteworthy that this anonymous manuscript, the Hermetic character of which is evident, recognizes the validity of all three monotheistic religions, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam” (Burckhardt 46-47).

<sup>221</sup> Burckhardt's captions to his plates 1 and 2: “The ascent of the Soul through the Spheres. Two analogous representations from an anonymous Hermetic manuscript of the end of the twelfth century (MS Latin 3236A of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris; first published by M. T. d'Alverny in *Archives d'Histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age*, 1940-42). Folio 90 shows at the top the enthroned Christ above the spheres. Alongside are the words: ‘Creator omnium Deus—Causa prima—Voluntas divina—Voluntas divina’ ... The two uppermost circles contain the words ‘forma in potentia’ and ‘materia in potentia’. These are the two poles *forma* and *materia prima*, Pure Act and Passive Receptacle, which are here conceived as possibilities contained in Pure Being, and not yet manifested. This is why they lie outside the Universal Spirit, when this is viewed in its manifested or created reality, which is represented by the next circle: ‘Casuatum primum esse creatum primum principium omnium creaturarum continens in se creaturas’ (first effect, first created being, principle of all creatures, containing all creatures within itself). As stages within the Universal Spirit there follow ten intellectual or cognitive faculties (‘intelligentiae’), to which correspond a similar number of angelic choirs. Curiously the order in which they appear is the exact opposite to that of the Dionysian doctrine of the Heavenly Hierarchy; from above downwards they are: ‘Angeli’, ‘Archangeli’, ‘Troni’, ‘dominationes’, ‘virtutes’, ‘principatus’, ‘potestates’, ‘Cherubim’, ‘Seraphim’, and ‘ordo seniorum’ (choir of elders). This reversal of order may be due to the error of a copyist who had a theocentric scheme in mind. Beneath these ten spheres of the supra-formal Spirit lie four spheres of the soul: ‘Anima celestis’, ‘Anima rationabilis’, ‘Anima animalis’ and ‘Anima vegetabilis’. So far the concentric order of the spheres is intended purely symbolically, whereas the succeeding (and ever smaller) spheres of the corporeal world are to be understood both symbolically and spatially: the corporeal world is surrounded by its outermost circle: ‘Natura principium corporis’ (Nature as principle of bodies). It contains the astronomic spheres, the outermost of which correspond to the daily revolution of the heavens: ‘Spera decima—spera suprema qua fit motus de occidente ad orientem et est principium motus’ (tenth sphere—highest sphere, in which takes place the movement from West to East, and which is the principle of all movement). Inside this is the sphere which determines the precession of the equinoxes: ‘Spera nona—spera motus octave spera qua fit motus eius de septentrione ad meridiem et e converso’ (ninth sphere, which moves the eighth sphere and causes it to travel from North to South and vice versa). Then follow in descending order the heaven of fixed stars and the planetary spheres: ‘Spera octava—spera stellata; Saturnus—spera saturni; Jupiter—spera iovis; Mars—spera martis; Sol—spera solis; Venus—spera veneris; Mercurius—spera mercurii; Luna—spera lunae.’ Inside these lie the four elements in concentric circles around the centre of the earth (the outermost circle corresponds both to the domain of the elements as such, and to the highest element fire): ‘Ignis—corpus corruptibilis quod est quatuor elementa’ (Fire—corruptible body consisting of four elements); ‘aer’; ‘acqua’; ‘terra’ and ‘centrum mundi’. Through these circles of the spiritual, psychic and corporeal worlds men rise to God as if on a ladder. The lowest figure is still bound to the domain of the elements and a companion is dragging him up from this by the hair. ... The other miniature, on folio 89, repeats the same order, this time with complete circles but with only partial inscriptions” (Burckhardt, *Alchemy* 48-50).

seven players, shares the same symbolism as *escaques* in only slightly less detail.

While much of the structure of these astrologically-based games can be traced to secular scientific or philosophical sources, there may be other, more religious, links as well which serve as examples of the fourth, anagogical level of interpretation of the *LJ* and its games. The universe as a series of concentric circles appears to Ezekiel's in his vision and the revelations of the medieval mystic, Hildegard von Bingen, discussed below. This seventh and final treatise of the book of games culminates Alfonso's carefully arranged series of progressive variations on the themes of chess, dice and tables as well as representing the apex of his numerological symbolism.

On the third tropological level of symbolism, clocks and rose windows were described which shared connections with the *LJ*'s four-seasons games of the fifth treatise. Here we will examine still more early clocks and rose windows which, like the *LJ*'s astrological games of the seventh treatise, link the earthly quaternities microcosmically with macrocosmic astrological symbolism. Again, these are particularly those clocks and other representations of the cosmos which display twenty-four hours or divisions and which are astrological in nature, exhibiting the same concentric planetary circles as the *LJ*'s *escaques* which are surrounded by an outer, counterclockwise ring of zodiacal constellations or signs. These similarities once again underscore the relationship between the divinatory nature of *LJ*'s games and the cosmography they share with both earthly sciences and spiritual religions.

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<sup>222</sup> A similar diagram appears in Roob with the caption: "The souls ascend from the realm of the elements via the spheres of the planets, the four levels of the soul and the nine choirs of angels to the highest sphere of Platonic ideals. Christ sits enthroned above them all. (Anonymous manuscript, 12<sup>th</sup> century)" (43).

Combining the features of concentric planetary circles with four figures at the corners are the clocks in Padua,<sup>223</sup> Venice's Piazza San Marco,<sup>224</sup> Wells Cathedral<sup>225</sup> and Wimborne.<sup>226</sup> Padua's clock also reveals the same aspects as astrological checkers in the form of the geometric shapes at the center of the dial: the hexagon marks sextiles, the square marks quadratures, and the triangle marks trines. These beautiful clocks illustrate the microcosm-macrocosm principal linking the *LJ*'s fifth and seventh treatises. Their shape recalls the fifth treatise game *el mundo* but reduces that terrestrial symbolism to the central or omphalic position of the celestial macrocosm.

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<sup>223</sup> Padua's Palazzo del Capitanato has a clock dating from 1434, based on the original from 1344. Padua's clock is very similar to that of Venice, but is more complex. The four oculi display the hour, in a Roman numeral at top left; the minutes in Arabic numerals at top right; the abbreviation of the month at lower right; and the moon's age in Arabic numerals at lower left. The outer edge of the dial is marked with twenty-four Roman numeral hours, with the zero hour in the same position as Venice's clock; the sun-shaped hand moves counterclockwise through the zodiac symbols; and the innermost part of the face is the central golden Earth surrounded by the figures showing the sextile, trine and square relationships of the zodiac signs as used for the play of *escaques*.

<sup>224</sup> Venice's Piazza San Marco has a fabulous astrological clock. Its square frame around the round face is set off by four oculi at the corners. The dial is comprised of four concentric circles beginning with the twenty-four Roman numeral hours at the outside, marked by a single hand fashioned into a golden sun; the zero hour is unusually set at the "East" or what is now our three-o'clock position. Next are the counterclockwise figures of the zodiac, the phase of a spherical moon which rotates on its axis and a central golden earth sphere.

<sup>225</sup> One of the oldest clocks in the world, dated to around 1392, is the Wells Cathedral clock. Similar in form to four-seasons tables board and the *escaques*, its round face is set in a square frame whose four corners are occupied by angels holding large heads. Its single hand moves through three concentric rings of numbers from the outside inwards: twenty-four hours marked in two series of Roman numerals from one to twelve, Arabic numeral minutes marked in increments of five and Arabic numerals from one through thirty showing the moon's age; the moon's phase is shown in one of two circles sharing the inner disk, this one inscribed with "sphericus archetypum globus hic monstrat microcosmum," clearly expressing the clock's symbolic purpose, and the other one showing a man and the legend "Hic peragrat Phœbe."

<sup>226</sup> Wimborne Minster, Dorset, has a double-twelve twenty-four hour clock which represents Earth at the center but with a green ball, a silver moon, a golden sun and four cherubs in its corners. The orbiting sun marks the hour in Roman numerals and the orbiting moon revolves on its axis to indicate the phase.

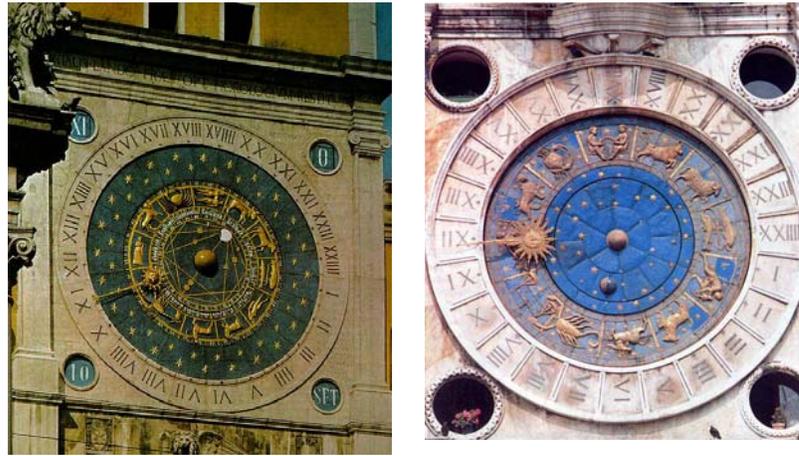


Fig. 183. Padua's (left) and Venice's (right) Circle-in-the-Square Astrological Clocks with Four Circular Corners.<sup>227</sup>

Early examples of astrological clocks without the four framing figures include those at Cremona;<sup>228</sup> Exeter,<sup>229</sup> Hampton Court Palace<sup>230</sup> and Mantua.<sup>231</sup> A fourteenth-

<sup>227</sup> Padua's clock image from *Prague Astronomical Clock*, J. Podolsky, 30 Dec. 1997, <<http://utf.mff.cuni.cz/Relativity/orloj09.jpg>>. Accessed 12 Dec. 2006. Pictures by J.Kohout, from the monograph *Pražský orloj* by Z. Horsky (Prague: Panorama, 1988). Venice's clock image from *L'Orologio della Torre in Piazza San Marco a Venezia* (from *Horological Journal*, Jan. 2001) <http://www.orologeria.com/italiano/hj/hj8.htm> Accessed 12 Dec. 2006.

<sup>228</sup> In the city of Cremona, Italy, the town's round astrological clock (1483) has a counterclockwise circle of zodiac figures. Unlike the other Italian clocks, that of Cremona does not have a square framework but it has the twenty-four Roman numeral hours, with the zero-hour at the bottom or six-o'clock position, like Uccello's clock in Florence, described above, and the zodiac, marked here by its written name, symbol and animal figures. The innermost dials contain both sun and moon indicators.

<sup>229</sup> In England's Exeter Cathedral has a twenty-four hour clock marked in double-twelve fashion like the Wells Cathedral one. Like the *escaques* board, the Exeter clock shows the Earth as a gold ball at the center of the outer orbit of the sun, a fleur-de-lis, and the inner orbit of the moon, to indicate its phase.

<sup>230</sup> The astronomical clock at Hampton Court Palace in London, England is a round, twenty-four hour astrological clock set within a square frame. In the four corners around the clock's round face there are rosettes set within quatrefoils. The eight concentric bands include twenty-four Roman numeral hours, Arabic numeral minutes grouped by half hours, the twelve Zodiac signs represented counterclockwise zodiac by animals and other symbols, the days of the months and the months with the innermost being a circle divided into four regions each labeled one through four with an Arabic numeral. The outer framework of this clock with its round twenty-four point center strongly evokes the four-seasons tables board shown on fol. 89v and the centric circles including the zodiac with a four-fold center strongly evokes that of *escaques* on fol. 96v.

<sup>231</sup> Mantua, Italy's round twenty-four hour astrological clock dates from 1473. Like Cremona's clock, Mantua's clock does not have a square framework. It has three hands indicating the hour, in its outermost band consists of twenty-four Roman numeral hours, beginning like Venice and Padua at the three-o'clock position; the moon's age, in the second band marked with twelve dark and twelve light Arabic numerals; and the sun's location in the zodiac, marked with the zodiac animals and a central human figure representing the earth.

century Catalan wheel calendar shows the earth in the same manner as fol. 96v's illumination of *escaques*, with the four elements at the center of seven planetary orbits and the zodiac. This calendar also includes two lunar elements beyond the *escaques* board, the first of which is a ring of the twenty-eight daily moon phases. "The outermost ring shows the numbers of the nineteen-year lunar cycle used to find the date of Easter, and finally the four seasons frame the wheel. Such calendars were virtually cosmic diagrams, visually combining those elements of time and space which dominated medieval science."<sup>232</sup>



Fig. 184. Cremona and Mantua's Astrological Clocks with Unornamented Corners.<sup>233</sup>

As a scientific-religious expression of cosmography, the *LJ*'s game boards are, especially the *escaques* board on fol. 96v, a type of heavenly map. A map of earth very similar to the *escaques* miniature may be seen in OT-style maps with fishes in the water and birds in the air all surrounded by seven different planetary color orbits beyond which lies the zodiac.<sup>234</sup> A reflection of the *LJ*'s scientific motifs of the four elements and the arrangement of zodiacal and/or planetary figures also extend to the science of early

<sup>232</sup> Whitfield, *Mapping* 51.

<sup>233</sup> Both clock images from *24 Hour Analog Clocks*, 11 Jan. 2006, <<http://homepage.mac.com/pete.boardman/24hourclock/whereeurope.html>>. Accessed 12 Dec. 2006.

<sup>234</sup> Judith Herrin, *A Medieval Miscellany* (New York: Viking, 1999) 28.

cartography. Even as late as the seventeenth century, cartographers still illustrated their maps with many of the same themes seen in the *LJ*'s four-player and astrological games of four figures, most usually depicting geographers and astrologers in the corners and signs of the zodiac. John Blaeu's world map (1662) shows Galileo at top left and John Blaeu's father, Tycho Brahe, at top right with the four seasons running across the bottom.<sup>235</sup> Henricus Hondius's world map (1630) shows Julius Caesar and fire at top left, Claudius Ptolemeus and air at top right, Hondius himself and earth at bottom right and Mercator and water at bottom left.<sup>236</sup> Earlier maps most often fill the corners with puff-cheeked cherubs blowing the various winds. Two examples of Claudius Ptolemy's world map (1482) depict ten wind cherubs<sup>237</sup> while the "Ptolemy World Map" of Sebastian Muenster (1489-1552) shows twelve winds<sup>238</sup> as does another "Ptolemy World Map, c. 150 A.D.",<sup>239</sup> two of Battista Agnese's world maps also illustrate twelve wind cherubs<sup>240</sup> while the "Forlani World Map, 1565" reveals only two wind cherubs.<sup>241</sup>

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<sup>235</sup> In *The Art of Cartography: A Book of Postcards from the Huntington Library*. San Francisco: Pomegranate Artbooks, 1991. ISBN 087654944X.

<sup>236</sup> "World Map, 1630" by Henricus Hondius in *Novus Atlas*, by Jan. Jansson, 1647-1662. In *The Art of Cartography: A Book of Postcards from the Huntington Library*. San Francisco: Pomegranate Artbooks, 1991. 087654944X.

<sup>237</sup> "World Map, Claudius Ptolemy, *Cosmographia*, Ulm, 1482" In *The Art of Cartography: A Book of Postcards from the Huntington Library*. San Francisco: Pomegranate Artbooks, 1991. 087654944X and "Ptolemaic Map, 1482" *Columbus and the Age of Great Explorations: Maps from the Library of Congress*. New Orleans, LA: More Than A Card, Inc. ISBN 0922589445.

<sup>238</sup> "Ptolemy World Map" by Sebastian Muenster (1489-1552)" *From the Renaissance to Discovery: Antique Map Prints*. New Orleans, LA: More Than A Card, Inc. ISBN 0922589526.

<sup>239</sup> "Ptolemy World Map, c. 150 A.D." *Antique Map Prints in the Age of Discovery*. New Orleans, LA: More Than A Card, Inc. ISBN 0922589437.

<sup>240</sup> "World Map, Battista Agnese, portolan atlas, Venice, c. 1540" In *The Art of Cartography: A Book of Postcards from the Huntington Library*. San Francisco: Pomegranate Artbooks, 1991. 087654944X and "Agnese World Map, 1544" *Columbus and the Age of Great Explorations: Maps from the Library of Congress*. New Orleans, LA: More Than A Card, Inc. ISBN 0922589445.

<sup>241</sup> "Forlani World Map, 1565" *Columbus and the Age of Great Explorations: Maps from the Library of Congress*. New Orleans, LA: More Than A Card, Inc. ISBN 0922589445.

Some early maps use the themes of *escaques*'s concentric circles or the zodiac, with or without the four elements found in four-seasons chess and tables. Others, such as the late sixteenth-century world map attributed to Francesco Gisolfi and the famous eighteenth-century "Magna Carta Mundi" by Johann B. Homann, unite space and time by showing the world encircled by the zodiac signs, their corresponding months and planets, and the four elements.<sup>242</sup> Andreas Cellarius's "Map of the Universe," from his *Atlas Coelestis seu Harmonia Macrocosmica* (Amsterdam, 1660), has a human figure representing the earth at center, surrounded by seven elliptical planetary orbits with their measurements in time and an outer zodiacal ring.<sup>243</sup> Cellarius's "Ptolemaic Map of the World" from the same atlas has a map-like earth, surrounded by seven concentric orbits and an outer zodiac ring showing the four elements of fire, air, earth and water.<sup>244</sup> Sometimes the zodiacal animals are replaced by months of the year or their associated labors or by major cities and typical costumes from the various regions shown on the map. William Blaeu's world map of 1606 frames the earth with the seven planets, the seven wonders of the ancient world, the four elements and the four seasons.<sup>245</sup> Smaller regional maps such as Blaeu's series of Africa (1617), Asia (1617), Europe (1617) and

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<sup>242</sup> In *The Art of Cartography: A Book of Postcards from the Huntington Library*. San Francisco: Pomegranate Artbooks, 1991. 087654944X. Homann's map also features four military leaders and the seven works of charity from the Bible. "For I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in: Naked, and ye clothed me: I was sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me." (Matt. 25:35-36) from "Matthew," *KJV Bible*, 18 Feb. 1997, accessed 23 Sept. 2005, <<http://www.hti.umich.edu/k/kjv/browse.html>>. The seventh charitable act is the burial of the dead.

<sup>243</sup> In *Maps of the Heavens: Andreas Cellarius, a Book of Postcards—The British Library*. San Francisco: Pomegranate Artbooks, 1993.

<sup>244</sup> In *Maps of the Heavens: Andreas Cellarius, a Book of Postcards—The British Library*. San Francisco: Pomegranate Artbooks, 1993.

<sup>245</sup> "World Map, William Blaeu, 1606" In *The Art of Cartography: A Book of Postcards from the Huntington Library*. San Francisco: Pomegranate Artbooks, 1991. 087654944X.

America (1617, 1620, 1650) frame the geography with details of city maps and types of regional dress.<sup>246</sup>

We have previously referred to Cowen's study which reveals that medieval rose windows express the same elements of sacred geometry—the four elements, the seven planets and the twelve signs of the zodiac—as do the games of Alfonso X's *LJ*: "Every rose window," says Cowen, "is a symbol and image of the Creation and the created universe. The layers of concentric circles that comprise the great early roses are idealized models of the universe, of the earth at the centre of the spheres.... [In] the outermost sphere was the Prime Mover, beyond which lay the Empyrean of God" (85). This latter area is also known as the abode of God (Burckhardt, *Alchemy* 46) and is where Alfonso and his courtiers sit in the illuminations on fols. 96v and 97v, moving the planet-like pieces around their model universe as if they were gods. Here the microcosmic game representing the macrocosmic Game is played out in dizzying mirror-like imagery as in Borges's poem: Alfonso and his friends are manipulating the pieces as they themselves are, in turn, manipulated by a larger hand.<sup>247</sup>

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<sup>246</sup> "Africa, William Blaeu, 1617," "Asia, William Blaeu, 1617," "Europe, William Blaeu, 1617," and "America, William Blaeu, 1617" In *The Art of Cartography: A Book of Postcards from the Huntington Library*. San Francisco: Pomegranate Artbooks, 1991. 087654944X; "Blaeu's Map of Europe, c. 1620" *From the Renaissance to Discovery: Antique Map Prints*. New Orleans, LA: More Than A Card, Inc. ISBN 0922589526. In *The Art of Cartography: A Book of Postcards from the Huntington Library*. San Francisco: Pomegranate Artbooks, 1991. 087654944X. *Antique Map Prints in the Age of Discovery*. New Orleans, LA: More Than A Card, Inc. ISBN 0922589437.

<sup>247</sup> "Tenue rey, sesgo alfil, encarnizada / Reina, torre directa y peón ladino / Sobre lo negro y blanco del camino / Buscan y libran su batalla armada. / No saben que la mano señalada / Del jugador gobierna su destino, / No saben que un rigor adamantino / Sujeta su albedrío y su jornada. / También el jugador es prisionero / (La sentencia es de Omar) de otro tablero / De negras noches y de blancos días. / Dios mueve al jugador y éste, la pieza. / ¿Qué dios detrás de Dios la trama empieza / De polvo y tiempo y sueño y agonía?" from "Sonetos de Borges," *Metajedrez*, Fernando Pedró, 10 Aug. 2005, <<http://www.metajedrez.com.ar/borges.htm>>. See also Clark M. Zlotchew's "El manipulador manipulado: el determinismo ajedrecista en Borges," *Kánina: Revista de Artes y Letras de la Universidad de Costa Rica* X.2 (1986): 29-33.

In the astrological rose window of Chartres Cathedral the universe is manifested in precisely the same way as in the *LJ's escaques* miniature on fol. 96v with “concentric layers ... which echo the spheres containing the sun, moon, planets and stars” of the signs of the zodiac (Cowen, caption for pl. 9). Beyond these signs, the rose window adds “time (portrayed as the months of the year), the vices and virtues and the prophets” and instead of the earth, the church window has the Virgin Mary at its center (Cowen, caption for pl. 9). As the human link between man and God, Mary is at once the representation of mankind and thus of the four earthly elements around which all the concentric circles of the cosmos revolve as well as the living *omphalos* representative of the cosmic axis linking heaven and earth.

In the pavement beneath the great West rose window of Chartres, with its cosmological themes, is a labyrinth laid into twelve concentric circles whose implication, Cowen says, “has been generally overlooked.”<sup>248</sup> According to Pennick, the labyrinth reflects the message of the window above it in two ways. First, the window’s astrological message is but another expression of man’s search for his place in the universe, as represented by the labyrinth. Second, the quartered shape of the paths within the pattern is a reference to the seasons (102). Pennick (123) describes a similar labyrinth at Sens cathedral composed of nine tiles, the nine-square form within a circle discussed above under numerological fives, which I believe to be the root of nearly all game boards. Like the window above it and the *LJ's* games, walking the path of these labyrinths is an exercise in meditation on man’s search for meaning and his place within the cosmos. Its

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<sup>248</sup> “Below the rose is the labyrinth, set into the nave at such a distance from the west door that if the rose were to be ‘hinged down’ it would almost fit over it” (Cowen 98).

twelve concentric rings echo the same calendaric, universal map we find in the *LJ*'s *escaques* and contain a unicursal path that leads ineluctably to the central home or *omphalos*. Also, like the *LJ* and its astrological games, the Chartres labyrinth relates the number twelve to the number seven with its center marked by six scalloped lobes and one straight-lined path (6+1=7).

Another very elaborate, thirteenth-century rose window at Lausanne Cathedral combines the earthly quarternities and celestial symbologies of both the *LJ*'s four-seasons and astrological games. "As an *imago mundi*—or image of the cosmos—it is a tour-de-force of symbolism" (Cowen 84). Its concentric layers begin in the center with Creation surrounded by the seasons, months, zodiacal signs and the four elements. Radiating from the elements are the four rivers of Paradise followed by the eight winds of heaven. "Everything in this cosmos is part of one totality, of the everyday world cyclically repeating itself through the seasons, yet within an almost transcendent world represented as Paradise" (Cowen 84).

Biblical evidence, that is to say textual evidence in addition to the visual art of clocks and rose windows, also exists for the *LJ*'s view of the heavens as wheels within wheels, as seen in the game *escaques*. In Ezekiel 1: 5-10, four cherubim (composite winged creatures, each with the face of a man, a lion, an ox and an eagle) appear to the prophet bearing God's chariot in a wind from the North.<sup>249</sup> Ezekiel 1: 16 describes how

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<sup>249</sup> Ezek. 1: 5-10 from "Bible, King James. Ezekiel, from The holy Bible, King James version," Electronic Text Center, University of Virginia Library, 27 Sept. 2005, <<http://wyllie.lib.virginia.edu:8086/perl/toccer-new?id=KjvEzek.sgm&images=images/modeng&data=/texts/english/modeng/parsed&tag=public&part=1&division=div1>>.

beside each cherub were four shining wheels set at right angles to one another or one within the other.<sup>250</sup> The wheels within wheels are like the planetary orbits in the illustration of *escaques* on fol. 96v. The four creatures surrounding the wheels represent the animal symbols associated with the Four Evangelists, also seen above in the Tarot card compared with the *LJ*'s *el mundo*: Matthew (man with book), Mark (lion), Luke (bull or cow) and John (eagle) who are, in turn, related to the four fixed signs of the zodiac, Aquarius, Leo, Taurus and Scorpio which are, in turn, connected to the four elements that these zodiacal signs represent: Aquarius (water), Leo (fire), Taurus (earth) and Scorpio (air).<sup>251</sup> This arrangement is not unlike the four parts of the earliest variant of chess, *chaturanga*, in which the element earth represents one of four branches.

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“5: Also out of the midst thereof came the likeness of four living creatures. And this was their appearance; they had the likeness of a man.

“6: And every one had four faces, and every one had four wings.

“7: And their feet were straight feet; and the sole of their feet was like the sole of a calf's foot: and they sparkled like the colour of burnished brass.

“8: And they had the hands of a man under their wings on their four sides; and they four had their faces and their wings.

“9: Their wings were joined one to another; they turned not when they went; they went every one straight forward.

“10: As for the likeness of their faces, they four had the face of a man, and the face of a lion, on the right side: and they four had the face of an ox on the left side; they four also had the face of an eagle.”

<sup>250</sup> “Biblical Literature,” *Encyclopædia Britannica*. 2003. Encyclopædia Britannica Online. 11 Oct, 2003 <<http://search.eb.com/eb/article?eu=119707>>. Ezek. 1: 16 from “Bible, King James. Ezekiel, from The holy Bible, King James version,” Electronic Text Center, University of Virginia Library, 27 Sept. 2005, <<http://wyllie.lib.virginia.edu:8086/perl/toccer-new?id=KjvEzek.sgm&images=images/modeng&data=/texts/english/modeng/parsed&tag=public&part=1&division=div1>>.

“16: The appearance of the wheels and their work was like unto the colour of a beryl: and they four had one likeness: and their appearance and their work was as it were a wheel in the middle of a wheel.”

<sup>251</sup> “The word Zodiac originates from the Greek *zodiakos kuklos*, ‘wheel of animal figures’. The usual interpretation of the four sacred creatures that often surround Christ (and the early wheel windows) is that of the Word being promulgated by the four Evangelists, who are the typological transformation of the creatures that Ezekiel saw in the fire of the wheel. From another point of view the four creatures are the four fixed signs of the Zodiac—Leo (the lion of St. Mark), fire; Taurus (the bull of St. Luke), earth; Aquarius (the man of St. Matthew), air; Scorpio (the eagle of St. John), an alternative symbol for this sign), water—flanking the wheel of fate” (Cowen 88).

Medieval illustrations of this vision strongly resemble aspects of both the four seasons and astrological games found in the *LJ*. Herrin publishes an image of “Ezekiel’s vision of the four creatures holding the seven planetary spheres.”<sup>252</sup>



Fig. 185. Ezekiel’s Vision.

The earth, shown in the center, somewhat resembles the U.S. flag with a blue quarter to the upper left and the remaining three quarters in red wavy lines on a white background. As in the illustration of *escaques* on fol. 96v, there are seven differently colored, concentric circles surrounding the earth and beginning with the moon’s white circle in which the crescent moon is visible. The other circles here, however, do not show their planets. A heavy black line separates the seven planetary orbits from the final outer wheel displaying the twelve signs of the zodiac arranged in clockwise order, rather than counterclockwise as in the *LJ*. The four winged tetramorphs are shown in four corners much like the Four Evangelists with only one animal aspect dominant in each, as is customary in many clocks and rose windows, and also as the individuals involved in the four-player games of the *LJ*’s fifth treatise. These particular tetramorphs, with eyes all

<sup>252</sup> Herrin 28, crediting “[The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, Rothschild Miscellany], fol. 354a.”

over their bodies, are depicted in accordance with Revelation 4.6: “And round about the throne, were four beasts full of eyes before and behind.” Christ in majesty sits atop all the wheels holding in his left hand an orb very much like the central earth circle and raising his right hand in blessing.

Early cosmographic rose windows, clock faces and maps, in terms of their having four figures at the corners, concentric circles or both, may have been influenced by Ezekiel’s vision, Macrobius’s commentary on Scipio’s dream and other equally important texts. These same features are also found in the *LJ*’s four-seasons boards (fols. 88v and 89v) and *escaques* board (fol. 96v) because these game boards are also world maps or cosmographs. One of the strongest arguments in support of this observation derives from the fact that the movement of game boards is counterclockwise or, as Falkener says of pachisi, “[t]he pieces move against the sun.”<sup>253</sup> The metaphysical implication behind the counterclockwise perspective of the zodiac signs is that it is representative of the way in which they would be seen by God or by someone looking at them from above the earth, rather than clockwise as man sees them from his mundane or scientific perspective. In other words these games represent more sophisticated representations of the world around us rather than simplistic imitations of solar movement. Inasmuch as these game boards pictorially reflect the extent of scientific knowledge about the world and the universe in Alfonso’s times, they are metaphysical maps and time-measuring devices designed, like the rose windows of Gothic cathedrals,

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<sup>253</sup> Falkener 261. All *LJ* games which have circular motion (*el mundo*, *escaques* and astrological backgammon) move counterclockwise. Some later games also follow this convention include goose (Pennick notes goose’s “anticlockwise spiral” [46]). That this connection with a divine perspective of astrology in modern games is lost can be seen in others of their descendents, perhaps the most famous modern board game, Monopoly (Parker Brothers 1935) whose play moves in a clockwise direction.

to elevate the consciousness to a higher spiritual plane in order to arrive at the knowledge of truth about creation.

St. Hildegard, also known as Hildegard von Bingen (1098-1179), was a German abbess and mystical visionary who, like Alfonso after her, was also interested in allegory and the number seven as well as writing songs. In her *Scivias* (1141-1152), Hildegard records a vision similar to Ezekiel's, in which she saw the image of man, the microcosmic center or *omphalos* of the cosmos, macrocosmically represented as another man divided into the four elements and crowned by Christ.<sup>254</sup> A similar portrayal of the world is seen in the twentieth-century Tibetan thangka painting *The Wheel of Life* and the Ballinderry game board with its head, feet and navel.<sup>255</sup>

Evidence that these games were meant to be divinatory, or to aid “los entendudos. e mayormiente pora aquellos que saben la Arte de Astronomia” (fol. 95r), may lie in a Syriac Hermetical text, cited by Burckhardt. According to this particular work, when man truly knows himself, seeing himself in the mirror of Divine Intellect, he becomes the perfect man by seeing God in himself. “This mirror is set up beyond seven doors ... which correspond to the seven heavens, beyond the sensual world, beyond the twelve (heavenly) mansions....”<sup>256</sup> In this regard, the *LJ*'s astrological games with their seven

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<sup>254</sup> “*Scivias*,” Online Photograph. Encyclopædia Britannica Online. 23 Oct. 2006 <<http://search.eb.com/eb/art-17146>>.

<sup>255</sup> Anonymous painting, *The Wheel of Life*, collection of Robert Beer. I possess this image in the form of a laminated postcard.

<sup>256</sup> Berthelot, *La Chimie au moyen âge* (Paris, 1893), 2.262-263, qtd. in Burckhardt, *Alchemy* 55-56. Burckhardt may be referring to the *Picatrix*, which Alfonso had translated into Castilian c.1256, with its invocation or incantations made to Mercury/Hermes during specific astrological moments in order to obtain a particular benefit.

heavens surrounded by twelve zodiacal houses may be construed as Alfonso's scientific attempts at divinatory geomancy or, perhaps more appropriately, cosmomancy.

A unique feature of the *LJ*'s game *escaques* is that its goal is not to reach an endpoint or capture an opponent but rather to understand either the auspicious or negative significance of the cyclical positions of the planets relative to each other and the zodiac signs, as symbolized by the monies to be won or paid according to these positions. In this context, the *LJ*'s astrological games appear to correspond most closely to three contemporary Arabic cosmographs which combine the scientific known with the divine unknown in much the same ways as the *LJ* by representing the seven-planet, twelve-sign cosmos as concentric rings but with an additional, spiritual dimension. The following examples of cosmographs rooted in esoteric Muslim philosophy may, then, be possible sources of the Alfonsine presentation of the earthly physical within the cosmic metaphysical with the implication that the metaphysical may therefore be related to or derive from the physical.

The first such Arabic cosmograph is a circle containing seven concentric circles, each inscribed with Arabic words for the zodiac, purification, elements, planets, submission, glorification and intellect (from the outside inwards). This

Islamic cosmographical diagram *c.* 1080 A.D. [is based on the Muslim phrase] *la ilahah illa'llah* 'there is no God but Allah'. This formula has four words, seven syllables and twelve letters. The Ismaili philosopher Nasir Khusraw considered that these corresponded to the structure of the cosmos: four elements, seven planets, and twelve zodiac signs. ... This type of esoteric cosmographical diagram was highly valued by Islamic mystical philosophy.<sup>257</sup>

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<sup>257</sup> Whitfield, *Mapping* 40. Also in Whitfield's *Astrology: A History* (New York: Abrams, 2001: 94). See also fourteenth- or fifteenth-century Spanish armorial carpet which contains this phrase in Cufic script, noted in this dissertation's second chapter's catalogue of miniatures, fol. 22r. *Spanish Armorial*

The numerological emphasis this diagram places on the numbers four, seven and twelve exactly mirrors the *LJ*. Contained within the diagram is the spiritual precept that as there is but one God, he has but one perspective. Metaphysical cosmographs then strive to aid man in his contemplation of the divine by attempting to view the world from the divine perspective. If man could see this life and this world, or vale of tears, from the larger viewpoint then perhaps he could also see and understand the reason why, as the *LJ*'s prologue states, that God wants him to possess, “every manner of happiness” (fol. 1r).

The second two Arabic cosmographs, though slightly later, are exquisitely illuminated horoscopes that carry out visually the *LJ*'s written descriptions of the personifications of the planets (fols. 95v-96r). The first is a Persian horoscope created for Iskandar-Sultan ibn Umar-Shaykh, a grandson of Tamerlane, who in turn was an important figure in the world of enlarged, circular and realistic chess variants.<sup>258</sup> Iskandar's horoscope was compiled and copied by Mahmud ibn Yahya ibn al-Hasan al-Kashi in Shiraz, and is dated A.H. 22 Dhu'l-Hijja 813 (18 April 1411).<sup>259</sup>

This lavishly painted horoscope is bordered on the shorter sides of the rectangle with smaller rectangular panels, like the game boards in the *LJ*. The celestial diagram itself consists of a square frame inscribed with a circle and an overall blue background, again similar to board games depicted in the *LJ*. Each of the four corners of the

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*Carpet*. 1390-1473. Philadelphia Museum of Art. Aug. 16, 2005, <<http://www.philamuseum.org/education/post-ma3.shtml>>.

<sup>258</sup> An image from this horoscope, that of the figure of Mars in Scorpio as it relates to *escaques*, has already been treated in this dissertation's first chapter, Section 1.7.1. See also Chapter 1's Fig. 167.

<sup>259</sup> *Horoscope of Iskandar-Sultan ibn Umar-Shaykh* (detail), Compiled and copied by Mahmud ibn Yahya ibn al-Hasan al-Kashi, Shiraz, dated A.H. 22 Dhu'l-Hijja 813 (A.D. 18 Apr. 1411), Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper, 26.5 x 16.7 cm (10 1/8 x 6 5/8 in.) By courtesy of the Trustees of the Wellcome Trust. Notecard design copyright © 1989 by Museum Associates, Los Angeles County Museum of Art. This image also appears in Whitfield, *Astrology* 84-85.

horoscope is occupied by a crowned angel: the upper two angels bear an additional gold crown in their hands while the lower two hold gold platters. This basic shape and these four figures not only resemble the *LJ*'s game *el mundo* (fol. 89v) but appear to have influenced later iconography as well with the depiction of angels turning the cosmic mechanism.<sup>260</sup> The circle of the cosmographic horoscope is divided, as is the *LJ*'s game *escaques*, into twelve sectors or slices representing the twelve signs of the zodiac and labelled in black Arabic script with a word or rubric in red at the left. The largest part of each slice is dedicated to the planets in each zodiacal house portrayed against a starry background whenever they are present, and, in their absence, floral scrollwork in red and gold. Within each slice is a circle depicting the appropriate human or animal representation of the zodiacal sign followed by six circles of Arabic script alternating in black and red. The central circle, where the *LJ*'s astrological games place the earth composed of four elements, contains gold scrollwork.

The uppermost sign is Capricorn with subsequent signs aligned in counterclockwise fashion as we find in the *LJ*'s fol. 96v. The *LJ*'s zodiac circle is oriented so that Capricorn is located at nearly the 3:00 position, or in other words 90° to the right of the same sign in the horoscope. This also happens to be the same degree of rotation required of all game boards throughout the *LJ* in order to align them with modern conventions.

Astrologically, the planetary influences in the sultan's horoscope show Mars in Scorpio to be in opposition to his sun in Taurus. Venus in Pisces is sextile to his sun.

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<sup>260</sup> As seen in the fifteenth-century Harley manuscript 4940, fol. 28. See also note on this image in Sec. 3.3.5.3.

Finally, the four remaining heavenly bodies Saturn, Mercury, Jupiter and the Moon are all conjunct in Gemini. The sun, in Taurus on April 18, the sultan's birthday, is represented as a crowned young man seated or squatting in a golden orange robe with gold flecks. He holds both hands up to sustain or emphasize the golden teardrop-shaped halo which frames his entire head. Most interestingly, the planet Mars appears in the sign of Scorpio, as prescribed in the *LJ*'s *escaques* or game of astrological checkers. The *LJ*'s description of the appearance of Mars is nearly a perfect match with his representation in this Arabic horoscope a little more than one hundred years later (*LJ* fol. 95v). The Arabic Mars stands in ancient gold armor over a red tunic and holds a bare sword in his right hand and a decapitated, helmeted head with bloody neck in his left.<sup>261</sup> The Arabic image of Mars is even closer to the *LJ*'s description than the example of Mars as a horseman mounted upon a lion offered by Domínguez Rodríguez ("*Libro de los juegos*" 71).

Venus crowned appears in the sign of Pisces as a young person of indeterminate gender with Oriental features who sits cross-legged playing a lovely stringed instrument (cf. *LJ* fol. 18r). Its large, round body has two circular sound holes on either side of the courses of strings and the half-moon curve in its neck contains eight or nine tuning pins.

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<sup>261</sup> In researching this image, I have found that Perseus is often portrayed in an identical manner, holding up the head of the Gorgon Medusa. For example, see Perseus image "from Aratus' *Phenomena* in Cicero's Latin translation, from a tenth-century manuscript" (Whitfield, *Mapping* 35). This figure strongly resembles the *LJ*'s description for Mars. Perseus is shown again similarly and in medieval armor from a fifteenth-century manuscript of Hyginus' *Poetica Astronomica* (Whitfield, *Mapping* 43, citing Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Cannon Class. Lat. 179, f. 35v). A similar posture is also seen as exemplary of personal victory in African carving, such as the wooden sculpted *Figure of King Bay Akiy*, displayed with this placard: "This masterpiece of Grassfield's [Cameroon] carving has an unusually emotional expression, which may be associated with the personal style of Bvu Kwam, an early-19<sup>th</sup>-century master sculptor. According to one field informant, the figure is of King Bay Akiy, the fourth ruler of the Isu kingdom, who reigned in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Depicted returning from victory over the Nshe, a neighboring group, he is seated on a dangerous animal, probably a leopard, and holds a weapon and his enemy's head. This pose relates to a regional tradition of representing personal achievement" (Smithsonian Institution, *African Arts Museum*, exhibit attended 1 Apr. 2007).

There are Chinese instruments strongly resembling the one shown: a medium lute and a smaller one called a moon lute without the sound holes.

The remaining four planetary personifications are all seated together in the house of Gemini. Saturn (back, right) appears as a white-bearded elderly black man, swathed about the waist with a red cloth flecked in gold and wearing a gold crown while bearing an additional one in each hand.<sup>262</sup> Jupiter (back, left) is a turbaned man in green robes flecked with gold who holds a gold sphere in his left hand. Mercury is a turbaned man in a blue robe who points to a golden cross-shape, perhaps an open book or pair of crossed scrolls, before him.<sup>263</sup> Finally, the moon is a crowned man or perhaps a woman who, seated in the same knees-up position as the sun and holding the same tear-dropped shape halo, is dressed in a dark reddish brown robe with prominent gold flecks.

The second horoscope and final Arabic cosmograph is a late sixteenth-century Ottoman illumination from the *Zubdat al-Tawarikh* dating from 1583 and now held in the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, Istanbul. This work, dedicated to Sultan Murad III (1574-1595), contains historiographical portraiture of the prophets with an account and accompanying miniature of the *Meraj*, Muhammad's nocturnal journey through the heavens. Here, however, since the order of the zodiac has by this time changed to reflect man's clockwise and therefore scientific rather than exegetic perspective, the major point of connection with the *LJ* is the similarity of the planetary personifications and the colors of their corresponding orbits.

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<sup>262</sup> The Arabic image of Saturn as a black man is comparable to the one in the Picatrix as noted by Domínguez Rodríguez ("*Libro de los juegos*" 69).

<sup>263</sup> The *LJ*'s Jupiter wears both blue and green but is said to have an open book before him, possibly helping to identify the unusual gold cruciform object in the Arabic horoscope.

Finally, I am optimistic that the ongoing translation of the late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century Arabic *Book of Curiosities* (*Kitāb Gharāʾib al-funūn wa-mulāḥ al-ʿuyūn*) at the Bodleian Library will reveal that the pictorial representation in Ch. 1.1.8 on the Sun, Moon and the planets corresponds closely to their description in the *LJ* (fols. 95v-96r) and thus the possibility that the text may have been a source for Alfonso's account of these planetary personifications which so differ from other contemporary European representations.<sup>264</sup> At the same time, it is worth noting that the *Book of Curiosities* contains 98 folios, the same number as the *LJ*.

### 3.4 The Origin and Evolution of Games

As my quest to unravel the multiple layers of symbolism within the *LJ* has led me to a greater appreciation of the metaphysical vision behind this complex work, I have come to understand that nothing within it is merely what it appears to be. Everything has behind it another symbolic meaning, often many levels deep. The symbols themselves are purposefully juxtaposed and carefully depicted in pairs throughout the entire work thus reflecting the Hermetic principal that microcosms mirror their macrocosms and that the smaller, more accessible *imago mundi* of man's invention may be profitably studied in order to divine a greater, more complete understanding of the larger invention of the Creator.

The first such opposing pair appears in the prologue which illustrates how it is best to live life and play games employing a combination of skill and luck, rather than

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<sup>264</sup> The translation at <<http://cosmos.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/hms/home.php?expand=29>> has recently become available and I plan future research into the connections between this manuscript and the *LJ*.

relying exclusively upon one or the other. With reference to the *LJ*'s games, this means that the spatial dimension, such as the square-based battle games of chess and other earthly symbols including the number four and the planetary number seven, are at once combined and recombined with the temporal dimension of the circular track along which the playing pieces of tables race, together with the heavenly symbol of the circle and the spiritual number three as well as the zodiacal number twelve. What the *LJ*'s Scholastic structure reveals about these opposing pairs of the numbers three and four, seven and twelve, squares and circles, skill and luck, space and time or the games of chess and tables, is that they are intended to be understood not only as geomantic symbols in their own right but also as iconic representations of their underlying Hermetic philosophy. This uniquely Alfonsine presentation of the games, traditionally viewed as opposites, but here in our text quite nearly as twin games illustrating identical metaphysical concepts, offers an original perspective on the hotly debated question of the origins and evolution of these games in terms of the shared source of their symbologies.

With his Scholastic syllogism juxtaposing chess and dice, Alfonso supercedes his Arabic model. Here we can see once again the unique perspective offered in the *LJ*'s presentation: whereas the Arabic models juxtaposed chess and tables to assert the superiority of chess, Alfonso juxtaposed chess and dice to assert the superiority, or at least the equality, of tables. The Arabic literary tradition which exalted chess as a noble game of free will as opposed to the game of nard (Arabic tables), contemptible for its reliance on fickle fortune and predestination, serves as the nucleus for the *LJ*'s structure. However, the Alfonsine work does not simply reproduce this idea of thesis and antithesis

but rather extends the Scholastic argument both forwards and backwards in an original manner, first by subdividing what was *nard* into the separate games of dice and tables in the initial treatises, and, second, by thematically uniting chess and tables in its final treatises as versions of the same game recast in a series of numerologically symbolic dimensions.

As the prologue explains, the first and third treatises are devoted respectively to chess and tables. Their synthesis is achieved in the fourth, fifth and seventh treatises which each show a chess and a tables game subjected to a series of expansions upon their current symbologies: first in terms of space, then in terms of time and finally of astrology. The result is a unique defense of tables here portrayed not as a mere, luck-driven mechanism of idle gambling, but as a noble synthesis of chess and tables now forming nearly one and the same game. While each game's identity is maintained, meaning that each is more or less recognizable as a chess or backgammon variant, the overriding feature and message is that the games are similar enough that each may take on any symbolic dimension which can be applied to the other. Permitting this extraordinary flexibility are the qualities the two games share with regard to the board as a symbol of earth and the pieces as representations of mankind as well as their mutual inherent similarities which other games do not possess.

Many other games are not similar enough to permit this type of symbolic recasting. For example, the other two types of games in the *LJ*, dice and *alquerque*, do not fit neatly into the same earthly, seasonal and cosmological themes. Metaphysical symbolism is entirely absent from the "Libro de los dados" which defends the inclusion

of dice games almost as a necessary evil for the play of tables. The “Libro del alquerque” strives to relate its five games to chess and tables but does so only in superficial, ludic terms. *Alquerque*’s board and pieces manage a basic comparison with one game or the other, but not both, and while its variants include varieties of differing size the nature of *alquerque* is so unlike chess and tables that it is not able to be recast into seasonal or astrological variants. Nor will types of games developed in the centuries after the *LJ* fit into the symbolic molds of the *LJ*’s later treatises. The race game of goose, despite its path similar to tables, cannot easily be made to reflect the four seasons. Boardless games such as cards, despite their four suits with kings and other anthropomorphized hierarchical figures, and dominoes, despite their numerological relationship to dice and backgammon, cannot easily be made to reflect astrological symbolism. What the *LJ* shows, then, is how chess and tables are uniquely similar cosmological games and very nearly two versions of the same game.

Since the *LJ* is Hermetic in nature, this argument is not expressed in so many words but rather through the organization of its twelve subdivisions within the seven treatises in the following manner. First, in the *LJ*’s prologue the intellectual game of chess is opposed, not as in Arabic treatises to the dice-driven game of tables, but to the dice alone. This is an important distinction which isolates the random element of dice from the more complex game of tables and confers upon dice the status of being a game unto itself. Second, the synthesis of chess-like wit and dice-based fortune is presented as the ideal game which mixes both elements, i.e. tables. It is another uniquely Alfonsine perspective which exalts the game of tables, lauding it as the most life-like combination

of the two elements of intellect and luck, by presenting it as the third or conclusive statement of a Scholastic syllogism that naturally and logically follows from its two prior premises. Third, chess and tables return as the traditional Arabic duo of games but this time not as true opposites. Instead both chess and tables are shown as two versions of the same game, much as the two inseparable sides of the same coin.

Both games, chess and tables, are submitted to a series of transformations based upon spatial and temporal symbologies which highlight their similarities over their differences. The final four treatises expand sequentially upon the symbolic nature of the games, adding new dimensions of space and time in each treatise. The fourth treatise expands upon the size of the games, hinting that the metaphors will grow larger and larger until they are representative of the space of the whole universe. The fifth treatise incorporates the element of time and thus transforms the game boards into calendars based on the four seasons of the year. This same treatise also doubles the number of players, from two to four, and likewise doubles the symbolic dimensions. Now the games represent not only the twofold micro- macrocosmos, i.e. this life and the afterlife, but the four-fold cycle of time reflected in the four seasons and the alchemical correspondence to the microcosmic four humors of the body and the macrocosmic four elements of earth, air, fire and water. Finally, the culmination of the *LJ*'s symbolic content appears in the seventh and final treatise whose astrologically-based games unite the elements of both space and time represented by the seven planets moving through the twelve zodiacal signs of the year. This careful structure reveals that the two supposedly opposite games of chess and tables are, in fact, more similar than they first appear thus lending support to

the theory that the earliest known ancestor of chess, the four-player Indian game of *chaturanga*, evolved from or alongside the earliest known four-player Indian race game of *ashtapada*.<sup>265</sup>

The prologue's exemplum explaining the invention of chess, dice and tables can be understood in two ways. As described in the first chapter of this dissertation, dice can be seen as the antithesis of chess, and tables as a synthesis of the two. This perspective allows us to understand Alfonso's predilection for the games of tables as well as its inherent relationship and similarity to chess. A second perspective on the *LJ*'s prologue harkens back to Alfonso's Arabic sources which posit chess as the thesis and tables as its antithesis for the purpose of justifying chess as a noble, edifying pastime representing man's free will and tables as an evil source of gambling and vice representative of the astrological folly of predetermination.<sup>266</sup> It is this point of view which allows the *LJ* to shed light upon the origin of games by revealing the strong similarities of two games traditionally viewed as opposites.

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<sup>265</sup> This idea, first suggested by Hiram Cox in 1799 and developed and supported in print by Duncan Forbes (1913: 1860), is by no means a new one. However, as Culin notes, "it has not been accepted by students of the game generally" (*Chess and Playing Cards* 858). Murray briefly summarizes the Cox-Forbes theory of the origin of chess including the problems with both the very early date it suggests and its documentation which led to its lack of popularity (1913: 48-49).

<sup>266</sup> Hines also assigns the same battle and free will symbolism of chess to that of checkers, arguing for a deeper symbolic meaning within its board, armies and lack of dice. Hines believes that its four-sided board, using either the same sixty-four squares as chess or the hundred-square board of decimal chess, is representative of the four elements. In the two armies checkers themselves, he sees the classic dualities of good and evil in its two colors and each army's twelve pieces as symbolic of the zodiac signs. Since checkers does not employ dice, Hines argues that the game is symbolic of free will. The game of minor polish draughts is played on the 8x8-square board as opposite to Polish or European checkers which is played on a 10x10. While the modern game known as checkers does not appear in the *LJ*, what may possibly be a related chess variant—the *iuego forçado* or *iuego de donzellas*—does indeed appear. Further, the astrological game *escaques* seems to be less of a chess variant and more one that uses checker-like pieces. Both chess and checkers share the same 64-square board and its symbolism.

### 3.4.1 Origins: Myth and Ritual

Before beginning serious inquiry into where or when games originated, we must first question what games really are. The answer to this question may lie in another religious tool for raising one's level of consciousness: myth. According to Huizinga, "In myth, primitive man seeks to account for the world of phenomena by grounding it in the Divine" (5). In this same context, he remarks that Plato's definition of religion was "[p]lay consecrated to the Deity, the highest goal of man's endeavour" (27). Joseph Campbell's extensive study of myths reveals that they raise one's level of consciousness through the process of interpreting their symbolism.<sup>267</sup> Not only do game boards represent miniature, sacred architecture (discussed below) but their heavy use of symbols aligns them even more closely with myths. Both games and myths are fossils of man's ways of seeing and understanding the world whose symbols possess the power to raise one's level of spiritual awareness.

Myths belong to the same realm of oral tradition as the paremiological literature of the Middle Ages so prevalent in Alfonsine works as we have previously discussed it in our examination of miniatures showing adults teaching children to play games in this dissertation's second chapter. Alfonso's interest in similar works, particularly the *Calila e Digna* which, according to Murray, was imported together with the game of chess from the East, was part of a larger trend from that same period which may also be observed in his father Fernando's *Libro de los doze sabios*, his brother Fadrique's translation of the

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<sup>267</sup> Campbell's lifetime of bibliography on the subject of mythology includes *Pathways to Bliss: Mythology and Personal Transformation* (Novato, CA: New World, 2004), *Myths to Live By* (New York: Bantam, 1988) and the television series with Bill Moyers *Joseph Campbell and the Power of Myth* (Mystic Fire, 1988).

*Libro de los engaños*, Juan Manuel's *Conde Lucanor*, and even Sancho's *Castigos e documentos para bien vivir* (Keller, *Alfonso* 52) as well as the tales and parables collected by the Franciscans and Dominicans for homiletic purposes. In this context, I believe that at least the chess problems of the *LJ*'s "Libro del acedrex," and perhaps the whole *LJ*, constitute yet another collection of such stories in a different and ludic type of language, each with its own unique flavor which also serve to raise the consciousness of those who play these games or solve the problems, allowing them to see the invisible meanings behind the visible symbols.

In *Pathways to Bliss*, Joseph Campbell does not speak directly of board games but his explanation of the functions of myth is predicated upon the larger concept of play. He might just as well be describing the *LJ* when he explains the first two functions of myth:

Mythologies present games to play: how to make believe you're doing thus and so. Ultimately, through the game, you experience that positive thing which is the experience of being-in-being, of living meaningfully. That's the first function of mythology, to evoke in the individual a sense of grateful, affirmative awe before the monstrous mystery that is existence. The second function of mythology is to present an image of the cosmos, an image of the universe round about, that will maintain and elicit this experience of awe. This function we may call the cosmological function of mythology. (6-7)

Campbell's "being-within-being" in games is but another way of saying how games and their boards may even be considered as physical expressions of the metaphysical dimension of any given culture. With its Aristotelian and Ptolemaic cosmology, the *LJ*'s four-season and astrological board games clearly present Alfonso's metaphysical cosmovision in physical form. As such, Alfonso's games in the *LJ* and games in general

may be viewed as a pictorial expression of Campbell's cosmological function of mythology.

The *LJ* also shows how its games, and games in general, fulfill Campbell's third and fourth mythological functions.

People live by playing a game, and you can ruin a game by being Sir Sobersides who comes in and says, 'Well, what's the use of this?' A cosmological image gives you a field in which to play the game that helps you to reconcile your life, your existence, to your own consciousness, or expectation of meaning. This is what a mythology or a religion has to offer. ... Finally, the fourth function is psychological. The myth must carry the individual through the stages of his life, from birth through maturity through senility and death. The mythology must do so in accord with the social order of his group, the cosmos as understood by his group and the monstrous mystery. (9)

Other games like pachisi and hopscotch, already mentioned, show the life path of man in stages from cradle to grave. Huizinga also defines culture not only as containing games and play-elements but as being played (173). The *LJ*'s personal nature, as discussed above in its comparison with the *Setenario*, reveal how Alfonso sought to understand God's plan and give meaning to the seasons of his own life through astrology. Whether identifying with the doomed microcosmic king in each problem of the "Libro del acedrex" or with the more powerful macrocosmic forces of the later treatises, the divinatory intent of the Wise King has been made clear. As Huizinga puts it, "The king is the sun, his kingship the image of the sun's course. All his life the king plays 'sun' [as Alfonso is shown doing on fols. 96v and 97v] and in the end he suffers the fate of the sun: he must be killed in ritual forms by his own people" (16). This is precisely the analogy made by Alfonso playing the Sun in the final and astrological games of the *LJ*.

Campbell's theory on written myths is also supported by Huizinga. "What we are dealing with [in written myth] is rather traditional material that has sunk from the level of ritual to that of literature and been preserved as the venerable remains of an ancient culture for the edification of coming generations" (137). Although Huizinga does not articulate it, the same could be said of board games: that they represent traditional wisdom from another culture's rituals which has been passed on in another form of language, not a tongue but rather a pictorial language.

Huizinga also challenges us to look beyond the literal of the *LJ* by saying that "[i]f we find that play is based on the manipulation of certain images, on a certain 'imagination' of reality (i.e. its conversion into images), then our main concern will be to grasp the value and significance of their images and their 'imagination'" (4). Thus we find that the geometric manipulation of symbols for space and time in the *LJ*'s game boards is tantamount to the similar manipulation of harmonic segments of space and time in religious architecture and music. Game boards, where miniature men live, struggle and die are sacred architecture in miniature because both game boards and temples are imagined as cosmographs of Creation designed with the same elements and proportions, and the regular and harmonic demarcation of time and space. Therefore both can be seen as artistic and symbolic expressions of man's conception of creation based upon the projection of his own form onto the universal playing field. About this, Huizinga says that "[a]s soon as the effect of a metaphor consists in describing things or events in terms of life and movement, we are on the road to personification ... the soul of all myth-making" (136). Since "one of the most elementary forms of personification, namely,

mythical speculations concerning the origin of the world and things, in which creation is imagined as the work of certain gods using the limbs of a world-giant's body" (136) we may then deduce that the *LJ*'s games rooted in four-limbed symbolism, especially the four-seasons games, are ludic expressions of myth. Further both sacred architecture and board games can be used to the same purpose, i.e.raising the level of man's consciousness and promoting recognition of patterns of these symbols, from which "[i]n this state of focused consciousness, parallel perceptions of reality can arise" (Pennick ix).

The medieval Catholic Church uses regular divisions of time, by dividing the day into canonical hours, prompting rhythmic patterns of prayerful, religious meditation in order to commune with the divine. Similarly, the architecture of holy spaces in many religions, where man goes to contemplate his relationship with the divine, uses regular divisions of space which are metaphysical in nature. The same geometry that inspires a heightened state of awareness in architecture is used to the same effect in music, another of Alfonso's passions. Indeed, the same ratios which produce beauty in the harmonized shapes of buildings, including the golden ratio, also turn out to be the very same ratios which produce beauty in music. Music's mathematical nature and the ratios and intervals between beats and tones produce the same heightened state of awareness through sound rather than sight. In ancient times it was supposed that the proportional distances between the heavenly bodies created the distinctive "music of the spheres." In *I quattro libri dell'architettura* (1570), Andrea Palladio (1508-1580) designed buildings with proportions or ratios based on musical intervals used in the sixteenth century, believing that the numerical equivalents of harmonious notes would result in beautiful buildings

because they would be designed in harmony within a universal, mathematical order. The *LJ*'s use of these same proportions in the king's "mas apuestos" games (fols. 1v and 95r) and the complex divisions of space derived from his study of them represent, then, a way for Alfonso to commune with the divine.<sup>268</sup>

Games and gameboards themselves then are a summary of these esoteric aspects, being like architecture and worlds in miniature, showing life's lessons as do myths but in another type of language, that of play. Huizinga argues that "there is no distinction whatever between marking out a space for a sacred purpose and marking it out for purposes of sheer play. The turf, the tennis-court, the chess-board and pavement-hopscotch cannot formally be distinguished from the temple or the magic circle" because they speak in the same symbolic language (20). The universal Hermetic symbols found in so many religious and scientific contexts outside of the *LJ*—including clocks, calendars, maps, religious visions and rose windows—are, not surprisingly, used within the *LJ* in the very same way. According to Huizinga, play "is invested with the noblest qualities we are capable of perceiving in things: rhythm and harmony," (10) like music and astrology, represent "the highest and purest expression of the *facultas ludendi*" (187).

In this regard, I believe we may fairly state that the *LJ*'s game boards are truly concrete, artistic representations of myth. In fact, they serve the same function as myths in that they embody man's way of explaining the world and his place within it. Game boards also use the same techniques as myth and other religious tools, such as the manipulation of space and time in sacred architecture and the language of music, to

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<sup>268</sup> According to Huizinga, play has two qualities: that is both aesthetic and fun (2-3) and "[p]lay has a tendency to be beautiful" (10).

elevate man's consciousness to a contemplation of the divine. For example, while the *LJ* begins and devotes the largest amount of space to the simple play and enjoyment of the game of chess, it does not stop there but rather continues to lead the reader through a unicursal, game-like path. Each space on this path is represented by a game which adds another, deeper symbolic dimension to the idea of play until it becomes a spiritual exercise of hermeneutics. Whereas one begins by playing through the solutions of the chess problems as a mere human being, moving imaginary men in a false battle, one reaches the end of the *LJ* manuscript seeking a better understanding of the workings of the universe by playing at being a god-like force, moving the planets through what was then a scientifically-accurate model the heavens.

### **3.4.2 Origin: Geomancy or *Sui Generis***

Faced with a notable lack of archeological evidence, due to the fact that game boards and pieces are made from materials subject to decay, game board historians must perforce resort to an analysis of many diverse sources, including literature such as the *LJ*, and other extant games, in order to discover the intricate mechanisms that determine the rules of games whose boards no longer exist. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, some researchers began to note and document the similarities between chess and other games, especially the race game family which includes medieval tables and the ancient four-player game *ashtapada* (played on the same sixty-four square board as modern chess), all of which evince the types of quarternary, geomantic symbolism as presented above.

If we consider the chess board as a fossil or fossilized myth, it leads us back to a family of Indian race games played on square boards, somewhat like pachisi and its ancestors as we have previously mentioned.<sup>269</sup> Perhaps the most important ancient game played on a square board is *ashtapada* (Sk. eight-footed board, owing to its 8x8 squares) where four participants race through the labyrinth of its uncheckered 64-square board with the same spatial dimensions as chess. In *ashtapada*, some or all of the squares at a1, d1, e1, h1, a4, d4, e4, h4, a5, d5, e5, h5, a8, d8, e8 and h8 (see fig. 186 below) are cross-cut or marked with an *x* or some other similar design.<sup>270</sup> Analogous markings on other boards, such as the geomantic, southern Indian twenty-five-square (5x5) game *thayyam*, tell us that these symbols are indications for the play of a race game on a square board.<sup>271</sup> The game which shares the board's name is a four-player race game much like Indian pachisi or Korean *nyout*.

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<sup>269</sup> See also Pennick's fig. 53 (197).

<sup>270</sup> "Many race games, such as the group containing *Ashtapada* and *Saturankam*, follow paths comparable with those of traditional labyrinths. Unlike the puzzle mazes in which one can get lost, these labyrinths are unicursal, with a single path to the centre from the outside" (Pennick 155). See discussion of the labyrinth at Chartres Cathedral above.

<sup>271</sup> Compared to *LJ*'s four-seasons games above, *thayyam* is a race game from southern India for two to four players played upon a 5x5 square board (see R. C. Bell I: 17-20, 51) very similar if not identical to *sadurangam*. See also this chapter's fig. 173. See Murray 1913: 37-41 and 1952: 129-32 for a series of seven similarly marked race game boards of various sizes and configurations with variations of these markings. One omits the markings on central four squares and another omits all but those markings. Others omit the corner markings with or without the central four squares while yet another omits the corners and combine the central four squares with one *x*. One omits the markings on all but the d- and e-files and one omits the central markings on the a- and h-files.

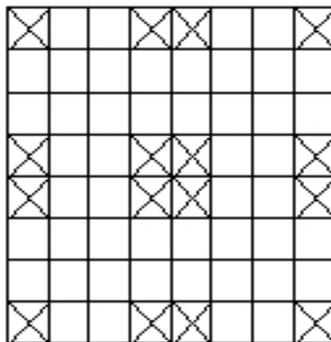


Fig. 186. The Geomantic *Ashtapada* Board: shown here with all its possible cross-cut markings.

Despite the enormous and compelling work of Culin, Needham and others, chess is now usually held to be a totally separate entity among games which developed *sui generis* and with no specific antecedents and certainly none from the supposedly unrelated, lesser order of race games such as *ashtapada* or its modern counterpart, backgammon. The idea that chess evolved from any race game, including *ashtapada*, has recently been dismissed as a cosmetic coincidence limited only to the board's appearance. Holländer is an example of a chess purist who does not believe chess derived from a race game like *ashtapada* but rather that it is more likely an amalgam of hunting and strategic games.<sup>272</sup> He laments game historians' "continuing conflation of representation and game structure" when the latter is much more important.<sup>273</sup> Holländer and others chess purists deem it a simplistic conflation of the board's form with the function of the pieces citing mutually exclusive goals and mechanisms of play between the two games as proof of the impossibility of the connection between the two games.

<sup>272</sup> Hans Holländer, "Thesen Zur Früh- Und Vorgeschichte Des Schachspiels," *Homo Ludens, Der Spielende Mensch Iv*. Ed. Günther G. Bauer (München-Salzburg: Katzschler, 1994) 17-28.

<sup>273</sup> "Introduction," *Another View on Chess*, Jean-Louis Cazaux, Gerhard Josten and Myron Samsin, 19 Oct. 2005, <<http://www.chez.com/cazaux/Intro-anatomy.pdf>>.

Nevertheless, the symbolic evidence concerning the games and their relationships which we have so far adduced in our analysis of the *LJ* would seem to corroborate our own assertion that chess and *ashtapada* are indeed interrelated, a claim supported by undeniable similarities of the earthly quaternities both games represent and not merely by the fact that such games may have coexisted at any given point in time.

Among the scholars who suggest divinatory roots for chess and its relationship to the *ashtapada* board, perhaps the most important is Stewart Culin (1858-1929) who argued in 1895 that the origins of most games lie in geomantic divination and that games that evolved from these divinatory systems include not only race games and dice but chess as well.<sup>274</sup> Twentieth-century scholars such as Joseph Needham (1900-1995) see chess as part of a larger family of games and believe chess to have been long associated with divination, protoscience and astronomical symbolism that is “more overt in related games now long obsolete.”<sup>275</sup> The battle between the two competing sides in chess demonstrates the ever-shifting balance between the forces of yin and yang as well as the pieces themselves which, now tossed, now placed onto the board, represent the planets in

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<sup>274</sup> Culin argues for the divinatory origin of most if not all games: “Upon comparing the games of civilized people with those of primitive society many points of resemblance are seen to exist, with the principal difference that games occur as amusements or pastimes among civilized men, while among savage and barbarous people they are largely sacred and divinatory. This naturally suggests a sacred and divinatory origin for modern games, a theory, indeed, which finds confirmation in their traditional associations, such as the use of cards in telling fortunes” and “Games, I hold, must be regarded not as conscious inventions, but as survivals from primitive conditions, under which they originated in magical rites, and chiefly as a means of divination. Based upon certain fundamental conceptions of the universe, they are characterized by a certain sameness, if not identity, throughout the world. ... They furnish, however, the most perfect existing evidence of the underlying foundation of mythic concepts upon which so much of the fabric of our culture is built, and are of the highest value from the wide application which may be made of the principles which they illustrate” (*Korean Games* xvii and xviii). Murray cites Culin’s magical evidence for the origin of games in the latter’s *Chess and Playing Cards* 679 (1913: 32).

<sup>275</sup> Joseph Needham, “Thoughts on the Origins of Chess” (Cambridge, 1962) from ed. Gerhard Josten’s *On the Origin of Chess* <<http://www.mynetcologne.de/~nc-jostenge/needha.htm>> accessed 18 Oct. 2005.

a “cosmic diagram having a square earth-plate surmounted by a rotatable discoidal heaven-plate, both being marked with cyclical and astronomical signs (compass-points, lunar mansions etc.).”<sup>276</sup> In fact, Needham suggested that some proto-chess may have developed the compass as part of its divination technique.<sup>277</sup>

H. J. R. Murray considered it too large a coincidence to be overlooked that both the race-game *ashtapada* and the battle-game *chaturanga*, used the same board and he believed that one evolved from the other, saying “chess was invented when some Hindu devised a game of war and, finding the *ashtapada* board convenient for his purpose, adopted it as his field of battle” but that the two games were not otherwise related (1913: 42).<sup>278</sup> Needham and Pavle Bidev both believe that chess “has been associated throughout its development with astronomical symbolism.”<sup>279</sup> Pennick echoes Needham in his belief that Chinese military diviners may have adopted the tools of this interpretative technique for the battle game *chaturanga* (186, see also Huizinga 97-98) which, while an interesting combination of astrology and military science, does not account for the fact that *chaturanga* is neither a Chinese game nor word but rather Indian.

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<sup>276</sup> Joseph Needham, “Thoughts on the Origins of Chess” (Cambridge, 1962) from ed. Gerhard Josten’s *On the Origin of Chess* <<http://www.mynetcologne.de/~nc-jostenge/needha.htm>> accessed 18 Oct. 2005.

<sup>277</sup> “Needham ‘Thoughts on the Origin of Chess,’” *Chessays*, 18 Oct. 2005, <<http://www.goddesschess.com/chessays/needham1.html>>.

<sup>278</sup> Murray discusses the “Evolution of Chess and Games in General” (1913: 25-50).

<sup>279</sup> According to Meissenburg’s summary of their work (<<http://www.mynetcologne.de/~nc-jostenge/meisse.htm>> accessed 18 Oct. 2005) Joseph Needham, “Thoughts on the Origin of Chess (1962),” *On the Origin of Chess*, Gerhard Josten, ed., 18 Oct. 2005, <<http://www.mynetcologne.de/~nc-jostenge/needha.htm>>. Pavle Bidev, “Chess—A Mathematical Model of the Cosmos (1979),” *Chess Essays*, <<http://www.goddesschess.com/chessays/bidev1.html>> accessed 5 May 2005 and “How I Reorientated my Chess Beliefs (1987),” accessed 18 Oct. 2005, <<http://www.mynetcologne.de/~nc-jostenge/bidev.htm>>.

Pavle Bidev relates chess to magic squares and, even more importantly, takes an allegorical reading of the early name of chess, *chaturanga* (four parts or quadripartite), to relate it terrestrially to the four elements much as is we find in the *LJ*'s four-seasons chess.<sup>280</sup> Calvo notes that the word *chatrang* in modern Pahlavi means the mandrake plant whose root has the form of a human body. I believe this usage underscores my own interpretation of the game of chess as related to the four elements and the projection of the human form onto the world/universe map, as argued above in the symbolic context of the number five.

Previous theories about the connection between chess and *ashtapada* generally differ with regard to the chronological order in which two main features are believed to have evolved. The first such aspect is the priority of race games versus battle or chess games and the second concerns the number of players, whether two or four. For example, Culin's theory on evolution goes from chess to backgammon in a series of four steps: 1) two-handed chess; 2) four-handed chess (*chaturanji*); 3) pachisi, a four-handed race

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<sup>280</sup> Indian *chaturanga* is not the only evidence for the etymological reading of the game as that of the four limbs. The Hebrew poem of ben Ezra gives the same interpretation of two-handed chess, but as a battle between the two armies of the African Ethiopian and the Middle-Eastern Edomite tribes. Just as the four arms of a cross create a fifth point or feature at their intersection, so too do many consider there to be five elements, the fifth being the etherial akasha. Bidev underscores the elemental connections between the ancient and modern *chaturanga* and chess pieces with their locations and movements. For example, the earthy rooks are arranged at the four corners of the board forming a perfect square that echoes their square or orthogonal movement. Even more curiously, the watery knights whose L-shaped moves can form wave patterns across the board are the key elements in the beautiful Arabic-style circular chess problems so wonderfully represented by the *LJ*'s first problem and which are called after a device associated with drawing water: the *noria*.

Table 16. The Relationship between the Elements, *Chaturanga* and Chess Pieces.

element	<i>chaturanga</i>	chess
air	elephants	files
fire	wise man	fers
earth	chariots	rooks
water	cavalry	knights
fifth element of akasha	king	king

game; and 4) a two-handed race game.<sup>281</sup> Based upon a variety of evidence contained within the *LJ*, however, I am convinced that dice and mandalas were first used for divinatory purposes and that they were then converted to symbolic representations in the form of a race game with dice.<sup>282</sup> Next, using the same board, I believe a more complex geomantic game with dice was later developed into a chess game. The game consequently evolved into a chess, or chess-like battle game, without dice due either to the sufficient evolution of the game or the skill of its players who would not need or want dice, or, perhaps, to certain religious prohibitions against dice in the context of gambling and games of chance played for money.<sup>283</sup>

To support the *LJ*'s position as well as that of Culin and others, we must first refute the claims as expressed by Holländer, that the earliest form of chess, *chaturanga*, could not have developed from a race game like *ashtapada* by exposing the fallacy of the supposed divisions between these two types of games. Once it is accepted that both chess

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<sup>281</sup> Summarized by Murray (1913: 49).

<sup>282</sup> This is largely similar to the Cox-Forbes theory as expressed by Murray (1913: 48) but also incorporates the ritual aspects suggested by Culin and is rooted instead in the philosophical nature of the *LJ*. "The cosmologist C. P. S. Menon believed that the chequered playing board came from the custom of representing the year-cycle and its subdivisions in a square format. ... Allied symbolism exists in the square cosmographic mosaic pavements of medieval Europe, such as those at Xanten in Germany and at Canterbury Cathedral and Westminster Abbey in England. These are overt symbols of the structure of our world, with the four directions, elements, and humours laid out in corresponding geometrical patterns and coloured stones. Menon argued that the Chess board originated as a symbolic planisphere upon which the motion of the seven planets of traditional astronomy were represented by corresponding pieces located in appropriate correspondences. He speculated that the Knight's move in chess may have originated in the movement of heavenly bodies in their orbits 'round the corner' of the square planisphere" (Pennick 187-88). Arabs astrologers also used a square divided into various regions, to represent the sky for plotting horoscopes. See this chapter's fig. 172 on corporal projection for an example.

<sup>283</sup> Botermans suggested evolution omits the die but offers no reason for this (10); I add that this likely occurred due to a religious prohibition. Other origin myths, like that of supposed inventor Sissa and the  $64^2+1$  grains of wheat he claimed as his reward promote chess as an exemplary moral game for its free-will doctrine over dice and their links to predestination: "The king applauded Sissa for his wisdom in creating a game which expressed all of the principles of justice, and instructed that examples of *Chaturanga* should be placed in every temple as an ideal training in the art of warfare" (Pennick 188).

(and battle games in general) and tables (race games) can be viewed as similar enough in terms of their play mechanisms, then the origin of the shared symbolism behind those play mechanisms may provide more precise answers to the mysteries of when, where and how chess was invented.

While any one game may fall closer to one end of the chess/tables continuum, or more accurately the battle/race continuum than another, it must be understood that chess and backgammon's shared forms and natures stem from their common ancestral mythology. The four-fold nature of both their respective ancestors, *chaturanga* and *ashtapada*, is rooted in early attempts to understand and depict the same earthly quaternities Alfonso has described in the *LJ*'s fifth treatise, such as the four elements, the four bodily humors and four limbs of the human body. As illustrated in this chapter's previous section under the numerological significance of the number five, both early games used boards based upon the number four which symbolically mapped out these concepts in terms of the four directions or seasons and dynamically represented their interaction. Differences between the two games evolved from two distinct ways of determining the piece movement which depicts this interaction. Both game families, however, illustrate the same metaphysical concept: that there is constant, harmonious interplay between the four elements of matter through time.

On the ludic continuum, then, the two end points can be designated as capturing at one end—the defining feature of battle games—and, at the other end, the progression along a linear or unicursal track which is the key feature of race games. In terms of the *LJ*'s games, chess is obviously a battle game with two armies competing for a victory

achieved through control of the battlefield by capturing or trapping the enemy. Tables or backgammon is obviously a race game with each player's pieces racing one way around a track from a beginning point to an end point. These generalities, however, do not account for all the play mechanisms of either chess or tables since both chess and tables share capture and race mechanisms. This means that distinguishing between the two types of games is not so simple and that we must further analyze them to discover the fundamental points of connection between their play structures.

The exciting key element of battle games, i.e. capture, is present in nearly every race game including fourteen of the *LJ*'s total of eighteen tables variants. What happens to the pieces after capture, whether they remain outside of the game or can be reentered, may differ by game variant but the capture element is identical. Further, the key element of race games, advancement along the same unicursal track, often in what Parlett calls a "boustrophedon spiral,"<sup>284</sup> is present in nearly every battle game, including chess, and is, in fact, the only movement in the *LJ*'s most complex chess-like variant, *escaques*. While the track for individual chess pieces varies for each according to their powers of movement, a vestige of race games is seen in the lowly pawn who, after he wins his race to the opposite end of his unicursal path, receives an end-point promotion to a speedier or more powerful piece resulting in a switchback of his direction as seen in the Egyptian game of hyena (a similar promotion called kinging also occurs in modern checkers).

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<sup>284</sup> Parlett 56. Meaning like an ox while plowing, turning ever inward once reaching the end of a row. It is also an ancient way of writing, switching directions at the end of lines, turning as does an ox when it has plowed to the end of a row. Modern boustrophedonics is a similar way of numbering divisions of land; see also this chapter's discussion of the nine-square or 3x3 board rooted in a division of land around a common well.

Such a concept of play mechanism presupposes a structural relationship to, if not the evolution of, chess and related battle games from race games. That both battle and race games possess capturing and racing means, then, that the supposed distinction between battle and race games is a fallacy or is, at least, far too facile. As the *LJ*'s combinations of chess and tables illustrates, chess and tables may not only be considered as two different games from two different families but also as two very similar games which combine the same elements in different proportions.

Although the classifications of battle games and race games can be useful in some ways, for the purposes of finding the origins of metaphysical games in general it is not necessarily a question of a game belonging to one distinct family or the other but rather of its falling somewhere along a continuum based upon the proportion of specific elements contained in its play. An examination of the supposed distinctiveness of chess and other battle games as opposed to race games—absence of dice resulting in a unique level of strategy limited to chess alone, multiple piece movements, unique goal and unique possession of squares of condition—will be seen to crumble under careful scrutiny. While I concede that the goal to win most battle games differs substantially from most race games, I believe that this is entirely a function of the differing proportions in their shared play mechanisms; after all, both share the concept of winning and losing. Based on the similarities of chess and tables as revealed by the *LJ*, the different goals and play mechanisms of battle and race game families are not as mutually exclusive as has been supposed but rather represent two very similar games which illustrate identical metaphysical concepts.

At this point we must consider yet another commonly held fallacy exposed by the *LJ*, i.e. the superiority of chess over tables, backgammon and other race games. Hans Holländer, for example, asserts that in race games like the *LJ*'s tables variants “there is neither strategy nor the chance to develop because it’s entirely due to the reign of the dice and because all of the pieces have the same conditions and the same forms of movement” (28). While it might be argued that this is true for chess today, such an assertion is baseless primarily because it fails to view the history of chess holistically. Certainly the use of dice is neither alien to chess nor exclusive to race games. Dice were a part of the earliest known forms of chess, including *chaturanga*. As we have previously documented in the first chapter of this dissertation, the *LJ* chess variants include some optional and some required use of dice, as do some modern chess variations. Therefore it cannot be categorically stated that chess or battle games are either strict models of free will or wholly lacking in the predestinatory symbolism of dice.

A second problem with Holländer’s statement is the presumption that use of dice necessarily diminishes the level of skill required in a game. Clearly, using dice to determine which chess piece each player moves effectively challenges each participant to develop the breadth of his skills by limiting his choices. Further, although this is frequently an opinion held by chess players who do not also play backgammon, it is simply untrue that there is either no strategy or any chance for its development in race games. Alfonso himself argues against this prejudice on fol. 2r and if this were true some people would not win more than others in backgammon tournaments. The only such case of a race game free from strategy would be a child’s game of the utmost simplicity

wherein each player had only one piece and all pieces ran the same path from point A to point B based on the rolls of dice but without cells of condition or other factors. Such an arrangement would not be very entertaining and could hardly be called a game.

In order to have a true game with competitive excitement there must be some inequality between pieces, whether inherent or developed through position during the course of play (as described below). In a race game like backgammon or pachisi, each piece is constantly revaluated depending upon its location relative to friendly or hostile pieces and each player's roll of the dice. If this were not the case, then it would not matter how one moved the pieces for any given roll. This strategy lies behind Alfonso's advice to good players in the "Libro de las tablas," that each player must understand how best to choose which pieces to move and, in the prologue, how to move them in order to exploit the rolls of the dice rather than be exploited by them.<sup>285</sup>

Holländer's position that it is much more likely that chess evolved from a combination of hunting and strategic games, rather than from race games, is also problematic because his differentiation of race games from hunting and strategic games on the basis of squares of condition and, more importantly, differentiated piece movements, does not hold true. He erroneously believes that the presence on a game board of "cells of condition which favour or prevent certain moves" (28) is exclusive to strategic games though many race games from pachisi to senet, from snakes and ladders

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<sup>285</sup> As Alfonso says in the *LJ* prologue, "que las mouiessen pora iugar. segunt se muestra en este libro que fabla apartadamiente desto. en que faze entender que por el iuego dellas; que el qui las sopiere bien iogar. que aun *que* la suerte delos dados le sea contraria; que por su cordura podra iogar con las tablas de manera que esquiara el danno quel puede uenir por la auentura delos dados" (fol. 2r).

to goose, either contain or are based predominantly upon such cells of condition.<sup>286</sup>

Indeed, it is the markings of such cells which account for the patterns on the 8x8 *ashtapada* board and which argue for the evolution of the strategic game of chess based on the race game's equipment, if not on its play principals or mechanics.

The most important erroneous distinction made between the two families of games, however, is the frequent argument predicated upon the unique differentiation of chess pieces. The question of the difference between chess and backgammon pieces is also a most interesting paradox. Conventional wisdom holds that battle games and race games can be demonstrated as being so patently different from one another because chess and tables use fundamentally different types of pieces. Each chess player's sixteen-man army consists of a feudal hierarchy of varying types of pieces, both in the sense that they are disparately shaped and that each distinct shape possesses a different power of movement and capture.<sup>287</sup> Backgammon or tables, on the other hand, is played with a democratic group of fifteen equal pieces all of which share an identical shape and powers of movement and capture.<sup>288</sup> The paradox, however, is that tablemen do not remain equal

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<sup>286</sup> Goose, an Italian invention of the late sixteenth century, known to Felipe II through a gift from Francesco de Medici (1574-1587), (Pennick 45) is a forerunner of modern Monopoly, sharing with the latter game such cells of condition as jail.

<sup>287</sup> As also shown for race games in the following note, this distinction does not always hold true for hunt or battle games. Chess is but one battle game and it is not the case that all battle games must consist of armies with differentiated powers of movement. Two examples of strategic games where at least one player has pieces of equal powers of movement are ludus latruncorum and the *LJ's cercar la liebre*.

<sup>288</sup> Backgammon or tables, however, is but one example of a race game and not all race games have by definition pieces with the same forms of movement. Consider the Egyptian snake or hyena game where pieces begin as slow-moving washer women going to the central well (see this chapter's section on the numerological importance of the number five and its discussion of the nine-square) but who, in the second phase of the game are transformed into speedy hyenas endowed with the power of eating those pieces which are still in the first condition of being slow washer women. Parlett claims that equipment of the Egyptian snake game is known but that rules are not (89) but there are many plausible reconstructions based on the reversibility of the pieces and related games such as the following: Mehen or the game of the snake is for game for two players, each with seven pieces. One of the pieces, the lion, is of a special rank.

or interchangeable throughout the course of the game. In truth, each tableman has a different and ever-changing value based upon its position relative to the board, the remainder of its player's pieces and the opponent's pieces. The relative value of any particular race game piece in play is rooted not in the characteristics of that piece itself but rather in the game board on which it is played. Supporting this conclusion is the fact that the only points at which all tables, or even pachisi and acey-deucey, pieces are equal is before any of them have been entered into play and once all have reached home.

For all its differently-shaped chessmen, chess is not dissimilar in that the board is the source of the power of those pieces. A rook is a rook and moves and captures like one not only because it looks like a rook but because it begins its march on one of the four corner squares of the board. Any piece starting out from that square is, ipso facto, a rook. Thus, a chess piece's shape indicates both that piece's power of movement and its starting position because one is a function of the other. This is equally true of any and all chessmen: they derive not only their superficial appearance but, more importantly, their

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In the first phase of the game, players throw sticks to move all pieces including the lion to the center of a spiral track. In the second phase, after one piece has return to the outside and two difficult throws are accomplished, then the lion returns from the center, moving twice as fast as before and capable of capturing the other pieces including the enemy lion. ("Mehen," *Birmingham Museum & Art Gallery for Kids*, 2004, 22 Jan. 2006, <<http://www.schoolsliaison.org.uk/kids/siteactivities/mehen.pdf>>). The hyena game or *Li'b el Marafib*, is a children's game which dates back as far as 2600 B.C. and which is still played today by Muslim children in the Sudan, "is believed to have descended from an Egyptian spiral race game played on a game board that depicted a coiled snake." Each player's piece is double-sided, beginning on one side called the mother to spiral inwards based on the throws of stick dice towards the central area called the well where the mother washes clothes, by awaiting the earning of a certain number of credits on the stick dice, and then retraces her path outwards back to towards the village. Once returned to the village, the mother is said to release a hyena and the piece is flipped over and repeats the mother's path in to the well and back out again. Hyenas move double the number indicated by the stick dice and therefore twice as fast as the mothers. Further, a hyena piece which has drunk from the well, by awaiting the earning of a larger number of credits on the stick dice than mothers washing clothes, and is on its return journey to the village has the power to eat any mother's it encounters along its path, either by landing on their same space or passing them (Charles Knutson, "Hyena and Zodiac: Arabic Games of Fun," *Renaissance* Vol. 7.3 [2002], sec. The Compleat Gamester: 18). See also Parlett 90-91.

value and capabilities from their initial position on the board. The convention of carving each piece into a particular shape or of painting its name upon a disk simply serves as a reminder to the players of where that piece began once it is moved from its defining position. Thus it can be said that both chessmen and tablemen derive their different values from board position. What is unique about each game's pieces is that chess pieces retain the value and power of their initial positions and the value of tables pieces changes continually throughout the game. The initial position of the pieces in tables is irrelevant because what matters is where they are at any given moment. Therefore tablemen do not require a distinguishing or mnemonic shape to remind the players of where they began because random number generators such as dice, shells or throwing sticks, are used to determine the movement and therefore the relative values of the playing pieces.

I have found no other source than the *LJ* which so fully explains the intertwining nature of chess and tables or that so competently compares the play structures of the two games. It is the text of the *LJ*, then, that suggests that the more unique game of chess evolved as a way to represent a shift in the differentiation of the pieces emanating from the board as the source of power for the pieces themselves. This shift in the locus of inequality, in turn, seems to me to be a shift in philosophy which is yet another expression of the predestination vs. free will debate as expressed in the language of games and set forth in the *LJ*'s prologue as *suerte* vs. *seso*.

The *LJ*'s combination of chess and tables in each treatise, in addition to being intentional, is also revealing. It clearly shows that the two games are closely related and strongly supports the aspect of the Cox-Forbes theory that states that one evolved from

the other, or that they evolved together, and that this relationship is preserved, fossil-like, in the structure of the *LJ*'s attitude towards these games and their meaning.

### 3.4.3 Evolution: Asking The Right Questions

In 1991, Egbert Meissenburg and the Initiative Group Königstein (IGK) reopened the debate on the subject of the origin of chess with an on-line discussion seeking answers to the questions of who invented the game, when, where, how and why it was invented.<sup>289</sup> Since the key to unlocking the mysteries of the origins of chess and other games has yet to be discovered within the field of archeology or by determining their earliest mention in literature, Meissenburg's posits that we must seek the source of chess from the game itself.<sup>290</sup> As a physical expression and record of its culture, chess may likely hold vital clues which will aid in its own investigation. This is in large part a return to the ideas of Culin in that it suggests that the appearance and mechanics of chess are symbols to be mined for information regarding its origins. In this context, it is of exceeding interest to note that the *LJ*'s allegorical prologue seems to answer all of the IGK's questions: (who) that all three types of games were invented by three individual wise men in service to the king; (where and when) in ancient India together at the same moment in time; (why) in order to illustrate their theories of life; and (how) by consulting

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<sup>289</sup> "On the Origins of Chess," *Initiative Group Königstein*, Gerhard Josten, ed. Aug. 2006 <<http://www.mynetcologne.de/~nc-jostenge/>>. Accessed 12 Dec. 2006. Entering into the fray with their evolving opinions on the subject are chiefly: Yuri Averbakh, Peter Banaschak (both addressing where and when in 1999), Pavle Bidev (addressing why in 1963 and 1965; and how in 1979), Ricardo Calvo (where, 1996), Jean-Louis Cazaux (how, constantly updated online), Stewart Culin (why and how, *Chess and Playing Cards* [1898] and *Games of the North American Indians* [1907]), Gerhard Josten (how, 2001), Victor Keats (who and how, 1993), Alex Kraaijeveld (how, 2003) Hans Holländer (how, 1994), Egbert Meissenburg (all questions, 1998), H. J. R. Murray (where and how, 1913, 1941 and 1952), Joseph Needham (why, 1962), Myron Samsin (how, 2002), Sam Sloan (where and when, 1985), Jack Botermans et al. (where, 1989) and Kenneth Whyld (where, 1996).

<sup>290</sup> Egbert Meissenburg, "The State of Chess Research," *Initiative Group Königstein*, Gerhard Josten, ed. Aug. 2006 <<http://www.mynetcologne.de/~nc-jostenge/>>. Accessed 12 Dec. 2006.

their books of ancient wisdom. However, the overwhelming symbolic nature of the work leads me to believe that we are not meant to take this parable any more literally than anything else in the *LJ*, but rather to seek out the imbedded clues which might lead us to understand the larger meaning behind such an origin myth. Of greater importance, however is the Scholastic organization of the work itself with its juxtaposition of metaphysical opposites and seven treatises which serve as a guide for an understanding of the close relationship between these two games.

The Initiative Group Königstein's scope of inquiry, limited as it is to the game of chess, effectively prevents them from asking what I believe may be the most important question of all; one which may eventually help us to find more precise answers to the other questions of who, where, when, why and how; and one which the *LJ* illustrates—that is, the question of *what?* By their exclusive treatment of the history of chess without tables, its metaphysical race-game twin, and having thus removed it from its contextual, and cultural milieu as an *imago mundi*, I believe they have in effect overlooked vital evidence and, certainly, a number of promising research areas. Answers to these questions, in light of what the *LJ* says about their symbolism, point to chess being not only possibly related to other games including race games like tables but that they may all have evolved together from the same cosmographs originally created for religious rites and divinatory purposes.

What might be termed a purist perspective on chess history divorces that game from its geomantic and quaternary symbolism because those qualities are so often associated with the more humble and lowly race games. Lack of physical evidence from

the field of archeology forces chess purists to rely instead on scant and scattered literary, etymological and legendary evidence about the game of chess alone. Unfortunately this approach has not led to any definitive answers but rather a series of stalemates, including most principally 1) the game's birthplace (usually India or China, but now also the Middle East and many points in between); 2) its age (dating from anywhere between 3000 B.C.<sup>291</sup> to Murray's suggestion of 600 A.D.) and particularly whether the earliest known chess game, *chaturanga*, predates the earliest known race game *ashtapada*; and 3) how many players there were in its earliest form (two like modern chess or four like the earliest known variant, *chaturanga*).

Isolating the game of chess from other games and their shared larger scientific and religious contexts limits the inquiry to such a degree that we may be ignoring key areas which might lead to answers to these and other questions about the origins of games. Some of this isolation may be traceable to Murray, who summarily dismissed the idea that similar Asiatic games might have had their roots in divination although he accepted that athletic games were "degenerated survivals of magical or religious practices" (232-33). I believe this was most likely due to an unfortunate, yet prevalent, prejudice at the time that assumed games of so-called primitive societies were inferior to those played by Europeans in much the same way that athletic games were considered inferior to intellectual games like chess.

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<sup>291</sup> This date was suggested by Hiram Cox and upheld by Duncan Forbes in his *History of Chess* (1860). See Stewart Culin, *Chess and Playing Cards* 858 and Egbert Meissenburg, "The State of Chess Research," *Initiative Group Königstein*, Gerhard Josten, ed. Aug. 2006 <<http://www.mynetcologne.de/~nc-jostenge/>>. Accessed 12 Dec. 2006.

In *Homo Ludens*, Huizinga clearly states that “[a]ll play means something” (1) and “defines the leading characteristics of adult play as being either a contest *for* something, or a representation *of* something.”<sup>292</sup> This, in turn, takes us back to my question of *what?* to be added to the IGK list of inquiries concerning the origin of chess (who, where, when, how and why?). Huizinga’s research challenges us to determine what Alfonso’s games mean and I add this query in order to clarify the terms of the search because, as I see it, the question must be, in fact, “What is the origin of these games like chess, dice and tables?” even as it is mythologized in the *LJ*.<sup>293</sup> What was invented was in fact a representation of the workings of the many elements of the world, that is, a cosmograph, and it just so happens that both *chaturanga* and *ashtapada*, the earliest known ancestors of the games of the *LJ*, as well as modern chess and tables, are both cosmographs of the same phenomenon. Since the *LJ*’s games are cosmographic representations, it stands to reason that to seek the source of the games means to discover the source of those cosmologies.

Inquiry into the same *who*, *where*, *when* questions about the geomantic and divinatory symbolism which we know concerned Alfonso and which he associated with games, may ultimately lead to more satisfactory answers in the search for the origin of chess and other board games. The *LJ* repeatedly cites unnamed “sabio antiguos” and their “ystorias antiguas” (fols. 1v, 3v, 81r, 87r, 89r, 95r and 95v) so that it seems reasonable to assume that at least in Alfonso’s time there was a literary source, if not for the games then at least for the types of geomantic symbolism on which they were based. “For

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<sup>292</sup> Murray 1952: 236. Huizinga 13.

<sup>293</sup> “por que fueran falladas estas tres maneras de iuegos. assi como acedrex. & dados & tablas.” (fol. 1v).

[archaic man] all particular knowledge is sacred knowledge—esoteric and wonder-working wisdom, because any knowing is directly related to the cosmic order itself” (Huizinga 105). If we can determine the root source of that esoteric symbolism, whether through literature, etymology, religion or some other cultural manifestation, I believe that that answer will also yield the best information to date on the *who*, *when* and *where* of games, including chess.

As we have seen, the *LJ* repeatedly pairs the battle and race games, chess and tables, from their shared place, time and purpose of origin, to their four variants: normal, larger, four-player and astrological. Throughout the history of chess, the flexibility of the game’s variants<sup>294</sup> has ranged and continues to develop from those for two to those for four players,<sup>295</sup> from those with dice to those without,<sup>296</sup> from two-dimensional boards to

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<sup>294</sup> Note: The variants of chess that use different sized boards discussed here are those that I myself have seen or collected. They are in no way intended to represent the entirety of chess variants of different sizes as this is an enormous and ever-expanding field of interest among chess players both past and present. Two excellent online resources for chess variants can be found online at The Chess Variant Pages (<http://www.chessvariants.com/>), edited by Hans Bodlaender, and Abstract Strategy Games (<http://www.abstractstrategy.com/>), edited by José Diaz.

<sup>295</sup> Like the ancient Indian *chaturanga*, the *LJ*’s four-seasons chess as well as modern four-handed chess variants like Chess in the Fourth Dimension (Jonathan Bilowus) which uses a 12x12 board; Chess<sup>4</sup> (Wow Toys, Inc.) or Quadrachess (Eric S. Clayton); Doubles Chess (DCP, Ltd.)—they also make a Doubles Checkers—using an octagonal board of eight squares per side; Fouray Chess (Wood Expressions); gala, also known as farmer’s chess; and Shahmot (Britton Enterprises) on a 116-square diamond-shaped board. Three-player chess variants include Geochess (Pack Pro) on a circular board of 32 squares in circumference and 8 square deep; and Megachess (Mega Games, Inc. 1988) which is played on an irregular board of the following ranks of squares: 10x3, 14x2, 10x2, 8x2 and 6x2. Trecheesi, 3-player variant of pachisi of my own invention in 1989 to remove the irritating inequalities when using the four-player board with three players. Based on Selchow Reicher’s Parcheesi, it has only three arms instead of four.

<sup>296</sup> Ancient Indian *chaturanga* used dice and the *LJ* offers it as an option to speed the game. Modern players can use Fred Pennington’s invention, the ten-sided Chess Equalizer or Chess=izer™ Dice. It is a ten-sided die with a king, queen, rook, bishop, and knight on each of five sides, four pawns on four sides and the final tenth side with an infinity symbol which means that the player may choose any legal chess move. If the Chessizer indicates an illegal move, it can be rolled up to twice before the player can choose any legal chess move. Several variants are described, allowing partial use of the Chessizer to enliven part or all of a game or to make a game more equal between players of unequal skill. Steve Jackson games also markets a variant invented by Francis K. Lalumière called Proteus in which the pieces

three-dimensional boards,<sup>297</sup> from boards<sup>298</sup> smaller than 8x8<sup>299</sup> to boards larger,<sup>300</sup> from square boards to those with different shapes, from round,<sup>301</sup> to irregular,<sup>302</sup> to infinite.<sup>303</sup>

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themselves are six-sided dice with piece-symbols on each face and which can be changed by that player on any turn by rotating the dice to show another piece.

<sup>297</sup> Most chess boards whatever their shape are two dimensional but the 1960's U.S. television series *Star Trek* offered their vision of futuristic chess might look like, and later marketed it through the Franklin Mint, with an attempt to create a three-dimensional game using a total of seven two-dimensional boards stacked and interconnected in various ways. Four of the individual playing areas measure 2x2 squares and three moveable attack boards measure 4x4, maintaining the usual total of sixty-four squares. Tara Toy Corporation also offers variants of three-level checkers (Tri-Checkers), backgammon (Tri-Gammon), tic tac toe (Tri-Tac-Toe) and chinese checkers (Tri-Chinese Checkers) all from 1995. Each level of Tri-Gammon is like one half of a normal backgammon board with a total of twelve points, six per side.

<sup>298</sup> Alfonso acknowledges in the *LJ* that square boards range in size from twelve squares across down to a single square: "los unos de .xij. casas. los otros de .x. los otros de ocho. los otros de .vj. & los otros de quatro. & assi fueron descendiendo fasta en una casa; que partieron en ocho partes. E todo esto fizieron por grandes semeianças segunt los saberes antigos; que usauan los sabios. Pero entre todos los otros iuegos escogieron por mejor & mas comunal el delas .viij. casas; por que *non* es tan uagarosa como el delas diez o *dent* arriba. ni otrossi tan appresurado; como el delas seys o *dent* ayuso. E por endel usan comunalmente los *omnes* en todas las tierras; mas que los otros iuegos" (fols. 2v-3r).

<sup>299</sup> One small variant is called Quick Chess (Amerigames International) and uses a 5x6 board with mirror arrays of RBKQN with the following rules: 1) no double-step for pawn, 2) pawns may promote only to an already-captured piece, 3) no castling and 4) 20-move limit, after that the holder of the piece of the highest value wins. Mini Chess (eGames 2004) uses a 5x5 board and an opening array of a1 rook, b1 queen, c1 king, d1 knight, e1 bishop for white and a5 bishop, b5 knight, c5 king, d5 queen, e5 rook for black; as in the *LJ* a bare king loses the game. Tic-Tac-Chec (Dream Green) is played on a 4x4 board with each player moving their pieces (each has one pawn, rook, knight and bishop) according to modern chess rules in an attempt to be the first to form a row. All the King's Men (Parker Brothers 1979) is a chess-like strategy game played upon a 7x7 board.

<sup>300</sup> Lionheart (Parker Brothers 1997) is a chess-like strategy game played upon a 9x9 board. Stratego (Milton Bradley, 1960) is a chess-like strategy game played upon a 10x10 board.

<sup>301</sup> Greek *zatrikion*, also called Byzantine chess, known from the tenth century was played on a circular or round board, sixteen squares in circumference and four deep with a central non-playable zone like the *LJ*'s *escaques* (Pennick 193, Murray [ar-Rumiya or *al-muddawara* chess] 1913: 342 and the image upon which it is based from As-Suli's *Kitab al-shatranj* [Frankfurt, 1986], Cleveland Arabic manuscript GV1442K541986x). Modern commercial variants include one called Celtic Chess or the Noble Celts Chess Game (Don Green) played on a circular in which eight rays of eight spaces each are dizzingly interconnected by criss-crossing diagonals. Falkener shows a circular magic square very similar to circular Celtic chess (307).

<sup>302</sup> Courier chess, first mentioned in the German poem "Wigalois" (1205), was played on a 12x8 board with the additional pieces of a sage, a fool and two couriers (see also John Gollon, *Chess Variations, Ancient, Regional, and Modern* [1968. Rutland, VT: Tuttle, 1968. 1969] 101-109 and the painting of the same name by Dutch painter Lucas van Leyden, c. 1510); Infinite Chess (Infinite Chess Co.) has a board whose 64 squares are arranged in a figure eight; Millennium Chess (VIP Chess) on a 15x8 where each player has two kings, two queens, four bishops, four knights, three rooks and fifteen pawns; Sphere chess also uses a figure-eight board but with 128 squares (64x2). Domination (Milton Bradley 1982) is a chess- or checkers-like strategy game for two to four players and played upon an octagonal board of 48 (6x8) domed spaces.

<sup>303</sup> Tile Chess (Steve Jackson Games) allow for players to play chess without a board, using tiles as chess pieces and creating an infinite playable area.

Modern four-player backgammon variants reinforce this concept and include backgammon,<sup>304</sup> circle gammon,<sup>305</sup> quadragammon<sup>306</sup> and rainbow backgammon.<sup>307</sup> Branded name, modern, pachisi-style games reinforce and expand upon the concept and include Aggravation (Lakeside) and Flusteration (Reiss Games, Inc.), both for two to six players; ludo (formerly but no longer a name held by copyright) and Parcheesi (Selchow & Righter), as well as card-based Sorry and single-die Trouble for two to four players. John Jackson describes recent pachisi variants of which the most interesting, of course, is Shakespeare (Avalon Hill), a literary game with scene summaries from the author's plays utilized as spaces.<sup>308</sup> These myriad chess and tables variants attest to the flexibility of both games and their ability to adapt to any preexisting symbology and/or board from whatever region. That very flexibility argues for a sort of interchangeability between the two games when translation is considered, either of early documents or of the transfer of the games from one culture to another.

As repeatedly sustained by the both the *LJ* and later variants, chess and tables games are each equally able to portray multiple symbolic aspects of the world and the cosmos on a number of levels. Such remarkable cohesion and similarity is in stark contrast to the modern critical position that these are two different types of games from

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<sup>304</sup> Backgammon<sup>4</sup> (Wow Toys, Inc.) is a game for four players on a circular board of 36 points, six on each of four main sides and three on each of corners.

<sup>305</sup> Circle Gammon (Parker Brothers 1940) is for two to four players, each with twelve pieces and all moving in a counterclockwise direction. The pieces used are the same as in the *LJ*'s *el mundo* (black, red, white, and green) and are arranged to start in different positions depending on the number of players.

<sup>306</sup> Quadragammon (A New Way to Play the Oldest Game in Town) by John H. Hanson, Co. 1977. Four players with eight pieces each may play either individually or in teams. Two dice and a doubling cube are used. One set of players facing each other moves clockwise, the other set moves counterclockwise around a square board with six points per side.

<sup>307</sup> A game by John Gilpin *c.* 1875 with a wheel-like circular board with eight spokes (Lee Dennis's *Warman's Antique American Games: 1840-1940* [Radnor, PA: Wallace, 1991] 116).

<sup>308</sup> John Jackson, *A Player's Guide to Table Games* (Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole, 1975) 108-9.

mutually exclusive families. By presenting the battle-game chess and the race-game tables as twins in treatise after treatise, the *LJ* irrefutably illustrates the relationship of both types of games with spiritually-based ritualistic, divinatory symbols such as the mandalas and temples discussed above. Nearly one thousand years closer to their original sources, I think it likely that the creators of the *LJ* were not only documenting important steps in the evolution of these games but also conveying an understanding of their origins which have since been lost or forgotten.

Furthermore, I believe that current chess research is not asking all the necessary questions. By omitting race games from their inquiry, modern research has ignored the path which may lead to some verifiable answers concerning the origins of both race and battle games, including and especially chess because it separates the quaternary symbolism of the *LJ*'s tables's earliest known ancestor, *ashtapada*, from what is generally agreed to be the earliest known chess variant, *chaturanga*. In so doing, the *LJ* effectively shows the deep relationship between the symbolism and flexibility of that imagery for the two types of games in Alfonso's times: chess (battle) and tables (race).

A new direction is needed in research into the origin of chess and other games. Some different qualitative *what?* questions about the shared metaphysical symbolism of these games must be asked of the appropriate fields of research: philosophy and comparative religion, archeological architecture, philology and linguistics. Given that the earliest version of chess and race games is generally agreed to be four-fold in both play and, therefore, symbolism, I believe that this is the first clue towards finding the answers to the questions on the origins of chess. While the *LJ*'s planetary and astrological

symbolism is more complex and beautiful, I feel it must represent a later addition to the world of games because its very complexity argues for a more sophisticated and advanced technological understanding.

As man's comprehension of the world evolves, becoming increasingly more intricate, so too do his representations and simulacra of that world in the form of games.<sup>309</sup> The increasing complexity of these symbols and games appears to reflect man's attempt to predict the future via divination by making a model of the world as he sees it: rational, symmetrical and known, with a randomizing element of the unknown provided either by dice or the sufficiently randomizing element of very large numbers of combinations. If a sufficiently realistic microcosmic model could be made and then studied, then perhaps one could learn to recognize and interpret the patterns and use them as predictors for possible future macrocosmic outcomes.

In this regard, I suggest the following quantitative questions as a point of departure for a fresh inquiry into the origins of chess and other board games: What is the origin of the attempt to represent the world based upon its four directions or four seasons? Can this cosmography be narrowed down to one specific culture, whether in China, India or elsewhere? What is the earliest instance of such a four-fold, geomantic representation in the fields of architecture, religion or science? What is the earliest literary reference to a construction such as an *imago mundi*? Is there reliable literary evidence to suggest that this four-fold representation of the world was created by one

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<sup>309</sup> Consider the evolving of games from board games like chess, backgammon and pachisi to the modern virtual reality in video games. Within the latter we can see a rapid evolution from the more primitive systems like Nintendo 64 and Sony Playstation to the newer generation of machines such as Playstation II and Xbox 360.

individual? What other early cultures stress the numerological importance of the numbers 4, 8 or 64?<sup>310</sup> What are the different color schemes associated with the four-fold symbolism of different regions? Can one be determined to be the earliest or at least the source of all the others? Today, four-player games come in many configurations of the four colors red, yellow, green and blue. However, this seems to represent a change motivated by the availability of easily produced colors whose bright nature is attractive to children. Early representations would have been limited either by available pigments, the symbolism of the colors in question, or both. The *LJ* offers two slightly different lists of colors for its earthly quaternities. Can one or both of these sources be identified through comparative literature or comparative religious studies? Can it be determined which source is the older? What about the sources of the color associations in Hermetism?

Linguistic studies might aid in answering these questions through a comparative study of the terms for the four directions, or four seasons, or other groups of four in various languages, to try to determine which language family possesses the the greatest number of roots for these terms. Such information could then be used to support or argue against findings from the religious, literary and archeological evidence.

In terms of the individuation of battle games from race games, with their differing means or loci of determining the source piece value and power, I suggest the following questions: In what country do we find the earliest reference to and/or what are the origins

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<sup>310</sup> The Tibetan Buddhist wheel of Dharma has eight spokes relating to the ashta-anga or eight-fold path. Both halves of the term ashta-anga are found in game terminology. Formed as it is by eight squares on each side, the chess board was known as the *ashtapada* (Skt. ashta = eight + pada = board; a *desapada* is a ten-by-ten square board, etc.); and one of the chief games played on this board, chess, was known as *chaturanga* (Skt. chatur = four + anga = parts or branches). Not only do armies have four limbs or parts in the history of chess but they do so because an army is a corps or large-scale body for fighting and as such reflects the fundamental human form with its four limbs. See Murray 1913: 42-44.

of the debate between free will and predestination? Could this or some other similar schism have prompted a desire to change the locus of power and relative value from the macrocosmic board, symbolizing predestination as in race games like tables or *ashtapada*, to the individual man-like pieces or the player that moves them, symbolizing the free will of battle games like chess or *chaturanga*?

Finally, do any of these answers support current theories about the origins of chess? Or perhaps a better questions might be: How do answers to all these questions affect what we already believe about the origins of chess?

### **3.5 Conclusions for Chapter III**

In sum, I offer the following observations regarding the metaphysical symbolism of the *LJ*'s games. The format and content of this list of six points is modelled on a similar list by Stewart Culin whose many works lay the foundation for this dissertation's assertion that the games of the *LJ* are of divinatory roots and/or purpose. His landmark studies on chess, playing cards and the games of Korea as well as the Indians of North America clearly demonstrate how many types of games and play from diverse and distant groups of peoples share not only a similar appearance and play mechanisms with each other and with many of the *LJ*'s games but also, and more importantly, they all share an underlying basis on spiritual symbolism common to all the groups who play them. For this reason, Culin's work is fundamental to the understanding of the common spiritual function that those games fulfilled for the two groups of people on the separate continents that he studied. The following list of conclusions is based on his conclusions about the divinatory nature of the *Games of the North American Indians* (809), and making very

minor adjustments, these conclusions apply easily and fully to the *LJ* and summarize the divinatory nature and roots of the *LJ*'s games presented in this dissertation's third chapter.

- (1) The games of the *LJ* may be classified in a small number of fundamentally related groups, i.e. the twin games of chess and tables, plus the more or less related games of dice and mill.
- (2) The morphologically chess and tables are practically identical expressions of universal geomancy or cosmography and the many supposed differentiations of them on the basis of differing play mechanisms are problematic or fallacious.
- (3) The as they are shown to exist in 1283, chess and tables have both descended from either protoscience or instruments of rites or ceremonial observances of a religious character, or a combination thereof.
- (4) The their identity and unity are shared by the myth or myths with which they are associated, particularly the *LJ* prologue's philosophical debate over free will and predestination as expressed through the source of piece movement, i.e. the individual pieces of battle games like chess or the dice and/or board as in race games like tables; quaternary representations of the earth and concentric representations of the cosmos.

- (5) The while their common and secular objective appears to be purely a manifestation of the desire for amusement or gain, they are performed also as religious or methectic ceremonies, as rites of sympathetic magic to achieve a desired outcome and/or greater understanding of the nature of God and his Creation.
- (6) The in part they agree in general and in particular with certain widespread geomantic and cosmographic traditions found on the other continents, which traditions, in what appear to be their oldest and most primitive manifestations, are almost exclusively divinatory.

## CONCLUSION

As we have attempted to demonstrate throughout this dissertation, Alfonso X's *Los libros de acedrex, dados et tablas* or *Libro de los juegos (LJ)* must be examined on the basis of a holistic, philological approach grounded in historical accuracy and textual documentation. Discovering and explaining the multiple dimensions of symbolism in the work reveal the *LJ*'s appeal to many disciplines beyond the games, encompassing Spanish medieval literature, language, art, history, law, science and philosophy. Yet unexplored areas of its games, symbols and images may also contain items of interest to scholars from the fields of folklore, semiotics, women's studies, fractal geometry and chaos theory.

By considering the *LJ*'s three main dimensions of medieval games, manuscript illumination and metaphysical cosmography as a cohesive whole, this dissertation reveals a work which is both a logical product of the Wise King's eclectic array of interests and an intimate glimpse inside the mind of this learned, superstitious medieval *homo ludens*. Examining the work's many layers of symbolism reveals Alfonso's clear intention to organize and present the *LJ* as a didactic exercise, guiding the knowledgeable reader to a greater understanding not only of the nature of the games themselves but of their deeply personal meaning and practical usefulness to the Wise King.

Through the application of medieval exegesis to construe the four levels of meaning of the *LJ* and its games, the work is explained as an immensely complex system reflecting thirteenth-century philosophy and science, logically ordered according to the dictates of medieval Scholastic methodology and meant, ultimately, to expound the

relationship between man, the microcosm, and the universe as macrocosm. The way in which the *LJ*'s games depict the physical game boards as derived from the physiognomic aspects of man's four-limbed body, reflects Alfonso's belief in a microcosmic earth as the central reflection of a macrocosmic universe, clearly demonstrating that the philosophy of games revealed in the *LJ* is intricately related to the philosophy of life itself. The boards and game strategies allow human beings to visualize the workings of the cosmos, utilize the wisdom gleaned from these games and, in due course, apply the knowledge in a practical sense to solve life's greater problems. Finally, this rigorous analysis has shown how the *LJ* thoroughly incorporates esoteric knowledge from both Christian and Muslim sources together with an application of the most advanced science of the time, i.e. astrology, to predict the future in consonance with the Hermetic principle "As above, so below."

Persistent conflicting descriptions of the work's dimensions, various titles by which it is known, its textual and illuminated content, its organization and state of completeness, are resolved in the dissertation's introduction through careful analysis of the *LJ* in the context of other Alfonsine creations. Inspired by the masterpiece it studies, this dissertation's structure follows its three key facets and explicit internal organization. It is also the first to attempt a multimedia presentation as visually compelling as the *LJ* itself by offering on the accompanying CD-ROM tools for its research beyond the standard text and images. These research tools include both an Excel spreadsheet of information folio-by-folio and PowerPoint presentations in an effort to bring ludic and artistic analyses to life.

Key findings and contributions of this dissertation include the following:

1. An *a quo* date of December 1254 for the composition of the *LJ* based upon a comparison of the listing and order of territories in the prologue and colophon of the *LJ* with similar territories listed in other Alfonsine works. The inception date offered for work on the manuscript also coincides with the creation of a *studium generale* in Seville where the colophon says the work was begun and finished. Further textual and artistic evidence reveals that the majority of the work was completed during and directly following Alfonso's quest for the title of Holy Roman Emperor, 1256-75.
2. As the first study to examine the entire text, images and symbolism of the *LJ* as a cohesive whole within the work's historical context, this dissertation may lay claim to having accorded Alfonso's *Book of Games* its appropriate place and import within the Wise King's extensive literary corpus. Clear textual explanations of the monarch's philosophy and superstition as described in the *LJ* are also found in the monumental codification of laws in the *Siete Partidas*, in the *Libro de las Tahurerías* and in the more esoteric *Setenario*, as well as in two other collections of *niti shastra*, the similarly multimedia *Cantigas de Santa María* and Alfonso's first Oriental and paremiological translation, *Calila e Digna*. These comparisons show conclusively how the *LJ* forms the practical nexus between the monarch's pragmatic legal treatises and his esoteric astrological studies. In addition, this study shows the *LJ* to be another example of a *speculum principum* derived from Oriental sources so popular at that time and especially from his father's *Libro de los doze sabios*. Thus, the *LJ* not only fits clearly within his opus as a whole but also stands out as a final *chef d'oeuvre*.

3. Analysis of the prologue's unique myth of the origin of games, in which an ancient Indian king asks that his three wise men debate the merits of skill and luck, offers a blueprint of the structure and purpose of the whole collection wherein the constant theme is the trio of games of chess, dice and tables. Presented in the form of a Scholastic *quæstio*, the *LJ* can be viewed as an Islamo-Christian philosophical debate over free will v. predestination within the ludic parable. Cast in an original perspective combining the two supposedly contradictory game elements of chess and dice (skill and luck), Alfonso's interpretation ennobles the game of tables as the perfect and most life-like synthesis.
4. The entertainment value of all 144 games is made accessible to a wide audience via historically accurate, complete and annotated descriptions along with the first English translation, diagrams, reference charts, sample games and relationships to modern variants.<sup>311</sup> Extensive treatment is devoted to every chess problem by providing diagrams, position inventories, full algebraic solutions and step-by-step PowerPoint animations for each endgame problem which essentially allows anyone to instantly acquire the dynamic perception of expert players. All chess features minimize the language barrier by using a font specially designed to match the original precisely. In addition to revealing the dazzling symmetrical beauty of Problems 65, 81 and 93, the PowerPoints also expose a very unique type of trident-style checkmate which may be of further help in pinpointing Alfonso's chess sources.

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<sup>311</sup> The translation is currently being used as a text in Paul Milliman's History 495A "Studies in Early Europe: Games People Played: Faith, Skill, and Chance in the Middle Ages" at the University of Arizona.

5. Four styles of technical language are identified based upon differences in key vocabulary and phrasing in the chess solutions. These data represent the first significant advancement in our understanding of Alfonso's sources for the chess problems since 1913 when Murray classified them into Arabic- or European-styles and may also further elucidate the way in which Alfonso's multi-cultural school of translators and scribes worked together. The entire text is made accessible via the first complete critical edition of the *LJ* including cross-referencing and the correction of scribal errors to coincide with the diagrams in the miniatures thus allowing for greater playability and accuracy. This exhaustive analysis corrects and compares the original and all major full and partial transcriptions which have, until now, failed to take the game diagrams into account.
6. Textual and numerological evidence from the manuscript itself effectively refutes the tempting hypothesis that suggested folios or games may be missing from the *LJ*. In this same context, the decimal chess variant, mentioned but not described, is here reconstructed based on studies of contemporary sources.
7. Chapter II explores the cultural and historical value of the *LJ*'s rich art treasures in terms of the text. Careful study and comparison of the people portrayed in the 151 miniatures reveals that alongside traditional iconography and heraldry, the *LJ* may contain one of the earliest examples of physiognomic likeness in medieval portraiture nearly a full century before the previous, earliest recorded instance. Unique facial and physical features include King Alfonso and his diseased eye, his queen, Violante, and her strong nose, the dainty feet and hands of his concubine, Mayor Guillén de

Guzmán, as well as her daughter with Alfonso, Beatriz, who later became Queen of Portugal. Their identifications are essentially based upon our knowledge of the fact that these images were created during the lifetime of the persons portrayed, that the likenesses favorably compare with two or more similar extant portraits of these same individuals and that such judgments may be verified by comparisons with contemporary literary accounts of illness and/or with later historical records of physical examinations of the remains of these same persons.

8. Key instances of intentional use of symbolic numbers include several details within the first three treatises and even more compelling evidence in the total numbers of miniatures, folios and games. These include the following:
- 64 folios in the “Libro del acedrex” which mirror the 64 squares on a chess board;
  - 6 folios likely intended for the “Libro de los dados” matching the six faces on a die;
  - twelve dice games which equal the highest possible roll with two six-sided dice;
  - fifteen tables games equal to the number of pieces each player initially possesses;
  - 151 total illuminations, the sum of whose integers is seven ( $1+5+1=7$ )—previous scholarship has misidentified this total as 150 by failing to count as two separate images the unmistakable double miniature of fol. 77v;
  - 98 total folios equal to twice seven squared ( $7^2+7^2$ ), a number often misidentified as 97 because of a failure to include the final blank folio at the end of the treatise despite including all other blank folios;
  - 144 total games equal to twelve squared, a symbolic cipher mentioned by no other

previous study.

9. Using Alfonso's *Setenario* as a key to breaking the *LJ*'s coded symbolism, this dissertation fully explicates the *LJ*'s dual structure based on the numbers 7 and 12, thus uncovering an aspect which is clearly fundamental to our ultimate understanding of the work's intricate symbolic architecture. In the *LJ*, the Wise King explicitly states his belief concerning the significance of works divided into sevens, and particularly those divided into both sevens and twelves as models of Ptolemy's universe. As an example, Alfonso cites St. John's *Book of Revelation* or *Apocalypse*, whose Greek name he explains to mean marvelous visions of the secrets of God. Thus, by dividing the *LJ* into these same number of sections, Alfonso suggests to the perspicacious reader that the work mirrors the universe as he understood it and that its study will reveal divine secrets to men learned in the art of astrology. The *LJ*'s purposeful structure arranges its games in a way that is both thematic and didactic, leading the reader upward through a series of metaphorical steps, as though they were the rungs of a ladder of enlightenment. As explained in the introduction to the dissertation, nothing about the *LJ*'s complex structure or contents is accidental but rather it is a carefully arranged game designed to educate the reader. The entire structure of the *LJ* with its twelve headings divided among seven treatises, effectively becomes a mirror of Alfonso's understanding of the structure of the universe with the seven planets moving through the twelve signs of the zodiac all of which, in turn, reflects the games the work contains while simultaneously explicating the true role of this previously misunderstood and undervalued book of games.

10. Chapter III looks beyond the literal, visible and obvious meanings of the *LJ*'s text and images by utilizing a common, systematic method of medieval exegesis, similar to the Judaic *Pardes*, whose four-fold approach to religious interpretation effectively reveals the work's metaphysical and symbolic dimensions. This system's literal, allegorical, tropological and anagogical levels represent the stages of interpretation by which the medieval Christian or Cabalistic scholar ascended from one plane of spiritual understanding to the next. Each step moves the literal nature of games to a superior allegory of mankind, the earth and the universe and, in terms of the games, respectively extends their literal usage as entertainment to metaphors of mankind, the planet Earth and the universe.
11. Alfonso's divinatory purpose is confirmed by the esoteric games of the seventh treatise, which reflect the medieval taste for things which were both *dolce et utile*. The direction of their infinite circular motion, prefigured by the *LJ*'s first chess problem, reveals a counter-clockwise arrangement of the zodiac which is not as it appears from man's perspective, but rather from the divine viewpoint of God. Thus, Alfonso forges a connection between planetary configurations within the wheel of the zodiac and the interrelationships between chessmen on a chess board. Chess players understand that success lies in the ability to recognize and function within patterns. Clearly, with the legal loopholes he left himself for the practice of divination, the Wise King hoped to be better able to analyze his own troubled life through an understanding its patterns as reflected in the stars and on game boards.

12. The *LJ*'s repeated juxtaposition of battle and race games lends new credibility to the contested theory of the relationship between the most ancient known form of chess, *chaturanga*, as related to the most ancient known race game, *ashtapada*, both played on an 8x8 board. In this context, it is notable that each chess and tables game in the *LJ* undergoes transformation from its traditional format to the terrestrial and temporal symbologies of the *LJ*'s four-seasons and astrological variants equally well, whereas other games cannot. Thus, the *LJ*'s vision of chess and tables as twin games suggests that future research into the origin of chess and the evolution of games must explore the realms of myth and ritual as they relate either to geomancy and/or cosmography or to the free will vs. predestination debate.

The findings of the holistic approach to the *LJ* demonstrate that the comprehensive resource work we have assembled here can also offer new insights into the man who ordered its compilation. The *LJ*, is, in effect, a microcosmic embodiment of Huizinga's observation that societies not only play games but are in fact games in and of themselves. It serves then, as a lens through which we can gain a new perspective not only on Alfonso's society but on his personal philosophy of the game of life he encrypted into a single, didactic and symbolic tome which is in itself a game or a puzzle.<sup>312</sup> Containing within its cosmographic structure games with divinatory roots and astrological connections, it is at once an illuminated microcosm of Alfonso's world and a mirror of how the Learned King saw and interpreted this world. In this way, the *LJ* supersedes the mere morality-tale level of most other medieval works on chess and

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<sup>312</sup> "We have to conclude, therefore, that civilization is, in its earliest phases, played. It does not come *from* play like a babe detaching itself from the womb: it arises *in* and *as* play, and never leaves it" (Huizinga 173).

games. At the same time, it illustrates how Alfonso hoped to peer into the depths of these games, as into a crystal ball, in order to see the future and to better cope with the challenges that real life presented.

By highlighting Alfonso's personal involvement in many facets of this complex work, from his defense of the inclusion of various chess problems to his designation of two tables variants for the imperial title to which he aspired, as well as his invention and modification of various gaming equipment, an intimate image of the man who ordered the book emerges. Time and again, the *LJ* reveals the Wise King's personal identification with and his impact on the games he plays: the doomed chess kings of the chess-hunt problems like Problem 1; the positioning of castles (i.e. rooks) alongside lions in all four corners of *grant acedrex* mirroring his checkered heraldic garments throughout the miniatures as well as the escutcheons marking some of their frames; in the renaming of the seventh piece of decimal chess derived from the war machine of Arabic sources to *juyz* (lit. judge) in consonance with his code of laws, the *Siete Partidas*. These insights paint a wider but sadder portrait of this complex medieval ruler who lost at chess, as he lost in his quest for empire.

The artwork of the miniatures reveals details about Alfonso beyond the realism of his portraits, such as some which might show him as a young man losing at chess. His rage at the betrayal of his son Sancho, who dethroned his father and would, at his death, become Sancho IV, may also be observed in the systematic and violent destruction of the facial features of one young nobleman throughout the work. The realistic yet sympathetic

treatment of little and unusual people predates Velázquez's famous portraits by nearly three hundred years.

Alfonso's appearance in majesty and full regalia in several miniatures is less interesting than his numerous informal, comfortable portrayals, where we find him quite nearly as just another player, exemplifying the games as a metaphor of life in which all men, whether kings or peons, will end up in the grave regardless of their rank in life. These non-iconographic presentations strike the same bitter and disenchanted chord as the monarch's poem "Non me posso pagar tanto."

As extensive a reference as this dissertation is, there are some things that it was unable to do. Repeated attempts to explain the red (rather than black) chessmen of Problems 78 and 79 as a marker based on the Golden Mean or to link the progression of games, either in their evolution or their presentation in the *LJ* to the related concept of the Fibonacci sequences failed. The reason seems to be that Alfonso's sources look back to older texts, rather than to contemporary European mathematical or philosophical concepts.

My own forthcoming research continues to build on the foundation laid with this dissertation, examining the more amorous and chivalric aspects of the game of chess. In the meantime, other specific areas that still need to be explored include:

1. The marginalia of *LJ* codex, particularly the writing between fols. 13v and 14r.

2. The connections between the *LJ*'s *escaques* and the presentation of the necromancer in *Cantiga* 125A as well as *escaques* and medieval representations of both Ezekiel's vision and Macrobius's commentary on Scipio's dream, Muhammad's celestial voyage in the Muslim *Mi'rag*, and Don Quijote's "flight" on Clavileño.
3. The ethnicity or religious affiliation suggested by the pointed and/or curved hats portrayed in the miniatures and what that can reveal about Alfonso's sources and/or the origins of the games that such individuals are showing playing.
4. The discovery of new, possibly Islamic, sources for the textual descriptions of planetary personifications of *escaques*.

## APPENDIX A: GENERAL TOOLS FOR STUDYING THE *LJ*

### APPENDIX A1: CRITICAL TRANSCRIPTION OF THE *LJ*'S TEXT

#### Norms of Transcription

My goals for this critical edition text of the *LJ* are that it be as much like original as possible in order to preserve important spelling evidence, that it be readable and that it incorporate footnoted word-by-word comparisons with all serious previous studies. In order to produce the highest quality transcription, I have added over one thousand footnoted comments and corrections per myself and others as noted to the base text from *The Electronic Texts and Concordances of the Prose Works of Alfonso X, El Sabio* (Madison, WI: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1977), hereafter HSMS. In order to improve ease of reading, I have added an outline and matching descriptive section titles (Prologue, Problem #64, etc.) in black bold capitals, inserted all scribal insertions and deleted all scribal deletions with accompanying footnotes, replaced all letters supplied inside <> and followed by ` with those same letters in italics and replaced all *c*'s with *çs*. All calderones are shown as ¶ instead of HSMS usage of %. When the original contains a symbol for *and*, I give &; when it contains *e* or *et*, I transcribe the text as is. All headings are given as they appear in the original, often united or split into halves as shown, giving a pleasing symmetry in the number of word groups between the headings on both recto and verso; HSMS divides the headings into proper words and Grandese (1987) also notes these divisions. I will show them as they appear in the manuscript throughout this transcription without repeating this explanation.

#### OUTLINE OF ALFONSO X'S *BOOK OF GAMES*

##### I. "LIBRO DEL ACEDREX"

- (a) [PROLOGUE] fol. 1r
- (b) [Why Chess Comes First] (fol. 2v)
- (c) [How Chess Is Made and Played] (fol. 3r)
- (d) Of How Many Colors the Chessmen Are to Be
- (e) Chapter on the Movement of the Chessmen (fol. 3v)
- (f) Chapter on How They Should Capture with the Chessmen (fol. 4r)
- (g) Chapter on the Ranking of the Chessmen
- (h) Chapter on How the King and All the Other Chessmen Can Move and Capture
- (i) [The Chess Games]
  - (i) *iuego forçado / iuego de donzellas* (fol. 5r)
  - (ii) Problem 1 (fol. 5v)
  - (iii) Problem 2 (fol. 6r)
  - (iv) Problem 3 (fol. 6v)
  - (v) Problem 4 (fol. 7r)
  - (vi) Problem 5 (fol. 8r)
  - (vii) Problem 6 (fol. 8v)

- (viii) Problem 7 (fol. 9r)
- (ix) Problem 8 (fol. 10r)
- (x) Problem 9 (fol. 10v)
- (xi) Problem 10 (fol. 11v)
- (xii) Problem 11 (fol. 12r)
- (xiii) Problem 12 (fol. 12v)
- (xiv) Problem 13 (fol. 13v)
- (xv) Problem 14 (fol. 14r)
- (xvi) Problem 15 (fol. 14v)
- (xvii) Problem 16 (fol. 15r)
- (xviii) Problem 17 (fol. 16r)
- (xix) Problem 18 (fol. 16v)
- (xx) Problem 19 (fol. 17v)
- (xxi) Problem 20 (fol. 18r)
- (xxii) Problem 21 (fol. 19r)
- (xxiii) Problem 22 (fol. 19v)
- (xxiv) Problem 23 (fol. 20r)
- (xxv) Problem 24 (fol. 20v)
- (xxvi) Problem 25 (fol. 21v)
- (xxvii) Problem 26 (fol. 22r)
- (xxviii) Problem 27 (fol. 22v)
- (xxix) Problem 28 (fol. 23r)
- (xxx) Problem 29 (fol. 23v)
- (xxxi) Problem 30 (fol. 24r)
- (xxxii) Problem 31 (fol. 24v)
- (xxxiii) Problem 32 (fol. 25r)
- (xxxiv) Problem 33 (fol. 25v)
- (xxxv) Problem 34 (fol. 26v)
- (xxxvi) Problem 35 (fol. 27r)
- (xxxvii) Problem 36 (fol. 27v)
- (xxxviii) Problem 37 (fol. 28r)
- (xxxix) Problem 38 (fol. 28v)
- (xl) Problem 39 (fol. 29v)
- (xli) Problem 40 (fol. 30r)
- (xlii) Problem 41 (fol. 30v)
- (xliii) Problem 42 (fol. 31r)
- (xliv) Problem 43 (fol. 31v)
- (xlv) Problem 44 (fol. 32r)
- (xlvi) Problem 45 (fol. 32v)
- (xlvii) Problem 46 (fol. 33r)
- (xlviii) Problem 47 (fol. 33v)
- (xlix) Problem 48 (fol. 34v)
- (l) Problem 49 (fol. 35r)
- (li) Problem 50 (fol. 35v)

- (lii) Problem 51 (fol. 36r)
- (liii) Problem 52 (fol. 36v)
- (liv) Problem 53 (fol. 37r)
- (lv) Problem 54 (fol. 37v)
- (lvi) Problem 55 (fol. 38r)
- (lvii) Problem 56 (fol. 38v)
- (lviii) Problem 57 (fol. 39r)
- (lix) Problem 58 (fol. 39v)
- (lx) Problem 59 (fol. 40r)
- (lxi) Problem 60 (fol. 40v)
- (lxii) Problem 61 (fol. 41r)
- (lxiii) Problem 62 (fol. 41v)
- (lxiv) Problem 63 (fol. 42r)
- (lxv) Problem 64 (fol. 42v)
- (lxvi) Problem 65 (fol. 43r)
- (lxvii) Problem 66 (fol. 43v)
- (lxviii) Problem 67 (fol. 44r)
- (lxix) Problem 68 (fol. 44v)
- (lxx) Problem 69 (fol. 45r)
- (lxxi) Problem 70 (fol. 45v)
- (lxxii) Problem 71 (fol. 46r)
- (lxxiii) Problem 72 (fol. 46v)
- (lxxiv) Problem 73 (fol. 47r)
- (lxxv) Problem 74 (fol. 47v)
- (lxxvi) Problem 75 (fol. 48r)
- (lxxvii) Problem 76 (fol. 48v)
- (lxxviii) Problem 77 (fol. 49r)
- (lxxix) Problem 78 (fol. 49v)
- (lxxx) Problem 79 (fol. 50r)
- (lxxxii) Problem 80 (fol. 50v)
- (lxxxiii) Problem 81 (fol. 51r)
- (lxxxiv) Problem 82 (fol. 51v)
- (lxxxv) Problem 83 (fol. 52r)
- (lxxxvi) Problem 84 (fol. 52v)
- (lxxxvii) Problem 85 (fol. 53r)
- (lxxxviii) Problem 86 (fol. 53v)
- (lxxxix) Problem 87 (fol. 54r)
- (lxxxix) Problem 88 (fol. 54v)
- (xc) Problem 89 (fol. 55r)
- (xci) Problem 90 (fol. 55v)
- (xcii) Problem 91 (fol. 56r)
- (xciii) Problem 92 (fol. 56v)
- (xciv) Problem 93 (fol. 57v)
- (xcv) Problem 94 (fol. 58r)

- (xcvi) Problem 95 (fol. 58v)
  - (xcvii) Problem 96 (fol. 59v)
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  - (c) Problem 99 (fol. 61r)
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- II. "LIBRO DE LOS DADOS" (fol. 65r)
- (a) On How the Dice Should Be Made
  - (b) *Mayores* (, menores) & *tanto en uno como en dos* (fol. 65v)
  - (c) *Triga* (fol. 66r)
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  - (d) *Azar* (fol. 67r)
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- III. "LIBRO DE LAS TABLAS" (fol. 72r)
- (a) How the Board and Pieces Should Be Made
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    - (i) *Quinze tablas* (fol. 73r)
    - (ii) *Doze canes / doze hermanos* (fol. 73v)
    - (iii) *Doblet* (fol. 74r)
    - (iv) *Fallas* (fol. 74v)
    - (v) *Seys dos & as* (fol. 75r)
    - (vi) *Emperador* (fol. 75v)
      - 1) Prime (fol. 76r)
      - 2) [Tie]
    - (vii) *Medio emperador*
    - (viii) *Pareia de entrada* (fol. 76v)
    - (ix) *Cab & quinal* (fol. 77r)
    - (x) *Todas tablas* (fol. 77v)
    - (xi) *Laquet* (fol. 78r)
    - (xii) *La buffa cortesa* (fol. 78v)
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## IV. [“THE BOOK OF LARGE GAMES”]

- (a) *Grant acedrex* (fol. 81r)
- (b) Eight-Sided Dice (fol. 83r)
- (c) Seven-Sided Dice (fol. 84r)
- (d) Base-Seven Tables (fol. 85r)

## V. [“THE BOOK OF FOUR-PLAYER GAMES”]

- (a) Four-Seasons Chess (fol. 87r)
  - (i) The Four Humors
  - (ii) On How this Board Is Made
  - (iii) How Many Colors the Pieces Are
  - (iv) How They Are Arranged
  - (v) On How Play Begins
- (b) Four-Seasons Tables / The World (fol. 89r)

## VI. “LIBRO DEL ALQUERQUE”

- (a) *Alquerque de doze* (fol. 91r)
- (b) *Cercar la liebre* (fol. 91v)
- (c) *Alquerque de nueue con dados* (fol. 92r)
- (d) *Alquerque de nueue sin dados* (fol. 92v)
- (e) *Alquerque de tres* (fol. 93r)

## VII. [“THE BOOK OF ASTROLOGICAL GAMES”]

- (a) *Escaques* / Astrological Checkers (fol. 95r)
  - (i) On Sextiles
  - (ii) On Trines
  - (iii) On Quadratures and Opposition
  - (iv) On Corporal Conjunction
  - (v) On the Figure of the Board and How It is to Be Made
  - (vi) On the Division of the Seven Circles and How Many Spaces They Have (fol. 95v)
  - (vii) On the Figures of the Seven Planets and Their Colors
    - 1) On Saturn
    - 2) On Jupiter
    - 3) On Mars
    - 4) On the Sun
    - 5) On Venus
    - 6) On Mercury
    - 7) On the Moon (fol. 96r)
  - (viii) On How the Seven Planets Are Arranged and How Play Begins
  - (ix) On How *escaques* Is Played with Only One Die
- (b) Astrological Tables (fol. 97r)
- (c) [COLOPHON]

[fol. 0v guard leaf]

I. N. 2.

i. T. 6.<sup>1</sup>

f. 7.

Est. 15\_1

Juegos diversos<sup>2</sup> de Axedrez,<sup>3</sup> dados, y tablas<sup>4</sup> con sus explicaciones,<sup>5</sup> ordenados por mandado del Rey don Alonso el sabio.<sup>6</sup>

~~i. e. 4.~~

[fol. 1r<sup>7</sup>]

### [PROLOGUE]

<sup>8</sup>POr que<sup>9</sup> toda manera de alegría<sup>10</sup> quiso dios<sup>11</sup> que<sup>12</sup> ouiessen<sup>13</sup> los omnes en si<sup>14</sup> naturalmientre<sup>15</sup> por que pudiessen soffrir las cueytas & los traibaos<sup>16</sup> quandoles<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Trend, Domínguez Rodríguez (1987), García Morencos, *PhiloBiblon* and I give the standardized shelfmark T.I.6 fol. Van der Linde, Steiger, Meissenburg (1973), Grandese, Wollesen and Canettieri give some form of the older, non-standardized version of the shelfmark J.T.6.

<sup>2</sup> Calvo: diuersos (127). Unless otherwise specified, all references to Calvo in the critical text refer to his “*El libro de los juegos de Alfonso X El Sabio*” (1987).

<sup>3</sup> Calvo: Axedres; Canettieri: Axedrex

<sup>4</sup> Calvo inserts a comma.

<sup>5</sup> Murray (1913): explicationes

<sup>6</sup> Van der Linde: D. Alonzo el Sabio; Calvo: Sabio; Canettieri: don Alfonso el Sabio

<sup>7</sup> The face of the man seated at the far right has been intentionally marred by dry scraping.

<sup>8</sup> Calvo begins his somewhat modernized transcription interspersed with commentary here at the beginning of fol. 1r and continues through fol. 5r (153-165).

<sup>9</sup> Janer (48): Porque, and one word throughout. All references in the critical text to Janer refer to “Los libros de ajedrez.”

<sup>10</sup> Domínguez Rodríguez (1987): alegría, modern accentuation throughout

<sup>11</sup> Janer (48), Toledano, Canettieri and Scherer (1997): Dios

<sup>12</sup> Canettieri omits “que.”

<sup>13</sup> Janer (48) and Toledano: oviessen

<sup>14</sup> Janer (48): sí

<sup>15</sup> Janer (48): naturalmente

<sup>16</sup> Domínguez Rodríguez (1987): trebejos; Toledano and Canettieri: trabajos

<sup>17</sup> Canettieri and Scherer (1997): quando les

uiniessen;<sup>18</sup> por end los omnes buscaron muchas maneras por que esta alegria<sup>19</sup> pudiessen auer complidamiente.

¶ Onde<sup>20</sup> por esta razon fallaron & fizieron muchas maneras de iuegos & de trebeios con que se alegrassen.

¶ Los unos en caualgando assi como boffordar & <sup>21</sup> alañar<sup>22</sup> & tomar escud & lança & tirar con ballesta o con arco. o otros iuegos de qual manera<sup>23</sup> quiere que sean; que se pueden fazer<sup>24</sup> de cauallo. ¶ E como quiere que ello<sup>25</sup> se torne en usu & en pro de fecho de armas por que non es esso mismo; llaman le<sup>26</sup> iuego.

¶ E los otros que se ffazen de pie. son assi como esgremir. luchar. correr. saltar. echar piedra o dardo. ferir la pelota. & otros iuegos de muchas naturas en que usan los omnes los miembros por que sean por ello mas rezios & recibam<sup>27</sup> alegria.<sup>28</sup>

¶ Los otros iuegos que se fazen seyendo; son assi como iogar açedrex.<sup>29</sup> & tablas & dados. & otros trebeios de muchas maneras.

¶ E como quiere<sup>30</sup> que todos estos iuegos son muy buenos cadaunos<sup>31</sup> en<sup>32</sup> el tiempo & en el lugar o<sup>33</sup> conuienen;<sup>34</sup> pero por que estos iuegos que se fazen seyendo son cutianos. & se fazen tan bien<sup>35</sup> de noche como de dia;<sup>36</sup> & por que las mugieres que non caualgan & estan<sup>37</sup> encerradas an a usar desto;<sup>38</sup> & otrossi<sup>39</sup> los omnes que son uieios<sup>40</sup> & flacos. o los que han sabor de auer sus plazer es apartadamiente por que non reciban en ellos enoio<sup>41</sup> nin pesar;<sup>42</sup> o los que son en poder ageno assi<sup>43</sup> como en prision<sup>44</sup> o en

---

<sup>18</sup> Janer (48), Domínguez Rodríguez (1987), Toledano and Canettieri: viniessen, all modernize the letter *u* with *v* as applicable throughout

<sup>19</sup> Scherer (1997): alegría

<sup>20</sup> Calvo: Ende

<sup>21</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “a.”

<sup>22</sup> Janer (48): alanzar, *z* for *ç* throughout

<sup>23</sup> Calvo: maña

<sup>24</sup> Janer and Calvo: facer, here and the latter sporadically throughout.

<sup>25</sup> Janer (48): esso

<sup>26</sup> Janer (48): llamanle

<sup>27</sup> Janer (48), HSMS and Calvo correct “recibam” to “reciban”; Steiger and Crombach do not. I leave the word as is believing this change is unnecessary as it is written not so much in error as in reflection of the fact that Alfonso’s multilingual scribes were likely working in Gallego-Portuguese, as with the *Cantigas*, at the same time as in Castilian, as with the *LJ*.

<sup>28</sup> Janer (48): alegrías

<sup>29</sup> HSMS and Domínguez Rodríguez (1987): acedrex

<sup>30</sup> Janer (48): quiera

<sup>31</sup> Canettieri: cada unos

<sup>32</sup> Janer (48): cada unos en

<sup>33</sup> Crombach and Canettieri: ó

<sup>34</sup> Steiger and Crombach: conuienen; HSMS: conuienne; Calvo: conviene

<sup>35</sup> Toledano: tambien; Crombach and Canettieri: también

<sup>36</sup> Crombach and Canettieri: día

<sup>37</sup> Crombach and Canettieri: están

<sup>38</sup> Canettieri: d’esto

<sup>39</sup> Crombach and Canettieri: otrossí

<sup>40</sup> Toledano, Crombach and Canettieri: viejos

<sup>41</sup> Toledano, Crombach and Canettieri: enojo

catiuerio o que uan sobre mar. E comunalmientre todos & aquellos que han fuerte tiempo; por *que* non pueden caualgar nin yr a caça ni a otra parte; & han por fuerça de fincar

[fol. 1v] LIBRO DEL

en las casas & buscar algunas maneras de iuegos<sup>45</sup> con que hayan<sup>46</sup> plazer & se conorten & no esten<sup>47</sup> baldios<sup>48</sup>.

**E**<sup>49</sup> Por<sup>50</sup> ende nos don Alffonso<sup>51</sup> por la gracia de dios Rey de Castiella.<sup>52</sup> de Toledo<sup>53</sup> de Leon de Gallizia de Seuilla &<sup>54</sup> de Cordoua<sup>55</sup> de Murcia<sup>56</sup> de Jahen & del Algarue;<sup>57</sup> mandamos fazer este libro en que fablamos en la manera daquellos iuegos que se fazen mas apuestos. assi como acedrex<sup>58</sup> & dados & tablas.<sup>59</sup>

¶ E como quier que estos iuegos sean departidos<sup>60</sup> de muchas maneras; por que el acedrex<sup>61</sup> es mas noble & de mayor maestria que los otros; ffablamos<sup>62</sup> del primeramiente<sup>63</sup>.

Pero ante que esto digamos queremos amostrar algunas razones segunt los sabios antiguos dixieron. por que fueran falladas estas tres maneras de iuegos. assi como acedrex.<sup>64</sup> & dados & tablas. Ca<sup>65</sup> sobresto dixieron muchas razones queriendo cadauno<sup>66</sup> mostrar por que fueran fallados estos iuegos. pero aquellas que son mas ciertas. &<sup>67</sup> mas

<sup>42</sup> The sentiment of this phrasing recalls one of Alfonso's youthful poems of *escarnio e maldezir*, "Non me posso pagar tanto."

<sup>43</sup> Crombach and Canettieri: assí

<sup>44</sup> Crombach and Canettieri: prisión

<sup>45</sup> Crombach and Canettieri: juegos

<sup>46</sup> Canettieri: ayan

<sup>47</sup> Janer (48) omits this word; Crombach and Canettieri: estén

<sup>48</sup> Crombach: baldíos

<sup>49</sup> Janer (48): cada unos

<sup>50</sup> Van der Linde and Grandese (1987): por

<sup>51</sup> Van der Linde: alffonso

<sup>52</sup> Calvo: Castilla.

<sup>53</sup> Calvo: Tolledo

<sup>54</sup> HSMS omits this "&."

<sup>55</sup> Janer (48): Córdoba

<sup>56</sup> Grandese (1987): Murçia

<sup>57</sup> Van der Linde: algarue

<sup>58</sup> Van der Linde: açedrex

<sup>59</sup> The title *Libros de acedrex dados e tablas* for the *LJ* is likely drawn from this passage, reading *e* for &.

<sup>60</sup> Calvo: de partidos

<sup>61</sup> Van der Linde: açedrex

<sup>62</sup> Calvo: hablamos

<sup>63</sup> HSMS: prime-

<sup>64</sup> Van der Linde: açedrex

<sup>65</sup> Janer (48): , ca

<sup>66</sup> Van der Linde: cada uno

<sup>67</sup> Calvo omits this entire line.

uerdaderas; son estas.<sup>68</sup>

SEgunt<sup>69</sup> cuenta en las ystorias antiguas<sup>70</sup> en India<sup>71</sup> la mayor ouo un Rey que amaua<sup>72</sup> mucho los sabios & tenielos siempre consigo. & fazieles mucho amenudo razonar sobre los fechos que nascien delas<sup>73</sup> cosas. E destos auie y tres que tenien<sup>74</sup> sennas razones. El uno dizie *que* mas ualie seso *que* uentura. Ca<sup>75</sup> el que uiuie<sup>76</sup> por el seso; fazie<sup>77</sup> *sus* cosas ordenadamientre. & aun que perdiessse; *que* no auie<sup>78</sup> y culpa. pues que fazie<sup>79</sup> lo *quel*<sup>80</sup> conuinie. Ell otro dizie<sup>81</sup> que mas ualie uentura que seso. ca si uentura ouiesse<sup>82</sup> de perder o de ganar; que por ningun seso que ouiesse;<sup>83</sup> non<sup>84</sup> podrie estorcer<sup>85</sup> dello. El tercero dizie<sup>86</sup> *que* era mejor qui<sup>87</sup> pudiesse ueuir.<sup>88</sup> tomando delo<sup>89</sup> uno & delo<sup>90</sup> al. ca esto era cordura. ca en<sup>91</sup> el seso<sup>92</sup> quanto mejor era; tanto auie y mayor cuydado como se pudiesse<sup>93</sup> fazer complidamientre. E otrosi<sup>94</sup> en la uentura quanto mayor era; que tanto auie y mayor peligro por que no<sup>95</sup> es cosa cierta. Mas la cordura derecha era; tomar

[fol. 2r] ACE DREX<sup>96</sup>

del seso aquello que entendiesse omne *que* mas su pro fuesse. & dela<sup>97</sup> uentura<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Calvo omits this entire line.

<sup>69</sup> Janer (48): Segunt; Brunet y Bellet begins his transcription with modernized accents, spacing and punctuation here and continues through fol. 2r.

<sup>70</sup> Pareja Casañas: magnas

<sup>71</sup> Janer (48) and Brunet y Bellet: India

<sup>72</sup> Janer (48): de las

<sup>73</sup> Janer (48): cada unos

<sup>74</sup> Calvo: teniense

<sup>75</sup> Janer (49): ca, Brunet y Bellet: ea

<sup>76</sup> Brunet y Bellet: ausie

<sup>77</sup> Brunet y Bellet: facia

<sup>78</sup> Janer (49): havie

<sup>79</sup> Brunet y Bellet: facie

<sup>80</sup> Janer (48): que le

<sup>81</sup> Brunet y Bellet: Et el otro dice

<sup>82</sup> Brunet y Bellet: ouiesse

<sup>83</sup> Brunet y Bellet: ouiese

<sup>84</sup> Janer omits "non" (48).

<sup>85</sup> Brunet y Bellet: podre estorçer

<sup>86</sup> Brunet y Bellet: terçero dezie, terçero throughout

<sup>87</sup> Janer (49) and Calvo: que

<sup>88</sup> Brunet y Bellet: uenir

<sup>89</sup> Janer (49): de lo

<sup>90</sup> Janer (49): de lo

<sup>91</sup> Brunet y Bellet omits this word.

<sup>92</sup> Calvo: seos

<sup>93</sup> Brunet y Bellet: podiese

<sup>94</sup> Brunet y Bellet: Et otro y

<sup>95</sup> Brunet y Bellet: non

<sup>96</sup> HSMS omits the heading "ACE DREX" which though nearly completely trimmed away for rebinding is still discernible in the original if not the facsimile. There is a small hole in this folio.

*guardarse omne de su danno*<sup>99</sup> lo mas *que* pudiesse.<sup>100</sup> & ayudarse della en lo que fuesse su pro.

¶ E<sup>101</sup> desde ouieron dichas sus razones much affincadas;<sup>102</sup> mandoles el Rey quel aduxiesse ende cadauno muestra de prueua<sup>103</sup> daquello que dizien.<sup>104</sup> & dioles plazo; qual le<sup>105</sup> demandaron. & ellos fueron se<sup>106</sup> & cataron sus libros; cadauno segunt<sup>107</sup> su razon. E quando llego el plazo; uinieron cada unos<sup>108</sup> antel Rey con su muestra.

¶ E el que tenie razon del seso; troxo el acedrex con *sus*<sup>109</sup> iuegos. mostrando *que* el que mayor seso ouiesse; & estudiessse apercebudo<sup>110</sup> podrie<sup>111</sup> uencer all otro.

¶ E el segundo que tenie la razon dela<sup>112</sup> uentura troxo los dados mostrando *que* no<sup>113</sup> ualie nada el seso<sup>114</sup> si no<sup>115</sup> la uentura. segunt parescie por la suerte llegando el omne por ella a pro o a danno.<sup>116</sup>

¶ El tercero que dizie que era meior tomar delo<sup>117</sup> uno & delo<sup>118</sup> al; troxo el tablero con sus tablas contadas & puestas en sus casas ordenadamientre. & con *sus*<sup>119</sup> dados; que las mouiessen pora<sup>120</sup> iugar.<sup>121</sup> segunt se muestra en este libro que fabla apartadamientre<sup>122</sup> desto. en que faze entender que por el iuego dellas;<sup>123</sup> que el qui<sup>124</sup> las sopiere bien iogar. que aun *que* la suerte delos dados le sea contraria; que por su cordura

<sup>97</sup> Janer (49) and Pareja Casañas: de la

<sup>98</sup> From here to the end of the segment, Calvo departs from the text and gives “guardase ella en lo que fuese su pro.”

<sup>99</sup> Janer (49): danno

<sup>100</sup> Brunet y Bellet: podiesse

<sup>101</sup> Brunet y Bellet: Et, and throughout

<sup>102</sup> Pareja Casañas: afincadas

<sup>103</sup> Janer (49): prueba

<sup>104</sup> Brunet y Bellet: dezien

<sup>105</sup> Brunet y Bellet: lo

<sup>106</sup> Janer (49): fueronse

<sup>107</sup> Brunet y Bellet: según

<sup>108</sup> Brunet y Bellet: uno

<sup>109</sup> Pareja Casañas: so

<sup>110</sup> Janer (49) and Pareja Casañas: apercebudo; Brunet y Bellet: estudiassse apercebido

<sup>111</sup> Pareja Casañas: podria

<sup>112</sup> Pareja Casañas: de la

<sup>113</sup> From here through the word contadas, Calvo departs from the text and gives “llegando el omne por ella a pro o a danno. El tercero que dizie que ....”

<sup>114</sup> Janer (49) omits the following phrase, “si no la uentura. segunt parescie por la suerte llegando el omne por ella”

<sup>115</sup> Brunet y Bellet: sinon

<sup>116</sup> Brunet y Bellet: por ella el omne á pró et á danno, danno throughout

<sup>117</sup> Janer (49): de lo

<sup>118</sup> Janer (49): de lo

<sup>119</sup> Pareja Casañas: so

<sup>120</sup> Pareja Casañas: para

<sup>121</sup> Brunet y Bellet: para jugar; Grandese (1987): pora iug ar (calling this fol. 2v)

<sup>122</sup> Brunet y Bellet: separadamientre

<sup>123</sup> Calvo: dellos

<sup>124</sup> Brunet y Bellet: que

podra iogar<sup>125</sup> con las tablas<sup>126</sup> de manera que esquiudara<sup>127</sup> el danno<sup>128</sup> quel puede uenir por la auentura delos<sup>129</sup> dados.

[fol. 2v]

### [WHY CHESS COMES FIRST]

<sup>130</sup>E Por que<sup>131</sup> el acedrex<sup>132</sup> es mas assessegado<sup>133</sup> iuego & onrrado<sup>134</sup> que los dados nin las tablas,<sup>135</sup> fabla en este libro primeramiente del. & muestra como ha a seer el tablero fecho. & quantas casas ha en el. & quales son los iuegos & quantos & como a nombre cadauno<sup>136</sup> dellos & en quales casas an de seer. & como los mueuen<sup>137</sup> iogando con ellos & tomando los unos<sup>138</sup> con los otros & quales meiorias an los unos trebeios sobre los otros. E como han a seer aperçebudos<sup>139</sup> los jugadores de saber iogar en guisa que uenzcan; & non sean uençudos. & de como dan xaque al rey que es el mayor trebeio de todos los otros; que es una manera de affrontar al sennor con derecho.<sup>140</sup> & de comol dan mate que es una manera de grant desonrra; assi como sil uenciessen ol matassen.<sup>141</sup>

¶ E otros iuegos a y de muchas maneras. pero todos fueron fechos a semeiança<sup>142</sup> delas<sup>143</sup> cosas que acaecieron segund los tiempos que fueron o son o podrien seer mostrando de como los Reyes<sup>144</sup> en el tiempo delas<sup>145</sup> guerras en que se fazen las huestes han de<sup>146</sup> guerrear a sus enemigos punnando delos<sup>147</sup> uencer;<sup>148</sup> prendiendo los<sup>149</sup> &

<sup>125</sup> Brunet y Bellet: jugar

<sup>126</sup> Calvo: tables

<sup>127</sup> Janer (49) gives the future form *esquivará* but it could also possibly be the imperfect subjunctive *esquivara*.

<sup>128</sup> From here through the end of the segment Calvo departs from the text and gives “de manera que esquivara el danno quel puede venir por la aventura de los dados.”

<sup>129</sup> Janer (49) and Pareja Casañas: de los

<sup>130</sup> Murray begins his transcription with modernized punctuation from here at the beginning of fol. 2v and through fol. 5r (1913: 485-489).

<sup>131</sup> Van der Linde: porque

<sup>132</sup> Grandese (1987): açdrex

<sup>133</sup> Van der Linde: assossegado

<sup>134</sup> Manuscript: onrrando, Steiger leaves the word as is in his transcription but notes that it may be in error for “onrrado.”

<sup>135</sup> Murray (1913): Tablas

<sup>136</sup> Van der Linde: cada uno

<sup>137</sup> Van der Linde: mueven

<sup>138</sup> Van der Linde: unas

<sup>139</sup> Van der Linde and Murray (1913): apercebudos

<sup>140</sup> Van der Linde: derechos

<sup>141</sup> Domínguez Rodríguez (1987) modernizes this quote (32).

<sup>142</sup> Van der Linde: semeianca; Toledano: semejança

<sup>143</sup> Van der Linde: de las

<sup>144</sup> Toledano: reyes

<sup>145</sup> Van der Linde: de las

<sup>146</sup> Van der Linde omits the passage from *guerrear* through the calderón and picks up again at *mostrar sus thesoros*.

<sup>147</sup> Toledano: de los

matandolos o<sup>150</sup> echandolos dela tierra. ¶ E otrossi como en el tiempo delas pazes han de mostrar sus thesoros & sus riquezas & las cosas que tienen nobles & estrannas. & segunt aquesto fizieron iuegos. los unos de .xij.<sup>151</sup> casas.<sup>152</sup> los otros de .x. los otros de ocho. los otros de .vj.<sup>153</sup> & los otros de quatro. & assi fueron descendiendo fasta en una casa; que partieron en ocho partes.<sup>154</sup> ¶ E todo esto fizieron por grandes semeianças segunt los saberes antiguos;<sup>155</sup> que usauan los sabios.

¶ Pero entre todos los otros iuegos escogieron por meior & mas comunal el delas<sup>156</sup> .viii.<sup>157</sup> casas; por que *non* es tan uagarosa<sup>158</sup> como el delas<sup>159</sup> diez o dent arriba. ni otrossi tan appresurado; como el delas<sup>160</sup> seys o dent ayuso. ¶ E por endel usan comunalmientre los omnes<sup>161</sup>

[fol. 3r] ACE DREX

en todas las tierras; mas que los otros iuegos. E la figura del tablero es que a de ser quadrado. & ha de auer ocho carreras; & en cada carrera<sup>162</sup> ocho casas que son por todas sessaenta & quatro casas. ¶ E la meytad delas<sup>163</sup> casas an de seer duna color & la meytad de otra. & otrossi los trebeios

### [HOW CHESS IS MADE & PLAYED]

#### De quantas colores an de seer todos los trebeios del acedrex.

LOs trebeios an de seer treynta & dos. E los xvj.<sup>164</sup> duna color; deuen se entablar en las dos carreras primeras del tablero. E los otros dize<sup>165</sup> seyes dela otra color an de seer entablados dell otro cabo del tablero en essa misma manera; en derecho delos otros

¶ E destes xvi.<sup>166</sup> trebeios los .viii.<sup>167</sup> son menores; que fueron fechos a<sup>168</sup>

<sup>148</sup> Murray (1913): uençer

<sup>149</sup> Toledano: prendiendolos

<sup>150</sup> Toledano: e

<sup>151</sup> Murray (1913): .xii.

<sup>152</sup> Van der Linde omits the following “casas. los otros de .x.”

<sup>153</sup> Murray (1913): .vi.

<sup>154</sup> This description of one square divided into eight parts describes the board used for alquerque de tres.

<sup>155</sup> Calvo: antiqos

<sup>156</sup> Van der Linde: de las

<sup>157</sup> Murray (1913): .viii.

<sup>158</sup> Van der Linde: uagaroso; Steiger notes that this word is inserted by a later hand.

<sup>159</sup> Van der Linde: de las

<sup>160</sup> Van der Linde: de las

<sup>161</sup> Van der Linde: emnes

<sup>162</sup> Van der Linde: cade carera

<sup>163</sup> Van der Linde: de las

<sup>164</sup> Murray (1913): xvi.

<sup>165</sup> Calvo: diza

<sup>166</sup> Pareja Casañas gives all Roman numerals are lower case without periods and with all ones as *i*, never *j*. Scherer (1997) gives them as all capitals without periods.

<sup>167</sup> Murray (1913): .viii.

semeiança del pueblo menudo que ua<sup>169</sup> en la hueste.

¶ E los otros iuegos que son mayores es el uno a semeiante<sup>170</sup> del Rey; que es señor dela<sup>171</sup> hueste. & aquel deue estar en la una delas dos casas de medio.

¶ E cabo dell en la otra casa de medio; esta otro trebeio que es a semeiança del alfferez que tiene<sup>172</sup> la senna delas<sup>173</sup> sennales del Rey.<sup>174</sup> & algunos omnes a<sup>175</sup> que non saben el nombre; & llaman le alfferza. E estos dos trebeios cadauno iuega por si & non a otro ninguno en todos los xvi. trebeios; que los semeie.

¶ E en las otras dos casas al lado destas; estan otros dos trebeios que se semeian & llaman los alffiles en algarauia<sup>176</sup> que quiere tanto dezir en nuestro lenguaie.<sup>177</sup> como eleffantes que solien los Reyes leuar en las batallas. & cadauno leuaua al menos dos que si ell uno se muriesse; quel fincasse ell<sup>178</sup> otro.

¶ E en las otras dos casas cabo destas; estan otros dos trebeios que se semeian & llaman los todos comunalmiente caualllos.<sup>179</sup> mas los sus nombres derechos son caualleros. que son puestos por cabdiellos por mandado del Rey; pora ordenar las azes dela hueste.

¶ E en las otras dos casas de cabo;

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estan otros dos trebeios que se semeian *otrossi*; & llaman los Roques. & son fechos anchos & tendudos; que son a semeiança de las azes delos caualleros.

EN la primera az estan los iuegos mayores que diximos. ¶ E en la segunda los peones. E como quier que estos iuegos son nueue quanto en las casas; no son mas de seys segund se doblan.

¶ Ca los alffiles & los caualllos<sup>180</sup> & los Roques que son seys; tornan en tres. & con el Rey & con el alfferza & con los peones que son cadauno<sup>181</sup> por si; fazen se seys. E pusieron los assi doblados. por que quando alguno daquellos toman; que finque otro de<sup>182</sup> aquella natura pora dar xaque & mate al rey; o<sup>183</sup> pora ampararle.

¶ Otrossi pusieron del alfferza que quando se perdiessse; pudiendo llegar qual

<sup>168</sup> Murray (1913): á

<sup>169</sup> Scherer (1997): va

<sup>170</sup> Pareja Casañas: semeiança

<sup>171</sup> Pareja Casañas: de la

<sup>172</sup> Scherer (1997): tienne

<sup>173</sup> Pareja Casañas: de las

<sup>174</sup> Scherer (1997): rey

<sup>175</sup> Murray (1913): á, illogical

<sup>176</sup> Murray (1913): Algarauia

<sup>177</sup> Pareja Casañas: lenguaje

<sup>178</sup> Pareja Casañas: el

<sup>179</sup> Calvo omits the next phrase through *caualleros*.

<sup>180</sup> Murray (1913): Caualllos

<sup>181</sup> Murray (1913): cada uno

<sup>182</sup> Murray (1913) and Calvo: di

<sup>183</sup> Murray (1913): ò

quiere<sup>184</sup> delos peones fasta la casa postremera dell<sup>185</sup> otra parte del<sup>186</sup> acedrex.<sup>187</sup> onde<sup>188</sup> mueuen los iuegos mayores; dent adelant fuessen alferzas. & que se pudiessen desponer bien como la primera & andar dessa guisa. ¶ E esto es por que suben del estado delos menores al delos<sup>189</sup> mayores.

EL Rey pusieron que nol pudiessen tomar. mas quel<sup>190</sup> pudiessen dar xaque por quel pudiessen fazer salir de *aquel* lugar do souiesse; como desonrado. E sil arenconassen de guisa que no ouiesse casa do yr; pusieron le nombre xamat que es tanto como muerto. & esto fizieron por acortar el iuego. Ca se alongarie mucho. si todos los trebeios ouiesse a tomar; fasta *que* fincassen amos los Reyes solos; o ell uno dellos.

### capitulo<sup>191</sup> dell andamiento delos trebeios dell acedrex.

El andar delos iuegos fue puesto otrossi por esta razon<sup>192</sup> que uos diremos; ca assi como el Rey non se deue arrebatat<sup>193</sup> en las batallas mas yr muy a passo & ganando siempre delos<sup>194</sup> enemigos & punnando como los uenzca.<sup>195</sup> assi el Rey delos trebeios; no a de andar mas de auna<sup>196</sup> casa en so derecho. o en sosquino como qui cata a todas partes en derredor dessi metiendo mientes en lo que ha de fazer.

Ell alferza anda auna<sup>197</sup> casa en sosquino & esto es por aguardar al Rey & non se partir del. & por encobrir le delos xaques & delos mates quando gelos dieren & pora yr adelante ayudandol<sup>198</sup> a uençer<sup>199</sup> quando<sup>200</sup> fuere el iuego bien parado.

¶ Pero bien puede la primera uez saltar a tercera casa o en derecho o en sosquino. & aun que<sup>201</sup> este otro trebeio en medio. & esto es a manera de buen cabdiello que se adelanta en los grandes fechos & en las batallas & acorre a todas partes alli o lo an mester. ¶ E en este andamiento ayuntasse con los sus peones & bueluesse con ellos assi como si los esforçasse que non se<sup>202</sup> partiessen & estudiessen<sup>203</sup> en uno pora fazer lo

<sup>184</sup> Murray (1913): qualquiere, throughout

<sup>185</sup> HSMS: del

<sup>186</sup> Pareja Casañas: dell

<sup>187</sup> Murray (1913) and Pareja Casañas: Acedrex

<sup>188</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “n.”

<sup>189</sup> Pareja Casañas: de los

<sup>190</sup> Pareja Casañas omits “pudiessen dar xaque por quel.”

<sup>191</sup> Pareja Casañas: Capitulo

<sup>192</sup> Pareja Casañas: razón

<sup>193</sup> Compare this description of the king’s movement with that of the possibly fourteenth-century “Elegant address of Bonsenior Ibn Yehia,” which says “he does not arrogantly lengthen his stride in the combat, lest he should die” (Keats 1: 168). See also the comparison with Fernando II’s *Libro de los doce sabios* in this dissertation’s first chapter.

<sup>194</sup> Murray (1913): eldos

<sup>195</sup> Murray (1913): venzca

<sup>196</sup> Murray (1913): a una, throughout

<sup>197</sup> Pareja Casañas: a una

<sup>198</sup> Calvo: ayu dandol

<sup>199</sup> Murray (1913) and Pareja Casañas: uencer

<sup>200</sup> Scherer (1997): cuando

<sup>201</sup> Murray (1913): aunque

<sup>202</sup> HSMS deletes this “p.”

<sup>203</sup> Pareja Casañas: estuviessen

meior & en esto aguarda assi & a ellos teniendo los unos antessi; & parandosse ante los otros. ¶ E por ende quando ell alferza esta assi trauada con los peones; llaman le alfferzada.<sup>204</sup>

LOs alffiles saltan a tres casas en pospunta a semeiança delos eleffantes que trayen entonce los Reyes. que no osaua ninguno parasseles delante & fazien les los que en ellos estauan yr en sosquino a ferir en las azes de *sus* enemigos de guisa que non seles<sup>205</sup> pudiessen guardar.

LOs cauallos<sup>206</sup> saltan a tres casas contando las dos en derecho dessi; & tomando la tercera en sosquino a qual parte quiere. ¶ E esto es a semeiança delos buenos cabdiellos que acabdiellan las azes boluiendo<sup>207</sup> los cauallos a diestro & a siniestro pora aguardar los suyos; & uencer<sup>208</sup> los enemigos.

LOs<sup>209</sup> Roques iuegan en derecho quanto pueden yr antessi o a<sup>210</sup> çaga o a diestro o a siniestro. & esto a semeiança de las azes delos<sup>211</sup> caualleros que uan<sup>212</sup> toda uia<sup>213</sup> quanto pueden en derecho o contra qual parte entienden que sera meior. por que mas ayna puedan uencer<sup>214</sup> a aquellos con que lidian.

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LOs peones non uan mas de auna casa en su derecho assi como la peonada dela<sup>216</sup> hueste; non pueden andar si no poco por que uan de pie. & lieuan acuestas *sus* armas & las otras cosas que an mester.

¶ Pero bien a y algunos que usan a iogar delos peones a tercera casa la primera uez. & esto es fasta que tomen ca depues no lo pueden fazer. ¶ E esto es a semeiança que quando el pueblo menudo roban algunas cosas; que las lieuan acuestas.

### Capitulo de qual manera deuen tomar con los juegos del acedrex.

EL tomar delos<sup>217</sup> iuegos unos a otros es desta guisa.

¶ El Rey toma en todas las casas que dixiemos<sup>218</sup> que podie yr; qual quiere trebeio dela otra parte *que* y este. sino ouiere y otro alguno dela otra parte de *aquel* trebeio quel ampare.

¶ E esso mismo fazen los otros iuegos mayores assi como los alffiles & los

<sup>204</sup> Murray (1913): Alfferzada

<sup>205</sup> Pareja Casañas: se les

<sup>206</sup> Murray (1913): Caualllos

<sup>207</sup> Murray (1913): voluiendo; Pareja Casañas: uoluiendo

<sup>208</sup> Pareja Casañas: vencer

<sup>209</sup> HSMS: Los

<sup>210</sup> Scherer (1997) omits "a."

<sup>211</sup> Scherer (1997): de los

<sup>212</sup> Scherer (1997): van

<sup>213</sup> Pareja Casañas: todauia; Scherer (1997) toda via

<sup>214</sup> Scherer (1997): vencer

<sup>215</sup> There is a "+" in the bottom margin of this folio.

<sup>216</sup> Murray (1913): de la

<sup>217</sup> Murray (1913): de los

<sup>218</sup> Murray (1913): dizemos

cauallos & los Roques. mas ell alfferza *non* puede tomar la *primera* uez sisse despuiere yendo a *tercera* casa. mas depues que fuere despuesta tomara en la segunda casa; en sosquino. segunt es su andamiento.

LOs peones otrossi como quier que puedan yr a *tercera* casa la *primera* uez si quisieren; *non* pueden tomar en ella mas tomara en sosquino yendo adelante a una casa. ¶ E esto es a semeiança delos peones *que* se non pueden ferir estando en derecho ell uno contral otro aguardandosse; mas fiere all otro *que* esta en sosquino *que* se<sup>219</sup> no aguarda del tanto.

### capitulo delas auantaias delos trebeios dell acedrex.

LAAs auantaias delos trebeios *que* an los unos sobre los otros; son *grandes*

Ca el Rey es acotado en guisa que puede tomar a todos & ninguno *non* puede tomar a el. ¶ E esto es a semeiança del Rey que puede fazer iusticia en todos los *que* la<sup>220</sup> merecieren; mas por esso non deue poner la mano ninguno en el; pora prender le; nin ferir le nin matar le; aun que el fiera o prenda o mate. mas bien le pueden fazer uerguença; en tres maneras. faziendol salir dela casa do esta. o embargandol la casa o quiere entrar. & nol dexar tomar; lo que quiere.

Ell Alfferza a otrossi grant auantaia; por *que* guarda mas de cerca al Rey que los otros iuegos & es mejor *que* los alffiles por que a mas casas en que puede andar & tomar que ellos. ¶ E otrossi guarda & toma adelante & atras; lo que los peones *non* pueden fazer como quier *que* faga alfferzada con ellos; segunt es sobredicho.

LOs Alffiles an auantaia sobrelos<sup>221</sup> peones por *que* toman mas deluene<sup>222</sup> & fazen otrossi alffilada desta guisa. Quando ell alffil esta en el tablero. si algun peon esta depos ell a una casa en sosquino segunt su andamiento; guarda el peon al alffil. E si otro peon esta en guarda del *primero* enla<sup>223</sup> otra casa do ell alffil puede yr; guardal ell alffil. E desta guisa se guardan todos tres uno a otro. & a esto llaman Alffilada.

El cauallo a mayor auantaia *que* todos los otros trebeios dell acedrex. si no el Roque.<sup>224</sup> ca el que sopiere con el cauallo bien iogar mouiendol dela<sup>225</sup> *primera* casa dell un canto del tablero; tomara *quantos* trebeios fueren en todas las casas del tablero *que* son sessaenta & tres;<sup>226</sup> sin la casa dondel mouiere; que nunca yerre de tomar segunt su andamiento.

EL Roque a mayor auantaia *que* todos los otros trebeios dell acedrex por que puede yr en una uez dell un cabo del tablero fastal otro en su derecho a qual parte quisiere. si no estudiere<sup>227</sup> en la carrera algun trebeio delos suyos *quel* embargue o otro ageno *que* tome por *que* avra<sup>228</sup> de fincar en la casa daquel que tomo.

<sup>219</sup> Murray (1913)'s colon is illogical here as the verb is reflexive.

<sup>220</sup> Murray (1913) omits this word.

<sup>221</sup> Murray (1913): sobre los

<sup>222</sup> Murray (1913) and Calvo: de luenne

<sup>223</sup> Murray (1913): en la

<sup>224</sup> Scherer (1997): roque, alfil

<sup>225</sup> Murray (1913): de la

<sup>226</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of "n."

<sup>227</sup> Murray (1913): estuviere

<sup>228</sup> Murray (1913): avera; Steiger, HSMS and Crombach: aya

**Capitulo de como el Rey & todos los otros trebeios del acedrex pueden andar & tomar. los unos en todas las casas del tablero; los otros en dellas**

EL Rey puede andar & tomar en todas las casas del tablero en .Lxiiij.<sup>229</sup> uезes

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& tornarse a su casa.

El Alfferza<sup>230</sup> puede andar en treynta & tres<sup>231</sup> uезes todas las casas del tablero que ella<sup>232</sup> deue andar; & tornarse a su casa. pero nol<sup>233</sup> contando quandol acaece por fuerça<sup>234</sup> de entrar dos uезes en una casa.

El Alffil<sup>235</sup> puede andar & tomar a seys casas del tablero con la suya; & no a mas.

EL peon puede seer fecho alfferza en .vj. uезes que ande las casa una auna & tornarse asu<sup>236</sup> casa pues que fuere alfferzado en tantas uезes; como la otra alfferza. andando todas las casas del tablero; que puede andar. ¶ E maguer que dos uезes entre en una casa nolo pudiendo escusar; que *non* sea contada mas de por una.

El andar del Roque *non* puede seer contado por que anda luenne & cerca por todo el tablero poro quiere en so derecho a todas partes; segunt su andamiento.

E estos andamientos todos conuienen que los sepan aquellos que bien quisieren iogar ell acedrex. ca menos desto; no lo<sup>237</sup> podrien saber. nin entender los iuegos departidos que an sabor de saber los omnes. por ell enoio que an dell alongamiento del mayor iuego quando se faze todo complidamientre. bien como metieron por aquella razon misma; los dados en ell achedrex por que sse iogasse mas ayna.

E pusieron el seys que es la mayor suerte del dado; al Rey<sup>238</sup> que es el mas onrrado iuego del tablero. E<sup>239</sup> el cinco all alfferza. E el quatro al Roque. E el tres al cauallo. E el dos; all alffil. E ell un punto que llaman as;<sup>240</sup> al peon.

E por *que* los iuegos dell acedrex se departen de muchas maneras & maguer que fagan en ellos iuegos departidos; en algunos y a *que* toman los trebeios todos; & en los otros dellos. ¶ Queremos uos aqui hablar *primeramientre* del iuego que se faze de todos

<sup>229</sup> Murray (1913): .lxiii.

<sup>230</sup> Murray (1913) and Scherer (1997): alfferza

<sup>231</sup> Counting the initial square twice, despite the fact that the manuscript prohibits this for the rest of the squares, plus the total of thirty-two squares which the fers can enter. Scherer believes this number “resulta del hecho de que la *alfferza* sólo es capaz de salir de dos de las cuatro esquinas por una diagonal ya recorrida. Y como el escaque inicial no entra en la cuenta, se llega efectivamente al número 33 por medio de la operación  $32 + 2 - 1$ ” (1997: 290).

<sup>232</sup> Murray (1913): el la

<sup>233</sup> Scherer (1997): no

<sup>234</sup> Murray (1913): fuerza

<sup>235</sup> Murray (1913): alffil

<sup>236</sup> Murray (1913): a su

<sup>237</sup> Grandese (1987) and (1988): nolo

<sup>238</sup> Grandese (1987) and (1988): rey

<sup>239</sup> Grandese (1987) and (1988): e, throughout passage

<sup>240</sup> Murray (1913): As

los trebeios complidos. & mostraremos<sup>241</sup> de como es fecho el tablero. & las fayciones delos trebeios. mas las *que* se faz en meior & mas complidamiente; an de seer fechas desta manera.

El Rey deue estar en su siella con su corona en la cabeça & la espada en la mano assi como si iudgasse o mandasse fazer iusticia.

El alfferza deue seer fecha a manera del alfferez mayor del Rey<sup>242</sup> que lieua la *senna* delas *sennales* del Rey quando an a entrar en las batallas.

LOs Alffiles<sup>243</sup> an a seer fechos a manera de eleffantes & castiellos en cima dellos llenos de omnes armados; como si quisiessen lidiar.

Los cauallos an de seer fechos a manera de caualleros armados; assi como cabdiellos *que* son puestos por mandado del rey pora acabdellar las azes.

LOs Roques deuen seer fechos assi como azes de caualleros armados que estan much espessas teniendosse unos a otros.

LOs peones an a seer fechos a manera del pueblo menudo que estan armados & guisados quando quier lidiar.

Mas por que en todas las tierras que iuegan el achedrex serien muy grieues de se fazer tales iuegos como estos; buscaron los omnes manera de como se fiziessen mas ligeramiente; & mas sin costa; pero que se contrassemeien<sup>244</sup> en algun poco a aquestos que diximos. E la figura dellos que es mas usada en todas las tierras & sennaladamiente en *espanna*,<sup>245</sup> es esta que aqui esta pintada.

[fol. 5r] ACE DREX

### [IUEGO DE LAS DONZELLAS/IUEGO FORÇADO]

Pves que acabado auemos el iuego mayor del achedrex de como se iuega complidamiente; Queremos dezir delos iuegos departidos que assacaron los omnes en el que son como cosas nuevas & estrannas de oyr. & por esso se pagan dellas. & otrossi por que se iuegan mas ayna. Ca son iuegos contados; & sabudos. & saben a quantas uegadas depues que iogaren; san dacabar. Pero fablaremos primero delos mayores iuegos departidos que se fazen *con* todos los trebeios del achedrex,<sup>246</sup> que non tuellen<sup>247</sup> ende ninguno. & depues diremos de como uan minguando<sup>248</sup> fasta los menos que pueden seer.

E *queremos* luego dezir; del iuego que llaman forçado. E esto es por que como

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<sup>241</sup> Manuscript, Murray (1913), Steiger and Calvo: mostramos; HSMS, Crombach and Grandese (1987): mostraruos.

<sup>242</sup> Trend: rey, and throughout these descriptions

<sup>243</sup> Murray (1913) and Trend: alffiles

<sup>244</sup> Crombach: contrassemejen

<sup>245</sup> Murray (1913): Espanna

<sup>246</sup> This statement is not entirely accurate as the first problem with the greatest number of pieces uses only thirty and not all thirty-two. The order established here is observed through Problem 69, with the small exceptions of Problems 9 and 14.

<sup>247</sup> Murray (1913) and Calvo: cuellen

<sup>248</sup> Calvo: minguando

quier que se iuegue por cuenta; A enel<sup>249</sup> dauer fuerça. por que ua omne contra su uoluntad.<sup>250</sup> perdiendo el mejor trebeio por el peor. & auiendolo a fazer; queriendo o non poniendol en casa que ell otrol aya a tomar por fuerça.<sup>251</sup> segund<sup>252</sup> ell andamiento del trebeio so quel pusiere. E este iuego se entabla bien como el primero & daquela guisa andan los trebeios; & se toman unos a otros. sino que es y la fuerça demas. E por ende an a seer sabidores; los quel iogaren. que non pongan los trebeios mejores; en logar que los ayan a dar por los menores; & mas uiles. Ca en esto yaze toda la ssabiduria deste iuego. & el departimiento. E por esta fuerça que dixiemos. le llaman iuego forçado. Mas por que algunos cuentan que las donzellas le fallaron primero en la tierra de vltra<sup>253</sup> mar; dizen le iuego de donzellas.<sup>254</sup>

[fol. 5v] LIBRO DEL

### [PROBLEM 1]

**Este es otro iuego departido en que ha treynta trebeios que an seer entablados assi como estan en la figura del entablamiento & a sse de iugar desta guisa.**

LOs blancos iuegan primero. & uençen a los prietos o amannan. & esto a de seer en dize seys uezes dando xaque al Rey prieto cada uez con uno delos cauallos blancos. fata quel fagan tornar a aquella casa onde salio primero; quando se entablo.

¶ El primero iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo. blanco que esta en la tercera casa del cauallo blanco. poniendol en la quarta casa del Roque prieto. o en la quarta casa del alffil prieto. Si el Rey prieto entrare en la casa de so Roque; es mate al primero iuego. dandol xaque con el otro cauallo blanco en la tercera casa del cauallo prieto. Pues lo mejor es que entre en la casa de so alffil.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque del otro cauallo blanco en la tercera casa del cauallo prieto;<sup>255</sup> entrara el Rey prieto en su casa.

¶ El tercero iuego dar la xaque del cauallo blanco en la segunda casa del cauallo prieto; entrara el Rey prieto en la segunda casa de su Alferza.

¶ El quarto iuego dar la xaque del cauallo blanco; en la casa del alffil prieto. entrara el Rey prieto en la segunda casa de so alffil.

¶ El quinto iuego darla xaque con el cauallo blanco en la casa del Rey prieto. si el Rey prieto entrare en la casa de so cauallo; es mate al primero iuego dandol xaque con el cauallo blanco en la segunda casa del alfferza prieta. Pues lo mejor es que entre en la tercera casa de so cauallo.

¶ El sexto iuego dar le xaque con el cauallo blanco en la segunda casa del

<sup>249</sup> Murray (1913): en el

<sup>250</sup> Calvo: ouluntad

<sup>251</sup> Crombach inserts by error the following “segund el andamiento riendo o non, poniéndol en casa que el otro le aya a tomar por fuerça.”

<sup>252</sup> Calvo: seqund

<sup>253</sup> Murray (1913): Vltra

<sup>254</sup> Brunet y Bellet: que le llaman iuego forzado ‘Mas porque algunos cuentan que las donzellas lo fallaron primero en la tierra de Ultramar dizen el iuego de las donzellas’; Murray (1913): Donzellas

<sup>255</sup> Steiger and Crombach insert this helpful semicolon.

alfferza prieta; entrara el Rey prieto en la quarta casa de so cauallo.

¶ El seteno iuego darla xaque con el cauallo blanco en la segunda casa del alffil prieto; entrara el Rey prieto en la quarta casa del alffil blanco. ca si entrare en la quarta casa del Roque blanco; serie mate al primero iuego dandol xaque con el cauallo blanco. en la tercera<sup>256</sup> casa del cauallo prieto.

¶ El ochauo iuego dar la xaque del cauallo blanco. en la tercera casa del cauallo prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto en la tercera casa del alffil blanco.

¶ El noueno iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco en la quarta casa del cauallo prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto en la segunda casa del alfferza blanca.

¶ El dezeno iuego dar la xaque del cauallo blanco. en la quarta casa del alffil blanco. & entrara el Rey prieto en la segunda casa del Rey blanco.

¶ El onzeno iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco en la tercera casa del alffil blanco. entrara el Rey prieto en la tercera casa; del otro alffil blanco.

¶ El dozeno iuego. darla xaque con el cauallo blanco en la segunda casa del alfferza blanca; & entrara el Rey prieto en la tercera casa del cauallo blanco.

¶ El trezeno iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco; en la segunda casa del Rey blanco. & entrara el Rey prieto; en la quarta casa del rroque blanco.

¶ El catorzeno iuego dar la xaque del cauallo blanco. en la tercera casa del alffil blanco. & entrara el Rey prieto en la quarta casa de so roque.

¶<sup>257</sup> El quinzeno iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco en la tercera casa del cauallo blanco. & entrara el Rey prieto en la tercera casa de so cauallo.

¶ El sezeno iuego darla xaque con el cauallo blanco en la quarta casa del Roque blanco. tornarsa el Rey prieto<sup>258</sup> por fuerça; a la segunda casa de so cauallo. o fue entablado primero. & En esta guisa es el iuego manna.

E si el uno delos cauallos blancos errare de dar xaque cada uez al Rey prieto; es el Rey blanco mate al primero iuego con el roque prieto tomando el alffil blanco que esta en la casa del cauallo blanco o tomando el peon blanco que esta en la segunda casa del Roque blanco.

& este es el departimiento deste iuego. E esta es la figura; del entablamiento.

[fol. 6r] ACE DREX

## [PROBLEM 2]

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a ueynte nueue trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como esta en la ffigura del entablamiento. & han se de iugar desta guisa.**

<sup>256</sup> Manuscript, HSMS: quarta (b5); Steiger: tercera (b6). The text's indication is possible for the white knight on c7 but does not give check or mate. Calvo gives the correct move (b6). Crombach does not note this error.

<sup>257</sup> HSMS inserts this calderón.

<sup>258</sup> Manuscript: blanco, HSMS: prieto. Steiger does not correct the text but lists the move as white's.

LOs prietos iuegan *primero*. & si mannan<sup>259</sup> uençen. & esto a de seer en doze uezes; dando xaque al Rey blanco cada uez con el Roque prieto que esta en la casa del Roque blanco; fata que sea manna.

¶ El primero iuego dar la xaque del Roque *prieto* en la casa del cauallo blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco en la casa tercera de so alffil.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque con esse mismo Roque prieto en la *tercera* casa del cauallo blanco; & entrara el Rey blanco en la su segunda casa.

¶ El tercero iuego dar la xaque; con esse mismo roque prieto en la tercera casa del Rey blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco en la casa de so alfferza.

¶ El quarto iuego dar la xaque *con* esse mismo Roque prieto en la casa del Rey<sup>260</sup> blanco; & entrara el Rey blanco en la *segunda* casa de so alffil.

¶ El quinto iuego dar la xaque con esse mismo Roque prieto en la casa del alffil blanco; & entrara el Rey blanco en la tercera casa de so cauallo.

¶ El Sesto iuego dar la xaque con esse mismo Roque prieto en la tercera casa del alffil blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco; en la quarta casa de so Roque.

¶ El seteno iuego dar la xaque *con* esse mismo Roque prieto en la tercera casa del Roque blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco en la quarta casa del cauallo *prieto*.

¶ El ochauo iuego dar la xaque con esse mismo Roque prieto en la quarta casa del Roque prieto. & entrara el Rey blanco en la tercera casa del alffil prieto.

¶ El noueno iuego dar la xaque con esse mismo Roque *prieto* en la quarta<sup>261</sup> casa del alffil prieto. & entrara el Rey blanco; en la segunda casa del cauallo prieto.

¶ El dezeno iuego dar la xaque con esse mismo Roque *prieto* en la segunda casa del alffil prieto. & entrara el Rey blanco en la tercera casa del Roque prieto.

¶ El onzeno iuego dar la xaque con esse mismo Roque prieto en la segunda casa del Roque prieto. & tornarsa el Rey prieto por fuerça en la quarta casa del cauallo *prieto*.

¶ El dozeno iuego dar la xaque con esse mismo Roque prieto en la *quarta* casa del Roque prieto. & tornarsa el Rey blanco en la tercera casa del alffil prieto.<sup>262</sup> & en esta

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guisa es el iuego manna por fuerça.

¶ E si los *prietos* erraren de dar xaque cada uez al Rey blanco; es el rey prieto mate al *primero* iuego con el Roque blanco en la segunda casa del Roque prieto.

¶ E este es el departamento deste iuego. & esta es la figura del entablamiento.

### [PROBLEM 3]

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a ueynt y ocho trebeios que an a seer entablados**

<sup>259</sup> Steiger: amannan; Crombach: amañan. There is a very faint initial “a” to this word in the manuscript but it appears to have been erased.

<sup>260</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “b.”

<sup>261</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “c.”

<sup>262</sup> Manuscript: casa de so alffil; Grandese (1987): casa del alffil prieto

<sup>263</sup> Faintly visible by the heading is “dar[?] el otro.”

**assi como estan en la figura del entablamiento & an se de iogar desta guisa.**

LOs blancos iuegan primero & dan mate al Rey prieto en .xi. uezes delos sus iuegos o en menos si los prietos nolo sopieren alongar.

El primero iuego es dar la xaque del cauallo blanco; en la tercera casa del alffil prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto en casa de so alfferza.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque del Roque blanco en la quarta casa del alfferza blanca. & entrara el Rey prieto en la segunda casa de so alffil.

¶ El tercero iuego dar la xaque con esse mismo Roque blanco en la segunda casa del alfferza prieta. & entrara el Rey prieto en la tercera casa de so cauallo.

¶ El quarto iuego dar la xaque con esse mismo Roque blanco; en la segunda casa del cauallo prieto en guarda del peon blanco. & entrara el Rey prieto en la quarta casa de so alffil.

¶ El quinto iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco en la quarta casa del Rey blanco. Si el Rey prieto *entrare* en la quarta casa del alfferza blanca es mate en dos iuegos. ¶ El primero iuego dar la xaque del otro cauallo blanco en la tercera casa del alffil blanco. & aura a entrar el Rey prieto por fuerza; en la quarta casa de su alfferza. ¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque & mate con el Roque blanco; en la segunda casa del alfferza prieta. pues lo meior es quandol dio xaque con el cauallo blanco al Rey prieto en la quarta casa del Rey blanco que entre el Rey prieto en la quarta casa de su alfferza.

¶ El sexto iuego dar la xaque con el Roque blanco en la segunda casa del alfferza prieta. & entrara el Rey prieto en la su quarta casa.

¶ El seteno juego dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco; en la tercera casa del alffil blanco. & entrara el Rey prieto en la quarta casa de so alffil.

¶ El ochauo iuego dar la xaque con

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el Roque blanco en la quarta casa del alfferza prieta. & entrara el Rey prieto en la quarta casa del cauallo blanco.

¶ El noueno iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco en la tercera casa del alffil prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto; en la tercera casa del Roque blanco.

¶ El dezeno iuego dar la xaque con el Roque blanco en su casa. & entrara el Rey prieto en la segunda casa del cauallo blanco.

¶ El <sup>264</sup> onzeno iuego dar la xaque & mate con el Roque blanco en la segunda casa del Roque blanco.

¶ E si los blancos erraren de dar xaque cada uez al Rey prieto; es el Rey blanco mate al primero iuego con el alfferza<sup>265</sup> prieta en la segunda casa del cauallo blanco & este es el departimiento deste iuego. ¶ E esta es la figura del entablamiento.

**[PROBLEM 4]**

<sup>264</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “o.”

<sup>265</sup> Rather than an alfferza, a promoted pawn (peon alfferzado, with the same powers as an alfferza) is shown at c1.

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a ueynt & siete trebeios. que an a seer entablados assi como estan en la figura del entablamiento. & han se de iogar assi.**

LOs blancos iuegan primero & dan mate al Rey prieto en .xij. uezes o en menos delos *sus* iuegos mismos. si los *prietos* nolo<sup>266</sup> sopieren alongar.

¶ El primero iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco en la segunda casa del alffil prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto en la segunda casa de so cauallo.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque con ell otro cauallo blanco; en la tercera casa del alfferza prieta. & tomara el Rey prieto el cauallo blanco que esta en la segunda casa del alffil prieto; por fuerça.

¶ El tercero iuego dar la xaque con el peon blanco; en la

[fol. 7v] LIBRO DEL

tercera casa del cauallo prieto. & tomarlo a el Rey prieto con el su peon *prieto* si quisiere alongar el mate.

¶ El quarto iuego dar la xaque con el otro peon blanco que esta en la quarta casa del Roque prieto; o con el que esta en la quarta casa del alffil prieto. Tomando el peon prieto; que tomo el peon blanco que dio xaque al Rey prieto en la tercera casa del cauallo *prieto*. Tomara el Rey prieto como quier el peon blanco que esta en la segunda casa del alfferza *prieta*.

¶ El quinto iuego dar la xaque con el alffil blanco en la .iiij. casa del alfil *prieto*. & entrara el Rey *prie*<sup>267</sup>to en la su segunda casa.

¶ El sexto iuego; dar la xaque con el otro alffil blanco en la quarta casa del cauallo prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto en la casa de so alffil.

¶ El seteno iuego dar la xaque con el peon blanco; en la segunda casa del cauallo prieto. & tomar lo a el Rey prieto por fuerça.

¶ El ochauo iuego andase<sup>268</sup> con el alffil blanco en la tercera casa del Rey blanco; & dar la xaque del Roque blanco en descubierto. Si el Rey prieto *entrare* en casa de so Roque; es mate al primero iuego con el cauallo blanco en la segunda casa del alffil prieto. E si *entrare* en casa de so alffil dar la xaque con el Roque blanco en casa del cauallo prieto. Si el Rey prieto no lo tomare con so alffil; aura a entrar en la su segunda casa. & sera mate del otro Roque. Pues lo mejor es; que lo tome con so alffil prieto. & dar la xaque con ell otro Roque blanco. tomando esse alffil prieto & entrara el Rey prieto en la su segunda casa & depues dar la xaque con el alffil blanco en la quarta casa del cauallo *prieto*. & aura a entrar el Rey prieto por fuerça; en la su *terçera* casa. & dar la mate con el Roque blanco en la tercera casa del cauallo prieto. pues lo mejor es al Rey prieto por alongar el mat quandol descubrio el alffil blanco & dar la xaque con el Roque blanco que tome<sup>269</sup> el Rey prieto el Roque blanco con su alffil prieto.

<sup>266</sup> Steiger: nolo; HSMS and Crombach: no lo

<sup>267</sup> Manuscript: scribal insertion of “*prie*” to left of column due to emendation from previous two lines.

<sup>268</sup> Manuscript and Crombach: scribal insertion of “*andase*”; Steiger: *anda*, HSMS: *2andase*. The rough parchment complicates reading.

<sup>269</sup> Manuscript and Steiger: *tomo*; Crombach: *tome*.

& sera el noueno iuego &<sup>270</sup> dar la xaque con el otro Roque blanco tomando esse mismo alffil prieto. Si el Rey prieto entrare en casa de so Roque; es mate al primero iuego dandol xaque con el cauallo blanco en la segunda casa del alffil prieto. ¶ Pues lo meior es que entre en casa de so alffil. ¶

El dezeno iuego dar la xaque *con* esse mismo Roque blanco; en la casa del cauallo prieto. & entrara el Rey *prieto*; en la su segunda casa.

¶ El onzeno iuego dar la xaque con el alffil blanco en la quarta casa del cauallo *prieto*. & entrara el Rey prieto por fuerça en la su tercera casa.

¶ El dozeno iuego darla xaque & mate con el Roque blanco; en la tercera casa del cauallo *prieto*.

¶ E si los blancos erraren de dar xaque cada uez al Rey *prieto*; es el Rey blanco mate al primero iuego con el Roque *prieto* en la segunda casa del alffil blanco.

& este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura del entablamiento.

[fol. 8r] ACE DREX

### [PROBLEM 5]

**Este es otro iuego departido en *que* a xxvij. iuegos *que* han a seer entablados assi como estan en la figura del entablamiento. & an<sup>271</sup> se de iogar desta guisa<sup>272</sup>**

LOs prietos iuegan *primero* & dan mate al Rey blanco en *quatro* uezes delos sus iuegos *en*<sup>273</sup> la su *quarta* casa.

¶ El *primero* iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto tomando el alfferza<sup>274</sup> blanca; que esta en la tercera casa del alfferza blanca. & tomarlo a el Rey blanco por fuerça con so alffil.

¶ El *segundo* iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo prieto en la quarta casa del Rey blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco; en la quarta casa de so alfferza.

¶ El *tercero* iuego dar la xaque con el peon prieto en la *quarta* casa del Rey prieto. & tomara el Rey blanco por fuerça; el cauallo prieto que esta en la su quarta casa.

¶ El *quarto* iuego darla xaque & mate con el otro cauallo prieto en la *tercera* casa del alfferza prieta. E si los prietos erraren de dar xaque cada uez al Rey<sup>275</sup> blanco; es el Rey prieto mate a dos iuegos. ¶ El *primero* es. dar la xaque con el un Roque blanco en la quarta casa del cauallo prieto. & tomar lo a el Rey prieto por fuerça con su peon prieto. ¶ El *segundo* dar la xaque & mate del otro Roque blanco. tomando esse mismo peon prieto que tomo al Roque blanco.<sup>276</sup>

& este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura del entablamiento.

<sup>270</sup> Crombach: (&), probably due to rough parchment.

<sup>271</sup> Manuscript: han; HSMS and Steiger delete the second “han” while Crombach deletes the first “an.”

<sup>272</sup> HSMS inserts “sa.”

<sup>273</sup> Calvo: e

<sup>274</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “b.”

<sup>275</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “b.”

<sup>276</sup> Crombach omits “tomando esse mismo peon prieto que tomo al Roque blanco.”

[fol. 8v<sup>277</sup>] LIBRO DEL

**[PROBLEM 6]**

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a xxvi. trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como estan en la figura del entablamiento. & han se de iogar desta guisa.**

LOs blancos iuegan primero & dan mate al Rey prieto en xij. uezes delos sus iuegos o en menos; si los prietos no lo sopieren alongar.

¶ El primero iuego es dar la xaque del peon blanco en la segunda casa del alffil prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto en su casa.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco en la tercera casa del alfferza prieta. & entrara el Rey prieto en casa de so alffil.

¶ El tercero iuego dar la xaque con el peon blanco en la segunda casa del cauallo prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto en casa de so cauallo.

¶ El quarto iuego dar la xaque con el otro peon blanco en la segunda casa del Roque prieto; & tomar lo a el Rey prieto por fuerça.

¶ El quinto iuego dar la xaque con el peon blanco alfferzandol en casa del cauallo prieto. & si el Rey prieto entrare en casa de su Roque; es mate al primero iuego con el cauallo blanco; en la segunda casa del alffil prieto. pues lo meior es que entre en la tercera casa de so Roque.

¶ El sexto iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco en la segunda casa del alffil prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto en la quarta casa de so Roque.

¶ El seteno iuego dar la xaque con el Roque blanco en la quarta casa del cauallo prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto en la quarta casa del Roque blanco.

¶ El ochauo iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco en la su segunda casa. & entrara el Rey prieto en la tercera casa del Roque blanco.

¶ El noueno iuego dar la xaque con esse mismo cauallo <sup>278</sup> blanco en la quarta casa del alffil blanco. & si el Rey prieto tornare en la quarta casa del Roque blanco; es mate al primero iuego con el Roque blanco en la quarta casa del cauallo blanco en guarda de su alferza blanca. ¶ Pues lo meior es que entre en la segunda casa del Roque blanco.

¶ El dezeno iuego dar la xaque con el Roque blanco en la quarta casa del Roque prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto en la tercera casa del cauallo blanco.

¶ El onzeno iue

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go dar la xaque con el Roque blanco en la tercera casa del Roque blanco. & tomara el Rey prieto por fuerça el cauallo blanco que esta en la quarta casa del alffil blanco.

¶ El dozeno iuego xaque & mathe con el peon blanco en la tercera casa del rey

<sup>277</sup> There is an “F” in the left margin and a binder’s cue of “go darla”, marking the end of the first gathering and matching the beginning of text on fol. 9r.

<sup>278</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of repeated word “cauallo.”

blanco.<sup>279</sup>

¶ E si los blancos erraren de dar xaque cada uez al Rey prieto; es el rey<sup>280</sup> blanco mate al primero iuego; dandol xaque con el Roque prieto en la segunda casa del Roque blanco o en la casa del cauallo blanco tomando el alffil blanco.

& este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura del entablamiento.

### [PROBLEM 7]

**Este es otro iuego<sup>281</sup> departido en que ha ueynt y cinco trebeios que han a seer entablados assi como estan en la figura del entablamiento. & han se de iogar desta guisa.**

LOs blancos iuegan primero & dan mate al Rey prieto en xij. uezes o en menos delos sus iuegos. si los prietos no lo<sup>282</sup> sopieren alongar.

¶ El primero iuego es dar la xaque con el peon blanco; en la quarta casa del cauallo prieto. E si el Rey prieto entrare en la segunda casa de so Roque; es mate a dos iuegos. ¶ El primero iuego es dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco; en la tercera casa del alffil prieto. E aura de entrar el Rey prieto en la segunda casa de so cauallo. ¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque & mate con el Roque blanco; en la casa del

[fol. 9v<sup>283</sup>]

cauallo prieto. ¶ Por end es lo mejor quando da el peon blanco xaque al Rey prieto; en la quarta casa del cauallo prieto; que entre el Rey prieto en la segunda casa de so cauallo.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque con el alfferza blanca en la tercera casa; del alffil prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto en la segunda casa de so Roque.

¶ El tercero iuego darla xaque con el cauallo blanco en la casa del alffil prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto; en la casa de so Roque o de so cauallo.

¶ El quarto iuego tomara el cauallo blanco el peon prieto que esta en la tercera casa del cauallo prieto descubriendo xaque del Roque blanco. & entrara el Rey prieto si quisiere en la segunda casa de so Roque. pues lo mejor es por alongar el mathe que se encubra con su cauallo

& tomargelo a con el Roque blanco; & darla xaque. Et sera el quinto iuego & entrara el Rey; en la segunda casa de so Roque.

¶ El .vjto. iuego dar la xaque con el Roque blanco en la casa del Roque prieto. & tomara el Rey prieto el cauallo blanco; que esta en la tercera casa del cauallo prieto.

¶ El seteno iuego; darla xaque con esse mismo Roque blanco; en la tercera casa

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<sup>279</sup> Manuscript: alfferza prieta; Steiger: alfferza blanca. Crombach leaves the text as is but notes Steiger's correction. Problem 6, move 12, white pawn to the "tercera casa del alfferza prieta" (d6) should read "tercera casa del rey blanco" (e3).

<sup>280</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of "b."

<sup>281</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of "en."

<sup>282</sup> Steiger: nolo

<sup>283</sup> Although HSMS gives what is a logical heading {HD. LIBRO DEL +, any possible heading had been entirely cut off in the original as of my examination of it in June 2001 and so I omit it.

del Roque prieto. E entrara el Rey prieto; en la quarta casa de so alffil.

¶ El ochauo iuego dar la xaque con el alffil blanco; en la tercera casa del Roque blanco. & entrara el Rey prieto; en la quarta casa del alffil blanco.

¶ El noueno iuego darla xaque con el peon blanco; en la tercera casa del cauallo blanco. & entrara el Rey prieto; en la tercera casa del alfferza blanca.

¶ El dezeno iuego darla xaque con el alffil blanco; en la quarta casa del alffil prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto; en la tercera casa del Rey blanco.

¶ El onzeno iuego dar la xaque con el alffil blanco; tornandol<sup>284</sup> en su casa. & entrara el Rey prieto por fuerça; en la tercera casa del alffil blanco.

¶ El dozeno iuego dar la xaque & mate con el Roque blanco en la tercera casa del Roque blanco.

¶ E si los blancos erraren de dar xaque cada uez al Rey prieto; es el Rey blanco mate al *primero* iuego con el uno delos *Roques* prietos en la casa del Rey blanco o en la casa del alffil blanco.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego; & esta es la figura del entablamiento.

[fol. 10r]

### [PROBLEM 8]

**Este es otro iuego departido en que ha ueynt & cinco trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como estan en la figura del entablamiento & han se de iogar desta guisa.**

LOs blancos iuegan *primero* & dan mate al rey *prieto* en xi. uezes delos *sus* iuegos en la segunda casa del cauallo blanco. entre o esta el alfferza blanca entablada & el peon blanco.

¶ El *primero* iuego es dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco en la quarta casa del Roque *prieto*. & entrara el Rey prieto; en la segunda casa de so alffil.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque con el otro cauallo blanco tomando el peon *prieto*; que esta en la quarta casa del<sup>285</sup> Rey prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto; en su casa.

¶ El tercero iuego dar la xaque con el otro cauallo blanco en la tercera casa del alffil prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto; *en* la casa de su alfferza.

¶ El quarto iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco *en* la segunda casa del alffil prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto; en la segunda casa de so alffil.

¶ El quinto iuego dar la xaque *con* el cauallo blanco en la casa del Rey prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto; en la segunda casa de so cauallo.

¶ El sexto iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco; en la casa del alfferza *prieta*. & entrara el Rey prieto; en la tercera casa de so Roque.

¶ El seteno iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco; en la segunda casa<sup>286</sup> del alffil *prieto*. & entrara el Rey prieto; en la quarta casa de so Roque.

<sup>284</sup> Steiger: tomandol; Crombach: tomándol

<sup>285</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of "R."

<sup>286</sup> The manuscript is smeared here by wetness but this reading offered by Steiger and Crombach, and tentatively by HSMS, is a safe and logical one.

¶ El ochauo iuego; darla *xaque* con el cauallo blanco en la *segvnda* casa del cauallo *prieto*. & entrara el Rey *prieto*; en la *quarta* casa del Roque blanco.

¶ El noueno iuego dar la *xaque* con el alfferza blanca; en la tercera casa del cauallo blanco. & *entrara* el Rey *prieto*; en la *tercera* casa del Roque blanco.

¶ El dezeno iuego darla *xaque* con el alffil blanco en su casa misma. & entrara el Rey *prieto* por fuerça; en la segunda casa del cauallo blanco

¶ El onzeno iuego darla *xac* & mate del Roque blanco; en la casa del cauallo blan.

[fol. 10v] LIBRO DEL

co.

¶ E en este iuego non ha otro departimiento; si non que se da el mate en casa sennalada & esta es la figura del entablamiento

### [PROBLEM 9]

**Este es otro iuego departido en que ha ueynt y seys<sup>287</sup> trebeios que han a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura del entablamiento. & han se de iogar desta guisa**

LOs *prietos* iuegan *primero* & dan mate al Rey blanco *en* dizeocho uezes o en menos delos *sus* iuegos mismos si los blancos non lo sopieren alongar.

¶ El primero iuego dar la *xaque* con el Roque *prieto*; en la segunda casa del alffil blanco. & si el Rey blanco entrare en la casa de so Roque; sera mate en dos iuegos. ¶ El *primer* iuego es dar la *xaque* con el cauallo *prieto*; en la tercera casa del cauallo blanco. & *entrara* el Rey blanco en la casa de so cauallo. ¶ E el segundo iuego darla *xac* & *mathe* con el Roque *prieto* en la segunda casa del cauallo blanco. ¶ Pues lo mejor es que tome el Rey blanco el peon *prieto*; que esta en la *tercera* casa de so Roque.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la *xaque* con el cauallo *prieto*; en la quarta casa del alffil blanco; & entrara el Rey blanco; en la tercera casa de so cauallo.

¶ El tercero iuego dar la *xaque* con el Roque *prieto*; en la segunda casa del <sup>288</sup> cauallo blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco en la tercera casa de so alffil.

¶ El quarto iuego dar la *xaque* con el otro cauallo *prieto*; en la quarta casa del alfferza blanca. & entrara el Rey blanco; en la su tercera casa

¶ El quinto iuego dar la *xaque* con esse mismo cauallo *prieto*; en la segunda casa del alffil blanco. & tornara el Rey blanco; a la tercera casa de so alffil.

¶ El sexto iuego dar la *xaque* con esse mismo cauallo *prieto*; en la casa del Rey blanco. & *entrara* el Rey blanco *en* la su *tercera* casa.

¶<sup>289</sup> El seteno iuego dar la *xaque* con el Roque *prieto*

<sup>287</sup> Manuscript: ueynte y quatro (text), twenty-five shown in the miniature, plus the illusion to another white fil not shown for a theoretical total of twenty-six. Thus this is the first problem out of the descending piece order specified on fol. 5v. Problems 14, 38 and 39 are also out of this order and the order breaks down totally beginning with Problem 70.

<sup>288</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of "c."

<sup>289</sup> HSMS inserts this calderón.

[fol. 11r] ACE DREX

en la segunda casa del Rey blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco en la quarta casa de su alfferza blanca.

¶ El ochauo iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo prieto; en la tercera casa del alffil blanco; & entrara el Rey blanco; en la tercera casa de so alffil.

¶ El noueno iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto; en la segunda casa del alffil blanco; & entrara el Rey blanco; en la tercera casa de so cauallo.

¶ El dezeno iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo prieto; en la quarta casa del alfferza blanca. & entrara el Rey blanco; en la quarta casa de so Roque.

¶ El onzeno iuego dar la xaque con el peon prieto en la quarta casa; del cauallo prieto. & entrara el Rey blanco; en la quarta casa del Roque prieto.

¶ El dozeno iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo prieto; en la tercera casa del alffil prieto. & tomara el Rey blanco el peon prieto que esta en la quarta casa del cauallo prieto.

¶ El trezeno iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto; en la segunda casa del cauallo blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco en la quarta casa del alffil prieto. ca si entrasse en la quarta casa de so Roque serie mathe al primero iuego con el Roque prieto; en la quarta casa del cauallo blanco.<sup>290</sup>

¶ El catorzeno iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo prieto; en la tercera casa del Rey prieto. & entrara el Rey blanco; en la quarta casa del alfferza prieta.

¶ El quinzeno iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto; en la quarta casa del cauallo prieto. & tomara el Rey blanco; el cauallo prieto que esta en la tercera casa del Rey prieto. ¶<sup>291</sup>

¶ El sezeno iuego dar la xaque con el alffil prieto en su casa. & entrara el Rey blanco; en la segunda casa del alffil prieto.

¶ El dizeseteno iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo prieto en la quarta casa del Rey prieto. & entrara el rey blanco; en casa del cauallo prieto.

¶ El dizeocho<sup>292</sup> iuego dar la xac & mate con el alffil prieto; en la tercera casa del Rey prieto.

& si los prietos erraren de dar xaque cada uez al Rey blanco; es el Rey prieto mate al primero iuego con el Roque blanco en la tercera casa del cauallo prieto.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura del entablamiento.

<sup>290</sup> HSMS omits "cauallo."

<sup>291</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion in red of "Ca sisse encubriessse con su alffil blanco; tomargelo ye con esse mismo Roque prieto; & serie a dizenueue iuegos mathe." No white fil is shown on the board, but to cover the white king it would have to come from a3 where there is a black pawn, a7, e7 where there is a white pawn, or e3. Steiger offers 16. Ba7-c5, Rb5xc5 and white would be mate in nineteen moves. Nineteen moves is a longer game than the eighteen-move solution prescribed. Since the deleted move is the sixteenth of eighteen, it is most likely that seventeen is meant making this a less desirable option. Steiger does not mention this discrepancy.

<sup>292</sup> Ocho is used only three times in the *LJ* (in Problems 9, 19 as dieziocheno and 95) whereas ochauo is used twenty-nine times.

[fol. 11v] LIBRO DEL

[PROBLEM 10]

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a ueynt y quatro trebeios que an asseer entablados assi como esta en la figura del entablamiento. & an se de iogar desta <sup>293</sup> guisa.**

LOs prietos iuegan primero & dan mate al rey blanco en viij uezes o en menos delos sus iuegos si los blancos nolo sopieren alongar en la .iiija.<sup>294</sup> casa del alffil prieto que esta entablado en casa blanca

¶ El primero iuego es dar la xaque del cauallo prieto; en la segunda casa del cauallo blanco. & tomarlo a por fuerça el Rey blanco; con so Roque blanco.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque con el roque prieto la casa del alfferza blanca & tomar lo ha el Rey blanco por fuerça.

¶ El tercero iuego dar la xaque con el otro Roque prieto; en la casa del alffil blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco; en la segunda casa de su alfferza.

¶ El quarto iuego darla xaque con el alffil prieto; en la quarta. casa del cauallo blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco; en la tercera casa de so alfferza

¶ El quinto iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto; en la casa del alfferza blanca. & entrara el Rey blanco; en la quarta casa de so alffil.

& poder sa encobrir del Roque blanco pora alongar el mate una uez. ¶ E si esto fiziere sera el sexto iuego tomar aquel Roque blanco; con el Roque prieto. & dar la xaque al Rey blanco; & entrara el Rey blanco en la quarta casa de so alffil & en essa misma aurie de entrar sisse no encubriesse.

¶ El seteno iuego es dar la xaque con el alffil prieto; en la tercera casa del Roque prieto. & entrara el Rey blanco; en la quarta casa del alffil prieto.

¶ El ochauo iuego es darla xac & mate del alfferza prieta; en la tercera casa del cauallo prieto.

¶ E en este iuego no ha otro departimiento; si no que se da el mate en casa sennalada; & esta es la figura del entablamiento.

[fol. 12r<sup>295</sup>] ACE DREX

[PROBLEM 11]

**Este es otro iuego departido en que ha ueynt y tres trebeios<sup>296</sup> que an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura del entablamiento & an se de iogar desta guisa.**

LOs blancos iuegan primero & dan mate al rey prieto en xij uezes delos sus iuegos o en menos; si los prietos no lo sopieren alongar.

<sup>293</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of "g."

<sup>294</sup> Steiger and Crombach: IIII

<sup>295</sup> There is a "+" by the beginning of the column of text in the right margin.

<sup>296</sup> The twenty-third piece is an indeterminate blur at e5.

¶ El primero iuego es dar la xaque con el Roque blanco; en la segunda casa del Roque prieto. & tomarlo a el Rey prieto por fuerça; con su alfferza<sup>297</sup>

¶ El segundo iuego es dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco; en la segunda casa del alffil prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto; en la casa de so cauallo.

¶ El tercero iuego; dar la xaque con el Roque blanco en la casa del alffil prieto. & encobrirsa el Rey prieto por fuerça; con so alffil prieto.

¶ El quarto iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco en la tercera casa del Roque prieto. & tornarsa el Rey prieto en la casa de so Roque.

¶ El quinto iuego; dar la xaque con el Roque blanco tomando el alffil prieto que esta en su casa. & encubrirsa el Rey prieto por fuerça;<sup>298</sup> con su alfferza.

¶ El sexto iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco; en la segunda casa del alffil prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto en la segunda casa de so Roque.

¶ El seteno iuego dar la xaque con el alffil blanco en la quarta casa del alffil prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto en la tercera casa del cauallo prieto.

¶ El ochauo iuego darla xaque con el Roque blanco. tomando el alfferza prieta que esta en la casa del cauallo prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto en la quarta casa de so Roque.

¶ El noueno iuego; dar la xaque con el Roque blanco; en la casa del Roque prieto. & si el Rey prieto tornare en la tercera casa de so cauallo; es<sup>299</sup> mate al primero iuego dandol xaque con el Roque blanco; en la tercera casa del Roque prieto. & por ende es lo meior que entre en la quarta casa del cauallo blan

[fol. 12v] LIBRO DEL

co.

¶ El dezeno iuego darla xaque con el alfferza blanca;<sup>300</sup> en la tercera casa del alffil blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco; en la quarta casa del alffil blanco.

¶ El onzeno iuego dar la xaque con el Roque blanco; tomando el peon prieto que esta en la quarta casa del Roque blanco. & entrara el Rey prieto; en la tercera casa del Rey blanco.

¶ El dozeno iuego<sup>301</sup> dar la xaque & mate con el alffil blanco en su casa. o con el Roque blanco en la quarta casa del su Rey blanco tomando el cauallo prieto.

¶ E si los blancos erraren de dar xaque cada uez al Rey prieto; es el Rey blanco mate al primero iuego con el Roque prieto en la casa del Rey blanco.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura del entablamiento.

## [PROBLEM 12]

<sup>297</sup> Rather than an alfferza, a promoted pawn (peon alfferzado, with the same powers as an alfferza) is shown at g8.

<sup>298</sup> Manuscript: fuerça; HSMS: fuerça

<sup>299</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of "n."

<sup>300</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of "en la tercera casa del Roque blanco. o"

<sup>301</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of repeated word "iuego."

**Este es otro iuego departido en que ha ueynt y dos trebeios & an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura del entablamiento. & han se de iogar desta guisa.**

LOs blancos iuegan primero & dan mate al Rey prieto en xv uезes o en menos delos sus iuegos mismos si los prietos nolo sopieren alongar.

¶ El primero iuego es dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco; en la segunda casa del alffil prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto; en la segunda casa de so Roque.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque con el alffil blanco; en la quarta casa del alffil prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto; en la tercera casa de so cauallo

¶ El tercero iuego darla xaque con el ca

[fol. 13r] ACE DREX

uallo blanco; en la casa del Roque prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto; en la quarta casa de so cauallo.

¶ El quarto iuego dar la xaque con el alffil blanco; en la segunda casa del Rey prieto. E si el Rey prieto entrare en la quarta casa del Roque<sup>302</sup> blanco; es mate al primero iuego con el cauallo blanco en la tercera casa del cauallo prieto. ¶ E por ende es lo meior que entre en la quarta casa del alffil blanco.

¶ El quinto iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco; en la tercera casa del cauallo prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto; en la tercera casa del Rey blanco.

¶ El sexto iuego dar la xaque con el alffil blanco en la quarta casa del cauallo prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto; en la quarta casa del alfferza blanca.

¶ El seteno iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco; en la tercera casa del alffil prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto; en la quarta casa del alffil blanco.

¶ El ochauo iuego dar la xaque con ell otro cauallo blanco; en la quarta casa del Rey prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto; en la quarta casa de so cauallo.

¶ El noueno iuego dar la xaque con el alffil blanco; en la tercera casa del alfferza blanca. E si el Rey prieto entrara en la quarta casa del Roque blanco; es mate al primero iuego dandol xaque con el Roque blanco; en la casa del Roque blanco. ¶ Por ende es lo meior que entre en la tercera casa de so Roque.

¶ El dezeno iuego dar la xaque con el Roque blanco; en su casa misma. & entrara el Rey prieto; en la segunda casa de so cauallo.

¶ El onzeno iuego dar la xaque con esse mismo Roque blanco en la segunda casa del Roque prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto en casa de so alffil.

¶ El dozeno iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco en la segunda casa del Rey prieto. & si entrare el Rey prieto en casa de so cauallo prieto es mate al primero iuego con el otro cauallo blanco en la tercera casa del alffil prieto. Por ende es lo meior; que entre en casa de su alfferza.

¶ El trezeno iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco; en la segunda casa del alffil prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto; en su casa.

<sup>302</sup> Manuscript: rey. Problem 12, black's discarded move four, "E si el Rey prieto entrare en la quarta casa del rey blanco" (e4, impossible for a king at g5), "es mate ... con el cauallo blanco en la tercera casa del cauallo prieto." The only option where the king is mated by a knight at f6 would be h4. So the manuscript should read "la quarta casa del *Roque* blanco" (h4).

¶ El catorzeno iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco; en la tercera casa del alfferza prieta. & si el Rey prieto entrare<sup>303</sup> en casa de so alffil; es mate al primero iuego dandol xaque con el otro cauallo blanco; en la tercera casa del cauallo prieto. & si entrare en casa de su alfferza; es mathe otrossi dandol xaque con el mismo<sup>304</sup> cauallo blanco en la tercera casa del alffil prieto.

¶ E si los blancos erraren de dar xaque cada uez al Rey prieto; es el Rey blanco mathe al primero iuego dandol xaque con el Roque prieto; en casa del Roque blanco. & sisse encubriere con el alffil blanco; tomar lo a con esse mismo Roque prieto; & dar la mate.

¶<sup>305</sup> E este es el departimiento deste iuego & esta es la figura del entablamiento.

[fol. 13v<sup>306</sup>] LIBRO DEL

### [PROBLEM 13]

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a xxij. iuegos que an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura del entablamiento & iuegan se assi**

LOs prietos iuegan primero & dan mate al Rey blanco en .viiiij.<sup>307</sup> vezes delos sus iuegos mismos o en menos si los blancos nolo sopieren alongar.

¶ El primero iuego es dar la xaque con el peon prieto; en la quarta casa del Rey blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco en la segunda casa de su alfferza.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque con el alffil prieto en la quarta casa del alffil blanco. & si el Rey blanco entrare en casa de su alfferza; es mate al primero iuego con el Roque prieto que esta en la tercera casa del Roque blanco; poniendol en casa del Roque blanco. & si entrare en su casa es mathe a dos iuegos al mas tarde. ¶ El primero dar la xaque con el Roque prieto que esta en la quarta casa del Roque blanco poniendol en la casa del Roque blanco. & <sup>308</sup> encubrirssa con el cauallo blanco & dar la mate con el otro Roque prieto en la casa del Roque blanco. ¶ E por ende es lo meior que entre en casa de so alffil.

¶ El tercero iuego darla xaque del Roque prieto que<sup>309</sup> esta en la quarta casa del Roque blanco poniendol en casa del Roque blanco. ¶ Et encubrir ssa con el cauallo blanco en casa de so alffil; tomar lo a con esse mismo Roque prieto. & dar la xaque &

<sup>303</sup> Manuscript: scribal insertion “entrare.”

<sup>304</sup> Manuscript: otro, however this is the same knight from the first checkmate explanation and so I correct it. The manuscript specifies that the second checkmate option is delivered by the other white knight than the one used in the first checkmate option. However, the squares specified for this make require the same knight to be used. For it to be the other white knight, the play would be Nd6-b7 and it would read “dandol xaque con el otro cauallo blanco en la segunda casa del otro cauallol prieto.” Steiger and Crombach do not correct this error.

<sup>305</sup> HSMS inserts this calderón.

<sup>306</sup> The board in this miniature has been damaged by wetness. Between this folio and the next there is a small flap of vellum from binding. There is illegible writing on this flap.

<sup>307</sup> Manuscript: .viiiij., HSMS: misreads .viij. and corrects to .viiiij.

<sup>308</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “si sse.”

<sup>309</sup> Manuscript: scribal insertion “que.”

encubrirsa *con* esse mismo cauallo en casa dell alfferza blanca.<sup>310</sup>

¶<sup>311</sup> El *quarto* iuego tomarloa con esse mismo Roque & dar la xaque. ¶ E si tomare<sup>312</sup> el Rey blanco el Roque prieto es mate al primero iuego con el otro Roque prieto en la casa del Roque blanco. & por end es lo meior por alongar el mathe *que* entre el Rey blanco en la *segunda* casa del cauallo blanco.

El *quinto* iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto en la segunda casa del Ro

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que blanco & auer<sup>313</sup> lo el Rey blanco a tomar por fuerça.

¶ El sexto iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo prieto en la *tercera* casa del alffil blanco. & si el rey blanco entrare en la *tercera* casa de so Roque dar la xaque con el peon prieto en la *quarta* casa del cauallo<sup>314</sup> blanco & aura el Rey blanco a entrar en la *segunda* casa de so cauallo & dar la xaque & mate *con* el Roque prieto en la casa del cauallo blanco. ¶ E por end es lo meior por alongar el mate *quandol* dio xaque *con* el cauallo prieto al Rey blanco; *que* entre el rey blanco en la *segunda* casa de so cauallo.

¶ El *.vijo.* iuego dar la xaque *con* el Roque prieto *en* la casa del cauallo blanco & si *entrare* el rey blanco en la *tercera* casa de so roque. dar la mate *con* el peon prieto en la quarta casa del cauallo blanco. ¶ E por end es lo meior *que* tome el Rey blanco al cauallo prieto.

¶ El ochauo iuego dar la xaque *con* el peon prieto; en la *quarta* casa del cauallo blanco. & aura el Rey blanco a *entrar* en la quarta casa de so alffil.

¶ Ell noueno iuego dar la xac & mate *con* el alffil prieto. en la *segunda* casa del Rey blanco

E si los prietos erraren de dar xaque cada uez al rey blanco. es el rey prieto mate al primero iuego dandol xaque *con* el uno delos roques blancos *en* casa del Roque prieto o *en* casa del cauallo prieto.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura del entablamiento.<sup>315</sup>

#### [PROBLEM 14]

**Este es otro iuego departido en *que* a xxiiij.<sup>316</sup> trebeios *que* an a seer entablados assi como estan en la figura del entablamiento. & an se de iogar assi.**

LOs blancos iuegan *primero* & dan mate al rey prieto en siete uezes delos sus

<sup>310</sup> Of course it is impossible for white to make two moves in a row with the same piece once it has already been captured. The scribe has meant to convey two options for the white knight but in error given them as two moves.

<sup>311</sup> HSMS inserts this calderón.

<sup>312</sup> Manuscript: tomar; Crombach: tomare

<sup>313</sup> Crombach inserts "a."

<sup>314</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of "prieto."

<sup>315</sup> This part of the word intrudes into the miniature's frame.

<sup>316</sup> Grandese (1987): XXIII. This is the second problem out of the stated descending piece order because Problem 13 has 22 pieces. Problem 9 is the first to break this order, Problems 38 and 39 are the third and fourth and beginning with Problem 70 this order totally breaks down.

iuegos o en menos si los prietos no lo sopieren alongar.

¶ El *primero* iuego dar la *xaque* con el *Roque* blanco *que* esta en la *segunda* casa del cauallo<sup>317</sup> prieto. poniendol en la *segunda* casa del Rey<sup>318</sup> prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto en la *quarta* casa de su alferza.

¶ El *segundo* iuego dar la *xaque* con el *peon* blanco *que* esta en la *tercera* casa del rey

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blanco poniendolo en la *quarta* casa desse mismo rey. Lo mejor es al rey *prieto* *que* lo tome con su *peon prieto*.

¶ El *tercero* iuego dar la *xaque* con el *otro* *peon* blanco; tomando esse *peon prieto*. & entrara el rey *prieto* por fuerça en la *.iiija.*<sup>320</sup> casa de so alffil.

¶ El *quarto* iuego darla *xaque* con ell alffil blanco en la *tercera* casa del *roque* blanco & entrara el rey *prieto*. en la *tercera* casa deso cauallo.

¶ El *.vo.* iuego dar la *xaque* con el cauallo blanco en la casa del alffil *prieto*. & si el rey *prieto* tomare el cauallo<sup>321</sup> blanco con so alffil *prieto*. es mate al *primero* iuego con el *Roque* blanco *que* esta en la *segunda* casa del rey *prieto* poniendol en la *segunda* casa del cauallo *prieto*. E por end es lo mejor al rey *prieto* *que* entre en la *quarta* casa de so *Roque* por alongar el mathe.

¶ El *vjo.* iuego dar la *xaque* con el *roque* blanco tomando el alffil *prieto* *que* esta en la *tercera* casa del *roque prieto*<sup>322</sup> & tomar lo a el rey *prieto* por fuerça.

¶ El *seteno* iuego dar la *xac* & mathe con el *Roque* blanco en la *segunda* casa del *Roque prieto*.

& si los blancos erraren de dar *xaque* cada uez al rey *prieto*. es el rei blanco mate al *primero* iuego con el *Roque* prieto *que* esta en la casa<sup>323</sup> del cauallo *prieto*. poniendol en la casa del cauallo blanco.

& este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura dell entablamiento.

## [PROBLEM 15]

<sup>317</sup> Manuscript: alffil; Steiger: cauallo. Problem 14, the rook's beginning square in the first move described as "la segunda casa del alffil prieto" (c7 or f7) should read "la segunda casa del *cauallo* prieto" (b7) as both the piece inventory and the solution indicate. Calvo's excellent explanation of this error is discussed in this problem's commentary. Crombach leaves the text as is and notes Steiger's correction.

<sup>318</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of "alffil", scribal insertion of "Rey."

<sup>319</sup> It is difficult to say whether the miniature's state is due to incompleteness by the artists or intentional dry scraping damage.

<sup>320</sup> Steiger and Crombach: IIII

<sup>321</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of "b."

<sup>322</sup> Manuscript: scribal insertion "&."

<sup>323</sup> The miniature shows this black rook at what would be "la segunda casa del cauallo prieto" (g7). What at first appears to be a textual error here turns out to be a correct description of the placement of this black rook and which amends the miniature's error; the black rook shown at g7 should in fact appear at g8. Steiger and Calvo correctly adjust this diagram error but Crombach does not note the discrepancy in her transcription.

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a xxij. trebeios que an a seer entablados como estan en esta figura deste entablamiento. & iuegan se assi.**

LOs blancos iuegan *primero* & dan mate al rey prieto en viij uezes delos sus iuegos o en menos si los prietos no lo sopieren alongar.

¶ El primer iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco tomando el peon prieto que esta en la segunda casa del cauallo prieto. & entrara el rey prieto en su casa

¶<sup>324</sup> El .ijo. iuego dar la xaque con ell otro cauallo blanco en la segunda casa del alfil prieto. & entrara el rey prieto. en la otra segunda casa de su alfil.

¶<sup>325</sup> El tercero iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco en la casa del alfferza prieta & entrara el rey prieto. en la segunda casa de so cauallo.

¶ El quarto iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco en la casa del rey prieto. & si entrare<sup>326</sup> el rey prieto en la casa de so Roque; es mate al primero iuego con el cauallo blanco en la segunda casa del alfil prieto. E es lo meior que entre en la tercera casa de so roque.

¶ El .vo. iuego dar la xaque con ell otro

[fol. 15r] ACE DREX

cauallo blanco en la segunda casa del alfil prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto en la quarta casa de so Roque.

¶ El sexto iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco en la segunda casa del cauallo prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto en la quarta casa del Roque blanco.

¶ El seteno iuego<sup>327</sup> dar la xaque con el peon blanco en la tercera casa del cauallo blanco & entrara el Rey prieto por fuerça en la tercera casa del Roque blanco.

¶ Ell ochauo iuego dar la xac & math con el alfil blanco en la so casa del alfil blanco

& si los blancos erraren uencen los prietos

& este es el departimiento deste iuego.

#### [PROBLEM 16]

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a ueynt & dos trebeios que an a<sup>328</sup> seer entablados assi como esta en la figura dell entablamiento & an se de iogar desta guisa.**

LOs blancos iuegan *primero* & dan mate con los sos iuegos al rey prieto que esta en la casa del alfferza prieta<sup>329</sup> en la casa del alfferza blanca en doze uezes o en menos si los prietos no lo sopieren alongar. & sera el mate en otra casa.

¶ El primero iuego es dar la xaque con el Roque blanco que esta en la casa tercera

<sup>324</sup> HSMS inserts this calderón.

<sup>325</sup> HSMS inserts this calderón.

<sup>326</sup> Manuscript: scribal insertion of “entrare.”

<sup>327</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of repeated word “dar.”

<sup>328</sup> HSMS and Crombach insert “a.”

<sup>329</sup> Manuscript: o, deleted here for logic.

del alffil *prieto*; poniendolo en la tercera casa del alfferza prieta. ¶ E si el Rey prieto se encubriere con su alfferza; tomar lo a con ell otro Roque blanco

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& aura de entrar el Rey prieto en su casa. ¶ El tercero iuego dar la *xaque* con el Roque blanco en la casa del alfferza prieta & entrara el Rey prieto en la so segunda casa. ¶ El *quarto* iuego dar la *xaque* con ell otro Roque blanco; en la segunda casa del alfferza prieta. & aura el Rey prieto a entrar por fuerça; en la su tercera casa. ¶ El quinto iuego dar la *xac* & *mathe* con el peon blanco en la *quarta* casa del alffil prieto. & desta guisa es el Rey prieto *mathe* a cinco iuegos en la<sup>330</sup> su tercera casa. &<sup>331</sup> *sisse* encubriere con su alfferza. quando el Roque blanco le dio *xaque* en el *primero* iuego. ¶ E por ende es lo meior que non se encubra el Rey prieto con so alfferza & que entre en su casa pora alongar el *mathe* & que sea el iuego<sup>332</sup> mas apuesto.

¶ E en esta guisa el segundo iuego dar la *xaque* con el cauallo blanco en la tercera casa del alffil prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto en casa de so alffil.

¶ El tercero iuego dar la *xaque* con el Roque blanco en casa del alfferza prieta. & entrara el Rey prieto en la segunda casa de so cauallo.

¶ El quarto iuego dar la *xaque* con el Roque blanco. tomando el roque prieto que esta en la casa del cauallo prieto. & el Rey prieto aura a tomar el cauallo blanco; *que* esta en la tercera casa del alffil prieto.

¶ El quinto iuego dar la *xaque* con el peon blanco en la quarta casa del Rey prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto en la quarta casa de so alffil.

¶ El sexto iuego dar la *xaque* con el Roque blanco en la quarta casa del cauallo prieto. & el Rey prieto tomara el peon blanco que esta en la quarta casa del alffil blanco.

¶ El seteno iuego dar la *xaque* con ell otro Roque blanco. tomando el peon prieto que esta en la quarta casa del cauallo blanco. & entrara el Rey prieto en la tercera casa del Rey blanco.

¶ Ell ochauo iuego dar la *xaque* con el Roque blanco *que* esta en la quarta casa del cauallo prieto. tomando el peon prieto que esta *en* la tercera casa del cauallo blanco. & entrara el Rey prieto; en la segunda casa del alfferza blanca.

¶ El noueno iuego dar la *xaque* con el cauallo blanco en la quarta casa del Rey blanco. Et el Rey prieto entrara en la casa del alffil blanco; o en la su segunda casa.

¶ El dezeno iuego dar la *xaque* con el Roque blanco que esta en la tercera casa del cauallo<sup>333</sup> blanco. & aura a entrar el Rey prieto por fuerça en la casa del alfferza blanca. ¶ E sera ell onzeno iuego *xamate* dell otro roque blanco en la casa del cauallo blanco o en la quarta casa del alfferza blanca. & si<sup>334</sup> *quandol* dio *xaque* con el cauallo blanco al Rey

<sup>330</sup> Manuscript: scribal insertion of “la.”

<sup>331</sup> Manuscript: scribal insertion of “&.”

<sup>332</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “n.”

<sup>333</sup> Manuscript: alffil; Steiger: cauallo. Problem 16’s tenth move for the white rook as coming from “la tercera casa del alffil blanco” (f3) should read “la tercera casa del *cauallo* blanco” (g3). Crombach leaves the text as is but notes Steiger’s correction.

<sup>334</sup> Manuscript: scribal insertion of “si.”

prieto en la quarta casa del rey blanco entrare el rey prieto en casa del alfferza blanca. sera el dezeno<sup>335</sup> iuego; & dar la xaque con el Roque blanco en la tercera casa del alfferza blanca. & entrara el Rey prieto en la casa dell alffil blanco o en la su segunda casa.

¶ El onzeno iuego dar la xaque con esse mismo Roque en la tercera casa del alffil blanco. & aura el Rey prieto a tornar a la casa dell alferza blanca.

¶ El dozeno iuego dar la xaque & mathe con ell otro Roque blanco en la casa del cauallo blanco o en la quarta casa dell alfferza blanca.

¶ El departimiento deste iuego es; que traen los trebeios blancos al Rey prieto que esta en casa de su alfferza a darle mate; en casa dell otra alfferza blanca. si los prietos quisieren iogar lo mejor por alongar el mathe. &<sup>336</sup> esta es la figura dell entablamiento.

[fol. 16r] ACE DREX

### [PROBLEM 17]

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a xxij trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura del entablamiento & an se de iogar desta guisa.**

LOs blancos iuegan primero & dan mate al rey prieto en .v. uezes o en menos delos sus iuegos mismos si los prietos no lo sopieren alongar.

¶ El primero iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco; en la segunda casa del cauallo prieto; & entrara el Rey prieto en la segunda casa de so alffil.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque con el Roque blanco; en la segunda casa del alffil blanco. & entrara el Rey prieto en<sup>337</sup> casa de so cauallo.

¶ El tercero iuego que descubra xaque del Roque blanco poniendo el cauallo blanco en la tercera casa del Rey prieto. E si el Rey prieto se encubriere de so cauallo; sera el quarto iuego. tomar esse cauallo prieto con el Roque blanco & dar le xaque. & entrara el Rey prieto en la segunda casa de so Roque prieto.

¶ El quinto iuego dar la xaque & mathe con ell otro Roque blanco. poniendol en la segunda casa del alffil prieto; o xamathe con ell alffil blanco; en la quarta casa del alffil prieto.

¶ E si los blancos erraren de dar xaque cada uez al Rey prieto; es el Rey blanco mathe al primero iuego; dandol xaque con Roque prieto en la segunda casa del Roque blanco. o en la casa del cauallo blanco.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura dell entablamiento. que aqui esta pintada.

[fol. 16v] LIBRO DEL

### [PROBLEM 18]

<sup>335</sup> Manuscript and Crombach: dozeno; Steiger: dezeno, without noting the error

<sup>336</sup> Manuscript: scribal insertion of "&."

<sup>337</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of "c."

**Este es otro iuego departido en *que* ay<sup>338</sup> ueynt & dos trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura del entablamiento. & an se de iogar desta guisa.**

LOs blancos iuegan *primero* & dan mate al rey *prieto* en xix. uezes delos *sus* iuegos en la casa del Roque<sup>339</sup> blanco. la que esta cabo del Roque *prieto* de como estan agora entablados. & esto es si el Rey *prieto* quisiere iogar lo meior pora alongar el mathe.

¶ El primero iuego es dar la xaque con el roque<sup>340</sup> blanco en la casa dell alffil *prieto*. & entrara el Rey *prieto* en la segunda casa de so Roque.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque con esse mismo Roque blanco en la segunda casa dell alffil *prieto*. & si el Rey *prieto* tornare en la casa onde salio *que* era de so Roque; dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco en la tercera casa del cauallo *prieto*. & aura el Rey *prieto* a entrar en la casa de so cauallo & dar la<sup>341</sup> con el Roque blanco xac & mathe en la segunda casa del cauallo *prieto*. & assi serie mathe el Rey *prieto* en *quatro* uezes. ¶ E por ende es lo meior *que* quando el Roque blanco da xaque al Rey *prieto* en la segunda casa del alffil *prieto*; que tome el Rey *prieto* al peon blanco.

& sera el tercero iuego. & dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco en la *quarta* casa dell alffil *prieto*; & entrara el Rey *prieto* en la tercera casa de so cauallo.

¶ El quarto iuego dar la xaque con<sup>342</sup> el Roque blanco en la segunda casa del cauallo *prieto*; & entrara el Rey *prieto* en la tercera casa de so alffil.

¶ El *quinto* iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco en la quarta casa del alfferza blanca; & entrara el Rey *prieto* en la tercera casa de so alfferza.

¶ El sexto iuego dar la xaque con el Roque blan

[fol. 17r<sup>343</sup>] ACE DREX

co en la segunda casa dell alfferza *prieta*. & entrara el Rey *prieto* en la su *quarta* casa.

¶ El seteno iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco en la tercera casa dell alffil *prieto* & entrara el Rey *prieto* en la tercera casa de so alffil.

¶ Ell ochauo iuego dar la xaque con el Roque blanco; en la segunda casa del alffil *prieto*. en guarda dell alfferza blanca; & entrara el Rey *prieto* en la tercera casa de so cauallo.

¶ El noueno iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco en la quarta casa del Rey *prieto*. & entrara el Rey *prieto* en la quarta casa de so roque.

¶ El dezeno iuego dar la xaque con el peon blanco en la quarta casa del cauallo blanco. & entrara el Rey *prieto* en la quarta casa del Roque blanco.

¶ Ell onzeno iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco en la tercera casa dell alffil

<sup>338</sup> I disagree with HSMS's transcription of “(^??) [^]a” because there is no obvious deletion or departure from the norm of this formulaic problem introduction. Both words *que* and (*h*)*ay* are merely abbreviated. Steiger: a

<sup>339</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “n.”

<sup>340</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “b.”

<sup>341</sup> Crombach modernizes this well as: darle-ha.

<sup>342</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “e.”

<sup>343</sup> At the bottom of this folio, the binder's cue .”iii.” marks the beginning of the third gathering.

blanco. & Aura el Rey prieto a tomar el peon blanco que esta en la quarta casa del cauallo blanco.

¶ El dozeno iuego dar la xaque <sup>344</sup> con el Roque blanco en la segunda casa del cauallo <sup>345</sup> prieto. & si el Rey prieto entrare en la oriella en la quarta casa deso Roque es mate al *primero* iuego; con el Roque blanco en la quarta casa del cauallo *prieto*. ¶ E por ende es lo meior <sup>346</sup> que entre en la *quarta* casa dell alffil blanco.

¶ El trezeno iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo <sup>347</sup> blanco tomando el peon prieto que esta en la tercera casa del Rey prieto & entrara el Rey prieto en la quarta casa del Rey blanco.

¶ El catorzeno iuego dar la xaque con el *Roque* blanco en la quarta casa del cauallo blanco. & encobrirsa el Rey prieto con su alffil por alongar el mate.

¶ El quinzeno iuego dar la xaque con esse mismo Roque tomando ell alffil prieto. & aura el Rey prieto a *entrar* en la tercera casa dell alfferza blanca.

¶ El sezeno iuego dar la xaque con ell alffil blanco en su casa. & entrara el Rey prieto en la segunda casa del alffil blanco.

¶ El dizeseteno iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco que esta en la tercera casa del rey prieto poniendol en la quarta casa dell alferza blanca. & entrara el Rey prieto en la casa del cauallo blanco.

¶ El dizeocheno iuego dar la xaque con ell alffil blanco en la tercera casa dell alfferza blanca. & <sup>348</sup> aura el Rey *prieto* a entrar por fuerça en la casa del Roque blanco.

¶ El dizenoueno iuego dar la xaque & mathe con el cauallo blanco en la tercera casa del cauallo blanco.

E si los blancos erraren de dar xaque cada uez al Rey prieto ante que los blancos ayan de iogar de so alffil blanco o de so peon blanco que esta antel Rey blanco; sera el Rey blanco mathe en esta guisa.

dandol xaque con el cauallo prieto tomando ell alffil blanco que esta en la tercera casa del Rey blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco en casa de so cauallo o de so *Roque*. lo meior es *que entre en* casa de so *roque* por alongar el mate.

desent dar la xaque del *roque en* casa del *Roque* blanco. ¶ E si el Rey blanco se encubriere con su alffil;

tomar lo a con esse mismo Roque prieto. & dar la xaque. & encubrirsa con so cauallo blanco

& tomarlo a con aquel mismo *Roque prieto* dando xaque al rey blanco. & tomar lo a el Rey blanco por fuerça

& dar la xaque & mat con ell otro *Roque prieto* poniendolo en la casa del Rey blanco. <sup>349 350</sup>

<sup>344</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “blanco.”

<sup>345</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “blanco.”

<sup>346</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of repeated words “que entre.”

<sup>347</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “b.”

<sup>348</sup> Manuscript: scribal insertion of “&.”

<sup>349</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “m.”

<sup>350</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “mathe. aiuegos.” Crombach includes it.

¶<sup>351</sup> Et este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura dell entablamiento.

[fol. 17v] LIBRO DEL

**[PROBLEM 19]**

**Este es otro iuego departido en que ha ueynt & dos trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como estan en la figura del entablamiento. & an se de iogar desta guisa**

LOs blancos iuegan *primero* & dan mate al rey *prieto* en .vj. uezes delos *sus* iuegos. en la *quarta* casa del Roque blanco que se entabla en casa prieta.

¶ El primero iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco *que* esta en la quarta casa del alfferza prieta. poniendol en la segunda casa del alffil prieto.<sup>352</sup> & entrara el Rey prieto en la segunda casa de so cauallo.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque con el otro cauallo blanco en la tercera casa dell alfferza prieta. & entrara el Rey prieto en la tercera casa de so alffil.

¶ El tercero iuego dar la xaque con el peon blanco en la quarta casa del cauallo prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto en la quarta casa de so alffil.

¶ El quarto iuego dar la xaque con ell alffil blanco en la *tercera* casa del Rey blanco. & entrara el Rey prieto en la quarta casa del cauallo blanco.

¶ El *quinto* iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco en la quarta casa del alfferza prieta. & entrara el Rey prieto por fuerça en la quarta casa del Roque blanco.

¶ El sexto iuego dar la xaque & mate con el Roque blanco en la quarta casa del alfferza blanca.

¶ E si los blancos erraren de dar xaque cada uez al Rey prieto; es el Rey blanco mate al *primero* iuego con el Roque prieto en la segunda casa del Roque blanco.

& este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura del entablamiento.

[fol. 18r<sup>353</sup>] ACE DREX

**[PROBLEM 20]**

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a xxij.<sup>354</sup> trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como estan en la figura del entablamiento. & an se de iogar desta guisa.**

LOs blancos iuegan *primero* & dan mate al rey *prieto* en casa del alfferza blanca delos *sus* iuegos mismos en .xij. uezes o en menos si los prietos no los sopieren alongar.

¶ El *primero* iuego es dar la xaque con el Roque blanco que esta en la tercera casa

<sup>351</sup> HSMS inserts this calderón.

<sup>352</sup> As this is also the capture of the black pawn at c7, the text might also include “tomando el peon prieto” for the sake of completeness.

<sup>353</sup> There is a “+” in the right margin of this folio and within the miniature the words “esta mulher esta fremosa et sabia” are written in the blue background above the chess player at left.

<sup>354</sup> The problem’s diagram on fol. 19r shows only 21 pieces, lacking a black pawn at g3 which is captured in the eighth move.

del alffil *prieto* poniendol en la *tercera* casa del alfferza *prieta*. & entrara el Rey *prieto* en su casa.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la *xaque* con el cauallo blanco en la *tercera* casa del alffil *prieto*. & entrara el Rey *prieto* en casa de so alffil.

¶ El *tercero* iuego dar la *xaque* con el Roque blanco en la casa dell alfferza *prieta*. & entrara el Rey *prieto* en la *segunda* casa de so cauallo.

¶ El quarto iuego dar la *xaque* con esse mismo Roque blanco en la casa del cauallo *prieto*. & tomara el Rey *prieto* el cauallo blanco que esta en la *tercera* casa del alffil *prieto*.

¶ El quinto iuego dar la *xaque* con el peon blanco en la quarta casa del rey *prieto*. & entrara el Rey *prieto* en la quarta casa de so alffil.

¶ El *.vjo.* iuego dar la *xaque* con el *roque* blanco en la quarta casa del cauallo *prieto*. & tomara el Rey *prieto* el peon blanco; que esta en la quarta casa del alffil blanco.

¶ El seteno iuego dar la *xaque* con ell otro Roque blanco que esta en la segunda casa del cauallo *prieto*. tomando el peon *prieto* que esta en la quarta casa del cauallo blanco. & entrara el Rey *prieto* en la *tercera* casa del Rey blanco.

[fol. 18v] LIBR<sup>355</sup> DEL

¶ Ell ochauo iuego dar la *xaque* con el Roque blanco que esta en la <sup>356</sup> quarta casa del cauallo *prieto*. tomando el peon *prieto*; que esta en la *tercera* casa del cauallo blanco.<sup>357</sup> & entrara el Rey *prieto* en la segunda casa del alfferza blanca.

¶ El noueno iuego dar la *xaque* con el cauallo blanco en la quarta casa del Rey blanco.<sup>358</sup> & si el Rey *prieto*<sup>359</sup> entrare en la casa del<sup>360</sup> alffil. o en la su segunda casa; sera mate en dos iuegos. ¶ El primero iuego dar la *xaque* con el Roque blanco que esta en la *tercera* casa del alffil blanco; poniendol en la *tercera* casa dell otro alffil blanco & aura a entrar el Rey *prieto* por fuerça; en la casa dell alfferza blanca. ¶ El segundo iuego dar la *xaque* & mate con ell otro Roque blanco; en la casa del cauallo<sup>361</sup> blanco. ¶ E<sup>362</sup> por end

<sup>355</sup> HSMS: LIBRO

<sup>356</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “q.”

<sup>357</sup> This black pawn at g3 is missing from the diagram on fol. 19r.

<sup>358</sup> Manuscript: *prie-to*; Steiger: blanco. Problem 20, move 9, in white’s check, the manuscript says “El noueno iuego dar la *xaque* con el cauallo blanco en la quarta casa del Rey *prieto*” (e5). However, this is an impossible move for the white knight coming from his original position of f2 and it is not a move that would give check to the black king at d2. Therefore, the manuscript should read “...en la quarta casa del Rey *blanco*” (e4). Crombach leaves the text as is and notes Steiger’s correction.

<sup>359</sup> Crombach omits “*prieto*.”

<sup>360</sup> Manuscript: de so. Problem 20, move 9, in black’s discarded alternate move, the manuscript says “si el Rey *prieto* entrare en la casa de so alffil. o en la su segunda casa” appears to mean black’s fil’s first or second squares (c8 or c7) but in fact refers to *white’s* fil’s first and second squares. The word *his* (“so”) is if not a mistake, very confusing. The manuscript should read “si el Rey *prieto* entrare en la casa del alffil blanco. o en la su segunda casa” (c1 or c2).

<sup>361</sup> Manuscript: Roque; Steiger: cauallo. Problem 20, move 9, in white’s checkmate to the discarded move, the manuscript says “El segundo iuego dar la *xaque* & mate con ell otro Roque blanco; en la casa del Roque blanco” (a1). However, this is an impossible move for the white rook coming from b4.

es lo meior que entre el Rey prieto en la casa del alfferza blanca.

¶ El dezeno iuego dar la xaque con el Roque blanco en la tercera casa del alfferza blanca. & entrara el Rey prieto en la casa dell alffil blanco. o en la su segunda casa.

¶ Ell onzeno iuego dar la xaque con esse mismo *Roque* blanco en la tercera casa dell alffil blanco. & entrara el Rey prieto en casa del alfferza blanca.

¶ El dozeno iuego dar la xac & mathe; con ell *otro* Roque blanco en la casa del cauallo blanco o en la quarta casa dell alfferza blanca.

¶ E si los blancos erraren de dar xaque cada uez al Rey prieto es el Rey blanco mathe al primero iuego descubriendo xac & mathe del Roque prieto con ell alfferza prieta. ¶ tomando con ella el cauallo blanco que esta en la segunda casa del alffil blanco.

& este es el departimiento deste iuego; & esta es la figura dell entablamiento.

& ya mandamos fazer otro iuego departido<sup>363</sup> que se semeia con este. ¶ Pero fiziemos escreuir este *otrossi*; por que es mas fremoso.

[fol. 19r] ACE DREX

### [PROBLEM 21]

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a ueyntidos trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura del entablamiento & an se de iogar desta guisa.**

LOs prietos iuegan primero & dan mate al Rey blanco con los sus iuegos mismos; en *quatro* uezes en la casa do esta entablado dandol los dos Roques & el cauallo prieto en balde.

¶ El primero iuego es dar la xaqve con el Roque prieto que esta en la quarta casa del alffil blanco poniendol *en* la casa dell alffil blanco. ¶ Tomar lo a el Rey blanco por fuerça con su cauallo blanco.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque con ell otro roque prieto; en la casa del Rey blanco. ¶ E tomar lo a el Rey blanco por fuerça con ell otro cauallo blanco.

¶ El tercero iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo prieto tomando el peon blanco<sup>364</sup> que esta en la segunda casa del alffil blanco. & tomar lo a el rey blanco por fuerça; con so Roque blanco.

¶ El quarto iuego dar la xaque & mate con ell otro cauallo prieto en la tercera casa del Rey blanco.

¶ E si los prietos erraren de dar xaque cada uez al Rey blanco; es el Rey prieto mate al *primero* iuego. dandol xaque con el Roque blanco en la casa del cauallo prieto.<sup>365</sup>

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura dell entablamiento. que aqui esta pintada.

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The manuscript should read "... en la casa del *cauallo* blanco" (b1). Crombach leaves the text as is and notes Steiger's correction.

<sup>362</sup> Manuscript: El; Steiger: Et; HSMS. E; Crombach: E

<sup>363</sup> The manuscript refers to Problem 16 per Van der Linde, Murray (1913) and Calvo.

<sup>364</sup> Manuscript: prieto; Steiger and HSMS: blanco. Crombach leaves the text as is and notes Steiger's correction.

<sup>365</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of "n."

[fol. 19v] LIBRO DEL

[PROBLEM 22]

**Este es otro iuego departido en que ha ueynt & dos trebeios & an a seer entablados assi como estan en la figura del entablamiento & an se a iogar desta guisa.**

LOs blancos iuegan primero. & dan mate al Rey prieto delos sus iuegos mismos en diez uezes; en la casa prieta del alffil blanco.

¶ El primero iuego es dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco; en la tercera casa del alffil prieto. & tomar lo a el Rey prieto por fuerça con su alfferza prieta.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque con ell alffil blanco en la quarta casa del alffil prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto en casa de so cauallo.

¶ El *tercero* iuego dar la xaque *con* el Roque blanco en la casa del alffil prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto en la segunda casa de so alffil.

¶ El quarto iuego dar la xaque con el Roque blanco en la casa dell otro alffil prieto. & tomara el Rey prieto el cauallo blanco.

¶ El quinto iuego dar la xaque con el *Roque* blanco; tomando ell alfferza prieta. que esta en la tercera casa del alffil prieto & entrara el rey prieto; en la quarta casa del alfferza prieta.<sup>366</sup>

¶ El sexto iuego dar la xaque con el peon blanco en la quarta casa del Rey blanco. E entrara el Rey prieto en la quarta casa del alfferza blanca.

¶ El seteno iuego dar la xaque con el Roque blanco en la tercera casa del alfferza prieta. & entrara el Rey prieto en la tercera casa del alffil blanco.

¶ Ell ochauo iuego es dar la xaque con el Roque blanco *en* la tercera casa del alfferza blanca. & entrara el Rey prieto en la segunda casa del alffil blanco.

¶ El noueno iuego dar la xaque con ell alfferza blanca en casa del cauallo blanco. & entrara el Rey *prieto* en casa del alffil blanco.

¶ El dezeno iuego dar la xac & mathe con ell alffil

[fol. 20r] ACE DREX

blanco en la tercera casa del Rey blanco.

¶ E si los blancos erraren de dar xaque cadauez al Rey prieto; es el Rey blanco mate en esta guisa.

dar la xaque *con* los dos Roques prietos *con*<sup>367</sup> qual se quiere. en la casa del *Roque* blanco; o del cauallo blanco. & sisse encubriere *con* ell alffil blanco;

tomar lo a con esse mismo Roque. & dar la xaque & encobrirsas el Rey blanco *con* so alfferza blanca.

& darla xaque & mathe *con* el Roque prieto en la segunda casa del roque blanco

<sup>366</sup> Manuscript: blanca; Steiger: prieta. Problem 22's fifth move for black is given as to "la quarta casa del alfferza *blanca*" (d4) but it should read "la quarta casa del alfferza *prieta*" (d5). Crombach leaves the text as is and notes Steiger's correction.

<sup>367</sup> Manuscript: scribal insertion of "con."

en guarda del alffil *prieto*.

& este es el departimiento deste iuego & esta es la figura del entablamiento.

**[PROBLEM 23]**

**Este es otro iuego departido en que ha ueynt & dos trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como estan en la figura del entablamiento. & an se de iogar assi.**

LOs prietos iuegan primero & dan mate al Rey blanco en cinco uezes delos sus iuegos mismos en la casa o esta entablado.

¶ El primero iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto tomando el cauallo blanco que esta en la casa dell alffil blanco. & tomar lo a el Rey blanco; con so alffil blanco.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque con ell otro Roque prieto en casa dell alfferza blanca. & to

[fol. 20v] LIBRO DEL

mar lo a el Rey blanco por fuerça.

¶ El tercero iuego dar la xaque con el peon *prieto* en la segunda casa del Rey blanco & tornarsa el Rey blanco por fuerça en su casa.

¶ El quarto iuego dar la xaque de qual quiere delos dos caualllos prietos tomando el peon blanco que esta en la tercera casa del alfferza blanca. & tomar lo a el Rey blanco con su alffil <sup>368</sup> blanco.

¶ El quinto iuego dar la xac & mathe con ell otro cauallo prieto tomando el alffil blanco que esta en la tercera casa del alfferza blanca.

¶ E si los prietos erraren de dar xaque cada uez al Rey blanco es el Rey prieto mathe al primero iuego dandol xaque e mathe<sup>369</sup> con el Roque blanco que esta *en* la segunda casa del roque prieto. poniendol en la segunda casa del alffil prieto. o con ell otro Roque blanco en la casa del Roque prieto. o xaque & mate con el peon blanco en la segunda casa del cauallo<sup>370</sup> prieto.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura dell entablamiento.

**[PROBLEM 24]**

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a ueynt & un trebeio que an a seer entablados assi como estan en la figura del entablamiento & an se de iogar desta guisa.**

LOs prietos iuegan primero & dan mate al Rey blanco en ocho uezes delos sus iuegos mismos en la casa del alfferza prieta.

¶ El primero iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto en la casa del cauallo blanco & entrara el Rey blanco; en la su segunda casa.

<sup>368</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “b.”

<sup>369</sup> Manuscript: xaque (only); I add “e mathe” for accuracy and completeness.

<sup>370</sup> Manuscript: alffil; Steiger: cauallo. Problem 23’s threat to the winner by the white pawn at g6 the checkmating move given as in “la segunda casa del alffil prieto” (f7) should read “la segunda casa del *cauallo* prieto” (g7). Crombach leaves the text as is and notes Steiger’s correction.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque con el peon *prieto*<sup>371</sup> en la tercera casa del alfferza blanca. & entrara el rey blanco en la tercera casa de so alffil.

¶ El <sup>372</sup>tercero iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo prieto que esta en la segunda casa del alffil prieto poniendol en la quarta casa del Rey prieto. & entrara el Rey blanco en la quarta casa de so alffil.

[fol. 21r] ACE DREX

¶ El quarto iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto tomando ell alfferza blanca que esta en la casa del alffil blanco. & tomara el Rey blanco por fuerça. el cauallo prieto que esta en la *quarta* casa del Rey prieto.

¶ El quinto iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto. en la quarta casa del alffil prieto. & entrara el Rey <sup>373</sup>blanco en la tercera casa del Rey prieto.

¶ El sexto iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo prieto en la *quarta* casa del cauallo prieto. & entrara el Rey blanco en la segunda casa del Rey prieto.

¶ El seteno iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto en la segunda casa del alffil prieto & entrara el Rey blanco por fuerça en la casa del alfferza prieta

¶ El ochauo iuego dar la xaque & mathe con el cauallo prieto en la tercera casa del Rey prieto.

¶ E si los prietos erraren de dar xaque cada uez al Rey blanco es el Rey prieto mathe al *primero* iuego dandol xaque con el Roque blanco que esta en la segunda casa del alffil prieto; poniendol en la segunda casa del cauallo prieto.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura dell entablamiento.

[fol. 21v] LIBRO DEL

### [PROBLEM 25]

**Este es otro iuego departido en *que* a ueynt & un trebeio & an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura del entablamiento & an se de iogar desta guisa.**

LOs blancos iuegan primero & dan mate al Rey prieto en seys uезes delos sus iuegos mismos en la segunda casa del alffil blanco que se entabla en casa prieta.

¶ El primero iuego dar la *xaque* con el Roque blanco; en la segunda casa del cauallo prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto en la tercera casa de so alfferza

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque con el peon blanco en la quarta casa del alffil prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto; en la quarta casa de su alfferza.

¶ El tercero iuego dar la xaque con el alfferza blanca en la quarta casa del alffil blanco. & entrara el Rey prieto en la quarta casa del alfferza blanca.

¶ El quarto iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco tomando el peon *prieto* que esta en la tercera casa del alffil prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto en la tercera casa del alffil blanco

<sup>371</sup> Manuscript: scribal insertion of “*prieto*.”

<sup>372</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “*t*.”

<sup>373</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “*prieto*.”

¶ El quinto iuego dar la xaque con el Roque blanco en la tercera casa del cauallo blanco. & entrara el Rey prieto por fuerça en la segunda casa<sup>374</sup> del alffil blanco.

¶ El sexto iuego dar la xaque & mathe con el cauallo blanco; en la quarta casa del cauallo blanco.

& si los blancos erraren de dar xaque cada uez al Rey prieto; es el Rey blanco mathe en dos iuegos.

¶ El primero iuego dar la xaque con el roque prieto<sup>375</sup> en la segunda casa del cauallo blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco en su casa. o en la casa de su alfferza.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque & mathe con ell otro Roque prieto tomando ell alffil blanco que esta en su casa.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura dell entablamiento. que aqui esta pintada.

[fol. 22r] ACE DREX

### [PROBLEM 26]

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a ueynt un trebeio que an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura dell entablamiento & an se de iogar desta guisa.**

LOs prietos iuegan primero. & dan mathe al Rey blanco en siete uezes delos *sus* iuegos mismos en la quarta casa del alffil prieto que es entablado en casa blanca.

¶ El primero iuego es dar la xaque con el cauallo prieto en la segunda casa del cauallo blanco & tomar lo a el Rey blanco por fuerça con su Roque blanco.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto que esta en la tercera casa del alfferza blanca poniendol en la casa del alfferza blanca. & tomar lo a el Rey prieto por fuerça.

¶ El *tercero* iuego dar la xaque con ell otro Roque prieto en la casa del alffil blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco en la segunda casa de su alfferza.

¶ El quarto iuego dar la xaque con ell alffil prieto en la quarta casa del cauallo blanco. & entrara el Rey<sup>376</sup> blanco en la tercera casa de su alfferza.

¶ El quinto iuego dar la xaque<sup>377</sup> con el Roque prieto en la casa del alfferza blanca. & entrara el Rey blanco en la quarta casa de su alffil.<sup>378</sup>

¶ El seseno iuego dar la xaque *con* el alffil prieto en la tercera casa del Roque prieto. & entrara el Rey blanco; en la quarta casa del alffil prieto.

¶ El seteno iuego dar la xaque & mathe con ell alfferza prieta en la *tercera* casa del cauallo prieto.

<sup>374</sup> Manuscript: scribal insertion of “casa.”

<sup>375</sup> Manuscript: scribal insertion of “prieto.”

<sup>376</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “b.”

<sup>377</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of the repeated words “con el Roque.”

<sup>378</sup> Scribal deletion of “ca sisse encubriessse con su Roque blanco; tomargelo ya con esse mismo Roque & darlie xaque & alongarsie un iuego del mathe.” HSMS notes this error in Problem 26’s sixth move correctly. White cannot use his rook at g2 to block check from the black rook at d1 because white’s own knight is in the way at e2.

En este iuego no ha otro departimiento si no que se da el mathe en casa *señalada*.  
& esta es la figura dell entablamiento.

[fol. 22v] LIBRO DEL

**[PROBLEM 27]**

**Este es otro iuego departido en que ha ueynt & un trebeio *que an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura del entablamiento & an se de iogar desta guisa.***

LOS blancos iuegan primero & dan mate al Rey prieto en seys uезes delos sus iuegos mismos en la segunda casa del alffil blanco o esta entablado un peon blanco

¶ El *primero* iuego es dar la xaque con el Roque blanco en la segunda casa del cauallo prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto *en la tercera* casa de so alfferza.

¶ El *segundo* iuego dar la xaque con el peon blanco en la quarta casa del alffil prieto en guarda del alffil blanco. & entrara el Rey prieto en la quarta casa de su alfferza.

¶ El *tercero* iuego dar la xaque *con ell* alfferza blanca en la quarta casa del alffil blanco. & entrara el Rey prieto en la quarta casa dell alfferza blanca.

¶ El *quarto* iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco que esta en su casa poniendol en la tercera casa del alffil blanco & entrara el Rey prieto; en la tercera casa del alffil blanco.

¶ El *quinto* iuego dar la xaque con el Roque blanco en la tercera casa del cauallo blanco. & tomara el Rey prieto el peon blanco; que esta *en* la segunda casa del alffil blanco.

¶ El *sesto* iuego dar la xaque & mathe con el cauallo blanco; en la casa del Rey blanco.

¶ En este iuego no a otro departimiento; si no que se da el mathe en casa *señalada*.

& esta es la figura dell entablamiento.

[fol. 23r<sup>379</sup>] ACE DREX

**[PROBLEM 28]**

**Este es otro iuego departido en que ha ueynt & un<sup>380</sup> trebeio *que an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura dell entablamiento; & an se de iogar desta guisa.***

LOs blancos iuegan primero & dan mate al Rey prieto en seys uезes delos *sus* iuegos mismos en la casa prieta de so Roque.

¶ El *primero* iuego dar la xaque con ell alffil blanco en la quarta casa del cauallo prieto; & entrara el Rey prieto en la quarta casa del Rey blanco

¶ El *segundo* iuego dar la xaque con el peon blanco en la tercera casa del alfferza

<sup>379</sup> At bottom center of this folio, a central thin spot in the vellum has been sewn.

<sup>380</sup> The black rook at h2 has been nearly obliterated from the diagram on fol. 23v but it is necessary to fulfill the total piece count and for the threat against the winning side.

blanca. & entrara el Rey prieto en la quarta casa de so alffil.

¶ El tercero iuego dar la xaque con ell alffil blanco en la segunda casa del alfferza prieta. & entrara el Rey prieto en la tercera casa de so cauallo.

¶ El quarto iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco en la quarta casa del Rey prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto en la segunda casa de su Roque

¶ El quinto iuego dar la xaque con el alffil blanco en la quarta casa del alffil prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto por fuerça en la casa prieta del Roque prieto.

¶ El sexto iuego dar la xaque mathe con el cauallo blanco en la segunda casa del alffil prieto o en la tercera casa del cauallo prieto.

¶ E si los blancos erraren de dar xaque cada uez al Rey prieto es el Rey blanco mate al primero iuego dandol xaque con el Roque prieto en la casa del Roque blanco.

¶ Este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura del entablamiento.

[fol. 23v] LIBRO DEL

[PROBLEM 29]

**Este es otro iuego departido en que ha<sup>381</sup> ueynte trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura del entablamiento. & an se de iogar desta guisa.**

LOs prietos iuegan primero & dan mate al Rey blanco en siete uezes delos sus iuegos mismos en la casa del Rey prieto.

¶ El primero iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo prieto en la quarta casa del Roque blanco. & que descubra xaque otrossi del Roque prieto. & entrara el Rey blanco en la su tercera casa. ca se non puede encobrir con so cauallo por ell otro xaque quel dio el cauallo prieto.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto en la tercera casa del alffil blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco en la quarta casa de so alfferza.

¶ El tercero iuego dar la xaque con el alfferza prieta en la quarta casa del alffil prieto. & entrara el Rey blanco en la quarta casa del alfferza prieta.

¶ El quarto iuego dar la xaque con el peon prieto alfferzado poniendol en la tercera casa del alffil prieto. & entrara el Rey blanco en la tercera casa del Rey prieto.

¶ El quinto iuego dar la xaque con el alffil prieto en su casa misma o en la quarta casa del alffil blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco en la segunda casa del Rey prieto.<sup>382</sup>

¶ El sexto iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo prieto en la su tercera casa. & entrara el Rey blanco por fuerça en casa del Rey prieto.

¶ El seteno iuego dar la xaque & mate con el Roque prieto en la casa del alffil prieto.

¶ E si los prietos erraren non les podran los blancos dar mate; en iuegos contados. pero seran los prietos uençudos ca son los blancos mas que ellos.

& esta es la figura dell entablamiento.

<sup>381</sup> Steiger and Crombach insert "ha."

<sup>382</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of repetition of entire fifth move: "El quinto iuego dar la xaque con el alffil prieto misma en su casa misma. o en la quarta casa del alffil blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco en la segunda casa del Rey prieto."

[fol. 24r<sup>383</sup>] ACE DREX

**[PROBLEM 30]**

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a ueynt trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura del entablamiento & an se de iogar desta guisa.**

LOs blancos iuegan *primero* & dan mate al Rey prieto en cinco uezes delos sus iuegos mismos,<sup>384</sup> si los *prietos* nolo sopieren alongar.

¶ El *primero* iuego dar la *xaque* con el Roque blanco en la segunda casa del alffil prieto. & si el rey *prieto* entrare en casa de so Roque es mate en dos iuegos. ¶ El *primero* iuego dar la *xaque* con esse mismo Roque blanco; en la casa del alffil prieto. & aura a tornar el Rey prieto en la segunda casa de so cauallo. ¶ El segundo iuego dar la *xaque* & mathe con esse mismo Roque blanco en la casa del cauallo prieto. ¶ E por ende es lo meior quando dio *xaque* con el Roque blanco al Rey prieto en el *primero* iuego que tome el Rey *prieto* esse Roque blanco con su alfferza prieta.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la *xaque* con su alfferza blanca en la *tercera* casa del alffil prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto en casa de so Roque.

¶ El *tercero* iuego dar la *xaque* con el peon blanco en la segunda casa del cauallo prieto. & tomara el Rey prieto el peon blanco *que* esta en la segunda casa de so Roque.

¶ El quarto iuego dar la *xaque* con el alffil blanco en la quarta casa del alffil prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto en casa de so cauallo.

¶ El quinto iuego dar la *xac* & mathe con el cauallo blanco en la *tercera* casa del Roque prieto.

¶ E si los blancos erraren de dar *xaque* cada uez al Rey prieto es el Rey blanco mate al *primero* iuego dandol *xaque* con el Roque prieto en la segunda casa del Roque blanco.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego; & esta es la figura dell entablamiento.

[fol. 24v<sup>385</sup>] LIBRO DEL

**[PROBLEM 31]**

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a dizenuue trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura dell entablamiento & an se a iogar assi.**

LOs prietos iuegan *primero* & dan mate al Rey blanco en seys uezes delos sus iuegos mismos o en menos si los blancos no lo sopieren alongar

¶<sup>386</sup> El *primero* iuego dar la *xaque* con el Roque *prieto* en la casa del Rey blanco.

<sup>383</sup> At top center of this folio, a tear has been sewn.

<sup>384</sup> The text is missing the customary phrase “o en menos” which is applicable here. Calvo in his discussion of this problem quotes this portion of the text as though this phrase were present.

<sup>385</sup> There is a “+” in the bottom right margin. A four at the bottom center is a binder’s cue that this is the end of the third gathering.

<sup>386</sup> HSMS inserts this calderón.

& entrara el Rey blanco en la segunda casa de so cauallo.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo prieto en la *quarta* casa del alffil blanco. & si el Rey blanco entrare en la *tercera* casa de so cauallo es mathe en dos iuegos.

¶ El *primero* es xac con el *Roque prieto* en la *tercera* casa del Rey blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco por fuerça. en la *quarta* casa de so *Roque*. ¶ E el segundo iuego es xac & mathe desse mismo *Roque prieto* en la *tercera* casa del *Roque* blanco. ¶ E por ende es lo mejor *quando* dio xac con el cauallo prieto al Rey <sup>387</sup> blanco en la *quarta* casa del alffil blanco *que* iuegue el Rey blanco en la *tercera* casa de so alffil.

¶ El *tercero* iuego xaque con el *Roque prieto* en la *tercera* casa del Rey blanco. & entrara el rey blanco en la *quarta* casa de so alfferza.

¶ El *quarto* iuego xaque del cauallo *prieto* en la segunda casa del alffil blanco & entrara el Rey blanco en la *quarta* casa del alffil *prieto*.

¶ El *.vo.* iuego xaque del alfferza *prieta*; en la *tercera* casa. del cauallo<sup>388</sup> *prieto*. & tomara el Rey blanco por fuerça al peon *prieto que* esta en la *tercera* casa del alffil<sup>389</sup> *prieto*.

¶ El *seseno* iuego dar la xac & mate con el *Roque prieto* en la segunda casa del alffil *prieto*.

¶ E si los *prietos* erraren de dar xaque cada uez al Rey blanco; es el Rey *prieto* mate al *primero* iuego con el *Roque* blanco que esta en la segunda casa del alffil blanco. poniendolo en la segunda casa del cauallo blanco.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura del entablamiento.

[fol. 25r] ACE DREX

### [PROBLEM 32]

**Este es otro iuego departido en que ha dizenueue trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como estan en la figura del entablamiento & an se de iogar desta guisa.**

LOs *prietos* iuegan *primero* & dan mate al Rey blanco en cinco uezes delos sus iuegos mismos en la *tercera* casa de so *Roque* que se entabla en casa *prieta* o esta entablado un peon *prieto*.

¶ El *primero* iuego es xac con el *Roque prieto* en la segunda casa del alffil blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco en la casa de so cauallo.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque con el peon *prieto*; en la segunda casa del *Roque* blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco en casa de so *Roque*.

¶ El *tercero* iuego dar la xaque con el *Roque prieto*; en la casa del alffil blanco. &

<sup>387</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “b.”

<sup>388</sup> Manuscript: alffil; Problem 31, fifth move, black’s check with the fers, the manuscript says “El *.vo.* iuego xaque del alfferza *prieta*; en la *tercera* casa. del alffil *prieto*” (c6) but the black fers is coming from a7 and c6 does not give check, so b6 must be meant. Therefore, the manuscript should read “El *.vo.* iuego xaque del alfferza *prieta*; en la *tercera* casa. del cauallo *prieto*.”

<sup>389</sup> Manuscript: cauallo; Steiger and Crombach: alffil. Problem 31, fifth move, in white’s capture of the pawn, the manuscript says “tomara el Rey blanco por fuerça al peon *prieto que* esta en la *tercera* casa del cauallo *prieto*” (b6) but there is no black pawn at b6. The only pawn the white king can capture from c5 is at c6. Therefore, the manuscript should read “peon *prieto que* esta en la *tercera* casa del *alffil prieto*” (c6).

entrara el Rey blanco en la segunda casa de so cauallo.

¶ El quarto iuego dar la xaque con esse mismo Roque prieto en la casa del cauallo blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco por fuerça en la tercera casa de so Roque.

¶ El quinto iuego dar la xac & mathe con el cauallo prieto en la segunda casa del alffil blanco.

¶ E si los prietos erraren de dar xaque cada uez al Rey blanco; es el Rey prieto mathe al *primero* iuego dandol xaque con el Roque blanco que esta en la segunda casa del alffil prieto. poniendol en la casa del alffil prieto.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura dell entablamiento.

[fol. 25v] LIBRO DEL

### [PROBLEM 33]

**Este es otro iuego departido en *que* a xix trebeios *que* an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura del entablamiento & an se de iogar desta *guisa***

LOs prietos iuegan primero & dan mate al Rey blanco en onze uezes delos sus iuegos mismos o en menos si los blancos no lo sopieren alongar<sup>390</sup>

¶ El primero iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto en la casa del Rey blanco; & tomar lo a el Rey blanco por fuerça.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo prieto en la *tercera* casa del alffil blanco. & si el Rey blanco *entrare* en la casa de so alffil. es mathe al *primero* iuego dandol xaque con ell otro cauallo prieto poniendol en la *tercera* casa del Rey blanco. ¶ Pues lo meior es que iuege el Rey blanco en casa de so alfferza.

¶ El *tercero* iuego dar la xaque con ell otro cauallo prieto en la *tercera* casa del Rey blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco en la casa de so alffil.

¶ El quarto <sup>391</sup> iuego es dar la xaque con el peon prieto; en la segunda casa del cauallo blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco en la casa de so cauallo.

¶ El quinto iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo prieto en la segunda casa del alfferza blanca. & entrara el Rey blanco en la segunda casa de so Roque.

¶ El sexto iuego alfferzar<sup>392</sup> el peon prieto en casa del cauallo blanco & dar xaque al Rey blanco. & si el Rey blanco tomare el alfferza prieta que esta en la casa de so Roque es mathe al primero iuego dandol xaque con el cauallo prieto poniendol en la segunda casa del alffil blanco ¶ E si tomare el peon prieto que es <sup>393</sup> alfferzado con el alffil blanco sera el seteno iuego xaque del Roque prieto *en* la segunda casa del cauallo blanco. & si el Rey blanco tomare el alfferza prieta es mathe con el cauallo prieto poniendol en la segunda casa del alffil blanco. & si tomare el peon prieto que esta en la tercera casa del Roque blanco sera

<sup>390</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “si los blancos no lo sopieren alongar”; Steiger and Crombach omit it while HSMS corrects to reinsert it.

<sup>391</sup> HSMS deletes “es.”

<sup>392</sup> Use of *alfferzar* as a verb meaning to promote to *alfferza* similar to *to king* in modern game of checkers. This usage appears in various forms Problems 33, 45, 47 and 103 but not in 79.

<sup>393</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “a.”

[fol. 26r<sup>394</sup>] ACE DREX

mathe a viij uezes & desta guisa sera el seteno iuego xaque del cauallo prieto en la segunda casa del alffil blanco & entrara el Rey blanco en la quarta casa de su Roque. ¶ El ochauo iuego dar la xac & mathe con el Roque prieto poniendol en la su segunda casa. ¶ Pues lo mejor es quandol dio xaque con el peon prieto alfferzandosse quel tome con su alffil blanco.

¶ El seteno iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto en la segunda casa del cauallo blanco. & por alongar el Rey blanco el mathe tomara el peon prieto que esta a tercera casa del Roque blanco.

¶ El ochauo iuego dar xaque con el cauallo prieto tomando ell alffil blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco en la quarta casa de su Roque.

¶ El noueno juego dar la xaque con esse mismo cauallo en la tercera casa del alffil blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco pora alongar el mathe en la quarta casa del roque prieto.

¶ El dezeno<sup>395</sup> iuego dar la xaque con ell otro cauallo prieto en la quarta casa del alffil blanco & entrara el Rey blanco en la tercera casa del Roque prieto.

¶ Ell onzeno iuego dar la xaque & mathe con el Roque prieto poniendolo en la segunda casa del Roque blanco.

¶ E si los prietos erraren de dar xaque cada uez al Rey blanco es el Rey prieto mathe al primero iuego dandol xaque con el Roque blanco en la quarta casa del Roque prieto

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura del entablamiento.

[fol. 26v] LIBRO DEL

### [PROBLEM 34]

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a xix trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura del entablamiento. & an se de iogar desta guisa**

LOs prietos iuegan primero & dan mathe al Rey blanco en seys uezes delos sus iuegos mismos o en menos si los blancos no lo sopieren alongar.

¶ El primero iuego es xaque del Roque prieto en la quarta casa del Roque blanco & tomar lo a el Rey blanco por fuerça con su alfferza blanca.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque con ell otro Roque prieto en la segunda casa del Roque blanco & tomar lo a el Rey blanco por fuerça.

¶ El tercero iuego dar la xaque con el <sup>396</sup>cauallo prieto en la quarta casa del cauallo blanco. & si tornare el Rey blanco a <sup>397</sup> casa de su Roque es mathe al primero

<sup>394</sup> The markings at the top center of the Edilán facsimile are not present in the original.

<sup>395</sup> HSMS: dozeno, perhaps this was a rapid scribal correction from an *o* to an *e*.

<sup>396</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of "c."

<sup>397</sup> Unusual preposition here, usually *en*.

iuego con el alfferza prieta poniendola en la segunda casa del cauallo blanco. ¶<sup>398</sup> E por ende es lo meior que iuege en la tercera casa de so cauallo.

¶ El quarto iuego dar la *xaque* con ell otro cauallo prieto en la segunda casa del alfferza blanca. & entrara el rey blanco en la tercera casa de so Roque.

¶ El quinto iuego dar la *xaque* con ell otro cauallo prieto en la segunda casa del alffil blanco & entrara el Rey blanco por fuerça en la segunda casa de so Roque.

¶ El sexto iuego dar la *xaque* & mate con el alffil prieto en la quarta casa del alffil blanco.

¶ E si los prietos erraren de dar *xaque* cada uez al Rey blanco; es el Rey prieto mathe al primero iuego con el Roque blanco poniendol en la *tercera* casa del roque prieto. & este es <sup>399</sup> el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura del entablamiento.

[fol. 27r] ACE DREX

### [PROBLEM 35]

**Este es otro iuego departido en *que a. xix trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura del entablamiento & an se*<sup>400</sup> a iogar desta guisa**

LOs prietos iuegan *primero* & dan mate al Rey blanco en .viij. uezes delos *sus* iuegos mismos<sup>401</sup> si los blancos no lo sopieren alongar.

¶ El *primero* iuego *xaque* con el cauallo *prieto que* esta en la casa del alffil blanco poniendol en la *tercera* casa del alfferza blanca. & si el Rey blanco *entrare* en casa de su alfferza es mate al *primero* iuego con el Roque *prieto* poniendol en la casa del alffil blanco. & por ende es lo meior *que* tome el Rey blanco el cauallo *prieto con* su alffil blanco o *con* su peon blanco.

¶ El .ijo. iuego *xaque* con el Roque *prieto* en la segunda casa del Rey blanco. & si el Rey blanco no lo quisiere tomar *con* su alfferza blanca; aura a *entrar* en la casa de su alfferza blanca & sera el *tercero* iuego *xaque* del peon *prieto* en la segunda casa del alffil<sup>402</sup> blanco & entrara el Rey blanco en la casa de so alffil. ¶ El .iiijo. iuego *xaque* & mathe *con* el Roque *prieto* en la casa del Rey blanco. & desta guisa serie mathe el Rey blanco en *quatro* uezes. & por ende es lo meior por alongar el mathe quando da *xaque* el Roque *prieto* al Rey blanco en la su segunda casa *que* lo tome *con* su alfferza blanca.

& sera el *tercero* iuego *xaque* del cauallo *prieto* en la segunda casa del cauallo blanco. & iogara el Rey blanco en casa de su alfferza.

¶ El *quarto* iuego *xaque* con el peon *prieto* en la segunda casa del alffil blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco en casa de su alffil.

¶ El *vo.* iuego *xaque* con el otro peon *prieto* en la segunda casa del cauallo blanco; & el Rey blanco aura a tomar por fuerça el peon *prieto que* esta en la segunda casa de so alffil.

<sup>398</sup> HSMS inserts this calderón.

<sup>399</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “d.”

<sup>400</sup> Manuscript: scribal insertion of “se.”

<sup>401</sup> The text is missing the customary phrase “o en menos” which is applicable here.

<sup>402</sup> Crombach omits this word.

¶ El sexto iuego *xaque* con el Roque *prieto* en la *tercera* casa del alffil *prieto*. & si *entrare* el Rey blanco en casa de su alfferza blanca es mate al *primero* iuego con el Roque *prieto* poniendol en la casa del alffil blanco. & por end es lo<sup>403</sup> *meior que* entre en la casa de su cauallo<sup>404</sup> blanco.

¶ El seteno iuego *xaque* del Roque

[fol. 27v] LIBRO DEL

*prieto*; en la casa del alffil blanco. & aura a iogar el Rey blanco por fuerça en la segunda casa de so Roque.

¶ El ochauo. iuego *xaque* & *mathe* con el Roque *prieto* en la *primera*<sup>405</sup> casa del Roque blanco. & si los *prietos* erraren de dar *xaque* cada uez al Rey blanco es el Rey *prieto* mate al *primero* iuego con *qual* quiere delos Roques blancos en casa del Roque *prieto*

& este es el departimiento deste iuego & esta la figura del entablamiento.

### [PROBLEM 36]

**Este es otro iuego departido en *que* a xix trebeios *que* an a seer entablados assi como estan en la figura del entablamiento. & an se de iogar desta guisa.**

LOs *prietos* iuegan *primero* & dan mate al Rey blanco en .vj. uezes delos *sus* iuegos mismos o en menos si los blancos nolo sopieren alongar.

¶ El *primero* iuego es *que* descubran los *prietos* *xaque* del Roque *prieto* al Rey blanco poniendo el cauallo *prieto* en la *tercera* casa del<sup>406</sup> alfferza blanca. & *entrara* el Rey blanco en la *segunda* casa desu alffil.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la *xaque* con el Roque *prieto* en la segunda casa del cauallo blanco. & si el Rey blanco *entrare* en casa de so alfferza. es *mathe* al *primero* iuego con el cauallo *prieto* que esta en la quarta casa del Rey blanco. poniendol en la segunda casa del alffil blanco. ¶ E por ende es lo *meior que* tome el Rey blanco. el cauallo *prieto* *que* esta en la *tercera* casa del alfferza blanca.

¶ El *tercero* iuego dar la *xaque* con el cauallo *prieto* en la segunda casa del alffil blanco. & *entrara* el rey blanco en la *tercera* casa de su alffil

¶ El *quarto* iuego dar la *xaque* con esse mismo cauallo en la casa del alfferza blanca. & tornara el Rey blanco en la *tercera* casa de so alfferza.

¶ El .vo. iuego *xaque* del peon *prieto*. en la *quarta* casa del Rey blanco. & tomar lo a el Rey blanco por fuerça.

¶ El .vj.o. iuego *xac* & *mathe* con el cauallo *prieto* en la segunda casa del alffil

<sup>403</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “n.”

<sup>404</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “b.”

<sup>405</sup> Manuscript: segunda; Steiger: primera. Problem 35, eighth move, in black’s checkmate, the manuscript says “*xaque* & *mathe* con el Roque *prieto* en la segunda casa del Roque blanco” (a2) but the king is in a2 and Rc1-a2 is an impossible move. Therefore, the manuscript should read “...en la (*primera*) casa del Roque blanco” (a1). Crombach leaves the text as is and notes Steiger’s correction.

<sup>406</sup> Steiger, HSMS and Crombach delete the repeated word “del.”

blanco.

& si los *prietos* erraren de dar *xaque* cada uez al Rey blanco; es el Rey *prieto* mate al *primero* iuego con qual se *quiere* delos dos Roques blancos en la casa del roque *prieto* o en la casa del cauallo *prieto*

[fol. 28r] ACE DREX

Este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura del entablamiento.

**[PROBLEM 37]**

**Este es otro iuego departido en *que* a xix trebeios & an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura del entablamiento. & an se de iogar desta guisa.**

LOs *prietos* iuegan primero & dan mate al Rey blanco en siete uezes delos *sus* iuegos mismos en la *tercera* casa de so alffil blanco que se entabla en casa blanca.

¶ El *primero* iuego es *xaque* del alfferza *prieta* en la segunda casa del cauallo blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco en la casa de so cauallo.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la *xaque* con el cauallo *prieto* en la tercera casa del alffil blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco en la segunda casa de so alffil.

¶ El *tercero* iuego dar la *xaque* con el peon *prieto* en la *tercera* casa del alfferza blanca. & entrara el Rey blanco; en la segunda casa de su alfferza.

¶ El quarto iuego dar la *xaque* con el alffil *prieto* en la quarta casa del cauallo blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco en la su *tercera* casa.

¶ El *.vo.* iuego *xaque* con el Roque *prieto* *que* esta en la segunda casa del cauallo *prieto* poniendolo en la segunda casa del Rey *prieto*. & entrara el Rey blanco en la *tercera* casa de so alffil.

¶ El *.vjo.* iuego dar la *xaque* con el otro Roque *prieto* en la casa del alffil *prieto*. & encubrirsu el Rey blanco con su cauallo.

¶ El seteno iuego tomar esse mismo cauallo con el Roque *prieto* que esta en casa del alffil *prieto* & darle mathe.

¶ E si los *prietos* erraren de dar *xaque* cada uez al Rey blanco es el Rey *prieto* mathe al *primero* iuego con el Roque blanco en la casa del Roque blanco.

& este es el departimiento deste iuego; & esta es la figura del entablamiento.

[fol. 28v] LIBRO DEL

**[PROBLEM 38]**

**Este es otro iuego departido en *que* a xix<sup>407</sup> trebeios *que* an a seer entablados assi**

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<sup>407</sup> The diagram for this problem on fol. 29v shows only eighteen pieces; Pareja Casañas, Steiger and Calvo suggest a white rook along the empty f-file to correct the shortage and various faults in the solution. This same white rook is alluded to in black's discarded conditional eighth move, as a threat of checkmate if moved to f1. Other moves preclude the white rook's being on f6, f5, f4, f2 or f1; I believe the best suggestion is a white rook at f8, given the black fers at d8 and the black rooks at g7 and g3. Showing

**como esta en la figura del entablamiento. & an se de iogar desta guisa**

LOs blancos iuegan primero & dan mate al Rey prieto en quinze uezes delos sus iuegos mismos. o en menos si los prietos nolo sopieren alongar.

¶ El primero iuego es dar la xaque con el alfferza blanca en la segunda casa del cauallo prieto. & es<sup>408</sup> otrossi xaque en descubierto del Roque blanco. & entrara el Rey prieto en la casa de su cauallo.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque con el roque blanco que esta en la quarta casa del Roque blanco. poniendol en la casa del Roque prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto en la segunda casa de su alffil.

¶ El tercero iuego es dar la xaque con esse mismo Roque blanco en la casa del alffil prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto en la tercera casa de su alfferza.

¶ El quarto iuego dar la xaque con esse mismo Roque blanco en la tercera casa del alffil prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto<sup>409</sup> en la su quarta casa.

¶ El quinto iuego dar la xaque con esse mismo Roque blanco. en la tercera casa del Rey prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto en la quarta casa del alfferza blanca.

¶ El sexto iuego dar la xaque con esse mismo Roque blanco en la quarta casa del Rey blanco & entrara el Rey prieto en la tercera casa del alffil blanco.

¶ El seteno iuego dar la xaque con esse mismo roque blanco en la quarta casa del alffil blanco. & entrara el Rey prieto en la segunda casa del alfferza blanca.

¶ El ochauo iuego dar la xaque con esse mismo Roque blanco en la segunda casa del alffil blanco. & si el Rey prieto entrare en la casa del alfferza blanca o en casa del Rey blanco es mathe al primero iuego con ell otro<sup>410</sup> Roque blanco en la casa del alffil blanco. & por ende

[fol. 29r] ACE DREX

es lo mejor que entre el Rey prieto en la tercera casa del Rey blanco.

¶ El noueno iuego dar la xaque con ell alffil blanco en su casa. & entrara el Rey prieto en la quarta casa del alfferza blanca.

¶ El dezeno iuego dar la xaque con el Roque blanco en la quarta casa del alffil blanco. & entrara el Rey prieto en la su quarta casa

¶ El onzeno iuego dar la xaque con esse mismo Roque blanco en la quarta casa del Rey blanco. & entrara el Rey prieto en la tercera casa de su alfferza.

¶ El dozeno<sup>411</sup> iuego dar la xaque con esse mismo Roque blanco en la tercera casa del Rey prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto en la segunda casa de su alffil.

¶ El trezeno iuego dar la xaque con esse mismo Roque<sup>412</sup> blanco en la tercera

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one piece less than the Problem 40, Problem 38 is the third problem to break the *LJ*'s stated order of chess problems in the "Libro del acedrex." See also Problems 9, 14, 39 and 70.

<sup>408</sup> HSMS: en

<sup>409</sup> Manuscript: scribal insertion of "prieto."

<sup>410</sup> Manuscript: scribal insertion of "otro."

<sup>411</sup> Manuscript and HSMS: onzeno; Steiger and Crombach: dozeno. In error, the scribe has named two consecutive moves as eleventh; there is no missing step in the solution between the moves described as the second eleventh and thirteenth.

<sup>412</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of "b."

casa del alffil prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto en casa de su cauallo.

¶ El catorzeno iuego dar la xaque con esse mismo Roque blanco en la casa del alffil prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto por fuerça en la segunda casa de su Roque.

¶ El quinzeno iuego dar la xaque & mathe con esse mismo Roque blanco poniendol en la casa del Roque prieto.

¶ E si los blancos erraren de dar xaque cada uez al Rey prieto es el Rey blanco mate al primero iuego con el uno delos dos Roques prietos en la segunda casa del Roque prieto o en la tercera casa del Roque blanco.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura dell entablamiento.

[fol. 29v] LIBRO DEL

### [PROBLEM 39]

**Este es otro iuego departido en que ha dizenueue<sup>413</sup> trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura del entablamiento & an de iogar desta guisa**

LOs prietos. iuegan primero & dan mate al rey blanco delos sus iuegos en dos uezes en la casa do esta entablado.

¶ El primero iuego es dar la xaque con el Roque prieto que esta en la casa del alffil prieto poniendol en la tercera casa del alffil blanco tomando el peon *que* esta en ella. & tomar lo a el Rey blanco por fuerça con su Roque.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xac & mate con el cauallo prieto en la quarta casa del cauallo blanco ¶ E en esta guisa es mathe el Rey blanco en dos uezes.

¶ E pueden los prietos dar mathe al Rey blanco en dos uezes *en otra guisa.*

¶ El primero iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto que esta en la casa del Rey prieto poniendol en la tercera casa del Rey blanco tomando el peon *que* esta en ella. & auer lo a a tomar por fuerça el Rey blanco con so Roque o *con* su alffil.

¶ El segundo iuego<sup>414</sup> dar la xaque & mathe con el cauallo prieto. en la quarta casa del alffil blanco. tomando el peon blanco.

¶ E si los prietos erraren de dar xaque cada uez al Rey blanco es el Rey prieto mathe con el Roque blanco que esta en la tercera casa del cauallo blanco. poniendol en la casa del cauallo blanco o dell otro Roque blanco.

& este es el departimiento deste iuego & esta es la figura del entablamiento.

[fol. 30r] ACE DREX

### [PROBLEM 40]

<sup>413</sup> Steiger notes only eighteen pieces are visible in the diagram for Problem 39 on fol. 30r. Grandese (1987) also notes that there is piece missing from this miniature's diagram. The problem's description on fol. 28v specifies nineteen pieces but the diagram on fol.29v shows only eighteen. Showing one piece less than the problem that follows it, Problem 39 is the fourth problem to break the *LJ*'s stated order of chess problems in the "Libro del acedrex." See also Problems 9, 14, 38 and 70.

<sup>414</sup> Manuscript: scribal insertion of "iuego."

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a dizenueue trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como estan en la figura del entablamiento & an de iogar desta guisa.**

Los blancos iuegan primero. & dan mathe al Rey prieto en cinco uezes delos sus iuegos mismos en la quarta casa de so cauallo que se entabla en casa prieta.

¶ El primero iuego es dar la xaque con el cauallo <sup>415</sup> blanco que esta en la *tercera* casa del alffil. poniendol en la casa del Rey prieto. & tomara el Rey prieto el alffil blanco que esta en la quarta casa del alffil prieto.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque con ell otro cauallo blanco en la segunda casa del alfferza prieta & entrara el Rey prieto en la quarta casa de so cauallo.

¶ El tercero iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco en la tercera casa del alfferza prieta. & entrara el Rey prieto en la quarta casa de so Roque.

¶ El quarto iuego dar la xaque con esse mismo cauallo blanco en la segunda casa del cauallo prieto. & tornara el Rey prieto por fuerça en la quarta casa de so cauallo.

¶ El quinto iuego dar la xaque & mate con el alffil blanco en la tercera casa del alfferza blanca.

¶ E si los blancos erraren de dar xaque cada uez al Rey prieto es el Rey blanco mate al primero iuego dandol xaque con el Roque prieto que esta en la segunda casa del Rey blanco; poniendol en la casa del Rey blanco.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego; & esta es la figura dell entablamiento.

[fol. 30v] LIBRO DEL

[PROBLEM 41]

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a dizeocho trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura del entablamiento & an se a iogar desta guisa**

LOs prietos <sup>416</sup> iuegan primero & dan mathe al Rey blanco en quatro uezes delos sus iuegos mismos o en menos si los blancos<sup>417</sup> nolo sopieren alongar.

¶ El primero iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto. tomando el cauallo blanco que esta en casa del alffil blanco. & tomar lo a el Rey blanco por fuerça con so alffil blanco.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque con el otro Roque prieto tomando el peon blanco que esta en la tercera casa del alfferza blanca. & si el Rey blanco <sup>418</sup> nolo quisiere tomar con so alffil blanco; aura a entrar en su casa & sera mathe al *primero* iuego dandol xaque con el cauallo prieto poniendol en la segunda casa del alffil blanco. ¶ E por ende es lo meior que tome el Rey blanco el Roque prieto con su alffil.

¶ El tercero iuego xaque con el peon prieto en la segunda casa del Rey blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco en su casa.

¶ El quarto iuego dar la xaque & mate con el cauallo prieto; tomando el alffil

<sup>415</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “b.”

<sup>416</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “i.”

<sup>417</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “prietos.” HSMS corrects what it reads as “??” to “blancos.”

Steiger and Crombach: blancos

<sup>418</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “n.”

blanco que esta en la tercera casa del alfferza blanca.

¶ E si los prietos erraren de dar xaque cada uez al Rey blanco; es el Rey prieto mate al primero iuego dandol xaque con qual quiere delos Roques blancos en la casa del Roque prieto o en la segunda casa del alffil *prieto* o con el peon blanco en la segunda casa del cauallo prieto.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura del entablamiento.

[fol. 31r] ACE DREX

**[PROBLEM 42]**

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a xviiij. trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura del entablamiento. & an se de iogar desta guisa.**

LOs blancos juegan *primero* & dan mathe al Rey *prieto* en .ix. uezes delos *sus* iuegos en la *tercera* casa del Roque blanco en que esta el cauallo blanco entablado

El *primero* iuego xaque del cauallo blanco en la *quarta* casa del cauallo blanco. & iogara el rey *prieto* en la .ija.<sup>419</sup> casa de su alferza

¶ El *segundo* iuego xaque del Roque blanco en la casa del alfferza *prieta*. & entrara el Rey *prieto* en la su segunda casa.

¶ El *tercero* iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco en la *quarta* casa del alfferza *prieta*. & entrara el Rey *prieto* en la segunda casa de so alffil.

¶ El .iiij<sup>o</sup>. iuego dar la xaque con el otro cauallo blanco en la *quarta* casa del cauallo *prieto*. & entrara el Rey *prieto* en la *tercera* casa de so cauallo.

¶ El .vo. iuego dar la xaque con el<sup>420</sup> Roque blanco en la casa del cauallo *prieto* & pora alongar el mate es lo meior quel tome con su alffil *prieto*. & si lo tomare el Rey *prieto*<sup>421</sup> con su alffil.

sera el *sexto* iuego xaque del otro Roque blanco tomando esse mismo alffil *prieto*. & entrara el Rey *prieto* como quier en la *quarta* casa de so Roque tomando el Roque blanco *primero* con su alffil o dexandol.

¶ El *seteno* iuego darla xaque con el cauallo blanco en la *tercera* casa del alffil *prieto*. & entrara el Rey *prieto* en la *quarta* casa del Roque blanco.

¶ El *ochauo* iuego dar la xaque con ell otro cauallo blanco en la *tercera* casa del alffil blanco. & entrara el Rey *prieto* en la *tercera* casa del Roque blanco.

¶ El *noueno* iuego dar la xaque & mathe con el alffil blanco en su casa o en la *quarta* casa del alffil *prieto*.

& en este iuego no a otro departimiento. si no que se da el mathe en casa sennalada.

& esta es la figura del entablamiento que aqui esta pintada.

[fol. 31v] LIBRO DEL

<sup>419</sup> Crombach and Steiger: II

<sup>420</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of "l." Steiger: ell

<sup>421</sup> Manuscript: el Rey blanco; Grandese (1987): el rey prieto; Steiger and Crombach do not note this error.

**[PROBLEM 43]**

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a dizeocho trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura dell entablamiento & an se de iogar desta guisa.**

LOs blancos iuegan primero & dan mate al Rey prieto en quatro uezes delos *sus* iuegos mismos; o en menos si los prietos nolo sopieren alongar.

¶ El primero iuego es dar la xaque con el Roque blanco que esta en la tercera casa del alffil prieto. tomando el alffil prieto que esta en su casa. & tomar lo a el Rey prieto por fuerça con su Roque prieto.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque con ell otro Roque blanco en la segunda casa del Rey prieto. & si entrare en casa de su alfferza; es mathe al primero iuego dandol xaque con el cauallo blanco en la segunda casa del alffil prieto. o en la tercera del Rey prieto. ¶ Por ende es lo mejor que lo tome con su alfferza o con so cauallo.

¶ El tercero iuego dar la xaque con el peon blanco en la segunda casa del alffil prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto en casa de su alfferza.

¶ El quarto iuego dar la xaque & mate con el cauallo blanco; en la tercera casa del Rey prieto.

¶ E si los blancos erraren de dar xaque cada uez al Rey prieto es el Rey blanco mathe al primero iuego dandol xaque con el Roque prieto en la segunda casa del Rey blanco.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura del entablamiento.

[fol. 32r] ACE DREX

**[PROBLEM 44]**

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a xviii. trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura del entablamiento & an se de iogar desta guisa**

LOs prietos iuegan primero & dan mate al Rey blanco en .vj. uezes o en menos delos *sus* iuegos<sup>422</sup> mismos si los prietos nolo sopieren alongar.

¶ El primero iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto en la tercera casa del Rey blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco en la segunda casa de su alffil.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque con esse mismo Roque prieto en la segunda casa del Rey blanco. & si el Rey blanco entrare en casa de su cauallo es mathe con esse mismo Roque prieto en la segunda casa del cauallo blanco. por ende es lo mejor que tome el cauallo prieto que esta en la tercera casa del cauallo blanco.

¶ El tercero iuego dar la xaque con esse mismo Roque prieto en la segunda casa del cauallo blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco en la quarta casa de su Roque

¶ El quarto iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto. en la quarta casa del cauallo blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco en la quarta casa del Roque prieto.

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<sup>422</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of "n."

¶ El quinto iuego dar la xaque <sup>423</sup> con el peon prieto en la tercera casa del caualllo prieto. & entrara el Rey blanco<sup>424</sup> en la tercera casa del Roque prieto tomando el <sup>425</sup> alffil prieto.

¶ El sexto iuego dar la xaque & mathe con el Roque prieto en la quarta casa del Roque blanco

& maguer auemos fecho otro iuego departido que semeia con este;<sup>426</sup> mandamos fazer este por que es mas fremoso. & si los prietos erraren non se puede uencer en iuegos contados.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura dell entablamiento.

[fol. 32v<sup>427</sup>] LIBRO DEL

### [PROBLEM 45]

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a dieziete trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura del entablamiento & an se de iogar desta guisa.**

LOs blancos iuegan primero & dan mate al prieto en seys uezes o en menos delos sus iuegos mismos si los prietos nolo sopieren alongar.

¶ El primero iuego dar la xaque con el caualllo blanco en la quarta casa del caualllo prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto en la tercera de casa de so Roque.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque con el Roque <sup>428</sup> blanco en la casa del Roque prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto en la segunda casa de so caualllo.

¶ El tercero iuego dar la xaque con el peon blanco alfferzando<sup>429</sup> en la casa del alffil prieto. & si el Rey prieto tomare el Roque blanco. xaque con el caualllo blanco en la segunda casa del alffil prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto en la segunda casa de so Roque; es xac & mathe con ell otro Roque blanco en la segunda casa del caualllo prieto. ¶ E por ende es lo mejor por alongar el mate *que* quando el peon blanco se alfferzo<sup>430</sup> & dio xaque al Rey prieto que non tome el Rey prieto el Roque blanco & que iuegue en la tercera casa de su alffil.

& sera el quarto iuego xaque con el Roque blanco en la tercera casa del Roque prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto en la quarta casa de so alffil.

¶ El quinto iuego dar la xaque con el peon blanco en la quarta casa del Rey blanco. & entrara el Rey prieto en la quarta casa del alffil blanco.

¶ El sexto iuego dar la xac & mathe con el caualllo blanco en la tercera casa del Roque blanco.

& si los blancos erraren non se pueden uencer en iuegos contados.

<sup>423</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of "con el."

<sup>424</sup> Manuscript: scribal insertion of "blanco."

<sup>425</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of "e."

<sup>426</sup> The manuscript refers to an uncertain problem.

<sup>427</sup> The binder's cue of ."iiii." at the bottom of this folio marks the end of the fourth gathering.

<sup>428</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of "b."

<sup>429</sup> Use of *alfferzar* as a verb meaning to promote to *alfferza* similar to *to king* in modern game of checkers. This usage appears in various forms Problems 33, 45, 47 and 103 but not in 79.

<sup>430</sup> See previous note.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura del entablamiento.

[fol. 33r<sup>431</sup>] ACE DREX

**[PROBLEM 46]**

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a dizeseys trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura del entablamiento & iuegan se assi.**

LOs blancos iuegan primero & dan mate al Rey prieto *en* quatro uezes o en menos delos sus iuegos mismos si los prietos nolo sopieren alongar.

¶ El primero iuego es xaque con el Roque blanco.<sup>432</sup> tomando el peon prieto *que* esta *en* la *tercera* casa del Roque prieto. & si el Rey prieto<sup>433</sup> lo tomare con so alffil prieto; sera el segundo iuego xaque del peon blanco en la segunda casa del cauallo prieto & aura a iogar por fuerça el Rey prieto en casa de so cauallo. ¶ El tercero iuego dar la xaque & mathe *con* el cauallo blanco tomando el alffil prieto que esta en la tercera casa del Roque prieto. & en esta *guisa* sera el Rey prieto mate en tres iuegos. ¶ E por end es lo mejor por alongar el mathe quando da xaque el Roque blanco en el primero iuego al Rey prieto *que* iuegue el Rey prieto en casa de so cauallo

& sera el segundo iuego xaque del peon blanco en la segunda casa del alffil prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto en la segunda casa de so cauallo.

¶ El tercero iuego dar la xaque del Roque blanco en la segunda casa del Roque prieto. & tomara el Rey prieto el peon blanco que esta *en* la *tercera* casa del cauallo prieto.

¶ El quarto iuego dar la xaque & mathe con el peon blanco; en la quarta casa del Roque prieto.

& si los blancos erraren de dar xaque cada uez al Rey prieto; es el Rey blanco mathe al primero iuego dandol xaque con el Roque prieto en la segunda casa del alffil blanco.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura del entablamiento.

[fol. 33v<sup>434</sup>] LIBRO DEL

**[PROBLEM 47]**

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a xvj. trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura del entablamiento. & an se de iogar desta guisa.**

LOs blancos iuegan primero & dan mathe al Rey prieto en quinze uezes delos sus iuegos mismos en la casa del alffil blanco que se entabla en casa blanca con esse mismo alffil.

¶ El primero iuego es xaque con el cauallo blanco que esta en la quarta casa del

<sup>431</sup> This folio has a small puncture at lower right.

<sup>432</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “b”; Steiger, HSMS and Crombach correct to reinsert.

<sup>433</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “non.”

<sup>434</sup> This folio has “muy bueno” written in the left margin, apparently by a later hand.

Rey blanco poniendol en la tercera casa del alffil prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto en casa de su alfferza.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque con el otro cauallo blanco en la tercera casa del Rey prieto & entrara el Rey prieto en casa de so alffil.

¶ El *tercero* iuego dar la xaque con el peon blanco. en la segunda casa del cauallo prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto en casa de so cauallo.

¶ El quarto iuego dar la xaque con el <sup>435</sup> cauallo blanco en la segunda casa del alfferza *prieta*. & entrara el Rey prieto en la segunda <sup>436</sup> casa de so Roque.

¶ El *.vo.* iuego *que* alferze<sup>437</sup> el peon blanco *en* casa del cauallo prieto. & *que* de xaque al Rey prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto *en* la tercera casa de so Roque.

¶ <sup>438</sup> El *.vjo.* iuego xaque del cauallo blanco *en* la segunda casa dell alfil prieto. & iogara el Rey prieto *en* la quarta casa de so Roque.

¶ <sup>439</sup> El seteno iuego xaque del alfferza *que* fue peon desponiendola *en* la tercera casa del cauallo prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto *en* la quarta casa del Roque blanco.

¶ El ochauo iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco *en* la quarta casa del alffil prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto en la tercera casa del Roque blanco.

¶ El noueno iuego dar la xaque con ell otro cauallo blanco en la quarta casa del cauallo prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto en la segunda<sup>440</sup> casa del roque blanco.<sup>441</sup>

¶ El dezeno iuego dar la xaque con el Roque blanco en la segunda casa del Rey blanco. & entrara el Rey prieto en la casa del cauallo blanco.

¶ El onzeno iuego dar la xaque con el

[fol. 34r] ACE DREX

cauallo blanco en la tercera casa del Roque blanco. & entrara el Rey prieto en <sup>442</sup> casa del alffil blanco.

¶ El dozeno iuego dar la xaque con ell otro cauallo blanco en la su tercera casa & entrara el Rey prieto en casa del alfferza blanca.

¶ El trezeno iuego dar la xaque con el Roque blanco en la segunda casa del alfferza blanca & entrara el Rey prieto en casa del Rey blanco.

¶ El catorzeno iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco en la segunda casa del alffil blanco. & entrara el Rey prieto en casa del alffil blanco por fuerça

¶ El quinzeno iuego dar la xac & mate con el alffil blanco en la tercera casa del alfferza blanca; o en la tercera del Roque blanco.

<sup>435</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “primero.” Crombach includes it. Its inclusion is neither incorrect nor necessary; it is in fact the same knight as gave the first check but only that same knight can move to the specified square.

<sup>436</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “c.”

<sup>437</sup> Use of *alfferzar* as a verb meaning to promote to *alfferza* similar to *to king* in modern game of checkers. This usage appears in various forms Problems 33, 45, 47 and 103 but not in 79.

<sup>438</sup> HSMS inserts this calderón.

<sup>439</sup> HSMS inserts this calderón.

<sup>440</sup> Manuscript: scribal insertion of “segunda”; HSMS: 2segunda

<sup>441</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of repeated word “blanco.”

<sup>442</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “c.”

¶ E si los blancos erraren de dar xaque cada uez al Rey prieto; es el Rey blanco mathe al primero iuego dandol xaque con el Roque prieto que esta en la <sup>443</sup> casa del cauallo prieto. poniendol en su casa. & sisse encubriere con el alffil blanco; tomarlo a con esse mismo Roque. & dar la mathe.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura dell entablamiento.

[fol. 34v<sup>444</sup>] LIBRO DEL

**[PROBLEM 48]**

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a quinze trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura dell entablamiento. & an se de iogar desta guisa.**

LOs blancos iuegan primero & dan mathe al Rey prieto en tres uezes o en menos delos sus iuegos mismos; si los prietos no lo sopieren alongar.

¶ El primero iuego dar la xaque con el Roque blanco en la segunda casa del Rey prieto & si no lo tomare con su alfferza prieta; aura a iogar el Rey prieto en casa de so alfferza & sera mathe al primero iuego con el cauallo blanco en la segunda casa del alffil prieto. & por end es lo meior que lo tome con su alfferza.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque con el peon blanco en la segunda casa del alffil prieto. & iogara el Rey prieto en casa de su alfferza.

¶ El tercero iuego dar la xaque & mathe con el cauallo blanco en la tercera casa del Rey prieto.

& si los blancos erraren de dar xaque cada uez al rey prieto; es el Rey blanco mathe al primero iuego con el Roque prieto poniendol en la segunda casa del Rey blanco o con el peon prieto dandol xaque; en la segunda casa del alfferza blanca.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego & esta es la figura del entablamiento.

[fol. 35r] ACE DREX

**[PROBLEM 49]**

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a quinze trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura del entablamiento. & an se de iogar desta guisa**

LOs prietos iuegan primero & dan mathe al Rey blanco en quatro uezes o en menos delos sus iuegos mismos si los prietos nolo sopieren alongar.

¶ El primero iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto en la casa del cauallo blanco. & tomara el Rey blanco el alffil prieto que esta en la quarta casa del alffil blanco ca si tomasse el cauallo prieto serie <sup>445</sup> mathe <sup>446</sup> con ell otro Roque prieto en su casa o si sse encubriesse con so Roque tomarlie con esse mismo roque & darlie mathe en guarda del

<sup>443</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “tercera.” Crombach leaves it.

<sup>444</sup> This folio has “muy bueno” written in the left margin, apparently by a later hand.

<sup>445</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “n.”

<sup>446</sup> Technically, given the covering move explicated next, this is not checkmate but rather only check.

cauallo prieto.

¶ El segundo iuego darla xaque con el cauallo prieto que esta en la tercera casa del<sup>447</sup> Alffil prieto; poniendol en la quarta del Roque prieto. & tomar lo a el Rey blanco por fuerça con su Roque.

¶<sup>448</sup> El tercero iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo prieto que esta en la quarta casa<sup>449</sup> del Roque blanco; poniendol en la tercera casa del cauallo prieto. Et entrara el Rey blanco por fuerça en la quarta casa dell alffil prieto.

¶<sup>450</sup> El quarto iuego dar la xaque & mathe con el Roque prieto; poniendol en la quarta casa dell alfferza<sup>451</sup> prieta.

E si los prietos erraren de dar xaque cada uez; non se pueden uencer nin dar mathe los vnos a los otros en iuegos contados.

¶<sup>452</sup> Et este es el departamento deste iuego; ¶<sup>453</sup> Et esta es la figura dell entablamiento. que aqui esta pintada.

[fol. 35v] LIBRO DEL

### [PROBLEM 50]

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a xv. trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura del entablamiento & an se de iogar assi.**

LOs blancos iuegan *primero* & dan mate al Rey *prieto* en .x. uezes delos *sus* iuegos mismos en la casa del rey blanco o en la casa *prieta* del alffil blanco.

¶ El primero iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco en la quarta casa del alffil prieto. & entrara el Rey *prieto* en la *tercera* casa de so cauallo o en la quarta casa.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque con el Roque blanco en la segunda casa del cauallo prieto. & entrara el Rey *prieto* en la *tercera* casa de so alffil.

¶ El *tercero* iuego xaque del peon blanco en la quarta casa del cauallo *prieto*. & iogara el Rey *prieto* en la su *tercera* o en la su *quarta* casa.

¶ El .iiij. iuego dar la xaque con ell otro Roque blanco en la segunda casa del Rey *prieto*. & entrara el Rey *prieto* en la *quarta* casa de so alfferza.

¶ El .vo. iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco en la *tercera* casa del Rey blanco do fue entablado de *primero*. & iogara el Rey *prieto* en la *quarta* casa del alfferza blanca.

¶ El .vjo. iuego dar la xaque con el Roque blanco en la quarta casa del Rey blanco. & tomara el Rey *prieto* el peon blanco que esta en la *tercera* casa del alfferza blanca.

¶ El seteno iuego xaque del alffil blanco en su casa. o en la quarta casa del alffil

<sup>447</sup> Manuscript and HSMS: de; Steiger and Crombach: del

<sup>448</sup> HSMS inserts this calderón.

<sup>449</sup> Manuscript: scribal insertion of “casa” outside of the right margin.

<sup>450</sup> HSMS inserts this calderón.

<sup>451</sup> HSMS deletes the period here.

<sup>452</sup> HSMS inserts this calderón.

<sup>453</sup> HSMS inserts this calderón.

prieto. & iogara el Rey prieto en la segunda casa del alfferza blanca.

¶<sup>454</sup> El .viiijo. iuego xaque del roque blanco. en la quarta casa del alferza blanca. & si el rey prieto se encubriere con so Roque prieto;

tomarlo a con esse Roque mismo & darla xaque. & iogara el Rey prieto por fuerça; encubriendose con so Roque o nos encubriendo; en la casa del Rey blanco o en la casa del alffil blanco.

¶ El x.<sup>455</sup> iuego dar la xac & mathe con el Roque blanco en la casa del alfferza blanca; en guarda del cauallo

& si los blancos erraren de dar xaque cada uez non se pueden uencer nin dar mate los unos a los otros a iuegos contados

& este es el departimiento deste iuego & esta es la figura dell entablamiento.

[fol. 36r] ACE DREX

### [PROBLEM 51]

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a xv. trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura del entablamiento. & an se de iogar desta guisa.**

LOs blancos iuegan primero & dan mate al Rey prieto en quatro uezes o en menos delos sus iuegos mismos si los prietos nolo sopieren alongar.

¶ El primero iuego dar la xaque con el Roque blanco que esta en la casa del alfferza prieta; tomando el alffil prieto que esta en la tercera casa dell alfferza prieta. & si el Rey prieto iogare en la segunda casa de so cauallo o en la segunda casa de su alffil es mathe en dos iuegos. ¶ El primero es xaque del Roque blanco en la segunda casa del alfferza prieta. & entrara el Rey prieto por fuerça en la casa de so cauallo o en la casa de so alffil. ¶ El segundo iuego xac & mathe del Roque blanco en la casa del cauallo prieto. pues lo mejor es por alongar el mathe que entre en la quarta casa de so cauallo.

¶ El segundo iuego xaque desse mismo Roque blanco tomando el Roque prieto que esta en la tercera casa del cauallo prieto & entrara el Rey prieto en la quarta casa de so Roque o en la quarta casa del Roque blanco.

¶ El tercero iuego xaque con esse mismo Roque blanco<sup>456</sup> tomando el peon prieto. que esta en la tercera casa del Roque prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto por fuerça en la quarta casa de so cauallo o en la quarta casa del cauallo blanco.

¶ El quarto iuego xac & mathe con ell otro Roque blanco; en la tercera casa del cauallo prieto.

& si los blancos<sup>457</sup> erraren non se pueden uencer a iuegos contados.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura del entablamiento.

[fol. 36v] LIBRO DEL

<sup>454</sup> HSMS inserts this calderón.

<sup>455</sup> Manuscript and HSMS: x.; Steiger and Crombach: X<sup>o</sup>

<sup>456</sup> Manuscript: Roque prieto; Grandese (1987): roque blanco

<sup>457</sup> Manuscript: e si los prietos erraren; Grandese (1987): e si los blancos erraren

**[PROBLEM 52]**

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a .xiiij. trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura del entablamiento. & an se de iogar desta guisa.**

LOs blancos iuegan primero & dan mathe al Rey prieto en quatro uezes o en menos delos sus iuegos mismos si los prietos nolo sopieren alongar.

¶ El primero iuego que descubra xaque del Roque <sup>458</sup> blanco con el cauallo blanco. & *que* lo ponga en la segunda casa del Rey prieto. & es otrossi xaque del cauallo blanco. & si el Rey prieto entrare en casa de so cauallo. sera el segundo. xaque del Roque blanco en casa del alffil prieto & el Rey prieto tomar lo a por fuerça con so alffil. ¶ El *tercero* iuego darla xaque & mathe con el cauallo blanco en la *tercera* casa del alffil prieto. por ende es lo mejor quando descubrio xaque con el cauallo blanco por alongar el mate que entre el Rey prieto en la casa dela su alfferza.

¶ El segundo iuego darla xaque con esse mismo Roque blanco en la casa del alffil prieto & tomarlo a el Rey prieto por fuerça con so alffil.

¶ El *tercero* iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco en la *tercera* casa del alffil prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto. por fuerça en su casa.

¶ El quarto iuego xaque & mathe con el Roque blanco en la segunda casa del Rey prieto.

& si los blancos erraren de dar xaque cada uez al Rey prieto es el Rey blanco mathe al primero iuego con el alfferza prieta poniendola en la *tercera* casa del cauallo blanco.

& este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura dell entablamiento.

[fol. 37r<sup>459</sup>] ACE DREX

**[PROBLEM 53]**

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a treze trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como estan en la figura del entablamiento. & an se de iogar desta guisa**

LOs blancos iuegan primero & dan mate al Rey prieto en cinco uezes o en menos delos *sus* iuegos mismos si los prietos nolo sopieren alongar.

¶ El primero iuego dar la xaque con el peon blanco en la segunda casa del cauallo prieto. & si el Rey prieto entrare en la segunda casa de so Roque sera el segundo iuego xaque con el alffil blanco en la quarta casa del alffil prieto.<sup>460</sup> & <sup>461</sup> entrara<sup>462</sup> el Rey prieto en la casa de so cauallo sera mathe al primero iuego con el peon blanco poniendol

<sup>458</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “b.”

<sup>459</sup> At the top right of the miniature’s frame there is an arch-shaped marking. Within the miniature, there are marked including a “+” made on the player at right who is also the winner.

<sup>460</sup> Manuscript: cauallo blanco; Steiger: alffil prieto. Problem 53, in black’s discarded alternate first move: “la quarta casa del cauallo blanco” (g4) should read “la quarta casa del *alffil prieto*” (f5). Crombach leaves the text as is and notes Steiger’s correction. The square is corrected identified in move four.

<sup>461</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “si.”

<sup>462</sup> Manuscript: scribal correction of “entrare” to “entrara.”

en la segunda casa del Roque prieto. ¶ pues lo mejor es por alongar el mate quando dio xaque con el peon blanco<sup>463</sup> en la segunda casa del caualllo prieto que entre el Rey prieto en la casa de so caualllo.

¶ El segundo iuego xaque con el peon blanco en la segunda casa del Roque prieto & tomar lo a el Rey prieto<sup>464</sup> por fuerça

¶ El tercero iuego xaque con el peon blanco en la casa del caualllo prieto & si el Rey prieto entrare en la casa de so Roque sera mathe con el caualllo blanco poniendol en la segunda casa del alffil prieto. ¶ pues lo mejor es por alongar el mathe *que* tome el peon blanco alfferzado el Rey prieto con el so Roque o con el so alffil.

¶ El quarto iuego xaque con el alffil blanco en la quarta casa del alffil prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto por fuerça en la casa de so Roque.

¶ El quinto iuego dar la xaque & mathe con el caualllo blanco poniendol en la segunda casa del alffil prieto.

¶ E si los blancos erraren de dar xaque cada uez non se pueden uencer en iuegos contados los unos a los otros.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura dell entablamiento.

[fol. 37v] LIBRO DEL

#### [PROBLEM 54]

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a treze trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura del entablamiento & an se de iogar desta manera.**

LOs blancos iuegan primero & dan mate al Rey prieto en cinco uezes delos sus iuegos mismos en la casa do esta entablado

¶ El primero iuego es dar la xaque con el Roque blanco; en la casa del Roque prieto & tomar lo a el Rey prieto por fuerça.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque en descubierto poniendo el alffil blanco en la quarta casa del alffil prieto. & tornara el Rey prieto en la casa de so caualllo.

¶ El tercero iuego dar la xaque con el Roque blanco en la casa del Roque prieto & tomar lo a el Rey prieto por fuerça

¶ El quarto iuego dar la xaque con el peon blanco en la segunda casa del caualllo prieto. & tornarsa el Rey prieto en la casa de so caualllo.

¶ El quinto iuego darla xaque & mathe con el caualllo blanco en la tercera casa del Roque prieto.

¶ E si los blancos erraren de dar xaque cada uez al Rey prieto es el Rey blanco mathe al primero iuego dandol xaque con el Roque prieto que esta en la segunda casa del caualllo blanco poniendol en la casa del caualllo blanco o en la segunda casa del Roque blanco.

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<sup>463</sup> Manuscript: *prieto*; Crombach: blanco. Problem 53, “el peon prieto” refers back to the white’s first move and should therefore read “el peon *blanco*.” Steiger transcribes the incorrect phrase as is. Crombach notes the error in her text referencing endnote 14. I believe this is meant to refer to the endnote without a number between endnotes 13 and 14.

<sup>464</sup> Manuscript: scribal insertion of “*prieto*.”

¶ Este es el departimiento deste iuego; & esta es la figura del entablamiento.

[fol. 38r] ACE DREX

**[PROBLEM 55]**

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a treze trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura del entablamiento & an se de iogar desta guisa.**

LOs prietos iuegan primero & dan mathe al Rey blanco en tres uezes o en menos delos sus iuegos mismos si los blancos no lo sopieren alongar.

¶ El primero iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto en la casa del cauallo prieto. & si el rey blanco<sup>465</sup> se encubriere con so Roque tomar lo a con so Roque prieto. & dar la mathe. ¶ E por ende es lo mejor por alongar el mathe; que non se encubra & que entre en la segunda casa de so Roque.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque con esse mismo Roque prieto en la segunda casa del cauallo blanco. & tomar lo a<sup>466</sup> el Rey blanco por fuerça con so Roque blanco.

¶ El tercero iuego dar la xaque & mathe con el cauallo prieto en la *tercera* casa del alffil blanco.

¶ E si los prietos erraren de dar xaque cada uez al Rey blanco; es el Rey prieto mathe al primero iuego dandol xaque con qual quiere delos peones blancos en la segunda casa del Roque prieto; o en la del alffil prieto.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura del entablamiento.

[fol. 38v] LIBRO DEL

**[PROBLEM 56]**

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a xij trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura del entablamiento & an se de iogar desta guisa**

LOs prietos iuegan primero & dan mate al Rey blanco en .vj. uezes delos sus iuegos mismos en la *quarta* casa del alfferza prieta

¶ El primero iuego dar la xaque en descubierto con el Roque prieto o con el alfferza prieta poniendola en la segunda casa del cauallo prieto. & *entrara* el Rey blanco en la segunda casa del Roque prieto.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque con esse mismo Roque prieto en la <sup>467</sup> casa del Roque prieto.<sup>468</sup> & iogara el Rey blanco en la *tercera* casa del cauallo prieto.

¶ El tercero iuego darla xaque con esse mismo Roque prieto en la su *tercera* casa

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<sup>465</sup> Manuscript: prieto; Crombach corrects her text following Steiger, who does not correct the text itself but shows the move as white's. Beginning with Crombach's endnote 14 whose number is offset down to the next endnote and complicated by the fact that no note 17 appears within the text, her endnote numbering is or appears to be off by one number from here (fol. 38r) through endnote 30 (fol. 61r).

<sup>466</sup> Steiger inserts "a"; Crombach inserts "ha."

<sup>467</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of "su *tercera*."

<sup>468</sup> Crombach omits the entire phrase "en la ... casa del Roque prieto."

& entrara el Rey blanco en la quarta casa del alffil prieto.

¶ El quarto iuego dar la xaque con esse mismo Roque prieto en la tercera casa del alffil prieto. & entrara el Rey blanco en la su quarta casa.

¶ El quinto iuego dar la xaque con esse mismo Roque prieto en la quarta casa del alffil blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco por fuerça en la quarta casa del alfferza prieta.

¶ El sexto iuego dar la xac & mate con esse mismo Roque prieto en la quarta casa del alfferza blanca.

¶ E si los prietos erraren de dar xaque cada uez al Rey blanco; es el Rey prieto mathe al primero iuego. con el Roque blanco que esta en casa del cauallo prieto. poniendol en casa del Roque prieto.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego & esta es la figura dell entablamiento.

[fol. 39r] ACE DREX

### [PROBLEM 57]

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a xj. trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como estan en la figura del entablamiento. & an se de iogar desta guisa**

LOs prietos iuegan primero & dan mate al Rey blanco en cinco uezes o *en* menos delos sus iuegos mismos si los blancos no lo sopieren alongar.

¶ El primero iuego que descubra xaque del Roque prieto con el alffil prieto. & que lo ponga en la quarta casa del alffil blanco. & por alongar el mate encobrirsa el Rey blanco con el so cauallo blanco.

¶ El segundo iuego tomarlo a esse mismo Roque prieto el cauallo blanco & dar la xaque. & entrara el Rey blanco como quier en la casa de so cauallo.

¶ El tercero iuego dar la xaque con esse mismo Roque prieto en casa del Roque blanco & tomar lo a el Rey blanco por fuerça.

¶ El quarto iuego dar la xaque con el peon prieto en la segunda casa del cauallo blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco por fuerça en casa de so cauallo.

¶ El quinto iuego dar la xaque & mathe con el cauallo prieto en la tercera casa del Roque blanco.

¶ E si los prietos erraren de dar xaque cada uez al Rey blanco; es el Rey prieto mathe al primero iuego con el Roque blanco que esta en la tercera casa del Roque prieto. poniendol en la casa del Roque prieto.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego & esta es la figura del entablamiento.

[fol. 39v<sup>469</sup>] LIBRO DEL

### [PROBLEM 58]

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a diez trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura del entablamiento & an se de iogar assi.**

<sup>469</sup> This folio has both and “F” and a “+” written in the left margin.

LOs prietos iuegan primero & dan mathe al Rey blanco en tres uezes delos sus iuegos mismos en la *tercera* casa de so cauallo do esta entablado el cauallo blanco.

¶ El primero iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo prieto en la quarta casa del Roque blanco. & el Rey blanco tomar lo a por fuerça con su Roque blanco.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto tomando el cauallo blanco *que* esta en la *tercera* casa del cauallo blanco. & el Rey blanco tomar lo a por fuerça.

¶ El *tercero* iuego dar la xaque & mathe con el Roque prieto en la *tercera* casa del alfferza blanca.

¶ E si los prietos erraren de dar xaque cada uez al Rey blanco ante que el Rey<sup>470</sup> prieto tome el cauallo blanco que esta en la *tercera* casa del cauallo blanco; es el Rey prieto mate con ell uno delos Roques blancos. poniendol en su casa o en la segunda casa del cauallo blanco.

¶ E si depues erraren sera el Rey prieto mate con el un Roque blanco poniendol en la su<sup>471</sup> primera<sup>472</sup> casa. ¶ E si se encubriere el Rey prieto con so Roque; tomelo el Roque blanco & del mathe.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura del entablamiento.

[fol. 40r<sup>473</sup>] ACE DREX

### [PROBLEM 59]

**Este es otro iuego departido en *que* a x. trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura del entablamiento. & an se de iogar desta guisa**

LOs prietos iuegan primero & dan mathe al Rey blanco en *quatro* uezes o en menos delos sus iuegos mismos si los blancos no lo sopieren alongar.

¶ El primero iuego dar la xaque con el peon prieto en la *tercera* casa del cauallo blanco. & iogara el Rey blanco en la casa de so cauallo. ca si entrasse en casa de so Roque; serie mathe a la primera uez con el Roque prieto en la casa del cauallo blanco.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto en la casa del cauallo blanco. & encobrirsa el Rey blanco con so alffil.

¶ El *tercero* iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto que esta en su casa poniendol en la casa del Roque blanco. & el Rey blanco tomar lo a por fuerça.

¶ El quarto iuego dar la xaque & mathe con el Roque prieto tomando el alffil blanco que esta en su casa.

¶ E si los prietos erraren de dar xaque cada uez al Rey blanco; es el Rey prieto

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<sup>470</sup> Steiger and Crombach replace the personified *rey* here with the *Roque* which actually made this capture. However her text indicates endnote 15 instead of, as it should be, endnote 14. Following the style of the problem I do not see this as an error and therefore prefer to leave the text as is.

<sup>471</sup> Manuscript: scribal insertion of “su.”

<sup>472</sup> Manuscript: primera; Steiger: en su casa. Problem 58, threat to winner black his second move: “el la su segunda casa” (h2) should read “en la su (*primera*) casa” (h1). Crombach leaves the text as is but notes Steiger’s correction.

<sup>473</sup> This folio has a small hole at lower right, an “F” written in the left margin, a “+” in the right margin and something ending in “-çio” in the upper margin. This final marking may be related to the fifth gathering which ends with this folio. See also next note.

mathe al primero iuego con el Roque blanco poniendol en la segunda casa del alffil prieto.

¶ Este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura dell entablamiento.

[fol. 40v<sup>474</sup>] LIBRO DEL

### [PROBLEM 60]

**Este es otro iuego departido en que ha diez trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura dell entablamiento & han de iogar desta guisa.**

LOs blancos iuegan primero & dan mathe al Rey prieto en su casa en dos uezes delos sus iuegos mismos

¶ El primer iuego es dar la xaque con el Roque blanco en la segunda casa del Rey prieto. El Rey prieto tomar lo a por fuerça con su alfferza.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque & mathe con el peon blanco en la segunda casa del alfferza prieta

¶ E si los blancos erraren de dar xaque cada uez al Rey prieto; es el Rey blanco mathe al primero iuego dandol xaque con ell uno delos Roques prietos poniendol en la casa del cauallo blanco.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego.

¶ E maguer<sup>475</sup> que auemos fecho otro iuego departido que se semeia con este; mandamos fazer este por que es mas fremoso<sup>476</sup> & mas sotil.

¶ E esta es la figura del su entablamiento.

[fol. 41r<sup>477</sup>] ACE DREX

### [PROBLEM 61]

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a diez trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura del entablamiento. & an se de iogar desta guisa**

LOs prietos iuegan primero & dan mathe al Rey blanco en cinco uezes o en menos delos *sus* iuegos mismos si los blancos no lo sopieren alongar.

¶ El primero iuego dar la xaque con el peon prieto en la *tercera* casa del Roque blanco. & si el Rey blanco *entrare* en la casa de so Roque es mathe al *primero* iuego con el Roc<sup>478</sup> prieto en casa del alffil blanco. & por ende es lo meior *que* entre en la casa de so cauallo.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque *con* esse mismo peon prieto en la *segunda* casa

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<sup>474</sup> This folio has an “F” written in the left margin and “v<sup>o</sup>” in the bottom center denoting the end of the fifth gathering.

<sup>475</sup> Calvo: magüer

<sup>476</sup> famoso

<sup>477</sup> This folio has an “F” written in the left margin and a “+” in the right. It is also has a small puncture at lower right.

<sup>478</sup> This is the sole instance of the use of this form of the word in the *LJ*.

del Roque blanco. & si el rey blanco *entrare* en la casa de so Roque; xaque del Roque prieto en la casa del alffil blanco & aura a entrar el Rey blanco en la segunda casa de so cauallo. & desent xac & mathe con esse mismo Roque prieto en la casa del cauallo blanco. por end es lo mejor por alongar el mate *quandol* dio xaque el peon prieto al Rey blanco en la segunda casa del Roque blanco; *que* iuegue el Rey blanco en la segunda casa de so cauallo

¶ El *tercero* iuego xaque del Roque <sup>479</sup> prieto en la segunda casa del alffil blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco en la casa de so Roque.

¶ El *.iiijo.* iuego xaque con esse mismo Roque prieto en la casa del alffil blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco por fuerça en la segunda casa de so cauallo

¶ El *.vo.* iuego xac & mathe desse mismo Roque prieto en la casa del cauallo blanco

¶ E si los prietos erraren de dar xaque cada uez al Rey blanco; es el Rey prieto mathe al primero iuego con el Roque blanco que esta en la tercera <sup>480</sup> casa del Roque prieto. poniendol en la casa del Roque prieto.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura dell entablamiento.

[fol. 41v<sup>481</sup>] LIBRO DEL

### [PROBLEM 62]

**Este es otro iuego departido en *que* a diez trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como estan en la figura del entablamiento & iuegan assi.**

LOs prietos iuegan primero & dan mathe al Rey blanco en tres uezes delos sus iuegos mismos en la tercera casa del Roque prieto que se entabla en casa blanca

¶ El primero iuego que descubra xaque del Roque prieto con el alffil prieto. poniendol en la tercera casa del Rey prieto. & entrara el Rey blanco en la segunda casa del Roque prieto.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque con ell otro Roque prieto en la segunda casa del cauallo prieto. & entrara el Rey blanco en la tercera casa del Roque prieto.

¶ El tercero iuego dar la xaque & mathe con ell otro Roque prieto en la casa del Roque prieto;

¶ E si los prietos erraren de dar xaque cada uez al Rey blanco; es el Rey prieto mathe al primero iuego dandol xaque con qual quiere delos dos Roques blancos en la casa del Roque blanco o del cauallo blanco.

¶ Este es el departimiento deste iuego & esta es la figura del entablamiento.

[fol. 42r<sup>482</sup>] ACE DREX

### [PROBLEM 63]

<sup>479</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of the repeated words “del Roque.”

<sup>480</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “c.”

<sup>481</sup> This folio has a “+” written in the left margin.

<sup>482</sup> This tear at upper right in this folio has been sewn and there is a hole lower left.

**Este es otro iuego departido en que ha diez trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura del entablamiento & an se de iogar desta guisa**

LOs prietos iuegan primero & dan mate al Rey blanco en tres uezes delos sus iuegos mismos *en la terçera casa dell alffil blanco.*<sup>483</sup>

¶ El primero iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo prieto en la quarta casa del cauallo blanco & tomar lo a el Rey blanco por fuerça con so Roque blanco.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto que esta en la casa del alffil prieto poniendo lo en la tercera casa del alffil blanco & tomar lo a el Rey blanco por fuerça

¶ El tercero iuego dar la xaque & mate con el Roque prieto en la tercera casa del Rey blanco.<sup>484</sup>

¶ E si los prietos erraren de dar xaque cada uez al Rey blanco es el Rey prieto mate al primero iuego dandol *xaque* con el Roque blanco que esta en la segunda casa del Roque blanco<sup>485</sup> poniendol en la casa del Roque blanco,<sup>486</sup> o con ell otro Roque blanco poniendol en la casa del cauallo blanco.<sup>487</sup>

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura del entablamiento.

[fol. 42v<sup>488</sup>] LIBRO DEL

**[PROBLEM 64]**

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a x. trebeios & an a ser entablados assi como esta en la figura del entablamiento & an se de iogar desta guisa.**

LOs prietos iuegan primero & dan mate al Rey blanco en tres uezes de los sus iuegos mismos en la casa o esta entablado un peon blanco que es tercero del alffil blanco que se entabla en casa prieta.

¶ El primero iuego xaque del cauallo prieto en la *quarta* casa del cauallo blanco & tomar lo ha el Rey blanco por fuerça con su peon blanco.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto que esta *en* la casa del alffil prieto poniendol en la tercera casa del alffil blanco & *tomar* lo a el Rey blanco por fuerça.

¶ El tercero iuego dar la xac & mathe con el Roque prieto poniendol en la tercera casa del Rey blanco.

¶ E si los prietos erraren de dar xaque cada uez al Rey blanco; es el Rey prieto mathe al primero iuego dandol xaque con el un Roque blanco; en casa del otro Roque

<sup>483</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “m.”

<sup>484</sup> Manuscript: alfferza prieta. From this point on in Problem 63, the text refers to the squares as though the board has been inverted, affecting this phrase and all the squares named in the threat to black. Third move, black’s checkmate: “la tercera casa del Alfferza prieta” (d6) should read “la tercera casa del *Rey blanco*” (e3). Steiger gives the correct square in his solution but transcribes the incorrect phrase as is. Crombach does not note this error.

<sup>485</sup> Manuscript: prieto.

<sup>486</sup> Manuscript: prieto.

<sup>487</sup> Manuscript: prieto.

<sup>488</sup> This folio has a “+” written in the left margin.

blanco. o con ell otro Roque blanco en casa del cauallo blanco.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura del entablamiento.

[fol. 43r<sup>489</sup>] ACE DREX

**[PROBLEM 65<sup>490</sup>]**

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a ix trebeios *que an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura del entablamiento & an se de iogar desta guisa.***

LOs prietos iuegan primero & dan mate al rey blanco en dos uezes de los *sus* iuegos mismos en la casa do esta entablado.

¶ El primero iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto en la segunda casa del alfferza<sup>491</sup> blanca & tomar lo a el Rey blanco por fuerça con so cauallo blanco.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xac & mathe con el cauallo prieto en la tercera casa del Rey blanco.

¶ E si los prietos erraren de dar xaque cada uez al Rey blanco; es el Rey prieto mathe dandol xaque con el Roque blanco que esta en la tercera casa del cauallo prieto. ¶ E si el Rey prieto se encubriere con so cauallo tomar lo a con esse mismo Roque & dar la mate.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura del entablamiento.

[fol. 43v<sup>492</sup>] LIBRO DEL

**[PROBLEM 66]**

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a nueue trebeios *que an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura del entablamiento. & an se de iogar desta guisa***

LOs prietos iuegan primero & dan mathe al rey blanco en cinco uezes delos sus iuegos mismos o en menos si los blancos nolo sopieren alongar

¶ El primer iuego dar la xaque con el peon prieto en la tercera casa del Roque blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco en casa de so cauallo. ca si entrare en la casa de so Roque. serie mathe al primero iuego con el Roque prieto en la casa del alffil blanco.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque con esse mismo peon prieto en la segunda del Roque blanco. & si el Rey blanco entrare en la casa de so Roque sera el tercero iuego xaque del Roque prieto en la casa del alffil blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco en la segunda casa de so cauallo. ¶ El quarto iuego; dar la xaque & mathe con esse mismo Roque prieto en la casa del cauallo blanco.<sup>493</sup> ¶ E por ende es lo meior quandol dio xaque con el peon

<sup>489</sup> This folio has an “F” written in the left margin and an “\*” in the right margin.

<sup>490</sup> The piece orientations from this problem are reversed in the diagram on fol. 43v; the winning player of black sits at left.

<sup>491</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “b.”

<sup>492</sup> This folio has both an “F” and a “+” written in the left margin.

<sup>493</sup> Crombach omits this entire alternate checkmate description, “El quarto iuego; dar la xaque & mathe con esse mismo Roque prieto en la casa del cauallo blanco.”

prieto en la segunda casa del Roque blanco; que entre el Rey blanco en la segunda casa de so cauallo

& sera el tercero iuego xaque del Roque prieto en la segunda casa del alffil blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco en la casa de so Roque.

¶ El quarto iuego dar la xaque con esse mismo Roque prieto *en* la casa del alffil blanco. & entrara el rey en la segunda casa de so cauallo.

¶ El quinto iuego dar la xaque & mathe con esse mismo Roque prieto en la casa del cauallo blanco.

& si los prietos erraren uencer los an los blancos ca *son* mas & meiores.

& maguer que auemos fecho otro iuego departido<sup>494</sup> que se semeia con este; mandamos fazer este otro por que es mas fremoso.

¶ E esta es la figura del entablamiento.

[fol. 44r<sup>495</sup>] ACE DREX

### [PROBLEM 67]

**Este es otro iuego departido en que ha viij. trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura dell entablamiento & an se de iogar assi.**

LOs blancos iuegan primero & dan mate al Rey prieto en tres uegadas delos sus iuegos mismos o en menos si los prietos nolo sopieren alongar.

¶ El primero iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco que esta en la quarta casa del alffil blanco poniendol en la tercera casa del alfferza prieta & si el Rey prieto entrare en la casa de so alfferza es mathe al primero iuego con el Roque blanco en la segunda casa del alfferza prieta o con el peon blanco en la segunda casa del alffil blanco. por ende es lo mejor que *entre* en la casa de so cauallo.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque<sup>496</sup> con el Roque blanco en la segunda casa del cauallo prieto.<sup>497</sup> & entrara el Rey prieto en la casa de so Roque por fuerça.

¶ El tercero iuego dar la xac &<sup>498</sup> mathe con ell otro cauallo blanco en la tercera casa del cauallo prieto.

¶ E si los blancos erraren de dar xaque cada uez al Rey prieto; es el Rey blanco mathe al primero iuego dandol xaque con el Roque prieto que esta en la casa del alffil<sup>499</sup> blanco; poniendol en la casa del Roque blanco.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura del entablamiento.

[fol. 44v<sup>500</sup>] LIBRO DEL

<sup>494</sup> Calvo suggests that this problem is comparable to Problem 61.

<sup>495</sup> This folio has a “+” written in the left margin.

<sup>496</sup> Manuscript: xaque; Crombach departs from her modernization here and offers “xac e.”

<sup>497</sup> Manuscript and HSMS: blanco; Steiger: prieto: “. . .segunda casa del cauallo blanco” (b2) should read “segunda casa del cauallo *prieto*” (b7). Crombach leaves the text as is but notes Steiger’s correction.

<sup>498</sup> Manuscript: xac &; Crombach departs from her modernization here and offers “xace e.”

<sup>499</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “b.”

<sup>500</sup> This folio has a “+” written in the left margin.

[PROBLEM 68<sup>501</sup>]

**Este es otro iuego departido en que ha siete trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura dell entablamiento. & han se de iogar desta guisa.**

LOs blancos iuegan primero & dan mate al Rey prieto en tres uezes delos sus iuegos mismos.

¶ El primer iuego es que descubran xaque del Roque <sup>502</sup> blanco poniendo el cauallo blanco do quisiere saluo ende en la tercera casa del Roque prieto o en la quarta casa del Roque blanco o en la segunda casa del cauallo prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto en la tercera o en la quarta casa del cauallo blanco.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque con ell otro Roque blanco en la segunda casa del cauallo prieto & entrara el Rey prieto por fuerça en la tercera casa o en la quarta casa del Roque blanco.

¶ El tercero iuego dar la xaque & mathe con el Roque blanco en la casa del Roque prieto.

¶ E si los blancos erraren de dar xaque cada uez al<sup>503</sup> Rey prieto; es el Rey blanco mathe al primero iuego dandol xaque con el Roque prieto en casa del Roque blanco.

¶ Este es el departimiento deste iuego & esta es la figura del entablamiento.

[fol. 45r] ACE DREX

[PROBLEM 69<sup>504</sup>]

**Este es otro iuego en que a seys trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura del entablamiento. & han se de iogar desta guisa.**

LOs prietos iuegan primero & dan mate al Rey blanco en .ix. uezes de los sus iuegos<sup>505</sup> o los uençen mas no a iuegos contados si los blancos quisieren iogar lo mejor.

¶ el primer iuego xaque del Roque prieto en la segunda casa del alffil blanco. & si el rey blanco iogare en casa de so cauallo sera mate en dos iuegos el primero xaque<sup>506</sup> del cauallo prieto. en la tercera casa del alffil blanco. & iogara el Rey blanco en casa de so roque ¶ El .ij.<sup>507</sup> iuego xac & mathe del roque prieto en la segunda casa del Roque blanco. por end es lo mejor por alongar el mate que entre el Rey blanco en su casa.

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<sup>501</sup> Grandese (1986-1987: 80) notes that Steiger notes that there is piece missing from this miniature's diagram on fol 45r. The problem's description on fol. 44v specifies seven pieces but the diagram on this next folio shows only six with a seventh piece obliterated from h2. It seems to me that it may originally have been another black rook. Also, the piece orientations from this problem are reversed in the diagram on fol. 45r; the winning player of white sits at left.

<sup>502</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of the repeated words "del Roque."

<sup>503</sup> Manuscript, Steiger and HSMS: a; Crombach: al

<sup>504</sup> The piece orientations from this problem are reversed in the diagram on fol. 45v; the winning player of black sits at right.

<sup>505</sup> The text is missing the customary phrase "o en menos" which is applicable here.

<sup>506</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of the repeated words "del cauallo."

<sup>507</sup> Manuscript: scribal insertion of "o"; HSMS: .ij.

¶ El segundo iuego xaque del cauallo prieto en la tercera casa del alffil blanco. & iogara el rey blanco en casa de su alfferza.<sup>508</sup>

¶ El tercero iuego xaque del roque prieto en la casa del alffil blanco & iogara el Rey blanco en la segunda casa de so alffil.

¶ El .iiij.<sup>o</sup>.<sup>509</sup> iuego xaque del cauallo prieto en la quarta casa del alfferza blanca & si el rey blanco iogare en la tercera casa de so alffil dar la xaque por el Roque<sup>510</sup> con el cauallo prieto en la quarta casa del cauallo prieto & seran los blancos uençudos. ¶ Por ende es lo meior por alongar el iuego que entre el Rey blanco en la segunda casa de so cauallo.

¶ El .vo. iuego xaque del Roque prieto en la segunda casa del alffil blanco. & si el Rey blanco iogare en casa de so Roque es mate al primero iuego con el cauallo prieto en la tercera casa del cauallo blanco. & si entrare en la tercera casa de so roque o en la tercera casa de so alffil; dar la xaque por el roque con el cauallo prieto en la quarta casa del cauallo prieto & sera uençudo. & por ende es lo meior por alongamiento que entre en la casa de so alffil.

¶ El .vjo.<sup>511</sup> iuego xaque del Roque prieto en la segunda casa del alffil blanco. & iogara el Rey blanco<sup>512</sup> en casa de su alfferza.

¶ El seteno iuego xaque desse mismo roque prieto en la segunda casa del alfferza<sup>513</sup> <sup>514</sup> blanca. & si el rey blanco entrare en casa de so alffil. es mate con el cauallo prieto en la segunda casa del Rey blanco o en la tercera casa del cauallo blanco. & por ende es lo meior que entre en su casa.

¶ El ochauo iuego xaque del ca

[fol. 45v<sup>515</sup>] LIBRO DEL

uallo prieto en la tercera casa del alffil blanco & entrara el Rey blanco por fuerça en casa de so alffil.

¶ El noueno iuego xaque & mathe con el Roque prieto en la segunda casa del alffil blanco.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego. ¶<sup>516</sup> E esta es la figura dell entablamiento.

<sup>508</sup> Manuscript: alfferza; Crombach: roque. El II. juego, xac (apparently copied in error from several lines above)

<sup>509</sup> Manuscript: scribal insertion of “o”; HSMS: .iiij.

<sup>510</sup> Grandese (1987): roque

<sup>511</sup> Crombach: VI

<sup>512</sup> Manuscript: scribal correction from “blanca” to “blanco.”

<sup>513</sup> Manuscript: afferza like the Portuguese spelling of the name Affonso, HSMS: alfferza. This spelling also occurs in Problem 72, afil in Problem 91.

<sup>514</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “prieta.”

<sup>515</sup> This folio has a “+” written in the left margin.

<sup>516</sup> HSMS inserts this calderón.

[PROBLEM 70<sup>517</sup>]

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a xviiij. trebeios que an aseer entablados assi como esta en la figura del entablamiento & an se de iogar desta guisa.**

LOs blancos iuegan *primero* & dan mate al Rey prieto en .vj. uezes o en menos delos *sus* iuegos mismos si los prietos nolo sopieren alongar.

¶<sup>518</sup> El *primero* iuego xaque del cauallo blanco tomando el alffil prieto que esta en la *tercera* casa del alfferza prieta. & tomar lo a el Rey prieto con su alfferza prieta.

¶ El .ij. iuego xaque del Roque blanco en la casa del cauallo prieto. & iogara el Rey prieto en la *segunda* casa de so alffil.

¶ El *tercero* iuego xaque dell otro Roque blanco en la *segunda* casa del cauallo prieto. & tomar lo a el Rey prieto con su cauallo prieto.

¶ El .iiij.<sup>o</sup><sup>519</sup> iuego xaque del otro roque blanco. tomando esse mismo cauallo prieto que esta en la *segunda* casa del cauallo prieto.

& si el Rey prieto iogare en casa de so alffil; sera el .vo. iuego xaque del alfferza blanca en la *segunda* casa del alfferza prieta. & aura el Rey prieto a iogar en casa de su alfferza. ¶ El .vjo. iuego xac & mathe del cauallo blanco en la *tercera* casa del alffil prieto.

& si *quandol* da xaque el Roque blanco al Rey prieto tomando el cauallo prieto *entrare* el Rey prieto en casa de so alfferza; serie el .vo. iuego xaque del cauallo blanco en la *tercera* casa de so alffil prieto. & si iogare el Rey prieto en su casa; es mate con el Roque blanco en la casa del cauallo prieto. & si iogare en la casa de so alffil es mathe otrosi con el alfferza blanca en la *segunda* casa del alfferza prieta.

& si los blancos erraren de dar xaque al rey prieto es el rey blanco mathe al *primero* iuego con el roque prieto que esta en la *segunda* casa del cauallo blanco. poniendol en la *segunda* casa del Roque blanco. o con el otro Roque prieto; poniendol en su casa.

[fol. 46r]<sup>520</sup> ACE DREX

¶<sup>521</sup> E este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura del entablamiento.

## [PROBLEM 71]

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a dizeocho trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura del entablamiento & an se de iogar assi**

LOs prietos iuegan *primero* & dan mate al Rey blanco en .x. uezes delos *sus*

<sup>517</sup> Beginning with Problem 70, the order of chess problems for the “Libro del acedrex” as described on fol. 5v breaks down totally and the remaining thirty-three problems are given without consideration to the number of pieces used. See also Problems 9, 14, 38 and 39.

<sup>518</sup> HSMS inserts this calderón logically even though the scribe left no space for it.

<sup>519</sup> Manuscript: scribal insertion of “o”; HSMS: .iiij.

<sup>520</sup> This folio has a “+” written in the right margin.

<sup>521</sup> HSMS inserts this calderón.

iuegos mismos en la *quarta* casa del Roque prieto *que* se entabla en casa *prieta*.

¶ El primero iuego *xaque* del Roque prieto *en* la segunda casa del alfferza blanca & entrara el Rey blanco en su casa.

¶ El segundo iuego *xaque* del cauallo prieto en la *tercera* casa del alfferza blanca. & entrara el rey blanco en casa de so alffil.

¶ El *tercero*<sup>522</sup> iuego *xaque* del Roque prieto en la segunda casa del alffil blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco en casa de so cauallo.

¶ El *quarto* iuego *xaque* del peon prieto en la segunda casa del Roque blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco en casa de so Roque.

¶ El *.vo.*<sup>523</sup> iuego *xaque* del Roque prieto en la casa del alffil blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco en la segunda casa de so cauallo.

¶ El *.vjo.* iuego *xaque* del Roque prieto en casa del cauallo blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco en la *tercera* casa de so Roque.

¶ El seteno iuego *xaque* del cauallo prieto en la segunda casa del alffil blanco. & iogara el rey blanco en la *quarta* casa de so Roque.

¶ El *.viijo.*<sup>524</sup> iuego *xaque* del roque prieto en la *quarta* casa del cauallo blanco. & entrara el rey blanco por fuerça en la *quarta* casa del Roque prieto.

¶ El noueno iuego *xaque* del peon prieto en la *tercera* casa del cauallo prieto. & tomar lo a el rey blanco *con* su peon blanco. & dara *xaque* al Rey prieto.

¶ El dezeno iuego *xaque* & mathe al Rey blanco con el otro peon prieto. tomando el peon blanco que dio *xaque* al Rey prieto

¶ E si los prietos erraren de dar *xaque* cada uez al Rey blanco es el Rey prieto mate al *primero* iuego con el Roque blanco poniendolo en la casa del alffil prieto.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura del entablamiento.

[fol. 46v<sup>525</sup>] LIBRO DEL

### [PROBLEM 72]

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a dizeocho trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura del entablamiento & an se de iogar desta guisa**

LOs blancos iuegan primero & dan mate al Rey prieto en *.v.* uezes delos *sus* iuegos mismos en la quarta casa de so cauallo *que* se entabla en casa *prieta*.

¶ El primero iuego *xaque* del cauallo blanco en casa del Rey prieto. & tomara el Rey prieto el alffil blanco *que* esta en la *quarta* casa del alffil prieto.

¶ El segundo iuego *xaque* del otro cauallo blanco en la segunda casa del alfferza prieta & entrara el Rey prieto en la quarta casa de so cauallo.

¶ El *tercero* iuego *xaque* del cauallo blanco en la *tercera* casa del alfferza<sup>526</sup>

<sup>522</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “i.”

<sup>523</sup> Manuscript: scribal insertion of “o.”

<sup>524</sup> Manuscript: scribal insertion of “o.”

<sup>525</sup> This folio has a “+” written in the left margin.

<sup>526</sup> Manuscript and Steiger: afferza; HSMS alfferza; Crombach: alferza. This spelling also occurs in Problem 69, afil in Problem 91.

prieta. & entrara el Rey prieto en la quarta casa de so Roque.

¶ El *quarto* iuego *xaque* dell <sup>527</sup> cauallo blanco; en la segunda casa del cauallo prieto. & entrara el rey prieto en la quarta casa de so cauallo.

¶ <sup>528</sup> El quinto iuego dar la *xaque* & *mathe* con ell alffil blanco en la *tercera* casa del alfferza blanca.

¶ E si los blancos erraren de dar *xaque* cada uez al Rey prieto; es el Rey blanco *mathe* en dos iuegos. el *primero* es *xaque* del Roque prieto que esta en la segunda casa del Roque blanco; tomando el peon blanco *que* esta en la segunda casa del Rey blanco. & entrara <sup>529</sup> el Rey blanco en la *tercera* casa de so alfferza. ¶ El segundo iuego dar la *xaque* & *mate* con ell otro Roque prieto en la segunda casa del alfferza blanca.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura dell entablamiento.

[fol. 47r<sup>530</sup>] ACE DREX

### [PROBLEM 73]

**Este es otro iuego departido en *que* a nueue trebeios que han a seer entablados assi como estan en la figura del entablamiento. & an se de iogar desta guisa**

LOs prietos iuegan primero & dan *mathe* al Rey blanco en tres uezes delos *sus* iuegos mismos con el peon prieto *que* esta en la quarta casa del alfferza blanca. & an se de iogar desta guisa.

¶ El primer iuego es este que iogara el Rey prieto en la tercera casa del alffil blanco. & los blancos non pueden por ninguna manera por que fagan *danno* a los prietos iogar a ningun logar

¶ El segundo <sup>531</sup> iuego iogara el Rey prieto con su cauallo prieto en la segunda casa del cauallo blanco. & darla *xaque* al Rey blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco por fuerça; en la su Segunda casa <sup>532</sup>

¶ El tercero iuego dar la *xaque* & *mathe* al Rey <sup>533</sup> blanco con el peon prieto en la tercera casa del alfferza blanca.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figvra dell entablamiento que aqui esta pintada.

[fol. 47v] LIBRO DEL

### [PROBLEM 74]

<sup>527</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “otro.”

<sup>528</sup> HSMS inserts this calderón.

<sup>529</sup> Manuscript: scribal correction from “entrare” to “entrara.”

<sup>530</sup> This folio has a red “+” written in the left margin.

<sup>531</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “iugara.”

<sup>532</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “m.”

<sup>533</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “prieto.”

**Este es otro iuego departido en *que* a xij<sup>534</sup> trebeios & an a seer entablados assi como estan en la figura del entablamiento. & an se de iogar<sup>535</sup> desta guisa.**

L<sup>536</sup> Os blancos iuegan primero. & dan mathe al Rey prieto en quatro uezes delos sus iuegos mismos con el peon blanco que esta en la<sup>537</sup> quarta casa dell alfferza prieta. nin mas ni menos. & an de iogar desta guisa.

¶ El primer iuego xaque del cauallo blanco *que* esta en la quarta casa del cauallo prieto poniendol en la tercera casa del Rey prieto. & tomar lo a el Rey prieto con su cauallo.

¶ El segundo iuego tomara el Rey blanco el cauallo prieto con su peon blanco *que* esta en la quarta casa del alfferza prieta. & el Rey prieto non puede iogar. & aura a iogar por fuerça con el su Roque prieto que esta en su casa; poniendol en qual casa pudiere.

¶<sup>538</sup> Et al tercero iuego si mester fuere poner la el Roque blanco siempre delante. & si non fuere mester iogara el Rey blanco con el su peon blanco; que esta en la su tercera casa. ¶<sup>539</sup> Et<sup>540</sup> como quier que iuegue el Rey prieto con su Roque; non puede empeeçer a los blancos.

¶<sup>541</sup> El<sup>542</sup> quarto iuego dar la xaque e mathe con el peon blanco que tomo el cauallo prieto; poniendol en la segunda casa del Rey prieto.

¶<sup>543</sup> Et este es el departimiento deste iuego; ¶<sup>544</sup> Et esta es la figura dell entablamiento.

[fol. 48r<sup>545</sup>] ACE DREX

### [PROBLEM 75]

**Este es otro iuego departido en *que* a onze trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como estan en la figura del entablamiento. & an se de iogar desta guisa**

LOs prietos iuegan primero & dan mathe al Rey blanco en quatro uezes delos sus iuegos mismos en la su quarta casa. & iueganse desta guisa.

¶ El primer iuego poner el peon prieto alfferzado *que* esta en la tercera casa dela alfferza blanca poniendol en la quarta casa del alfil blanco. & tomara el Rey blanco por fuerça; el peon prieto alfferzado que esta en la su segunda casa.

<sup>534</sup> Crombach: doze

<sup>535</sup> The leftmost text of this rubric is blurred by wetness. These logical readings offered by Steiger and Crombach.

<sup>536</sup> This initial "L" and surrounding text are badly damaged by wetness.

<sup>537</sup> Grandese (1987): enla

<sup>538</sup> HSMS inserts this calderón.

<sup>539</sup> HSMS inserts this calderón.

<sup>540</sup> Crombach: E

<sup>541</sup> HSMS inserts this calderón.

<sup>542</sup> Manuscript: Et; Steiger and Crombach: El

<sup>543</sup> HSMS inserts this calderón.

<sup>544</sup> HSMS inserts this calderón.

<sup>545</sup> The women's faces in this miniature have been smeared and there is an "F" written in the left margin.

¶ El segundo iuego poner el Roque *prieto* en la casa del cauallo blanco. & tomara el Rey blanco por fuerça ell alfferza prieta que esta en la su tercera casa

¶ El tercero iuego poner el Roque prieto en la segunda casa del cauallo blanco. & tomara el Rey blanco por fuerça el peon prieto alfferzado que esta en la su quarta casa.

¶ El quarto iuego xaque & mathe con el Roque prieto en la segunda casa del Rey blanco.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego & esta es la figura del entablamiento.

[fol. 48v<sup>546</sup>] LIBRO DEL

### [PROBLEM 76]

**Este es otro iuego departido en que ha siete trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como estan en la figura dell entablamiento & an se de iogar desta guisa.**

LOS prietos iuegan primero & dan mathe al Rey blanco en .v. uezes delos sus iuegos mismos ni mas ni menos con el alffil prieto en la casa del su cauallo blanco.

¶ El *primer* iuego es poner el Roque prieto; en la segunda casa del alfferza blanca. & entrara el Rey blanco por fuerça en la casa del cauallo blanco.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque con esse mismo Roque prieto poniendol en la casa del alfferza blanca. & entrara el Rey blanco por fuerça en la segunda casa del *roque* blanco.

¶ El tercero iuego dar la xaque con esse mismo Roque *prieto* en la casa del Roque blanco & tomar lo a el Rey blanco por fuerça.

¶ El *quarto* iuego iogara el Rey prieto en la tercera casa del cauallo blanco; & entrara el Rey blanco por fuerça en la casa del cauallo blanco.

¶ El quinto iuego dar la xaque & mathe con el alffil prieto en la *tercera* casa del alfferza blanca.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego; & esta es la figura dell entablamiento.

[fol. 49r<sup>547</sup>] ACED REX<sup>548</sup>

### [PROBLEM 77]

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a siete trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como estan en la figura dell entablamiento & an se de iogar desta guisa.**

LOS blancos iuegan primero & dan mathe al Rey prieto en siete uezes delos sus iuegos mismos. E el alfferza blanca & el peon alfferzado son atreguados. & el Rey *prieto* deue iogar dessi mismo en quanto ouiere casa en *que* pueda entrar.

¶ El primer iuego poner el peon blanco alfferzado en la segunda casa del alffil prieto. & el Rey prieto non a casa en que pueda iogar. & por endel conuien de iogar por

<sup>546</sup> A Roman numeral, likely the binder's cue ".vi." marking the end of the sixth gathering, has been cut off at the bottom of the folio.

<sup>547</sup> This folio has an "F" written in the left margin.

<sup>548</sup> HSMS omits the heading "ACE DREX."

fuerça del su peon prieto *que* esta en la *quarta* casa del su alffil *prieto*.

¶ El segundo iuego poner el peon alfferzado en la casa del alfferza prieta. & entrara el Rey prieto por fuerça en la casa del su cauallo *prieto*.

¶ El tercero iuego poner el alfferza blanca en la segunda casa del cauallo *prieto*. & entrara el Rey *prieto* por fuerça en la segunda casa del roque *prieto*.

¶ El quarto iuego poner el peon blanco alfferzado en la segunda casa del alffil *prieto*. & el Rey *prieto non* puede iogar dessi mismo. & por endel conuien de iogar del su peon *prieto* en la *tercera* casa del alffil blanco.

¶ El quinto iuego poner el alfferza blanca en la tercera casa del Roque *prieto*. & entrara el Rey *prieto* por fuerça en la casa de su Roque *prieto*.

¶ El sexto iuego poner el peon blanco alfferzado en la casa del cauallo *prieto*. & el Rey *prieto non* ha casa o pueda entrar. & conuiene que iuegue por fuerça del su peon *prieto* en la segunda casa del alffil blanco.

¶ El seteno iuego xaque & mathe del alfferza blanca en la segunda casa del cauallo *prieto*.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego. E esta es la figura del entablamiento.

[fol. 49v] LIBRO DEL

**[PROBLEM 78<sup>549</sup>]**

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a onze trebeios que son entablados assi como estan en la figura dell entablamiento & an se de iogar desta guisa.**

LOs blancos iuegan primero & an de dar mathe al Rey *prieto* en tres uezes delos sus iuegos mismos ni mas ni menos si los *prietos* no lo sopieren alongar

& si lo sopieren alongar fincan los blancos por uençudos.<sup>550</sup>

¶ El primero iuego poner el peon blanco en la segunda casa del alffil *prieto* dando xaque al Rey *prieto* & si el Rey *prieto* entrare en la casa del su alffil es mathe a los tres lanços desta guisa.

¶ El segundo iuego poner el alffil blanco en la *quarta* casa del otro alffil *prieto*. & el Rey *prieto non* puede iogar ninguna cosa dessi mismo nin delos Roques por que *non* sea

mathe al tercero iuego con el peon blanco poniendol en la segunda casa del cauallo *prieto* o con el cauallo blanco dando xaque & mathe al Rey *prieto*.<sup>551</sup>

¶ E por ende es mejor para los *prietos* quando los blancos dan xaque al Rey *prieto* con el peon blanco en la segunda casa del alffil *prieto*. *que* entre el Rey *prieto* en la casa del su Roque.

& lo mejor que pueden iogar los blancos es. poner ell alffil blanco en la quarta

<sup>549</sup> The chess pieces in Problems 78 and 79 are red and white as opposed to the usual black and white.

<sup>550</sup> Manuscript: vencudos; Steiger, HSMS and Crombach: vençudos

<sup>551</sup> Manuscript: “o darle xaque & mathe con el cauallo blanco”; Steiger and Crombach also omit this repetition.

casa del otro alffil prieto.<sup>552</sup> & sera el segundo iuego. E pora deffenderse el Rey prieto del mate deue iogar con el su Roque *prieto que* esta en la segunda casa del Roque blanco. poniendolo en la tercera casa del Roque prieto. & tomando el peon blanco *que* esta en ella.

& assi fincan uençudos los blancos; por *que* non pueden dar mate al Rey prieto<sup>553</sup> en las tres uezes sobredichas. ca non descubre.

¶ E esta es ell arteria deste iuego.

[fol. 50r] ACE DREX

[PROBLEM 79<sup>554</sup>]

**Este es otro iuego departido en *que* a siete trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura dell entablamiento & an se de iogar desta guisa**

LOS prietos iuegan primero & dan<sup>555</sup> mate al Rey blanco en viij. uezes delos sus iuegos mismos ni mas ni menos. & iuegasse desta guisa...

<sup>556</sup> xaque con el peon prieto que esta en la tercera casa del alffil blanco poniendolo en la segunda casa desse mismo alffil. & iogara el Rey blanco por fuerça en la casa del Roque blanco.

¶ El segundo iuego iogaran los prietos con el su peon prieto que dio xaque al Rey en la casa del alffil blanco faziendol alfferza<sup>557</sup> & iogara el Rey blanco por fuerça en casa del su cauallo blanco.

¶ El tercero iuego iogara el Rey *prieto* con su peon alfferzado en la *tercera* casa del Roque blanco desponiendol. & iogara el Rey blanco por fuerça en la casa del su mismo Roque.

¶ El quarto iuego iogara el Rey prieto con su cauallo *que* esta en la *tercera* casa del alfferza blanca poniendol en la casa del alffil blanco. & iogara el Rey blanco en la casa del su cauallo blanco por fuerça.

¶ El quinto iuego iogara el Rey prieto con su cauallo en la *segunda* casa del Roque blanco & iogara el Rey blanco por fuerça en la casa del Roque blanco.

¶ El sexto iuego iogara el Rey *prieto* con su alffil *prieto* que esta en la *quarta* casa del cauallo *prieto* poniendol en la *tercera* casa del Rey blanco. & iogara el Rey blanco en casa del su cauallo si *quisiere* o iogara con su peon blanco *que* esta en la *quarta* casa del

<sup>552</sup> Manuscript: su tercera casa; Steiger: quarta casa del otro alffil prieto. Problem 78, white's second move is his fil to "la su tercera casa" (f3) but should read "la quarta casa del otro alffil prieto" (f5) as given correctly in the second move above. Crombach leaves the text as is but notes Steiger's correction.

<sup>553</sup> Manuscript: blanco; Steiger: prieto. Problem 78, final commentary "Rey blanco" should read "Rey prieto." Crombach leaves the text as is but notes Steiger's correction.

<sup>554</sup> The chess pieces in Problems 78 and 79 are red and white as opposed to the usual black and white.

<sup>555</sup> Calvo: da

<sup>556</sup> HSMS inserts "... " to indicate that this problem lacks the usual phrasing of "El primer iuego...."

<sup>557</sup> Unique phrasing of pawn promotion, lacking the usual verb form of the word alfferza itself, e.g. alfferzandole, as in Problems 33, 45, 47 and 103.

cauallo blanco poniendol en la *quarta* casa del cauallo *prieto*.

¶ El seteno iuego iogara el Rey prieto *con* su cauallo en la tercera casa del alffil blanco. & iogara el Rey blanco por fuerça del su peon blanco.

¶ El <sup>558</sup> ochauo iuego dar la *xaque* & *mathe* con el peon prieto que esta en la tercera casa

[fol. 50v<sup>559</sup>] LIBRO DEL

del cauallo blanco poniendol en la *segunda* casa desse mismo cauallo.

E este es el departimiento deste iuego. ¶ E esta es la figura dell entablamiento.

### [PROBLEM 80]

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a seys trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura dell entablamiento & an se de iogar desta guisa**

LOs prietos iuegan <sup>560</sup> primero & dan mate al Rey blanco en tres uezes delos *sus* iuegos mismos ni mas ni menos & iuegasse desta guisa los *prietos* non an de iogar mas de sennas uezes.

¶ El primer iuego es que iogara el Rey prieto con su Roque prieto que esta en la *tercera* casa del Rey prieto poniendol en la *tercera* casa dell Rey blanco tomando el cauallo blanco *que* esta en ella. & iogara el Rey blanco con su peon *que* esta en la *quarta* casa del alfil blanco poniendol en la *quarta* casa del alffil prieto & dando *xaque* al Rey *prieto*.

¶ El segundo iuego iogara el Rey *prieto* dessi mismo de la tercera casa de su alfferza blanca poniendolo en la su tercera casa<sup>561</sup> & iogara el Rey blanco por fuerça en casa del Rey prieto.

¶ El *tercero* iuego *xac* & *mathe* con el Roque prieto que esta en la *tercera* casa del alffil blanco poniendol en la casa desse mismo alffil.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego. ¶ E esta es la figura dell entablamiento.

[fol. 51r<sup>562</sup>] ACE DREX

### [PROBLEM 81]

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a viij. trebeios. que an a seer entablados assi como estan en la figura del entablamiento & an se de iogar desta guisa.**

<sup>558</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “o.”

<sup>559</sup> This folio has a “+” written in the left margin.

<sup>560</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “pr.”

<sup>561</sup> Manuscript: “El segundo iuego iogara el Rey *prieto* dessi mismo en la su tercera casa fferza blanca” should read “El segundo iuego iogara el Rey prieto dessi mismo de la tercera casa de su alfferza poniendolo en la su tercera casa” (d6-e6). Steiger, HSMS and Crombach: en la su tercera casa

<sup>562</sup> This folio has “Fco” written in the left margin. Crombach omits the indication for this folio. The face of the player at the right has been intentionally marred by dry scraping.

LOs prietos iuegan primero & dan mathe al Rey blanco en siete uezes delos *sus* iuegos mismos ni mas ni menos.

¶ El primer iuego desponer el peon prieto alfferzado que esta en la casa del cauallo blanco<sup>563</sup> ala su *tercera* casa e entrara el Rey blanco por fuerça en la casa del su cauallo.

¶ El segundo iuego desponer el peon *prieto* alfferzado *que* esta en la casa del Rey blanco; poniendol en la segunda casa del alfferza blanca. & entrara el Rey blanco por fuerça en la casa de so Roque.

¶ El *tercero* iuego deponer el peon prieto que esta en la casa del alffil blanco poniendol en la *tercera* casa del Roque blanco & entrara el Rey blanco por fuerça en la casa del so cauallo.

¶ El *quarto* iuego desponer el peon *prieto* alfferzado *que* esta en casa dell alfferza blanca poniendol en la su *tercera* casa. & entrara el Rey blanco por fuerça en casa de su Roque.

¶ El *.vo.* iuego poner el peon *prieto* alfferzado *que* esta en la segunda casa del alfferza blanca; poniendol en la *tercera* casa del alffil blanco. & iogara el Rey blanco en la casa de so cauallo.

¶ El sexto iuego xaque del peon prieto alfferzado que esta en la *tercera* casa del alfferza blanca poniendol en la segunda casa del alffil blanco. & si el Rey blanco *entrare* en la casa del su Roque sera mathe con el peon prieto alfferzado que esta en la *tercera* casa del Roque blanco. poniendol en la segunda casa del cauallo blanco. & si *entrare* en casa de so alffil blanco sera mathe con esse mismo peon alfferzado en essa misma casa.

¶ Este es el departimiento deste iuego & esta es la figura del entablamiento.

[fol. 51v<sup>564</sup>] LIBRO DEL

### [PROBLEM 82]

**Este es otro iuego departido en *que* a siete trebeios *que* an a seer entablados assi como estan en la figura del entablamiento; & iuegan se assi.**

LOs prietos iuegan primero & dan mate al Rey blanco en *tres* uezes delos *sus* iuegos mismos en la segunda casa del alfferza blanca. iogando una uez con el Rey prieto; & sennas uezes con *sus* Roques.<sup>565</sup>

¶ El primer iuego. iogaran los prietos del su Roque prieto que esta en la *tercera* casa del Roque blanco poniendol en la *tercera* casa del alffil blanco tomando el cauallo blanco que esta en ella. & entrara el Rey blanco por fuerça en la casa dela su alfferza.

<sup>563</sup> Manuscript: *prieto*; Steiger: blanco. Problem 81, black's first move: "la casa del cauallo prieto" (b8) should read "la casa del cauallo *blanco*" (b1) because the board in the miniature is inverted as seen by all the other piece locations explained the remainder of the problem's text. Calvo does not mention the textual error but indicates the proper starting square (b1). Crombach leaves the text as is but notes Steiger's correction.

<sup>564</sup> The image of the man at right has been accidentally smeared.

<sup>565</sup> Calvo modernizes the final hint more specifically: LAS NEGRAS JUEGAN Y DAN MATE EN TRES JUGADAS EN LA CASILLA E7, JUGANDO CADA PIEZA UNA SOLA VEZ.

¶ El segundo iuego entrara el Rey prieto en la segunda casa del alffil blanco; & entrara el Rey blanco en la segunda casa de la su alfferza.

¶ El tercero iuego xaque & mathe del Roque prieto poniendol en la *tercera* casa del alfferza blanca.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego & esta es la figura del entablamiento.

[fol. 52r] ACE DREX

### [PROBLEM 83]

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a .xiiij. trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como estan en la figura del entablamiento & an se de iogar assi.**

LOs blancos iuegan primero & dan mate al Rey prieto en cinco uezes delos *sus* iuegos mismos en la quarta casa del Rey blanco. & iuegasse desta guisa.

¶ El *primer* iuego poner el alffil blanco que esta en la tercera casa del Roque blanco en la quarta casa del alffil prieto o en la su casa. & iogara el Rey *prieto en* la su segunda casa tomando el peon blanco que esta en ella.

¶ El segundo iuego poner el Roque blanco que esta en la quarta casa del cauallo prieto;<sup>566</sup> en la casa del cauallo prieto. & iogara el Rey prieto por fuerça; en la su tercera casa tomando el alfferza blanca que esta en ella.<sup>567</sup>

¶ El tercero iuego. poner el Roque blanco en la segunda casa del cauallo prieto &<sup>568</sup> entrara el Rey prieto por fuerça en la su *quarta* casa tomando el peon blanco que esta en ella.

¶ El quarto iuego poner el Roque blanco que esta en la segunda casa del cauallo prieto. en la tercera casa desse mismo cauallo. & entrara el Rey prieto en la quarta casa del Rey blanco tomando el cauallo blanco que esta en ella.

¶ El quinto iuego xaque & mathe con el Roque blanco que esta en la tercera casa del cauallo prieto poniendol en la tercera casa del Rey prieto.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego. E esta es la figura dell entablamiento.

[fol. 52v] LIBRO DEL

### [PROBLEM 84]

**Este es otro iuego departido en que ha siete trebeios que an a seer entablados assi commo estan en la figura del entablamiento & iuegan se assi.**

LOs blancos iuegan primero & dan mathe al Rey prieto *en* seys uezes delos *sus* iuegos mismos en la casa del Roque blanco. & iuegasse desta guisa.

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<sup>566</sup> Manuscript: alffil blanco. Problem 83, white's second move starting square: "la quarta casa del alffil blanco" (g4) should read "la quarta casa del *cauallo prieto*" (g5). Steiger gives the correct square in his solution but transcribes the incorrect phrase as is. Crombach does not correct this error.

<sup>567</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of "n."

<sup>568</sup> HSMS inserts "&."

¶ El primer iuego; poner el alfferza<sup>569</sup> en la casa del alffil blanco. & entrara el Rey prieto por fuerça en la casa del Roque blanco.

¶ El segundo iuego poner el alffil blanco en la tercera casa del alfferza blanca. o en la tercera casa del Roque blanco. & iogara el Rey prieto por fuerça. en la casa del cauallo blanco.

¶<sup>570</sup> El *tercero* iuego poner el cauallo blanco que esta en la tercera casa del Rey blanco. en la quarta casa del alffil blanco o en la segunda desse mismo alffil ca sil pusiere en la quarta casa del alfferza prieta o en la casa del alfferza blanca. *non* se darie el mathe a los seys iuegos desuso dichos. por ende es lo mejor quel ponga en la *quarta* casa del alffil<sup>571</sup> prieto o en las otras quales quisiere de manera *que* de el cauallo<sup>572</sup> blanco en tres iuegos *xaque* al Rey prieto; poniendol en la *tercera* casa del alffil blanco & entrara el Rey prieto por fuerça en casa del Roque blanco.

¶ El *quarto* iuego poner el cauallo blanco<sup>573</sup> *que* esta en la *quarta* casa del alffil prieto<sup>574 575</sup> en la *quarta* casa del Roque blanco.<sup>576</sup> & tornarsa el Rey prieto a la casa del cauallo blanco.

¶<sup>577</sup> El *.vo.* iuego *xaque* con el cauallo blanco *que* esta en la quarta casa del Roque blanco poniendol en la *tercera* casa del alffil blanco & entrara el Rey prieto en la casa del Roque blanco.

¶ El sexto iuego *xaque* & mathe del cauallo blanco *que* esta en la quarta casa del cauallo blanco; poniendol en la segunda casa del alffil blanco.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura del entablamiento.

[fol. 53r] ACE DREX

### [PROBLEM 85]

**Este es otro iuego departido en *que* a vij. iuegos *que* an a seer entablados assi como estan en la figura dell entablamiento & an se de iogar assi.**

LOs blancos iuegan primero & dan mathe al Rey prieto *en* siete uezes delos *sus* iuegos mismos *en* la quarta casa del alfferza prieta.

¶ El primer iuego iogara el Rey blanco con su cauallo que esta en la quarta casa

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<sup>569</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “do”; Steiger: alfferza; HSMS notes an emendation where the original script is now illegible. Since there are numerous other emendations throughout the manuscript where this is the case and since solving the puzzle of whatever the original script was would not improve this chess problem, I do not include question marks, square brackets or parentheses here as also does Crombach.

<sup>570</sup> Manuscript: scribal insertion of the calderón.

<sup>571</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “b.”

<sup>572</sup> Manuscript scribal deletion of “prieto .”

<sup>573</sup> Manuscript: blaco; HSMS: blanco.

<sup>574</sup> Manuscript: blanco; Grandese (1987): prieto. Steiger leaves the text as is but gives the move correctly from f5. Crombach does not note this error.

<sup>575</sup> Manuscript: unnecessary scribal deletion of “poniendol.”

<sup>576</sup> Manuscript: blaco, Steiger; HSMS and Crombach: blanco.

<sup>577</sup> Manuscript: scribal insertion of the calderón.

del alffil *prieto*; poniendol en la *tercera* casa del alfferza blanca o en la segunda del alfferza *prieta*. & entrara el Rey *prieto* por fuerça en la casa de su Roque.

¶ El segundo iuego iogara el Rey blanco. con su cauallo. poniendol en la *quarta* casa del Rey *prieto*. & entrara el Rey *prieto* en la casa del su cauallo.

¶ El *tercero* iuego. iogara el Roque blanco poniendol en la su casa misma. & entrara el Rey *prieto* en la casa de su alffil.

¶ El *quarto* iuego iogara con el Roque blanco dando xaque al Rey *prieto* poniendol en la casa del su Roque *prieto*. & entrara el Rey *prieto* en la su segunda casa.

¶ El *quinto* iuego iogara el Rey blanco en la *quarta* casa del alffil *prieto*. & entrara el Rey *prieto* en la *tercera* casa del alfferza *prieta*.

¶ El *sexto* iuego iogara con el Roque blanco poniendol en la segunda casa del Roque *prieto* & entrara el Rey *prieto* en la *quarta* casa de su alferza tomando el peon que esta en ella.

¶ El *seteno* iuego dar la xac & mathe con el Roque blanco poniendol en la segunda casa del alfferza *prieta*.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego & esta es la figura del entablamiento.

[fol. 53v] LIBRO DEL

### [PROBLEM 86]

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a siete iuegos que an a seer entablados assi como esta en figura del entablamiento & an se de iogar desta guisa.**

LOs blancos iuegan primero & dan mate al Rey *prieto* en xiiij. uezes o *en* menos en la casa del Roque blanco delos *sus* iuegos mismos si los *prietos* nolo sopieren alongar.

¶ El *primero* iuego iogara el Rey blanco de su alffil. que esta en la *tercera* casa del alffil blanco o quisier & iogara el Rey *prieto* de su peon que esta en la segunda casa del Roque *prieto*.

¶ El *segundo* iuego iogara el alffil blanco en la su<sup>578</sup> *tercera* casa. & iogara el peon *prieto* en la *quarta* casa del Roque *prieto*.

¶ El *tercero* iuego iogara el alffil blanco en la *quarta* casa del alfferza *prieta*. & iogara el peon *prieto*. en la *quarta* casa del Roque blanco.

¶ El *quarto* iuego iogara el alffil blanco en la segunda casa del alffil. *prieto* o en la segunda casa del cauallo *prieto* & iogara el peon *prieto* en la *tercera* casa del roque *blanco*.

¶ El *quinto* iuego iogara el alfferza blanca en la casa del alffil blanco. & entrara el Rey *prieto*. *en* la casa del Roque blanco.

¶ El *sexto* iuego iogara el alffil blanco en la *quarta* casa del alfferza *prieta* & iogara el rey *prieto* en la segunda casa del Roque *blanco* ca si iogasse con su peon serie mathe al *primero* iuego con el alfferza blanca o con el alffil blanco. pues lo mejor es por alongar el mate. que iuegue el Rey *prieto*.

¶ El .vij. iuego iogara el alfferza blanca en la segunda casa del Rey blanco. &

<sup>578</sup> Manuscript: scribal insertion of "su."

entrara el Rey prieto en la casa del Roque blanco.

¶ El viij. iuego iogara el Rey blanco *en la tercera casa del cauallo blanco.* & entrara el Rey prieto en la del cauallo blanco.

¶ El noueno iuego iogara

[fol. 54r] ACE DREX

el alffil blanco en la tercera casa del alffil blanco. & iogara el peon *prieto* en la segunda casa del Roque blanco.

¶ E el dezeno iuego iogara el alffil blanco en la casa del Roque blanco. & tomar lo a el Rey *prieto* por fuerça.

¶ El onzeno iogara el alffil blanco en la su casa. o en la quarta casa del alffil prieto. & iogara el peon prieto en la <sup>579</sup>tercera casa del Roque blanco. o si iogare. el Rey *prieto* en la casa del cauallo blan co sera el xij.<sup>580</sup> iuego *xaque* del alffil blanco en la tercera casa del Rey blanco & entrara el Rey *prieto* *en la casa del Roque blanco.*

¶ El xiiij.<sup>581</sup> iuego iogara el alfferza blanca en la casa del alffil blanco o en la tercera casa desse mismo alffil & iogara el Rey *prieto* de su peon.

¶ El xiiij.<sup>582</sup> iuego *xaque* & mathe con el alfferza blanca poniendola *en la secunda*<sup>583</sup> casa del cauallo blanco.

& este es el departimiento deste iuego & esta es la figura del entablamiento.

### [PROBLEM 87]

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a siete trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura del entablamiento & an se de iogar desta guisa.**

LOs blancos iuegan primero & dan mathe al Rey prieto en tres uezes delos *sus* iuegos mismos *en la segunda casa del alfferza blanca.*<sup>584</sup> jogando el Rey blanco. & los *sus* Roques sennas uezes.

¶ El primero iuego es que iogara el Roque blanco *en la tercera casa del alffil blanco.* tomando el cauallo. *prieto.* & iogara el Rey prieto *en la casa del alfferza blanca.*

¶ El segundo iogara el Rey blanco. *en la segunda casa del alffil blanco.*<sup>585</sup> & entrara el rey prieto *en la secunda*<sup>586</sup> casa del alfferza blanca.

¶ El tercero iuego xac & math con el otro roque blanco poniendol en la tercera

<sup>579</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “t.”

<sup>580</sup> Crombach: XII<sup>o</sup>

<sup>581</sup> Crombach: XIII<sup>o</sup>

<sup>582</sup> Crombach: XIII<sup>o</sup>

<sup>583</sup> Steiger and Crombach: segunda

<sup>584</sup> Manuscript: prieta. Problem 87, specified checkmate square: “la segunda casa del alfferza prieta” (d7) should read “la segunda casa del alfferza blanca” (d2). Steiger gives the correct square but transcribes the incorrect word as is. Calvo ends his citation from the manuscript just before the erroneous word and gives the correct square. Crombach does not note this error.

<sup>585</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion in red of the repetitious phrase “& entrara el rey prieto. en la segunda casa del alffil blanco.”

<sup>586</sup> Steiger and Crombach: segunda

casa del alfferza. blanca.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura dell entablamiento.

[fol. 54v] LIBRO DEL

**[PROBLEM 88]**

**Este es otro iuego departido en *que* ha onze iuegos que an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura del entablamiento & iuegan se assi**

LOs prietos iuegan primero & dan mate al Rey blanco en quatro uezes delos sus iuegos mismos en la tercera casa del su roque *con* el Roque prieto.

¶ El primero iuego xaque con el peon prieto poniendol en la segunda casa del cauallo blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco en la segunda casa del su Roque.

¶ El segundo iuego xaque con ell otro peon prieto en la *tercera* casa del cauallo blanco & entrara el Rey blanco en la tercera casa del su roque.

¶ El tercero iuego iogara con el cauallo prieto *en* la quarta casa del Rey blanco. & iogara el Rey blanco por fuerça con su alferza blanca en la segunda casa del alffil prieto.

¶ El quarto iuego xaque & mathe con el Roque prieto poniendol en la casa dell otro Roque prieto.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura del entablamiento.

[fol. 55r<sup>587</sup>] ACE DREX

**[PROBLEM 89]**

**Este es otro iuego departido en *que* a xxiiij. trebeios *que* an a seer entablados assi como estan en la figura dell entablamiento & an se de iogar desta guisa.**

LOs prietos iuegan primero & dan mate al Rey blanco en diez <sup>588</sup> uezes delos sus iuegos mismos o *en* menos si los blancos no lo sopieren alongar.

¶ El primer iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo *prieto* que esta *en* la casa del Rey blanco poniendol en la tercera casa del alffil<sup>589</sup> blanco tomando el peon que esta en ella. & lo mejor es por alongar el mathe *que* lo tome *con* su peon blanco *que* esta en la segunda casa del cauallo blanco.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque con ell alffil prieto que esta en la *tercera* casa del Roque prieto poniendol en la *quarta* casa del alffil blanco & entrara el Rey blanco en la casa de su cauallo. ca si entrasse en la casa de su Roque. serie xaque & mathe con el

<sup>587</sup> There is an “F” in the left margin. The tear in the bottom center of this folio has been sewn but the thread is now missing.

<sup>588</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “u.”

<sup>589</sup> Manuscript: cauallo; Steiger: alffil. Problem 89, black’s first move and check: “la tercera casa del cauallo blanco” (g3) should read “la tercera casa del *alffil* blanco” (f3) because, although there is also a white pawn on f2 (la *segunda* casa del cauallo blanco) this is the only move that gives both the prescribed capture as well as the prescribed check. Calvo does not mention the error but gives the proper square. Crombach leaves the text as is but notes Steiger’s correction.

Roque prieto poniendol en la casa del alffil <sup>590</sup> blanco. & por ende es lo meior que entre en la casa que desuso dixiemos

¶ El tercero iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto en la casa del alffil blanco & entrara el Rey blanco por fuerça en la segunda casa de su alffil

¶ El quarto iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto en la otra casa del alffil blanco. en guarda del cauallo prieto. & aura el Rey blanco a tomar el cauallo prieto que esta en la tercera casa del Rey blanco por fuerça.

¶ El quinto iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto tomando el peon blanco que esta en la tercera casa del alffil blanco en guarda del peon prieto. & entrara el Rey blanco en la quarta casa de su alfferza por fuerça.

¶ El sexto iuego dar la xaque con el peon prieto que esta en la tercera casa del Rey prieto poniendol en la quarta casa del Rey prieto <sup>591</sup> & entrara el Rey blanco

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por fuerça en la quarta casa dell alfferza prieta.

¶ El seteno iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto en la tercera casa dell alfferza blanca. & entrara el Rey blanco por fuerça. en la tercera casa del alffil prieto.

¶ El ochauo iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto en la tercera casa del alfferza prieta entrara el Rey blanco por fuerça en la segunda casa del alffil prieto

¶ El noueno iuego dar la xaque con el alfferza prieta en la tercera casa del cauallo prieto & entrara el Rey blanco por fuerça en la casa del alffil prieto.

¶ El dezeno iuego dar la xaque & mate con el alffil prieto en la tercera casa del Rey prieto.

¶ Este es el departimiento deste iuego & esta es la figura dell entablamiento.

### [PROBLEM 90]

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a xi. trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como estan en la figura del entablamiento & iuegan se assi.**

LOs prietos iuegan primero & dan mate al Rey blanco en çinco uezes delos sus iuegos mismos

El primer iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto poniendol en la casa del Roque blanco & tomar lo a el Rey blanco por fuerça. ca no a <sup>592</sup> otra casa en que entre.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque con ell otro Roque prieto en descubriendo del cauallo prieto que esta en la segunda casa del Roque prieto poniendol en la quarta casa del cauallo prieto & tornarsa el Rey blanco a la casa de su cauallo onde salio.

¶ El tercero iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto en la casa del Roque blanco

<sup>590</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “n.”

<sup>591</sup> Manuscript: blanco; Steiger: prieto. Problem 89, black’s sixth move is described as from the “quarta casa del Rey prieto” (e6) to the impossible “tercera casa del Rey blanco” (e3). The second half of the move should read “tercera casa del rey prieto” (e5). Crombach leaves the text as is but notes Steiger’s correction.

<sup>592</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “o.”

dandogelo de balde & auer lo a el Rey blanco a tomar por fuerça ca no a otra casa en que entre.

¶ El quarto iuego dar la xaque con el peon prieto que esta en la tercera casa

[fol. 56r<sup>593</sup>] ACE DREX

del cauallo blanco <sup>594</sup> poniendol en la segunda casa deste mismo cauallo & entrara el Rey blanco *en la casa de su cauallo* ca no a otra.

¶ El quinto iuego dar la xaque & mate con el <sup>595</sup> cauallo prieto en la *tercera casa del Roque blanco*.

¶ E este es <sup>596</sup> el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura dell entablamiento.

[PROBLEM 91<sup>597</sup>]

**Este es otro iuego departido *en que a vij trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como estan en la figura del entablamiento. & an se de iogar desta guisa.***

LOs prietos iuegan primero & dan mate al Rey blanco en nueue uezes o en menos delos *sus* iuegos mismos; o seran uençidos si non quisieren atender el mathe.<sup>598</sup>

¶ El primer iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto en la segunda casa del alffil blanco en guarda de su Rey & entrara el Rey blanco en la casa de su alfferza ca si entrasse en la casa de su cauallo al segundo iuego darlie xaque con el cauallo prieto en la *tercera casa del alffil blanco. & entrarie el Rey blanco por fuerça en la casa de su Roque.*

¶ E al *tercero* iuego dar la xaque e <sup>599</sup> mate con el Roque prieto *en la segunda casa del roque blanco*. Pues lo mejor es *que quandol dio xaque con el Roque prieto que entre en la casa de su alfferza por alongar el mate.*

El .ijo. iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo prieto en la *tercera*

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casa del Alffil blanco *entrara el Rey blanco en su casa.*

El *tercero* iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto; poniendol en la casa dell alffil blanco & *entrara el Rey blanco por fuerça en la .ija.*<sup>600</sup> casa de su alfil.

El .iiijo. iuego darla xaque con el cauallo prieto *en la .iiija.*<sup>601</sup> casa del Rey blanco. & *entrara el Rey blanco en la segunda casa del cauallo blanco ca si entrare en la*

<sup>593</sup> There is a blue spot on Violante's portrait which is likely accidental.

<sup>594</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of the repeated word "blanco."

<sup>595</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of "c."

<sup>596</sup> Steiger, HSMS and Crombach delete the repeated word "es."

<sup>597</sup> The piece orientations from this problem are reversed in the diagram on fol. 57r; the winning player of black sits at right.

<sup>598</sup> Calvo: seran uencidas si no quiere atender el mathe.

<sup>599</sup> HSMS omits this "e."

<sup>600</sup> Steiger and Crombach: II

<sup>601</sup> Steiger and Crombach: IIII

tercera casa de su alffil blanco dar la xaque con el cauallo prieto<sup>602</sup> *en* la quarta casa del cauallo prieto por el Roque blanco & desta guisa uençran los prietos e<sup>603</sup> si el Rey blanco *non quisiere* atender el mate; deue entrar en la casa que desuso dixiemos.

¶ El quinto iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto en la segunda casa del alffil blanco. & *entrara* el Rey blanco *en* casa de su alfil.<sup>604</sup> ca si *entrasse* en la *tercera* casa de su alffil o en la *tercera* casa de su Roque dar la xaque con el cauallo prieto por el Roque blanco en la quarta casa del cauallo *prieto* & desta guisa uençran los prietos. & si *entrare* el Rey blanco *en* la casa de su Roque; dar la xaque & mate al primer iuego con el cauallo prieto en la *tercera* casa del cauallo<sup>605</sup> blanco. ¶ E pues lo mejor es al Rey blanco que entre en la casa *que* desuso auemos dicho.

¶ El sexto iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto en la segunda casa del alffil blanco en guarda del cauallo prieto & *entrara* el Rey blanco en su casa.

¶ El seteno iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto en la segunda casa del Rey blanco. & *entrara* el Rey blanco en la casa de su alfferza. ca si *entrare* en la casa de su alffil dar la xaque & mate al primer iuego *con* el cauallo prieto en la *tercera* casa. del cauallo blanco. pues lo mejor es *que* entre en la casa que desuso dixiemos.

¶ Ell ochauo iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo prieto en la *tercera* casa del alffil blanco & *entrara* el Rey blanco en la casa del su alffil.

¶ El noueno iuego dar la xaque & mate con el Roque prieto en la segunda casa del alffil blanco.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego; & esta es la figura dell entablamiento.

[fol. 57r] ACE DREX

## [PROBLEM 92]

**Este es otro iuego departido en *que* ha dizeseyns iuegos que an a seer entablados assi como estan en la figura dell entablamiento. & iuegan assi**

LOs blancos iuegan primero & dan mate al rey *prieto* en *quatro* uezes delos *sus* iuegos mismos o en menos si los *prietos* nolo sopieren alongar.

¶ El primer iuego dar la xaque con el Roque blanco que esta en la quarta casa del Roque prieto poniendol en la *tercera* casa del Roque prieto.<sup>606</sup> tomando el peon que y

<sup>602</sup> Manuscript: blanco; Steiger and HSMS: prieto. Problem 91, white's discarded fourth move is described as threatened by his own white knight. "Cauallo blanco" should read "cauallo *prieto*." Crombach leaves the text as is and notes Steiger's correction.

<sup>603</sup> Manuscript: scribal insertion of "e"; HSMS: &

<sup>604</sup> Manuscript: afil; Steiger: a(l)fil; HSMS: alfil. Similar to the spelling of *afferza* in Problems 69 and 72.

<sup>605</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of "b."

<sup>606</sup> Manuscript: blanco; Steiger and HSMS: prieto. Problem 92, white's first move is described as going to "la *tercera* casa del Roque blanco" (a3) but should read "la *tercera* casa del Roque prieto" (a6). Crombach leaves the text as is and notes Steiger's correction.

esta. & entrara el Rey prieto<sup>607</sup> en la casa de so cauallo ca sil tomasse con su alffil dar la xaque & mate al segundo iuego. & es xaque con el peon blanco que esta en la *tercera* casa del cauallo *prieto*. poniendol en la segunda casa desse mismo cauallo & entrara el Rey blanco por fuerça en la casa de su cauallo ca no a otra. ¶ El *tercero* iuego dar la xaque & mathe con el cauallo blanco en la *tercera* casa del Roque *prieto* tomando ell alffil que y esta. pues lo meior es *que* quando dio xaque con el Roque prieto que entre en la casa que auemos dicho de su cauallo.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque con el peon blanco *que* esta en la *tercera* casa del alffil *prieto* poniendol en la segunda casa desse mismo alffil *prieto* & entrara el Rey prieto en la segunda casa de su cauallo.

¶ El *tercero* iuego dar la xaque con el Roque blanco en la segunda casa del Roque prieto en guarda de su alffil o del peon & entrara el Rey prieto en la *tercera* casa de su cauallo tomando el peon blanco que esta en ella.

¶ El quarto iuego dar la xaque & mate con el peon blanco que esta en la quarta casa del Roque blanco poniendol en la *quarta*

[fol. 57v] LIBRO DEL

casa del Roque prieto en guarda del roque blanco.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego. E esta es la figura dell entablamiento.

### [PROBLEM 93]

**Este es otro iuego departido en *que* a cinco trebeios que an a seer entablados assi como estan en la figura del entablamiento. & iuegan se assi.**

LOs blancos iuegan primero & ellos uencen. con los sus iuegos mismos.

¶ El primer iuego dar la xaque con el peon blanco que esta en la *tercera* casa del cauallo *prieto* poniendol en la segunda casa desse mismo cauallo *prieto* si nol quisiere tomar el Rey prieto con su cauallo entrara en la *segunda* casa de so Roque o en la casa de so cauallo.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco que esta *en* la quarta casa del Roque *prieto* poniendol en la *tercera* casa del alffil *prieto* en guarda de so Rey. & si el Rey prieto le tomare con su cauallo *que* esta en la casa del Alfferza *prieta*<sup>608</sup> tomar lo a el Rey blanco & fincara con el peon blanco.<sup>609</sup> & si nol tomare con el cauallo *prieto*; tomara el Rey prieto el peon blanco & entrara o quisiere.

¶ El *tercero* iuego tomara el cauallo blanco el cauallo *prieto* que esta en la casa

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<sup>607</sup> Manuscript: blanco; HSMS: prieto. Problem 92, black's first move is described with "Rey blanco" but should read "Rey prieto." Steiger does not correct the text itself but shows the move as white's. Crombach does not note this error.

<sup>608</sup> Manuscript: Rey prieto; Steiger and Crombach: Alfferza prieta.

Problem 93, second move: "en la casa del Rey prieto" (e8) should read "en la casa del *Alfferza prieta*" (d8). Steiger corrects this same error. Crombach leaves the text as is and note Steiger's correction.

<sup>609</sup> This vaguely worded comment is in fact a textual expression of the concept of the bare king or *rey robado* victory (see Murray 1913: 460).

del Alfferza prieta<sup>610</sup> & non puede escapar de seer uençudo el Rey prieto.

& pues lo mejor es *que* quando dio *xaque* con el peon blanco *que* lo tome con el caualllo prieto por tal que si lo erraren los blancos sera manna. & si lo tomare como auemos dicho desuso iugara el caualllo blanco en la ter

[fol. 58r<sup>611</sup>] ACE DREX

cera casa del<sup>612</sup> alffil prieto el Rey *prieto* non puede iogar dessi mismo ca no a ninguna casa. pues iogara por fuerça; de su caualllo. & nol puede poner en iogar *que* nol pierda de balde ca tomargelo a con el Rey blanco o con el caualllo blanco. & desta guisa son uençudos los prietos.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura dell entablamiento.

[PROBLEM 94<sup>613</sup>]

**Este es otro iuego departido de vij. trebeios *que han a seer entablados assi como estan en la figura del entablamiento & assi iuegan.***

LOs prietos iuegan primero & ellos son uençudos.

¶ El primer iuego dar la *xaque* con el Roque prieto que esta en la casa del alffil blanco tomando el alffil blanco que esta en la quarta casa del alffil prieto<sup>614</sup> & entrara el Rey blanco en la quarta casa de su caualllo blanco.

¶ El segundo iuego tornarsa el Roque prieto a la casa onde salio & iogara el Rey blanco en la tercera casa del Roque blanco.<sup>615</sup>

¶ El tercero iuego dar la *xaque* con el Roque *prieto* en su casa<sup>616</sup> & encubrirsa el Rey blanco con su alfferza.

¶ El quarto iuego iogara el Roque prieto en la casa del caualllo prieto<sup>617</sup> por deffen

[fol. 58v] LIBRO DEL

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<sup>610</sup> Manuscript: Rey prieto; Steiger and Crombach: Alfferza prieta. Problem 93, third move: “en la casa del Rey prieto” (e8) should read “en la casa del *Alfferza prieta*” (d8). Steiger corrects this same error. Crombach leaves the text as is and note Steiger’s correction.

<sup>611</sup> The portrait of Mayor has been intentionally and wetly smeared and violently torn. The tear in this folio has been sewn.

<sup>612</sup> Manuscript and Steiger: de; HSMS and Crombach: del

<sup>613</sup> The piece orientations from this problem are reversed in the diagram on fol. 58v; the winning player of right sits at right.

<sup>614</sup> Grandese (1987) incorrectly suggests “la quarta casa del alffil blanco” however the manuscript is correct. He, like Steiger before him, is confused by the orientation of the board and the pieces.

<sup>615</sup> Manuscript: blanco; Steiger: Roque prieto, again confused by the orientation of the board and pieces. Crombach leaves the text as is but notes Steiger’s correction. The manuscript is correct; the diagram’s pieces are inverted on fol 58v.

<sup>616</sup> Grandese (1987) suggests “en la casa del roque blanco” again because he is confused about the orientation.

<sup>617</sup> Grandese (1987) incorrectly suggests “en la casa del roque blanco” because he is again confused by the inverted orientation of these pieces.

der el su Rey de mate. & dara xaque el peon blanco alfferzado al Rey *prieto* poniendol en la segunda casa del cauallo prieto & tomarlo a el Rey prieto con el su Roque por fuerça & iogara el Rey blanco con su alfferza *que esta en la quarta casa del Roque blanco*<sup>618</sup> poniendola en la tercera casa del cauallo blanco<sup>619</sup> por ençerrar el Roque prieto & aura el Rey prieto a iogar con su Roque ca non puede dal iogar; maguer quiera. & nol puede poner en logar *que nol pierda* & assi son uençudos los prietos.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego. E esta es la figura dell entablamiento.

### [PROBLEM 95]

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a xv. trebeios que an a seer entablados como estan en la figura dell entablamiento & iuegan assi.**

LOs prietos iuegan primero & dan mate al Rey blanco en quinze uezes delos sus iuegos mismos.

¶ El primer iuego dar la xaque con ell alfferza *prieta* que esta en la tercera casa del Roque blanco poniendola en la segunda casa del cauallo blanco en descubriendo del roque *prieto* & entrara el Rey blanco en la casa de su cauallo.

¶ El segundo

[fol. 59r] ACE DREX

iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto que esta en la su quarta casa poniendolo en la casa del Roque blanco en *guarda* de su alfferza.<sup>620</sup> & entrara el Rey blanco en la segunda casa de su alffil.

¶ El tercero iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto que esta en la casa del Roque blanco poniendolo en la casa del alffil blanco en *guarda* de su alfferza & entrara el Rey blanco en la *tercera* casa de su alfferza.

¶ El quarto iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto en la tercera casa del alffil blanco en *guarda* de amas las alfferzas *prietas*.<sup>621</sup> & entrara el Rey blanco *en* la su quarta casa.

¶ El quinto iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto en la tercera casa del Rey blanco en *guarda* de su cauallo prieto & entrara el Rey<sup>622</sup> blanco; en la quarta casa del alfferza *prieta*.

¶ El sexto iuego dar la xaque con el Roque en la quarta casa del su Rey prieto en *guarda* del cauallo prieto & entrara el Rey blanco *en* la tercera casa del alffil prieto.

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<sup>618</sup> Manuscript: blanco; Steiger: prieto, as with the previous note due to confusion of the orientation of the board and pieces. Crombach leaves the text as is but notes Steiger's correction.

<sup>619</sup> Crombach appears to have left space for a note number but none is present.

<sup>620</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of "blanca."

<sup>621</sup> Meant here are more accurately black's fers at b2 and black's promoted pawn at b4. The promoted black pawn at f1 is irrelevant here. Usually both the text and the diagrams of the *LJ* distinguish between ferses and promoted pawns, as occurs in moves seven, nine and fourteen of this same problem with these same pieces is the same exact squares.

<sup>622</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of "prie-to"

¶ El sete<sup>623</sup> no iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto en la quarta casa del alffil prieto. en guarda del su peon alfferzado. & entrara el Rey blanco en la segunda casa dell alfferza prieta.

¶ El ocheno iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto en la segunda casa del alffil prieto en guarda de su Rey prieto & entrara el Rey blanco en la tercera casa del Rey prieto.

¶ El noueno iuego dar la xaque con ell alffil prieto en la su casa & entrara el Rey blanco en la quarta casa del alfferza prieta.

¶ El dezeno iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto en la quarta casa del alffil prieto en guarda del peon alfferzado & entrara el Rey blanco en la su quarta casa.

¶ El onzeno iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto en la quarta casa del Rey prieto en guarda del cauallo prieto & entrara el Rey blanco en la tercera casa de su alfferza.

¶ El dozeno iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto en la tercera casa del Rey blanco en guarda del cauallo prieto & entrara el Rey blanco en la segunda casa de su alffil.

¶ El trezeno iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto en la tercera casa del alffil blanco en guarda de amas las alfferzas prietas<sup>624</sup> entrara el Rey blanco en la casa de su cauallo.

¶ El catorzeno iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto en la casa del alffil blanco en guarda dell alfferza prieta & entrara el Rey blanco en la segunda casa de su roque.

¶ El quinzeno iuego dar la xaque & mate con el Roque prieto en la casa del Roque blanco.

¶ E si los prietos erraren de dar xaque cada uez al Rey blanco; es el Rey prieto mate a dos iuegos ¶ El primer iuego dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco que esta en la quarta casa del alfferza blanca poniendol en la tercera casa del alffil prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto en la casa de su Roque o en la casa de su alffil. ¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque & mate con el Roque blanco. que esta en la segunda casa del cauallo prieto.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura dell entablamiento.

[fol. 59v] LIBRO DEL

### [PROBLEM 96]

**Este es otro iuego departido en que ha doze trebeios que han a seer entablados assi como estan en la figura dell entablamiento & han se de iogar desta guisa.**

LOs prietos iuegan primero & dan mathe al Rey blanco en quatro uezes delos sus iuegos mismos.

¶ El primer iuego iogara el Rey prieto con el su peon que esta en la tercera casa

<sup>623</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “o”, scribal insertion of “e.”

<sup>624</sup> Again, meant here are more accurately black’s fers at b2 and black’s promoted pawn at b4. See previous note on fourth move of this same problem.

del cauallo blanco<sup>625</sup> & dara xaque al Rey blanco poniendol en la segunda casa desse cauallo blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco por fuerça en la segunda casa de so Roque.

¶ El segundo iuego iogara el Rey prieto con ell otro su peon prieto que esta en la quarta casa daquel mismo cauallo blanco. & dara xaque al Rey<sup>626</sup> blanco poniendol en la tercera casa del cauallo blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco por fuerça en la tercera casa de so Roque.

¶ El tercero iuego iogara el Rey prieto con su cauallo *prieto que* esta en la casa dell alffil prieto; poniendol en la *tercera* desse mismo cauallo. & iogara el Rey blanco por fuerça con su alfferza *que* esta en casa del cauallo prieto poniendola en la segunda casa dell alffil prieto.<sup>627</sup>

¶ El quarto iuego dar la xaque & mathe el Rey prieto al Rey blanco con su Roque *que* esta en su casa misma; poniendol en la casa dell *otro* Roque prieto.

¶ Et este es el departimiento deste iuego; & esta es la figura dell entablamiento.

[fol. 60r<sup>628</sup>] ACE DREX

[PROBLEM 97<sup>629</sup>]

**Este es otro iuego departido en *que* ha diez trebeios que han a seer entablados assi como estan en la figura dell entablamiento. & han se de iogar desta guisa.**

LOs blancos iuegan *primero* & dan mathe al Rey *prieto* en dos uezes con sus iuegos mismos<sup>630</sup>

¶ El primer iuego es dar la xaque el Rey blanco con el su Roque blanco que esta en la tercera casa dell alffil blanco tomando el cauallo prieto que esta en la *tercera* casa dell alffil *prieto*; & tomarlo ha el Rey prieto por fuerça.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque & mathe con ell otro Roque blanco que esta en la tercera casa dell alfferza blanca. poniendol en la *terçera* casa dell alfferza *prieta*.

¶ Et si los blancos erraren de dar xaque cada uez al Rey prieto; uenceran los prietos.

Et este es el departimiento deste iuego; Et esta es la figura dell entablamiento.

[fol. 60v<sup>631</sup>] LIBRO DEL

<sup>625</sup> Manuscript: prieto; Steiger: blanco. Problem 96, black's first move is described as being from the "tercera casa del cauallo prieto" (b6) but should read "tercera casa del cauallo *blanco*" (b3). Crombach leaves text as is and notes Steiger's correction.

<sup>626</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of "b."

<sup>627</sup> fol. 59v: Textual error. Problem 96, white's third move: "casa del cauallo blanco poniendola en la segunda casa dell alffil blanco" (b1-c2 or g1-f2) should read "casa del cauallo *prieto* poniendola en la segunda casa dell alffil *prieto*" (g8-f7). Steiger does not correct the text but offers the correct move Dg8-f7. Calvo also gives the proper square without mention of the error. Crombach does not correct this error.

<sup>628</sup> There is an "F" written in the left margin.

<sup>629</sup> The piece orientations from this problem are reversed in the diagram on fol. 60v; the winning player of white sits at right.

<sup>630</sup> Steiger, HSMS and Crombach delete "os."

<sup>631</sup> Both an "F" and a "+" are written in the left margin.

**[PROBLEM 98]**

**Este es otro iuego departido en que ha dizenuewe trebeios que han a seer entablados assi como estan en la figura dell entablamiento. & han se de iogar desta guisa.**

LOs que primeramente comiençan este iuego; esos uençen & dan mathe a los otros. & si comiençan los prietos dan mathe al Rey blanco en dos uezes con los sus iuegos mismos.

¶ El primero es dar la xaque con su Roque prieto que esta en la casa dell alfferza prieta poniendolo en la terçera casa dessa misma alfferza. & entrara el Rey blanco por fuerça en la quarta casa del Rey prieto.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque & mathe con el cauallo prieto que esta en la casa del Roque prieto; poniendolo en la su terçera casa.

¶ Et si los blancos iogaren primero daran mate al Rey prieto en çinco uezes o en menos si los prietos no lo sopieren alongar.

¶ El primer iuego dar la xaque con el Roque blanco que esta en su casa; poniendolo en casa dell alfferza blanca. & entrara el Rey prieto por fuerça en la terçera casa del Rey blanco.

¶ El segundo iuego; dar la xaque con ell otro Roque que esta en la quarta casa del cauallo blanco poniendolo en la terçera casa desse mismo cauallo. & entrara el Rey prieto por fuerça; en la segunda casa dell Alffil blanco.

¶ El tercero iuego. dar la xaque con el cauallo blanco que esta en la quarta casa del cauallo prieto; poniendolo en la terçera casa del Roque blanco. & entrara el Rey prieto por fuerça; en la segunda

[fol. 61r<sup>632</sup>] ACE DREX

casa del cauallo blanco.

¶ El quarto iuego dar la xaque con el Roque blanco que esta en la casa dell alfferza blanca poniendolo en la casa del cauallo blanco. & entrara el Rey prieto por fuerça en la segunda casa del Roque blanco.

¶ El vo. iuego dar la xaque & mathe con el cauallo que esta en la quarta casa dell alfferza blanca. poniendolo en la tercera casa dell alffil blanco.

¶ Et este es el departimiento deste iuego; Et esta es la figura dell entablamiento.

**[PROBLEM 99]**

**Este es otro iuego departido en que ha ueynt y ocho trebeios que han a seer entablados assi como estan en la figura dell entablamiento & han se de iogar desta guisa**

LOs prietos iuegan primero & dan mathe al Rey blanco en .ix. uezes delos sus iuegos mismos en la quarta casa del Roque prieto.

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<sup>632</sup> The tear in the top center of this folio has been sewn. There is a hole at bottom right.

¶ El primer iuego dar la xaque con el Roque prieto que esta en la casa del caualllo prieto, tomando el peon blanco que esta<sup>633</sup> en la tercera casa del caualllo blanco. & tomarlo a el Rey blanco por fuerça con su Roque.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la xaque con ell otro Roque prieto tomando ell alfferza blanca que esta en la su tercera casa. & tomar lo ha el Rey blanco por fuerça con su alffil.

¶ El tercero iuego dar la xaque con el caualllo que esta en la quarta casa del alffil prieto; poniendolo en la quarta casa del Roque blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco por fuerça en la quarta casa de su alfferza.

¶ El quarto iuego dar la xaque con el peon prieto poniendolo en la quarta casa del Rey prieto. & entrara el Rey blanco por fuerça en la su quarta casa.

¶ El quinto iuego dar la xaque con el caualllo prieto que esta en la quarta<sup>634</sup> casa del Roque blanco<sup>635</sup> poniendolo en la quarta casa del alffil prieto. & entrara el Rey blanco por fuerça en la quarta casa dell alffil prieto.

¶ El .vijo. iuego dar la xaque con el peon prieto que esta en la segunda casa del caualllo prieto poniendolo en la tercera desse mismo

[fol. 61v] LIBRO DEL

caualllo. & entrara el Rey blanco por fuerça en la quarta casa del caualllo blanco.

¶ El .viijo. iuego dar la xaque con ell Alffil prieto poniendolo en la tercera casa del Rey prieto. & entrara el Rey blanco por fuerça en la quarta casa de su Roque

¶ El viiijo. iuego dar la xaque con el peon prieto que esta en la tercera casa del caualllo prieto poniendolo en la quarta desse mismo caualllo & entrara el Rey blanco por fuerça en la quarta casa del roque prieto.

¶ El noueno iuego dar la xaque & mathe con el caualllo prieto que esta en la casa del Rey prieto; poniendolo en la su segunda casa.

¶ Et este es el departimiento deste iuego; & esta es la figura dell entablamiento.

### [PROBLEM 100]

**Este es otro iuego departido en que a onze<sup>636</sup> trebeios que han a seer entablados assi como estan en la figura dell entablamiento & han se de iogar desta guisa**

LOs prietos iuegan primero & dan mathe al Rey blanco en çinco uezes o en menos con los sus iuegos mismos; si los blancos no lo sopieren alongar.

ca si los blancos iogassen primero darien mathe al Rey prieto al primero iuego con el Roque blanco poniendolo en la casa del Roque prieto.

<sup>633</sup> The correct starting square for black's first move in Problem 99 and the piece he captures are omitted from the manuscript Steiger inserts this and the previous line (en la casa del caualllo prieto, tomando el peon blanco que esta) in order to give a logical reading. Crombach leaves the text as is but notes Steiger's correction.

<sup>634</sup> Problem 99, in black's fifth move Crombach omits "quarta" without explanation.

<sup>635</sup> Manuscript: prieto; Steiger: blanco. Problem 99, in black's fifth move the knight is described as moving from the "quarta casa del Roque prieto" (a5) to c5. As this is impossible, the text should read "la quarta casa del Roque blanco" (a4). Crombach leaves the text as is but notes Steiger's correction.

<sup>636</sup> Steiger and Grandese (1987) note that twelve pieces are clearly visible in the diagram.

¶ El primer iuego es dar la xaque en descubierta con ell alffil prieto *que* esta en la *tercera* casa del *Roque prieto*. poniendolo en la *quarta* casa dell alffil blanco. E por alongar el mathe encubrirs con su *Roque que* esta en la *segunda* casa del cauallo *prieto* poniendolo en la *segunda* del *Roque prieto*.

¶ El segundo iuego tomarlo a el Rey *prieto* con su *Roque* & darla *xaque*. otrossi por alongar el mathe encubrirs con ell otro su *Roque* blanco *que* esta en la *tercera* casa del *Roque prieto* poniendolo en la *tercera* casa dell otro *Roque prieto*.

¶ El tercero iuego tomarlo ha el Rey *prieto* con su *Roque* & dar la *xaque* e entrara el Rey blanco por fuerça en la casa de su cauallo.

¶ El quarto iuego iogara el Rey

[fol. 62r<sup>637</sup>] ACE DREX

prieto con su *Roque* en la *tercera* casa dell otro *Roque prieto*. & iogara el Rey blanco si quisiere el o con qual quiere de *sus* peones.

¶ El quinto iuego darla *xaque* & mathe con el *Roque prieto* poniendolo en la casa del *Roque* blanco.

E este es el departimiento deste iuego; & esta es la figura del entablamiento.

### [PROBLEM 101]

**Este es otro iuego departido en *que* ha ueynt & un trebeio que han a seer entablados assi como estan en la figura dell entablamiento. & han se de iogar desta guisa**

LOs blancos iuegan primero & dan mathe al Rey *prieto* en seys uezes delos sus iuegos mismos en la *segunda* casa dell alffil blanco *que* esta entablado en casa *prieta*.

¶ El primer iuego dar la *xaque* con el su *Roque* blanco *que* esta en la *quarta* casa del cauallo blanco; poniendolo en la *segunda* casa del cauallo *prieto*. & entrara el Rey *prieto* por fuerça; en la *tercera* casa de su alfferza.

¶ El segundo iuego darla *xaque* con su peon blanco *que* esta en la *quarta* casa dell alffil blanco poniendolo en la *quarta* casa dell alffil *prieto* en guarda de su alffil. e entrara el Rey *prieto* por fuerça; en la *quarta* casa de su alfferza.

¶ El *tercero* iuego darla *xaque* con ell alfferza blanca *que* esta en la *tercera* casa del cauallo blanco; poniendolo en la *quarta* dell alffil blanco. & entrara el Rey *prieto* por fuerça; en la *quarta* casa dell alfferza blanca.

¶ El *quarto* iuego darla *xaque* con el cauallo blanco *que* esta en su casa; poniendolo en la *tercera* dell alffil blanco. & entrara el Rey *prieto* por fuerça en la

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*tercera* casa dell <sup>638</sup> Alffil blanco.

¶ El quinto iuego darla *xaque* con su *Roque* blanco *que* esta en la *segunda* casa

<sup>637</sup> The bad tear at right has been patched with tape.

<sup>638</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of "otro."

del cauallo prieto; poniendolo en la *tercera* del cauallo blanco & entrara el Rey prieto por fuerça en la segunda casa dell Alffil blanco.

¶ El sexto iuego dar la *xaque* & mathe con el cauallo blanco que esta en la tercera casa dell alffil blanco poniendolo en la casa del Rey blanco.

¶ Et si los blancos erraren de dar *xaque* cada uez al Rey *prieto*; uençen los prietos por *que son mas* & meiores.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura dell entablamiento.

### [PROBLEM 102]

**Este es otro iuego departido en *que* ha dizeseys iuegos *que* han a seer entablados assi como estan en la figura del entablamiento & han se de iogar desta guisa.**

LOs blancos iuegan primero & dan mathe al Rey prieto en çinco<sup>639</sup> uezes delos sus iuegos mismos en la *tercera* casa del su Roque *prieto*.

¶ El primer iuego dar la *xaque* con el Roque blanco poniendolo en la segunda casa del Alffil prieto. & entrara el Rey prieto por fuerça en la casa de su cauallo.

¶ El segundo iuego dar la *xaque* con el peon blanco poniendolo en la segunda casa del Roque *prieto*. & entrara el Rey prieto por fuerça en la casa de su Roque.

¶ El tercero iuego dar la *xaque* con el Roque blanco poniendolo en la casa dell alffil *prieto*. & entrara el Rey prieto por fu

[fol. 63r] ACE DREX

erça en la segunda casa de su cauallo.

¶ El quarto iuego darla *xaque* con el Roque<sup>640</sup> blanco poniendolo en la casa del cauallo *prieto*. & entrara el Rey prieto por fuerça en la *terçera* casa de su Roque.

¶ El .*vo.* iuego dar la *xaque* & mathe con el cauallo blanco; poniendolo en la segunda casa dell Alffil prieto.

¶ Et si los blancos erraren de dar *xaque* cada uez al Rey prieto; es el Rey blanco mathe al *primer* iuego dandol *xaque* con el Roque prieto; poniendolo en la segunda casa del Roque blanco.

¶ Et este es el departimiento deste iuego & esta es la figura dell entablamiento.

### [PROBLEM 103]

**Este es otro iuego departido en *que* ha siete trebeios *que* han a seer entablados assi como estan en la figura dell entablamiento. & han se de iogar desta guisa.**

LOs prietos iuegan primero & dan mathe al Rey blanco en onze uezes con los sus iuegos mismos ni mas ni menos.

¶ El primer iuego dar la *xaque* con el peon *prieto* que esta en la tercera casa dell

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<sup>639</sup> Manuscript: çinço; HSMS çinco. This latter form is found also in Problems 90, 98, 100 which like this problem are of a more European than Arabic style, as well as in Astrological Checkers. By comparison, cinco is found seventy-two times.

<sup>640</sup> HSMS inserts "el."

alfil blanco; poniendolo en la segunda desse mismo alffil. & entrara el Rey blanco por fuerça en la casa del su Roque blanco.

¶ El segundo iuego poner el peon prieto en la casa del alffil blanco alfferzandolo.<sup>641</sup> & entrara el Rey blanco por fuerça en la casa de su cauallo.

¶ El tercero iuego poner el peon prieto alfferzado en la tercera casa dell alffil blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco por fuerça en la casa de su Roque.

¶ El quarto iuego dar la xaque con aquel peon prieto alfferzado poniendolo en la segunda casa del cauallo blanco en guarda del peon prieto. & entrara el Rey<sup>642</sup> blanco por fuerça en la casa de su cauallo.

¶ El quinto iuego poner ell alffil prieto que esta en la quarta casa dell Alffil<sup>643</sup> blanco;<sup>644</sup> en la segunda casa dell alfferza blanca. o en la tercera del

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Roque prieto o en la terçera casa dell Alfferza prieta. & iogara el Rey blanco por fuerça en la segunda casa de su Roque blanco.

¶ El Sexto iuego iogara<sup>645</sup> el Rey prieto que esta en la segunda casa del Rey blanco; poniendolo en la terçera casa del Alffil blanco. & iogara el Rey blanco por fuerça en la casa de su cauallo blanco.

¶ El seteno iuego poner el Rey prieto en la tercera casa del Rey blanco; & iogara el Rey<sup>646</sup> blanco por fuerça en la segunda casa de su Roque.

¶ Ell ochauo iuego poner el Rey prieto en la quarta casa dell alffil blanco. & iogara el Rey blanco por fuerça; en la casa de su cauallo.

¶ El noueno iuego poner el Rey prieto en la tercera casa del alffil blanco & iogara el Rey blanco por fuerça en la segunda casa de su Roque.

¶ El dezeno iuego dar la xaque con ell alffil prieto poniendolo en la quarta casa dell alffil blanco. & entrara el Rey blanco por fuerça en la casa de su cauallo.

¶ Ell onzeno iuego darla xaque & mathe con el peon prieto que esta en la tercera casa del Roque blanco poniendolo en la segunda casa desse mismo Roque en guarda dell Alffil prieto.

¶ Et este es el departimiento deste iuego. ¶ Et esta es la figura dell entablamiento.

[fol. 64r<sup>647</sup>] ACE DREX

[fol. 64v]

<sup>641</sup> Use of *alfferzar* as a verb meaning to promote to *alfferza* similar to *to king* in modern game of checkers. This usage appears in various forms Problems 33, 45, 47 and 103 but not in 79.

<sup>642</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of "prieto."

<sup>643</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of "b."

<sup>644</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of "poniendolo."

<sup>645</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of "con."

<sup>646</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of "b."

<sup>647</sup> There is a hole at the top right. The cufic Arabic script on the tent in the miniature is a basmala denoting the beginning of the work from the Arabic perspective.

[fol. 65r<sup>648</sup>] LIBRODELOS DADOS

### En que guisa deuen seer fechos los dados

PVes<sup>649</sup> que delos iuegos del achedrex que se iuegan por seso auemos ya fablado; lo mas complidamiente que pudimos; queremos agora *aqui* contar delos iuegos delos dados; por dos razones. La una por que la contienda delos Sabios. segund mostramos en el comienço del Libro,<sup>650</sup> fue entre seso & uentura qual era meior. E desto dio cada uno so muestra al Rey. ¶ El primero del seso; por los iuegos del Acedrex. ¶ E el segundo dela auentura; por los dados. ¶ La otra por que maguer las tablas son mayor cosa. & mas apersonada que los dados por que ellas non se pueden iogar a menos dellos; conuiene que fable dellos primeramiente.

E dezimos que an de seer tres figuras quadradas de seys cantos eguales tamanno ell uno como ell otro en grandez. & en egualdad dela quadra. ca ssi en *otra* manera fuesse no caerie tan bien duna parte como dotra. & serie enganno mas que uentura. E por ende esta es la una; delas maneras de enganno; como diremos adelante; con que fazen los dados engannosos aquellos que quieren engannar con ellos.

¶ E a de auer en estas seys quadras en cada una dellas; puntos puestos en esta guisa. ¶ En la una seys. & en la *otra* cinco. en la *otra* quatro. en la *otra* tres.<sup>651</sup> en la *otra* dos; & en la *otra* uno. assi *que* uengan en cadaun dado ueyntiun punto.<sup>652</sup> de manera que uengan en<sup>653</sup> los tres dados; sessenta & tres puntos.

¶ E deuen seer puestos los puntos. en esta guisa. so la ffaz del seys; el as. & so el cinco; el dos. & so el quatro el *tria*.

¶ E estos dados pueden seer fechos;

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de fuste. o de piedra. o de huesso. o de todo metal. mas sennaladamiente. son meiores de huesso el mas pesado *que* fallaren. que dotra cosa ninguna. & mas ygualmiente & mas llanos caen *doquier que* los echen.

### El iuego de mayores & de tanto en uno como en dos

EL primer iuego delos que usan los omnes. el *que* mas puntos echare; *que* gane & este iuego que llaman a mayores.

¶ Todas las otras maneras de iuegos que a<sup>654</sup> en ellos son posturas que pusieron

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<sup>648</sup> Canettieri gives his transcription with modernized accentuation, spacing, punctuation and somewhat modernized spelling from this point through the end of the *LJ* alongside his Italian translation on facing pages. He also offers a title more reflective of his view of the contents: *Libro de los dados, de las tablas, del grant acedrex e del acedrex de las diez casas, del acedrex de los quatro tiempos del año, del alquerque, de los escaques e de las tablas que se juegan por astronomía.*

<sup>649</sup> Grandese (1987) and (1988): Pues

<sup>650</sup> Grandese (1987) and (1988): libro

<sup>651</sup> HSMS inserts this period.

<sup>652</sup> Canettieri inserts an “s” here even though this is not the pattern of the rest of the *LJ*.

<sup>653</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “l.”

<sup>654</sup> Canettieri modernizes to “ha” without a footnote.

los omnes entressi<sup>655</sup> *que* son iuegos departidos.

¶ Assi como qui echasse menos puntos que ganasse.<sup>656</sup>

¶ O tanto *en* ell uno como en los dos. que es en esta<sup>657</sup> manera que si dixiere en el un dado seys; que diga en los otros dos cinco & as o quatro & dos o<sup>658</sup> ternas. ¶ E si dixiere en ell uno cinco; que diga en los otros dos quatro & as. o tres & dos. ¶ E si dixiere en ell uno quatro; que diga en los otros tria & as. o dos dos.<sup>659</sup> ¶ E si dixiere en ell otro tres; que diga en los otros dos & as. ¶ E si dixiere en ell otro dos; que diga en<sup>660</sup> los<sup>661</sup> otros amas as.

[fol. 66r]<sup>662</sup> DAD DOS

### Este es el iuego dela triga

OTro iuego ay<sup>663</sup> que llaman triga que se iuega en esta manera. que si omne iuega con otro. & lança primeramiente paren los tres dados; o quinze puntos o dizeseys o dizesiete o dizeocho; o la soçobra destes que son seys cinco & quatro & tres que gana. & estas suertes todas son llamadas. ¶ Trigas & pueden uenir en esta manera.

¶ Los dizeocho puntos; Senas alterz.

¶ Los dizesiete; Senas cinco.

¶ Los dizeseys senas quatro; & quinas seys.

¶ Los quinze senas tria & seys cinco & quatro & quinas alterz.

OTrossi los<sup>664</sup> seys puntos pueden uenir en esta manera quatro amas as o tres dos & as; o dos dos alterz.

¶ Los cinco puntos tria & amas as. o dos dos as.

¶ Los quatro dos & amas as.

¶ los tres amas as alterz.

<sup>655</sup> HSMS notes that with a “~” that there is a mark over the second *e* in entressi. There is a reddish mark but I do not it is either intentional or meaningful.

<sup>656</sup> I name this game *menores*, the opposite of the game *mayores* named above.

<sup>657</sup> Steiger: enesta

<sup>658</sup> Manuscript and HSMS: &; Steiger and Crombach: o

<sup>659</sup> Crombach: deletes (o dos dos.) The intentional repetition of numbers, meaning that number each on or for dice, spaces or players’ bets recurs throughout the manuscript and is variously corrected by others as noted.

<sup>660</sup> Canettieri says “en” is missing and supplies it. The word is clearly visible in the manuscript

<sup>661</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “o”; Canettieri inserts “en.”

<sup>662</sup> Unlike the rest of the *LJ*, the miniatures of the “Libro de los dados” precede their game descriptions. This can be established by working backwards from the end of the treatise since the final two games shown are played with only two dice therefore must be *quirguesca*. Canettieri identifies these games as a *mayores* and *tanto en uno como en dos*, which I do not believe are not shown in the *LJ*. While the games shown might possibly be *mayores* (or *menores*), they do definitely not show winning rolls of *tanto en uno como en dos*. Given that they do show winning *trigas* and working from the end of the treatise, I believe they must be games of *triga*. At left is a winning higher *triga* of 6+6+3=15 (*quinze, senas tria*), and, at right is a winning lower *triga* 1+1+4=6 (*seys, quatro amas as*).

<sup>663</sup> Canettieri modernizes to “hay” without a footnote, here and throughout.

<sup>664</sup> By scribal error the rubric “Otra manera de triga” is inserted too early here and so is repeated below in its proper place. This repetition causes Janer (49) to list *triga* as having three versions.

¶ Otrossi par<sup>665</sup> en todos los dados; pueden uenir en esta manera. Senas alterz. Quinas alterz. Quadernas alterz. Ternas alterz.<sup>666</sup> dos dos alterz. Amas as alterz.

### Otra manera de triga.

En otra manera puede omne lançar; en que no aura ningunas destas suertes; *que* fata aqui dixiemos & sera triga. como si omne tomare pora ssi; siete puntos o ocho o nueue o diez o onze o doze o treze o catorze. ¶ Et ell otro con qui el iogare lançare aquella mis

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ma suerte; esta sera triga & ganara el qui primero tomo suerte.

¶ Et ssi por aventura non lançare la suerte del otro & tomare otra pora ssi; conuerna que lancen<sup>667</sup> tantas uezes fasta *que* qual quiere dellos acierte en alguna<sup>668</sup> destas suertes. ¶ E lançando la su suerte sera triga & ganara. ¶ Et<sup>669</sup> si lançare la dell otro; otrossi sera triga & perdera.

¶ E estas suertes pueden uenir en tantas maneras.

¶ Los siete puntos cinco amas as o quatro dos & as o tres & dos dos o ternas as.

¶ Los ocho puntos seys amas as. o cinco dos & as. o quatro tria & as.<sup>670</sup> o quatro dos dos. o ternas dos.

¶ Los nueue puntos seys dos & as o cinco tria & as. o cinco dos dos. o quadernas as. o quatro tres & dos o ternas alterz.

¶ LOS diez puntos seys tria & as. o seys dos dos. o cinco quatro & as. o cinco tres & dos. o quadernas dos o ternas quatro.

¶ los onze puntos seys quatro & as. o seys tres & dos. o cinco quatro & dos. o quinas as. o ternas cinco. o quadernas tria.

¶ Los doze puntos seys cinco & as. seys quatro & dos. o seys & ternas. o cinco quatro & tria o quinas dos o quadernas alterz.

¶ Los treze puntos senas as. o seys quatro & tria. o seys cinco & dos. o quinas tria. o quadernas cinco.

¶ Los catorze puntos senas dos. o seys cinco & tria. o seys & quadernas. o quinas quatro.

¶ E en tantas maneras como desuso auemos dicho; pueden uenir suertes. en los dados; & no en mas.

<sup>665</sup> HSMS: par-

<sup>666</sup> Steiger, Crombach and Canettieri insert “ternas alterz” for completeness.

<sup>667</sup> Canettieri gives “lançe” without a footnote.

<sup>668</sup> Canettieri says this reads “algunas” and corrects it to “alguna.”

<sup>669</sup> Canettieri gives only regularized “E” throughout the manuscript.

<sup>670</sup> Canettieri notes the absence of the combination (4+3+1=8) so I insert “o quatro tria & as” as this same combination is given on fol. 69v for *panquist* where I believe it would most likely fall given the patterns of the other sequences.

[fol. 67r<sup>671</sup>] DA DOS

**El iuego que llaman azar.**

OTra manera ay de iuego de dados que llaman Azar<sup>672</sup> que se iuega en esta guisa. ¶ El qui primero ouiere de lançar los dados si lançare .xv. puntos o dize seys. o dizesiete o dizeocho. o las soçobras destas suertes. *que* son seys o cinco o quatro o tres; *ganan*<sup>673</sup> ¶ E qual quiere destas suertes en *qualquier* manera que uengan segundo los otros iuegos *que* desuso dixiemos es llamado<sup>674</sup> azar.

¶ E si por aventura no lança ninguno destos Azares<sup>675</sup> primeramente. & da all otro por suerte una daquellas que son de seys puntos a arriba o de quinze ayuso; en qual quiere manera *que* pueda uenir. segundo en los otros iuegos dixiemos que uinien.<sup>676</sup> ¶ E depues destas lançare alguna delas suertes *que aqui* dixiemos que son azar; esta suerte sera llamada; reazar. & perdera aquel que primero lançare.

¶ E otrossi si por aventura no lançare esta suerte. *que* se torna en reazar. tomare pora si una delas otras suertes *que* son de seys puntos a arriba o de quinze ayuso en qual quiere manera *que* uenga.

¶ Conuerna *que* lançen tantas uegadas fasta que uenga una destas suertes o la suya por que gana. o la dell otro por *que* pierde. saluo ende si tomare aquella misma suerte *que* dio all otro; *que* serie llamada encuentro. ¶ Et *conuernie que* tornassen a alançar como de cabo.

¶ E como quier *que* uiniesse alguna delas suertes *que* son llamadas azar<sup>677</sup> o reazar. & entre tanto *que* uinie<sup>678</sup> una daquellas *que* amos auien tomado pora ssi; non ganarie ninguno dellos por ella nin perderie fasta que se partiesse por las suertes; assi como desuso; dize.

[fol. 67v<sup>679</sup>] LIBRO DE LOS

**Este es el iuego de marlota.**

OTro iuego ay de dados que llaman marlota en que no a azar nin reazar nin triga. ¶ E iuegasse por suerte partida desta guisa. ¶ El *que* lançare los dados a de dar suerte al otro con *que* iogare

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<sup>671</sup> It is difficult to say whether the miniature's state is due to incompleteness by the artists or intentional dry scraping damage. This miniature shows the game of *azar*, with the winning roll 6+6+5=17. Canettieri identifies this as a game of *triga*. While this roll would also be a winning higher *triga*, that game has already been shown. See also note on fol. 66v regarding how the miniatures showing the games precede their descriptions in the "Libro de los dados."

<sup>672</sup> HSMS: azar

<sup>673</sup> Steiger, Crombach and Canettieri: gana

<sup>674</sup> Canettieri offers the correction "llamada" to agree with *suerte*.

<sup>675</sup> HSMS: azares

<sup>676</sup> Canettieri: vienen

<sup>677</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of "o."

<sup>678</sup> Canettieri: venié

<sup>679</sup> Does this miniature show the game of *marlota*, with a roll of 5+5+5=15? Canettieri identifies this as a game of *azar*. See note on fol. 66v regarding how the miniatures showing the games precede their descriptions in the "Libro de los dados."

¶ E las suertes *que* puede dar o tomar pora ssi a este iuego son estas siete o ocho o nueue. o diez o onze o doze o treze o catorze. en qual quiere manera que uengan segundo en los otros iuegos diximos *que* pueden uenir. & si lançare de catorze a arriba o de siete ayuso; no es suerte poral uno ni poral otro Ante conuerna *que* lance tantas uezes fasta *que* de suerte destas sobredichas a aquel con *que* iogare. & tome <sup>680</sup> otra pora ssi. & destas suertes a de seer la primera *daquel con que* iogare. & la otra suya.

¶ E depues *que* las suertes fueren partidas en esta guisa; a <sup>681</sup> de lançar tanto fasta *que* uengan la suya o la del otro & assi lançando la suya gana & lançando la dell otro pierde.

[fol. 68r<sup>682</sup>] DA DOS

### **Este es el iuego dela Riffa.** <sup>683</sup>

Otra manera de iuego ay; que llaman Riffa que se iuega en esta guisa. ¶ El que primero lançare los dados deuelos echar tantas uegadas; fata que lance par en los dos. desi deue lançar ell otro. ¶ Entonce an se <sup>684</sup> de contar los puntos deste dado tercero con los puntos delos otros dos dados *primeros*.

¶ E si ell otro que iogare con ell lançando los dados en esta misma guisa echare mas puntos; gana. & si tantos manna. & si menos pierde.

[fol. 68v<sup>685</sup>] LIBRO DELOS

### **Este iuego llaman par con as.**

OTro iuego a y *que* llaman par con as & iuegasse desta guisa. ¶ El que uenciere la batalla iogara primero. ¶ Et si echare par en los dos dados & as en ell otro; gana. ¶ Et si no lançare ell otro. & desta guisa iogaran; fasta *que* lance ell uno. & el que primero lo echare; ganara.

[fol. 69r<sup>686</sup>] DA DOS

### **Este iuego llaman Panquist.** <sup>687</sup>

<sup>680</sup> Manuscript: o; Steiger, HSMS, Crombach and Canettieri all delete this letter.

<sup>681</sup> Canettieri modernizes to “han” without a footnote.

<sup>682</sup> It is difficult to say whether the miniature’s state is due to wear over time or intentional dry scraping damage. This miniature shows the game of *riffa*, with a roll of 3+3+1=7, a pair plus a third die. Canettieri mistakenly identifies this as a game of *marlota*.

<sup>683</sup> Janer: riffa (49), but, sissa (251)

<sup>684</sup> Canettieri modernizes to “hanse” without a footnote.

<sup>685</sup> It is difficult to say whether the miniature’s state is due to incompleteness by the artists or intentional dry scraping damage. This miniature shows the game of *par con as*. It is difficult to read the dice shown but it appears to be a pair with an ace rolled by the winning who calls for a drink and who is also wearing more clothes than his opponent. Canettieri mistakenly identifies this as a game of *riffa*.

<sup>686</sup> This folio is torn and appears to have been sewn at one time. This miniature shows the game of *panquist*, with a the highest win or *panquist* for seven, a roll of 3+3+1 (ternas as). Canettieri mistakenly identifies this as a game of *par con as*.

<sup>687</sup> Janer (49): panquist

OTra manera ay de iuego que llaman panquist que se iuega en esta guisa. El que uenciere la batalla lançara primero. & ell otro ha de parar quatro paradas una ante otra. & el que lançare dara la *primera* suerte all otro. & la segunda tomara porassi.<sup>688</sup>

¶ E las suertes *que se pueden* dar son de siete puntos fata catorze.

¶ el que ouiere siete puntos por suerte si echare cinco amas as. o quatro dos & as; leuara las dos *primeras*. & si echare dos dos & tria leuara las tres ¶ E si echare ternas as; leuara las quatro. ¶ E a esta suerte postremera llaman panquist.

otrossi el que

[fol. 69v] LIBRO DE LOS

ouiere ocho puntos por suerte. si lançare cinco dos & as leuara la primera. ¶ E si echare quatro tria & as; leuara las dos. ¶ E si lançare seys<sup>689</sup> amas as. o dos dos & quatro; leuara las tres. ¶ E si echare ternas dos leuara las quatro. ¶ E a esta suerte postremera llaman panquist.

¶ Otrossi el que ouiere nueue puntos por suerte. si lançare seys dos & as. o cinco tria & as;<sup>690</sup> leuara la primera. ¶ E si lançare quatro tres & dos; leuara las dos. ¶ E si echare dos dos &<sup>691</sup> cinco o ternas alterz; leuara las tres. ¶ E si lançare quadernas as. leuara las quatro. & esta suerte postremera llaman panquist.

¶ Otrossi el que ouiere diez puntos & lançare cinco quatro & as o cinco tres & dos; leuara la primera. ¶ E si echare seys tria & as<sup>692</sup> leuara las dos. ¶ E si lançare dos dos & seys. o ternas quatro; leuara las tres. ¶ E si echare quadernas dos; leuara las quatro. & a esta suerte postremera llaman panquist.

¶ Otrossi el *que* ouiere onze puntos. por suerte. & lançare seys tres & dos o cinco quatro & dos ; leuara la primera. ¶ E si echare seys quatro & as. leuara las dos. ¶ E si lançare quinas as o quadernas tria; leuara las tres. ¶ E si lançare ternas .vo.<sup>693</sup> leuara las quatro. & esta suerte postremera llaman panquist.

¶ Otrossi el *que* ouiere doze puntos. si lançare seys cinco & as. o seys quatro & dos leuara la primera. ¶ E si echare cinco quatro & tria leuara las dos. ¶ E si lançare quinas dos o quadernas alterz leuara las tres. ¶ E si echare ternas seys leuara las quatro. & a este<sup>694</sup> suerte postremera llaman panquist.

¶ Otrossi el *que* ouiere treze puntos. & lançare seys cinco & dos; leuara la primera. & si echare seys quatro & tria; leuara las dos. ¶ E si lançare senas as. o quinas

<sup>688</sup> Manuscript: pora; HSMS: porassi; Steiger: (si); Crombach: [si]; Canettieri: <ssi>

<sup>689</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of "a."

<sup>690</sup> Manuscript and Steiger: las; HSMS, Crombach and Canettieri: & as. At this point Crombach's endnote numbers and endnotes match once again due to the omission of number 31 from the body of the text.

<sup>691</sup> Manuscript: o; HSMS: &; Steiger, Crombach and Canettieri: e

<sup>692</sup> Manuscript and Steiger: las; HSMS, Crombach and Canettieri: & as. Crombach numbers this endnote the same as her previous endnote.

<sup>693</sup> Canettieri: cinco, noting V<sup>o</sup>

<sup>694</sup> Manuscript: este; Canettieri: esta, noting este

tria. leuara las tres. ¶ E si lançare quadernas cinco leuara las quatro & a esta<sup>695</sup> suerte postremera llaman panquist.

¶ Otrossi el que ouiere catorze puntos & lançare seys cinco & tria; leuara las dos. E si echare senas dos o quinas quatro; leuara las tres. ¶ E si lançare quadernas seys leuara las quatro. & a esta suerte postremera llaman panquist.

¶ E estas son las suertes por *que* gana. tan bien el que para como el que lança los dados al *que* primero uiene su suerte.

[fol. 70r<sup>696</sup>] DA DOS

### Este iuego llaman medio Azar.<sup>697</sup>

Otra manera ay de iuego de dados qve<sup>698</sup> llaman medio azar *que* se iuega en esta guisa. ¶ Los *que* quisieren iogar an<sup>699</sup> de lançar primeramente batalla. & el *que* uenciere lançara primero.

¶ E si lançare .xiiij.<sup>700</sup> puntos o dent arriba o siete o dent ayuso. en *qual* quier manera *que* uenga cadauna destas suertes sera azar. ¶ E de cada azar leuara un tanto. de como pusieren entressi *que* uala el tanto de un dinero o de un *ssueldo*<sup>701</sup> o un *morauedi* o dent arriba *quanto* fuere la postura.

¶ E las suertes *que* son en comedio destas son llamadas suertes. & son estas ocho o nueue & diez & onze & doze & treze. ¶ E si por auentura no lançare azar & diere suerte al otro. & tomare suerte pora ssi; la *que* ante uiniere ganara tres tantos.

¶ E si *desque* diere suerte all otro lançare luego azar ante *que* tome suerte pora ssi; ira de quatro tantos. ¶ E si lançare otro azar ira de cinco. ¶ E quantos azares lançare uno depos otro; ualdra cadauno un tanto.

[fol. 70v<sup>702</sup>] LIBRO DE LOS

fata que tome suerte por si.

¶ E si por auentura ante *que* tome suerte pora ssi *encontrare* con la suerte dell otro; lançara de cabo por azar. & <sup>703</sup> lo echare; ganara todos los tantos *que* y fueren. ¶ E si no dar<sup>704</sup> la suerte *otra* uez. & *contara* sobre los otros tantos *primeros* & desta guisa se

<sup>695</sup> Manuscript: scribal correction from “este” to “esta”; Canettieri does not note this scribal correction and corrects it himself.

<sup>696</sup> This folio is torn and appears to have been sewn at one time; there is also a hole at lower right. This miniature shows the game of *medio azar*. The dice are difficult to read. Canettieri mistakenly identifies this as a game of *panquist*.

<sup>697</sup> Janer: azar (49, 251)

<sup>698</sup> HSMS: que

<sup>699</sup> Canettieri modernizes to “han” without a footnote.

<sup>700</sup> Canettieri: catorze, noting XIII.

<sup>701</sup> Steiger: s(ueldo)

<sup>702</sup> It is difficult to say whether the miniature’s state is due to incompleteness by the artists or intentional dry scraping damage. This miniature shows the game of *azar pujado*. The dice are difficult to read. Canettieri mistakenly identifies this as a game of *medio azar*.

<sup>703</sup> Canettieri inserts “si.”

<sup>704</sup> Manuscript: dar, Canettieri: dará

torna el iuego como de comienço.

**Este iuego llaman Azar<sup>705</sup> pujado.**

EL azar que dizen puiado se iuega desta manera *que* el medio azar que desuso dixiemos que puian toda uia los tantos tan bien por azar; como por qual suerte quiere que uenga [ante] la suerte del uno o dell otro. ¶ E por esto llaman a este Azar puiado por que ell otro desuso es medio azar.

[fol. 71r<sup>706</sup>] DA DOS

**Este es el iuego que llaman guirguesca**

Otra manera a y de iuego que llaman guirguesca *que* se iuega con dos dados en esta guisa. ¶ Los *que* quisieren iogar an<sup>707</sup> de alañar primeramente batalla. ¶ E el que la uenciere lançara *primero*.

& si lançare senas o seys cinco o la soçobra destes *que* son dos & as o amas as sera azar. ¶ E ganara por el un tanto de qual quantia pusieren entressi *que* uala.

¶ E si por aventura no lançare azar. & echare quatro puntos o cinco. o seys o siete o ocho. o nueue o diez en *qual* quiere guisa *que* uengan. cadauna destas sera llamada suerte. & auer la a<sup>708</sup> aquel con *qui* el iogare. & ell otro parara a ella *quanto* se quisiere. & si el que lança los dados<sup>709</sup> echare otra suerte luego apos<sup>710</sup> ella de tantos puntos como la quel dio esta sera llamada encuentro & leuara lo *que* y fuere si ouiere otorgado de yr a ello o si sse callare.

¶ E si por aventura no lançare encuentro & lançare una delas suertes *que* desuso dixiemos *que* eran azares; perder lo a<sup>711</sup> todo. ¶ E si *non* lançare encuentro ni azar & lançare una delas otras suertes aquella<sup>712</sup> tomara pora ssi. & lançara tantas uezes; fata que uenga la suya o la dell otro. & lançando la suya gana &

[fol. 71v<sup>713</sup>]

por la dell otro pierde.

¶ En estos .xij.<sup>714</sup> iuegos delos dados que aqui auemos puesto; se pueden entender

<sup>705</sup> Janer: azar (49, 251)

<sup>706</sup> It is certain that this miniature shows a winning roll of 7 (6+1) in the game of *guirguesca*, because it is played only with two dice. Canettieri mistakenly identifies this as a game of *azar pujado*, which is played with three dice.

<sup>707</sup> Canettieri modernizes to “han” without a footnote.

<sup>708</sup> Canettieri modernizes to “ha” without a footnote.

<sup>709</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “e.” Canettieri notes its presence as not expunged.

<sup>710</sup> HSMS: a pos

<sup>711</sup> Canettieri modernizes to “ha” without a footnote.

<sup>712</sup> Crombach: aquél la

<sup>713</sup> It is certain that this miniature shows a second game of game of *guirguesca*, because there are again only two dice. It appears that the Jewish player at right has lost by rolling the goal number of his Christian opponent at left, four (3+1). Canettieri correctly identifies this game.

<sup>714</sup> Canettieri: doze, noting XII.

todos los otros *que* iuegan en las otras *tierras que* son fechos o se pueden<sup>715</sup> fazer daqui adelant de que nos *non* sabemos.

[fol. 72r<sup>716</sup>] LIBRO DELAS TABLAS

**Aqui comiença el libro delos<sup>717</sup> iuegos de las<sup>718</sup> tablas. E fabla primeramiente<sup>719</sup> de como deue seer fecho el tablero & las tablas & quantas deuen seer. & qual es la barata & la manera<sup>720</sup> dellas. E otrossi de como an<sup>721</sup> mester los dados pora guiarse por ellos & fazer sus iuegos lo mas sotilmiente *que* pudieren.**

Pves<sup>722</sup> que auemos<sup>723</sup> y hablado delos dados lo mas complidamiente que pudiemos; queremos agora aqui fablar delas<sup>724</sup> tablas. que<sup>725</sup> como quier que ayan<sup>726</sup> mester dados con *que* se iueguen *que* muestran uentura por que ellas se an de iogar cuerdamiente tomando del seso alli do fuere mester. ¶ E otrossi de la uentura. ¶ E por ende *queremos* agora aqui fablar dellas.

¶ Et dezimos assi. que el tablero<sup>727</sup> en que se an<sup>728</sup> de iogar; a de seer quadrado. & en medio a<sup>729</sup> de auer sennal en guisa que se fagan quatro quadras. & en cada *quadra* ha de auer seys casas; que se fagan por todas ueynt & quatro.

¶ E como quier que en algunas tierras fazen las casas delos tableros llanas & pintadas. ¶ E otrossi las tablas con que iuegan quadradas. o Redondas.<sup>730</sup> & non fazen logar en que se encasen; por esso fue fallado por mejor de fazer barras de fuste al tablero. caudas a manera de media rueda. en que puedan encasar las tablas *que* an<sup>731</sup> de seer redondas.

¶ E otrossi a<sup>732</sup> mester *que* la meetad delas tablas; sean duna color; & la otra meetad dotra. por que sean connoscidas<sup>733</sup> vnas dotras. ¶ E an<sup>734</sup> a seer quinze de cada

<sup>715</sup> Canettieri: veden

<sup>716</sup> The face of the man seated second from the right has been intentionally marred by dry scraping.

<sup>717</sup> Grandese (1987): de los

<sup>718</sup> Steiger: delas

<sup>719</sup> Crombach: Primeramiente

<sup>720</sup> = “maña” here and on fols. 72v and 75v as noted. The words “barata” and “maña”, rather than “barata” and “manera”, seem to be a pair in this treatise. See also notes on “manna” or “mannar” on fols. 72v, 76r, 85r, 91r and 93r.

<sup>721</sup> Canettieri modernizes to “han” without a footnote.

<sup>722</sup> Janer: Pues (234)

<sup>723</sup> Canettieri modernizes to “hавemos” without a footnote.

<sup>724</sup> Janer: de las (234)

<sup>725</sup> Canettieri omits this word.

<sup>726</sup> Steiger: ay an; Crombach: ahí han; Canettieri: hayan

<sup>727</sup> Manuscript: scribal correction from tablaero to tablero; Janer: tablaero (235)

<sup>728</sup> Canettieri modernizes to “han” without a footnote.

<sup>729</sup> Canettieri modernizes to “ha” without a footnote.

<sup>730</sup> Janer: redondas (235)

<sup>731</sup> Canettieri modernizes to “han” without a footnote.

<sup>732</sup> Canettieri modernizes to “ha” without a footnote.

<sup>733</sup> Canettieri modernizes the double *n* to *ñ* here (coñoscidas is found neither in the *TDMS* or the *DPCRAX*) and throughout.

color. por que en la una quadra dela meytad del tablero; pueden po

[fol. 72v]

ner en cada una casa; dos dos<sup>735</sup> & ficar tres pora de fuera. pora baratar el iuego o pora mannar<sup>736</sup> quando mester fuere. ¶ Ca sin estas non se podrie fazer.

¶ E por esta razon ponen las tablas dobladas. por que bien assi como el iuego dell acedrex. quando falla algun trebeio solo apartado delos otros que no a y<sup>737</sup> qui lo guarde & lo puede tomar; otrosi el delas tablas. si non estan dobladas; ell otro que lançare aquella suerte que conuiene a<sup>738</sup> aquella casa. la puede tomar a aquesta sola; & no ha y<sup>739</sup> qui gela deffienda.

¶ La barata delas tablas es quando ell un iogador toma tantas tablas all otro que no a<sup>740</sup> despues casas en que entrar. con ellas & pierde por y el iuego. ¶ Et manera<sup>741</sup> es que maguer tenga pocas tablas. & entra con ellas; que non pueda iogar maguer quiera ell uno ni ell otro. ¶ Onde tan bien por la barata como<sup>742</sup> a menos destas tres tablas que son mas delas doze; non se podrie fazer.

LOs dados a mester por fuerça que ayan<sup>743</sup> las tablas. ¶ Ca bien assi como el cuerpo non se podrie mouer. sin los pies; assi ellas non se mouerien sin ellos pora fazer ningun iuego. ca por fuerça derecha segunt los puntos delos dados an ellas de iogar en aquellas casas que son sennaladas pora ellas

¶ E el sennalamiento es tal. que en las casas delas quadras de dentro del tablero; son ordenados los puntos delos dados desta guisa. ¶ En la que es primera en el departimiento del tablero; contra la barra;<sup>744</sup> es por al seys. & la otra cabo della cinco. & la otra quatro & la otra tres. & la otra dos & la otra as. ¶ Onde qui quisiere contar daquella casa que esta cerca la oriella de cabo.<sup>745</sup> en que no a casas fasta la otra quadra del tablero quel esta de lado aurie de fazer el seys. en la primera casa dela<sup>746</sup> otra quadra cabo della. ¶ E esto es por que se nunca cuenta<sup>747</sup> la casa en que esta la tabla. ca sisse

<sup>734</sup> Canettieri modernizes to “han” without a footnote.

<sup>735</sup> HSMS and Crombach delete the repeated word “dos”; Steiger does not. Since this is the way double-twos are indicated in the “Libro de los dados” and how doubled fives are indicated on fol. 75r in this same treatise, I leave it as is. See also Table 4. Names Given to Dice Rolls in the *LJ* in section 1.3.8 Modern Descendants of the *LJ*'s Tables Games.

<sup>736</sup> Evidence for “maña” over “manera” on fols. 72r, 72v and 75v. See also notes on “manna” or “mannar” on fols. 72v, 76r, 85r, 91r and 93r.

<sup>737</sup> Canettieri modernizes to “hay” without a footnote.

<sup>738</sup> Steiger, Grandese (1987) and Canettieri insert “a”; Crombach inserts “ha.”

<sup>739</sup> Canettieri: hay, noting Crombach's (correct) reading

<sup>740</sup> Canettieri modernizes to “ha” without a footnote.

<sup>741</sup> = “maña” as previously noted on fol. 72r and also seen on fol. 75v. See also notes on “manna” or “mannar” on fols. 72v, 76r, 85r, 91r and 93r.

<sup>742</sup> Canettieri corrects word order: como por la barata

<sup>743</sup> Canettieri: hayan

<sup>744</sup> Manuscript: oriella de cabo en que no a casa; these terms reversed in scribal error

<sup>745</sup> Manuscript: barra ; these terms reversed in scribal error

<sup>746</sup> Steiger: de la

<sup>747</sup> Manuscript: cuentan; Canettieri: cuenta, noting Steiger and Crombach.

contasse & uiniesse<sup>748</sup> as; en ella misma se estarie. ¶ Et por ende se a<sup>749</sup> de contar el seys. & todas las otras suertes dela otra segunda casa primera. que esta cabo della adelante. ¶ E desta guisa fazen correr los dados las tablas enderredor. ¶ E fazen los iuegos segund en este libro ueredes. ¶ E por ende a<sup>750</sup> mester que aquellos que las bien quisieren aprender; que sepan primeramientre; quantos puntos lieua cada casa; non se contando la casa onde salle.

[fol. 73r<sup>751</sup>] LIBRO DELAS TAB LAS

**Este es el primer iuego que llaman las quinze tablas.**

EL primer iuego dellas es este que llaman las quinze tablas o las seys o quantas y pudieren poner de quinze fasta una.

[fol. 73v] LIBRO DELAS

**Este iuego llaman los doze canes; o doze hermanos.**

EL segundo iuego es que se doblan las casas & llaman le doze hermanos o doze canes. ¶ E esto es por que se iuega con doze tablas. por que uengan dos a dos dobladas. en las seys casas de dentro en la una delas quatro *quadras* del tablero; qual escogiere el que ouiere de iogar primero.

¶ E el que mas ayna las pudiere doblar delos<sup>752</sup> dos iogadores; ganara. por que ell otro nol podra tomar tabla en quanto la casa estudiere doblada.

¶ Pero cadauno delos que iogaren; deue tener las tablas en la mano; o en el tablero fuera de las<sup>753</sup> casas; en que ouieren de iogar. & nolas<sup>754</sup> poner en ellas fata que uenga la suerte delos dados. por que las ha de meter.

¶ E este es el departamento deste iuego.

[fol. 74r] TAB LAS

**Aqueste iuego llaman doblet.**

ET otro iuego ay de tablas a que llaman doblet. que se iuega en esta guisa. ¶ Cadauno delos iogadores deue tener las doze tablas. & poner las dobladas. vna sobre otra. cadauno en su *quadra* del tablero. que sea la una en derecho dela otra.

¶ E el que uenciere la batalla lançare primero.

¶ E deuen se baxar aquellas doze tablas que estan sobre las otras por las suertes delos puntos delos dados.

<sup>748</sup> Canettieri: veniesse

<sup>749</sup> Canettieri modernizes to “ha” without a footnote.

<sup>750</sup> Canettieri modernizes to “ha” without a footnote.

<sup>751</sup> What looks like a modern numeral 5 is at the bottom of the folio; this may be a stain of some kind.

<sup>752</sup> Steiger: de los

<sup>753</sup> Steiger: delas

<sup>754</sup> Steiger: no la; Canettieri corrects: las

¶ E otrossi se deuen leuar. & el que las ante leuare; ganara el iuego.

¶ Et si por auentura qual quiere delos<sup>755</sup> iogadores lançare suerte que non tenga tablas; de que la fazer. tan bien de baxarlas como de leuar las; deuelo fazer ell otro iogador. ¶ E desta guisa auiene muchas uezes. que ganara ell un iogador por las suertes que lançara ell otro.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego; & esta es la figura dell entablamiento.

[fol. 74v] LIBRO DELAS<sup>756</sup>

### Este es el iuego que llaman fallas.

Otro iuego ay de tablas que llaman fallas. & entablasse desta guisa que las treze tablas delas quinze se ponen *en* la casa del seys que es de dentro en la una quadra del tablero. & las dos se ponen en la casa del as<sup>757</sup> que es contra la oriella de fuera en la otra quadra del tablero que es en *derecho* daquela. ¶ E el que tiene aquella quadra; entablasse desta misma guisa; que el dela<sup>758</sup> otra que dixiemos.

¶ *En* quando son<sup>759</sup> assi entablados deue cadauno de los iogadores punnar como cadauno aduga aquellas dos tablas en derredor fata la su quadra. lo mas ayna *que* pudiere. ca alli las a de entablar de guisa que las lieue en saluo. & en leuando<sup>760</sup> las deue guardar que el otro *non* gelas fiziera<sup>761</sup>

ca si no<sup>762</sup> aurielas a tornar a la quadra onde las mouio. ¶ E si fallasse *que* alli o el deue *entrar* el otro auie entablado sos tablas; falleçrie<sup>763</sup> *que non* podrie entrar. & perderie el iuego por ello.

¶ Otrossi el *que* lançasse en manera *que* no ouiesse do yr. si no<sup>764</sup> en la casa que ell otro ouiesse poblada<sup>765</sup> perderie el iuego por *que* falleçrie. ¶ Onde por esta razon; llaman fallas a este iuego.

¶ Pero bien se pueden perder o ganar. & en otra manera. si por auentura cadauno delos iogadores aduxiere *sos*<sup>766</sup> tablas en saluo a la su quadra que non se fieran unas a otras el *que* mas ayna las leuare ganara el iuego.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego.

[fol. 75r] TAB LAS

<sup>755</sup> Steiger: de los

<sup>756</sup> Scribal correction from “DELOS” to “DELAS.”

<sup>757</sup> Manuscript: las; Steiger, HSMS and Crombach: l as.

<sup>758</sup> Steiger: de la

<sup>759</sup> Manuscript: a; Steiger, HSMS, Crombach and Canettieri all delete “a.”

<sup>760</sup> Steiger: enleuando

<sup>761</sup> Manuscript: fiziera; Steiger leaves the text as is and suggests “firiera”; Crombach and Canettieri: firiera

<sup>762</sup> Crombach: sino (illogical)

<sup>763</sup> Manuscript: falle-crie; Steiger, HSMS and Crombach: falle-çrie, Canettieri: falleçrie

<sup>764</sup> Crombach: sino

<sup>765</sup> Canettieri corrects: doblada (incorrect)

<sup>766</sup> Steiger and Canettieri: sus

**Este es el iuego que llaman el seys dos & as.**

E otro iuego ay que llaman el seys dos & as.

¶ E entablan amos los iogadores en la una quadra del tablero. & el que uence la batalla a la mano. & deue poner sos quinze tablas en esta guisa en la casa del seys. & de dentro del tablero en la una quadra ocho tablas & en la casa del dos en essa misma quadra quatro tablas & en la del as tres. ¶ E ell otro iogador deue poner las suyas en essa misma quadra en la casa del cinco & del quatro. & del tria en cadauna cinco cinco<sup>767</sup> tablas.

¶ E por que aquel que uence la batalla<sup>768</sup> a<sup>769</sup> las casas del seys dos & as; llaman a este iuego assi. ¶ E deue iogar primero & tomar las mas casas que pudiere en la otra quadra que esta de lado.

¶ E ell otro que iogara empos el orossi tomara las mas casas que pudiere en essa misma quadra.

¶ E si en tomando<sup>770</sup> las casas firiere ell uno all otro una tabla omas;<sup>771</sup> deue las tornar no ala quadra quel esta en derecho ni a la quadra<sup>772</sup> quel esta de lado mas a la<sup>773</sup> quel esta en pospunta.<sup>774</sup> ¶ E desde que las metiere en esta quadra deuelas<sup>775</sup> traer en derredor por todas las quadras fasta aquella quadra donde se deuen leuar.

¶ E el<sup>776</sup> que mas ayna las leuare ganara el iuego.

¶ E este es el departamento deste iuego. que desuso dixiemos.

[fol. 75v] LIBRO DELAS

**Este iuego llaman en Espanna emperador; por que el lo fizo.**

Otro iuego a y de tablas que llaman en Espanna ell emperador por que el lo fizo. & entablasse & iuegasse desta guisa. Deue poner ell un iogador las .xv.<sup>777</sup> tablas; en la casa dell as. en la una quadra. ¶ E<sup>778</sup> ell otro las otras sos quinze tablas en la otra casa dell otra quadra que esta en esse derecho mismo

¶ E el que uenciere la batalla a<sup>779</sup> de lançar primero. & traer las tablas por las suertes delos dados en derredor por las quadras del tablero. fata que las entable en la quadra do ell otro tenie las suyas. ¶ E esso mismo deue fazer ell otro iogador contra el.

¶ E si en passando las unas por las otras se firieren aquellas se deuen tornar a la quadra o primeramente fueron puestas. ¶ E dalli las deuen sacar otra uez como de

<sup>767</sup> Crombach deletes the repeated word “cinco”; see note on “dos dos” on fol. 65v.

<sup>768</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “s.”

<sup>769</sup> Canettieri modernizes to “ha” without a footnote.

<sup>770</sup> Steiger: entomando

<sup>771</sup> HSMS: o mas

<sup>772</sup> Manuscript: casa; Steiger and Crombach leave the text as is but note that this may be an error for *quadra*; Canettieri: casa.

<sup>773</sup> Steiger: ala

<sup>774</sup> Steiger: enpospunta

<sup>775</sup> Steiger: deue las

<sup>776</sup> Canettieri: aquel

<sup>777</sup> Canettieri: quinze, noting XV

<sup>778</sup> Manuscript: en; all but Canettieri retain this word.

<sup>779</sup> Canettieri: ha, noting a

primero fata *que* uengan a la quadra do se deuen entablar. ¶ E en passando unas por otras & firriendosse & tornando otra uez como de cabo. pora iogar el *que* las entabla en aquella quadra o deue & las lieua en saluo; *aquel* gana el iuego.

¶ Pero ay dos cosas que fazen los buenos iogadores. la una es manera<sup>780</sup> & la otra barata.

¶ E la manera<sup>781</sup> se faz pora deffender se el que tiene peor iuego que nol pierda. ¶ E la barata pora ganar el iuego mas en saluo el *que* lo tiene meior.

¶ E la manera<sup>782</sup> es desta guisa. *que* cadauno tenga tantas tablas *que non* pueda entrar en las casas dela quadra del otro por suerte *que* lance seyendo todas las casas presas por las sos tablas & por las del otro. ¶ E deuen parar mientes *que* maguer fique una tabla en las<sup>783</sup> casas dela<sup>784</sup>

[fol. 76r] TAB LAS

quadra o a de entrar que nola ponga sobre la otra suya maguer este sola nin sobre las otras que estan dobladas como quier *que* la suerte diga *que* lo podrie fazer. si en otro iuego fuesse & desta guisa por *que* ell uno ni ell otro *non* pueden entrar; llaman a este iuego manna;<sup>785</sup> por *que* el danno uiene egual de amas<sup>786</sup> las partes.

### qual es la barata<sup>787</sup> deste iuego<sup>788</sup>

LA barata es quando el un iogador tiene meioria del otro & tiene doze tablas<sup>789</sup> entabladas por que ell otro maguer entrenon pueda salir & delas<sup>790</sup> otras tablas que tiene a<sup>791</sup> se de baxar o fazer y alguna a que de. ¶ E quando da *quatro* tablas o mas es<sup>792</sup> el iuego baratado por que puede leuar sus tablas en saluo o dar le mas si quisiere. & gana el iuego por este logar.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego.

<sup>780</sup> = maña, as previously noted on fols. 72r and 72v. See also notes on “manna” or “mannar” on fols. 72v, 76r, 85r, 91r and 93r.

<sup>781</sup> = maña, as previously noted on fols. 72r and 72v. This sentence is the strongest logical evidence for my correction here because a tie is better than a loss for the player who is behind. See also notes on “manna” or “mannar” on fols. 72v, 76r, 85r, 91r and 93r.

<sup>782</sup> = maña, as previously noted on fols. 72r and 72v. See also notes on “manna” or “mannar” on fols. 72v, 76r, 85r, 91r and 93r.

<sup>783</sup> Steiger: enlas

<sup>784</sup> Steiger: de la

<sup>785</sup> Calvo: malina; Evidence for “maña” over “manera” on fols. 72r, 72v and 75v. See also notes on “manna” or “mannar” on fols. 72v, 76r, 85r, 91r and 93r.

<sup>786</sup> Calvo: ambas

<sup>787</sup> Probably because of this phrase being a rubric, Murray at first lists Barata as a variant of tables (1913: 569) but later correctly identifies it as a blockade formed by six consecutive points of doubled men (1952: 124).

<sup>788</sup> Steiger sets this rubric off not as a rubric but with question marks. Crombach does neither.

<sup>789</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “por *que*.”

<sup>790</sup> Steiger: de las

<sup>791</sup> Canettieri modernizes to “ha” without a footnote.

<sup>792</sup> Canettieri inserts “es” to smooth this phrase.

### Este iuego llaman el medio emperador

Otro iuego ay que llaman el medio Emperador & a este nombre que assi como ell otro que desuso dixiemos se iuega en las *quatro* quadras del tablero. ¶ E este se iuega en las dos quadras. & iuegasse con dos dados o con tres mas non se barata como ell otro pero puede sse mannar.<sup>793</sup>

¶ E por que el iuego dell emperador se iuega por todo el tablero. & este no mas de por la meetad dell. & con dos dados; por esso le llaman medio emperador.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego.

[fol. 76v] LIBRO DELAS

### Este iuego llaman la pareia de entrada

Otro iuego a y que llaman la pareia de entrada que se iuega con tres dados o con dos en esta guisa. ¶ Los iogadores que iogaren este iuego deuen tenerlas tablas fuera delas casas. & meter las en la una delas<sup>794</sup> *quatro* quadras del tablero en qual se auinieren assi como los doze canes. E aquel *que* primero las y metiere deuelas traer por las quadras del tablero fasta la otra quadra que esta *en* derecho della. & alli las entablara si pudiere & a<sup>795</sup> leuarlas.<sup>796</sup>

¶ E si entrayendo<sup>797</sup> cadauno sos tablas a la quadra *donde* se deuen leuar firieren alguna dellas. deuela tornar a aquella quadra o fueron primeramente entabladas. ¶ E deue punnar entraer<sup>798</sup> la quanto mas pudiere a aquella quadra donde se deuen leuar. & el *que* mas ayna las leuare ganara el iuego.

¶ E a<sup>799</sup> tanto de auantaia qualquiere delos iogadores *que* lançare par<sup>800</sup> en los tres dados o en los dos. *que* a<sup>801</sup> de fazer toda aquella suerte en *quanto* lançare par. ¶ E demas a<sup>802</sup> de auer la mano pora lançar otra uez.

¶ E por que en el comienço deste iuego entran con las tablas assi como a los doze canes; & depues quando lançan la pareia an<sup>803</sup> la de complir toda; por esto llaman a este iuego la pareia de entrada.

[fol. 77r] TAB LAS

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<sup>793</sup> Evidence for “maña” over “manera” on fols. 72r, 72v and 75v. See also notes on “manna” or “mannar” on fols. 72v, 76r, 85r, 91r and 93r.

<sup>794</sup> Steiger: de las

<sup>795</sup> Crombach and Canettieri insert this word here to smooth the phrase.

<sup>796</sup> Steiger: leuar las

<sup>797</sup> HSMS: en trayen-do

<sup>798</sup> HSMS: en traer

<sup>799</sup> Canettieri modernizes to “ha” without a footnote.

<sup>800</sup> HSMS: par-

<sup>801</sup> Canettieri modernizes to “ha” without a footnote.

<sup>802</sup> Canettieri modernizes to “ha” without a footnote.

<sup>803</sup> Canettieri modernizes to “han” without a footnote.

**Este iuego llaman Cab<sup>804</sup> & quinal.**

Otro iuego ay de tablas que llaman Cab & quinal. ¶ E este nombre a por que todas las treynta tablas; se ponen en ell un quartero. delas quatro *quadras* del tablero. las quinze *que* son de una color en la casa del seys & las otras quinze en la casa del cinco *que* esta cabo della.

¶ E an<sup>805</sup> la mano las del cinco. por *que* si las del seys que estan un punto delante iogassen primero; aurien dos meiorias. la una un punto *que* aurien demas. & la otra la mano.

¶ Et iueganse desta guisa. deuen se traer enderredor por las otras casas delas *quadras* del tablero. fata la otra *quadra que* este en derecho della o fueron entabladas & dalli se deuen leuar.

¶ E si algunas dellas se firieren en trayendolas deuen las tornar. & entrar con ellas en las casas. dela<sup>806</sup> *quadra* onde mouieron. si las fallaren uazias o senziellas o sobre las suyas; *quantas* quiere *que* sean. ¶ E desta guisa se departe el iuego de cab & quinal con los tres dados. del iuego del emperador.<sup>807</sup>

¶ Mas si algunos lo quisieren iogar con dos dados & tomar ell otro dado de<sup>808</sup> qual suerte se abenieren. & *que* pongan<sup>809</sup> como si dixiesse el *tercero* dado seys; entablasse desta guisa. an<sup>810</sup> a<sup>811</sup> poner las catorze tablas en la casa del seys. & la una dessas mismas adelante en la casa del seys. ¶ E delas otras quinze tablas an<sup>812</sup> a poner. las catorze en la casa del cinco. & la una en la casa del *quatro que* esta cabo della. & ell andar & el leuar destas<sup>813</sup> tablas a<sup>814</sup> sse assi de traer como ell otro iuego *que* desuso dixiemos que se tiene con este *que* se iuega con tres dados.

[fol. 77v] LIBRO DELAS

**Este iuego llaman todas tablas.**

Otro iuego a y que llaman todas tablas por que se entabla derramadamente en todas las quatro *quadras* del tablero

¶<sup>815</sup> E en las dos *quadras* que son derecho la una dela otra; ponen en la una en el seys cinco tablas de una color. & dessa misma ponen dos al as en la otra *quadra* que esta en derecho della & en essa<sup>816</sup> misma *quadra* contralla ponen otrossi las tablas como en

<sup>804</sup> Janer: cab (231, 253)

<sup>805</sup> Canettieri modernizes to “han” without a footnote.

<sup>806</sup> Steiger: de la

<sup>807</sup> I insert “del iuego del emperador.” in order to complete the logic of the manuscript.

<sup>808</sup> Manuscript: del; Steiger; HSMS and Crombach delete the final “l” from this word.

<sup>809</sup> manuscript, Steiger and Crombach: ponga, HSMS pongan

<sup>810</sup> Canettieri modernizes to “han” without a footnote.

<sup>811</sup> Crombach and Canettieri insert this word here to smooth the phrase.

<sup>812</sup> Canettieri modernizes to “han” without a footnote.

<sup>813</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “casas.”

<sup>814</sup> Canettieri modernizes to “ha” without a footnote.

<sup>815</sup> HSMS inserts this calderón.

<sup>816</sup> Steiger, and Crombach who follows him, inserts “essa” in order to smooth this phrase; Canettieri suggests the word missing here is “la.”

esta *que* auemos dicha. ¶ E en las *otras* dos quadras que son cabo dessas en la casa<sup>817</sup> dell as ponen cinco tablas dela color que pusieron las otras cinco en la<sup>818</sup> casa del seys. ¶ E en las del cinco ponen tres tablas en cadauna dessas colores.

¶ E iueganse assi. el que ouiere la mano iogara a qual parte quisiere trayendo dos tablas dell as contra la casa del seys o tienen<sup>819</sup> las cinco tablas. ¶ Pero si algunas tablas se tomaren; an<sup>820</sup> las de tornar a la quadra do estan las dos tablas en ell as. ¶ E dalli leuar las ala quadra do estan las cinco tablas en la casa del seys. & dende leuar las.

¶ E este iuego se iuega con dos dados.

[fol. 78r] TAB LAS

### Este iuego llaman Laquet<sup>821</sup>

O<sup>822</sup>tro iuego ay de tablas que llaman Laquete & iuegasse con dos dados & entablasse desta guisa. ponen<sup>823</sup> se las catorze tablas duna color en la una quadra del tablero en la casa del as. &<sup>824</sup> la quinzena en la casa dell as de<sup>825</sup> la otra quadra que esta en derecho della. ¶ E las otras quinze tablas se ponen desta guisa. las catorze en la *quadra* misma do estan las otras catorze en la casa del seys las dos en las casas del cinco. del quatro & del tria & del dos en cadauna casa destas tres tablas. & la quinzena en la tercera quadra en la casa del as. & y se entablan.

¶ E en este iuego *non* se fieren las vnas tablas a las otras. E la suerte que non pudiere fazer ell un iogador fazer la a<sup>826</sup> ell otro. & el qui las ante leuare daquella quadra o deuen seer entabladas ganara el iuego.

¶ E este iuego es agora fallado nueuamente & *non* se acuerda con el nombre segundo los otros antiguos.

[fol. 78v] LIBRO DELAS

### Este iuego llaman en las otras tierras<sup>827</sup> la buffa cortesa

Otro iuego a y de tablas *que* llaman en las otras tierras<sup>828</sup> la buffa cortesa. & es<sup>829</sup> tal como el iuego que dizen la pareja en traer las tablas & en leuar las & en todas cosas. si no<sup>830</sup> *que* a<sup>831</sup> tanto de auantaia. que la suerte que *non* puede fazer ell un iogador que la

<sup>817</sup> Canettieri corrects (?): las casas

<sup>818</sup> Steiger: enla

<sup>819</sup> Canettieri corrects: tiene

<sup>820</sup> Canettieri modernizes to “han” without a footnote.

<sup>821</sup> Janer: laquet (253)

<sup>822</sup> Manuscript: Ootro; Steiger, HSMS and Crombach delete the extra “o.”

<sup>823</sup> HSMS: ponen-

<sup>824</sup> Canettieri corrects (?): en

<sup>825</sup> Manuscript: &

<sup>826</sup> Canettieri modernizes to “ha” without a footnote.

<sup>827</sup> Janer (253), Steiger, Crombach and Canettieri insert “tierras.”

<sup>828</sup> Crombach: = tierras =

<sup>829</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “t.”

<sup>830</sup> Crombach: sino

<sup>831</sup> Canettieri modernizes to “ha” without a footnote.

faz ell otro.

¶ E destas ay<sup>832</sup> otra menor *que* se iuega con dos dados.

¶ E estos son los iuegos mayores & mas sennalados que assacaron los iogadores antiguos ¶ E daquestos pueden tirar daqui adelante quantos quisieren segunt qual entendimiento ouiere aquel quilo quisiere fazer.<sup>833</sup>

[fol. 79r] TAB LAS

### **A este iuego llaman la buffa de baldrac**<sup>834</sup>

E otro iuego ha y a que llaman la buffa de baldrac. & iuegasse con tres dados. & lançan batalla. & el que uençe la batalla iuega primero. E an<sup>835</sup> de entablar amos los iogadores primero las tablas *en sennas quadras* dela<sup>836</sup> una parte del tablero; segunt la suerte delos dados

¶ E depues que cadauno ha entabladas *sos*<sup>837</sup> tablas en las quadras segunt que dixiemos; trahen las segunt las suertes delos dados el unos contrall otro por las quadras del tablero. & si sse encuentran & se fallan descubiertas fieren se si quieren. & ha de tornar la tabla que es ferida a la quadra o primero fue entablada.

¶ E desta guisa traen los iogadores sus tablas ell uno contral *otro* fata que las passe cadauno all otra quadra del tablero en derecho o fueron entabladas primero.

¶ E si lançaren suertes en los dados que *non* las puedan todas fazer; fazen la suerte mayor que pueden.

¶ E este iuego se iuega con tres dados. & han de tener amos los iogadores las tablas en las manos. & segunt la suerte delos dados assi encasan las tablas.

[fol. 79v] LIBRO DELAS

### **Este iuego llaman los Romanos Reencontrant**<sup>838</sup>

Este es otro iuego que llaman los Romanos *Reencontrat* & iuegasse con tres dados. & lançan primeramente batalla. & el que uence la batalla iuega primero.

¶ E estan las tablas prietas deste iuego entabladas en la *quadra* del tablero a la mano derecha; del que iuega con ellas. dela otra parte del tablero.

¶ E las blancas estan entabladas otrossi dela otra *parte* del tablero a la mano derecha del que a<sup>839</sup> de iogar con ellas.

¶ Et han de traer los iogadores cadauno *sos*<sup>840</sup> tablas por las quadras del tablero

<sup>832</sup> HSMS: a y

<sup>833</sup> This final phrase sounds as though the *Libro de las tablas* was thought to be complete here before *buffa de baldrac* and *reencontrant* were found or else this folio was meant to be the final one of the treatise and was perhaps bound out of place.

<sup>834</sup> Janer: Valdrac (253)

<sup>835</sup> Canettieri modernizes to “han” without a footnote.

<sup>836</sup> Steiger: de la

<sup>837</sup> Steiger and Canettieri: sus

<sup>838</sup> Janer: se encontrar (253), HSMS: *Reencontrat*

<sup>839</sup> Canettieri corrects (?): ha

<sup>840</sup> Canettieri: sus

fata o las pongan en la quadra del tablero de la otra parte en derecho o primero fueron entabladas. & si se encuentran & se fieren uno a otro a<sup>841</sup> de tornar la tabla que es ferida; a la quadra o primero fue entablada.

¶ E en este iuego non se puede doblar ninguna tabla; fata o sean passadas la meytad del tablero assi como el iuego dell emperador.

¶ E la fuerça deste iuego es de saber bien doblar las tablas depues que la tabla es passada la meytad del tablero; segunt la suerte delos dados.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego; ¶ E esta es la figura del entablamiento

[fol. 80r<sup>842</sup>] TAB LAS

[fol. 80v<sup>843</sup>]

[fol. 81r<sup>844</sup>] ACE DREX

**Aqui<sup>845</sup> se comiença el iuego del grant<sup>846</sup> Açedrex<sup>847</sup> que fue fecho en India<sup>848</sup> a semeiança de como los Reyes Antigos<sup>849</sup> solien fazer<sup>850</sup> sus huestes de caualleros<sup>851</sup> & de peones & parar los<sup>852</sup> todos en Azes<sup>853</sup> por amostrar sus poderes<sup>854</sup> & que los<sup>855</sup> temiessen mas sus enemigos. ¶ E otrossi de como mostrauan<sup>856</sup> estando en las huestes. aues & bestias estrannas por que los obedeciessen mas de grado los omnes & los touiessen por muy mas nobles.**

E por ende assi como ell otro acedrex comunal es partido en ocho casas; partieron este en doze. E assi como en ell otro pusieron en cada parte xvj<sup>857</sup> iuegos que se fazen treynta & dos; pusieron en este ueynt & quatro iuegos de cada parte que se fazen

<sup>841</sup> Canettieri corrects (?): ha

<sup>842</sup> Crombach's transcription inverts this folio, containing only a miniature, and omits the folio indication 80r.

<sup>843</sup> Edilán's facsimile edition inverts the image of this blank folio.

<sup>844</sup> Canettieri titles this section *Libro del grant acedrex e del acedrex de las diez casas* according to his belief that the decimal chess is missing and not purposefully excluded.

<sup>845</sup> Trend transcribes fols. 81r-82r. Brunet y Bellet transcribes this rubric with modernized accents, spacing and punctuation.

<sup>846</sup> Brunet y Bellet: gran

<sup>847</sup> Trend and Brunet y Bellet: acedrex

<sup>848</sup> Brunet y Bellet, Trend and Steiger: India

<sup>849</sup> Trend and Brunet y Bellet do not capitalize these words. Beginning here and continuing through the end of the *LJ* Steiger does not capitalized any words that are not at the beginning of sentences, proper names or zodiac signs. Canettieri capitalizes only the king and pawn for this game on fols. 81r and 81v and capitalizes all pieces on fol. 82r.

<sup>850</sup> Brunet y Bellet: facer

<sup>851</sup> Brunet y Bellet: cauallos

<sup>852</sup> Trend: pararlos

<sup>853</sup> Trend : azes; Brunet y Bellet: azes (esquadrons)

<sup>854</sup> Brunet y Bellet : su poder

<sup>855</sup> Brunet y Bellet: lo

<sup>856</sup> Brunet y Bellet: mostran

<sup>857</sup> Canettieri: dizeséys, noting XVI

Quarenta<sup>858</sup> y ocho.

¶ E assi como aquellos dize seys<sup>859</sup> iuegos se tornan por suerte de dados en seys; otrosi se tornan en este. los ueynt &<sup>860</sup> quatro en ocho.

¶ E<sup>861</sup> en este iuego<sup>862</sup> ha un Rey que es assi como cabeça & señor de toda la hueste & anda a tercera casa como alferza o a la primera en sosquino o en derecho como quisiere & toma & anpara & non passa por xaque si no souiere<sup>863</sup> algun trebeio en medio.

¶ E ha<sup>864</sup> luego cabo<sup>865</sup> dell una aue que es mayoral sobre todas las otras aues. & como quier que esta aue haya muchos nombres; segundo los lenguaies de las<sup>866</sup> yentes; en India sennaladamiente o primero fue fecho este iuego ha nombre AAnca<sup>867</sup> que quiere tanto dezir como aue muy fremosa & temedera<sup>868</sup> ca<sup>869</sup> segunt cuentan los sabios en sus libros. poro esta Aue<sup>870</sup> buela.<sup>871</sup> ninguna otra aue non se osa leuantar & las que estan en las arboles<sup>872</sup> & en las cueuas non osan salir dellas ante punnan de se asconder quanto mas pueden. ¶ Ca ella es tan grant que lieua ell Eleffant<sup>873</sup> a su nio<sup>874</sup> & todas las otras bestias grandes que falla. & esta aue es muy fremosa. ca<sup>875</sup> los pechos & la garganta reluzen le<sup>876</sup> todos como si fuessen dorados. & las cuestas & las alas ha ialdes.<sup>877</sup> E<sup>878</sup> los pies & los oios & el pico ha uermeios<sup>879</sup> como ell<sup>880</sup> escarlata. & ha las unnas muy negras. & ha en la cabeça una corona rededonda<sup>881</sup> de pennolas assi como diadema. ¶ E esta aue cria siempre en las mas altas pennas que falla. &<sup>882</sup> fazelo por dos razones. la una por que quiere siempre ayre claro & limpio. E la otra por que a<sup>883</sup> las piernas pequennas & las alas muy luengas & non se puede leuantar de logar baxo. & cada que

<sup>858</sup> Trend and HSMS: quarenta

<sup>859</sup> Trend: dizeseys

<sup>860</sup> Trend: ueynte

<sup>861</sup> Manuscript: E a; Trend and HSMS: Ca; Canettieri omits the repetitious "a."

<sup>862</sup> Manuscript: scribal insertion of "iuego."

<sup>863</sup> Trend: somete

<sup>864</sup> Calvo: a (141)

<sup>865</sup> Calvo: cauo

<sup>866</sup> Canettieri sees only "la" and corrects to "las."

<sup>867</sup> Trend: aanca

<sup>868</sup> Calvo: tanto como hermosa & temedera

<sup>869</sup> Trend: . Ca

<sup>870</sup> Trend and Grandese (1987): aue

<sup>871</sup> Trend: vuela

<sup>872</sup> Here trees are feminine and on fol. 87r they are masculine. The *Tentative Dictionary of Medieval Spanish* lists the noun as being of either gender.

<sup>873</sup> Trend: eleffant

<sup>874</sup> Trend: nid

<sup>875</sup> Trend: , Ca

<sup>876</sup> Trend: reluzenle

<sup>877</sup> Trend: ialdres

<sup>878</sup> Trend: e

<sup>879</sup> Calvo: uermejios

<sup>880</sup> Trend: el

<sup>881</sup> Steiger: re(de)donda; Crombach and Canettieri: redonda. The *Tentative Dictionary of Medieval Spanish* lists both spellings but the only example given for *rededonda* is the *LJ*.

<sup>882</sup> Trend: em

<sup>883</sup> Canettieri corrects (?): ha

quiere mouer se pora bolar alliuasse<sup>884</sup> como qui quiere saltar & depues ua derecha a aquella parte o quiere yr. & dessa guisa ordenaron aqui so iuego que desque salta como alfferza; en postpunta a una casa; ua depues en derecho quanto puede yr. & entrauiesso. fata cabo del tablero; o hata que falle que tome. ¶ E el departimiento<sup>885</sup> de como salta; es este que si estudiere<sup>886</sup> en casa prieta yra a la primera prieta en sosquino como alfferza & en essa carrera en derecho quanto quisiere. & si estudiere<sup>887</sup> en blanca faze esso mismo. & si estudiere<sup>888</sup> en casa prieta departenlo las quatro casas blancas

[fol. 81v<sup>889</sup>] LIBRO DEL

que estan en derredor della que *non* puede entrar en ellas. ¶ E si estudiere<sup>890</sup> en blanca departen lo otrossi las quatro casas prietas que estan cerca della.

¶ E la otra que esta dell otro cabo del Rey a la mano derecha es a semeiança dela<sup>891</sup> cocatriz que es bestia<sup>892</sup> & pescado. & esta<sup>893</sup> es fecha como lagarto. & cria en las aguas dulçes<sup>894</sup> &<sup>895</sup> sennaladamientre en el grant rio que llaman nilo.<sup>896</sup> & ha tan grant fuerça que teniendo los dos pies de çaga o la cola enel<sup>897</sup> agua; no a cosa que tome<sup>898</sup> en seco que non tire assi por fuerte que sea. & quando quiere tomar alguna cosa; faze semeiança que cata a otra parte por segurarlo & depues torna assoora<sup>899</sup> en sosquino & ua tras ello fasta que lo toma. & a essa semeiança la fizieron *que* iogasse en este acedrex. ca<sup>900</sup> anda en sosquino por todo el tablero; o a la primera casa; o a quantas quisiere & si fuere entablada en casa prieta; andara en prieta & non puede *entrar* en casa blanca. & la que se entabla en casa blanca non puede entrar en prieta.

¶ E la zaraffa es bestia *grande* fecha como cierua. & ha el pezcueço<sup>901</sup> muy luengo & la cabeça chica & los oios muy fremosos<sup>902</sup> & las piernas delante muy luengas & la vnna fendida como cieruo; & la cola *pequenna* & las sedas *prietas* & luengas. & corre mucho a marauilla. & ante que comiençe<sup>903</sup> a correr faze un salto entrauiesso.<sup>904</sup> &

<sup>884</sup> Trend: mouerse para volar alliuarse

<sup>885</sup> Trend: deparamiento

<sup>886</sup> Trend: estuviere

<sup>887</sup> Trend: estuviere

<sup>888</sup> Trend: estuviere

<sup>889</sup> There is a hole at the left center of this folio.

<sup>890</sup> Trend: estuviere

<sup>891</sup> Calvo: de la (142)

<sup>892</sup> Calvo: uestia

<sup>893</sup> Calvo omits esta.

<sup>894</sup> Calvo: dulcas

<sup>895</sup> Calvo omits &.

<sup>896</sup> The Nile is a river notably not located in India, the supposed source of this game. The animals named are also predominantly African.

<sup>897</sup> Trend: en el

<sup>898</sup> Trend omits this word.

<sup>899</sup> Trend: a essa ora

<sup>900</sup> Trend: que

<sup>901</sup> Manuscript: pezcue-co; Steiger, Trend, HSMS and Crombach: pezcue-ço.

<sup>902</sup> Trend: fremosas

<sup>903</sup> Trend: comiença

a semeiança deste su andamiento esta puesto su iuego en este Acedrex.<sup>905</sup> & anda a quarta casa<sup>906</sup> en sosquino assi que quando sale dela<sup>907 908</sup> blanca ua a la negra. & quando sale dela<sup>909</sup> negra ua a la blanca. & desta misma guisa anda ell otra zaraffa que esta dell otro cabo.

¶ E ell vnicornio es bestia muy grant & muy fuerte. & ha dos<sup>910</sup> cuernos ell vno en la fuente & ell otro en la nariz. & el dela<sup>911</sup> nariz es mas luengo que el dela<sup>912 913</sup> fuente. & ha tan grand ualentia en el cuerno dela<sup>914</sup> nariz *quel*<sup>915</sup> mete al marfil por el uientre & alçalo de tierra. & <sup>916</sup> el cuerno dela<sup>917</sup> fuente es agudo. & taia muy fuerte. & este unicornio a<sup>918</sup> el cuerpo grant como marfil & la color como de ceniza. & las piernas tales como el marfil. E<sup>919</sup> las oreias commo de puerco & quando es sannudo paranse los oios bermeios como el Rubi<sup>920</sup> & corre mucho desque comiença & faze ante en salto entrauiesso.<sup>921</sup> como cauallo & assilo<sup>922</sup> establecieron en este acedrex que anda el primer salto como cauallo & depues en sosquino como la cocatriz fata do quisiere; o que tome. E daquella casa o salta non puede tornar a tras si non yr siempre adelante.

¶ E el Leon<sup>923</sup> es bestia<sup>924</sup> otrossi muy fuerte & salta mucho en trauiesso o en derecho; mas que otra<sup>925</sup> bestia quando quiere tomar alguna cosa. E a essa semeiança lo pusieron aqui & salta a quarta casa la una en derecho & las dos en trauiesso.

¶ E el Roque<sup>926</sup> es a semeiança delas<sup>927</sup> azes delos<sup>928</sup> caualleros. & iuega assi como ell otro Roque<sup>929</sup> dell otro acedrex.

¶ E los peones son fechos a semeiança del pueblo menudo & iuegan<sup>930</sup> dessa

<sup>904</sup> Trend and HSMS: en trauiesso

<sup>905</sup> Trend: acedrex

<sup>906</sup> Trend omits "a quarta casa."

<sup>907</sup> Trend: de la

<sup>908</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of "b."

<sup>909</sup> Trend: de la

<sup>910</sup> Two horns despite the etymology of its name unicorn meaning one horn. This is the first clue that the animal described is a rhinoceros.

<sup>911</sup> Trend: de la

<sup>912</sup> Trend and Steiger: de la

<sup>913</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of "fr."

<sup>914</sup> Trend: de la

<sup>915</sup> Manuscript: scribal insertion of "quel."

<sup>916</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of "de."

<sup>917</sup> Trend: de la

<sup>918</sup> Canettieri corrects (?): ha

<sup>919</sup> Trend: e

<sup>920</sup> Trend: rubi

<sup>921</sup> HSMS: en trauiesso

<sup>922</sup> Trend and HSMS: assi lo

<sup>923</sup> Trend and Calvo: leon

<sup>924</sup> Calvo: uestia

<sup>925</sup> Calvo: otre

<sup>926</sup> Trend: roque

<sup>927</sup> Steiger: de las

<sup>928</sup> Trend: de los

<sup>929</sup> Trend: roque

<sup>930</sup> Trend: iuega

manera como desuso dixiemos. ¶ E quando el peon se alfferza en este iuego deste Acedrex,<sup>931</sup> es tal como el iuego que esta en la casa o se alfferza; & si sse<sup>932</sup> alfferza en la casa del Rey;<sup>933</sup> es tal como la Aanca.<sup>934</sup> ¶ E estan los peones entablados en este Acedrex<sup>935</sup> a quarta casa delos iuegos mayores.

& queremos uos mostrar qual es la meioria que an<sup>936</sup> los unos iuegos sobre

[fol. 82r] ACE DREX

los otros por que el que<sup>937</sup> con ellos iogare que los conosca<sup>938</sup> que non de el meior iuego por el raffaz.

¶ El Rey<sup>939</sup> es mayor & meior iuego segunt de suso dixiemos.

¶ E so el Rey la AAncia es meior iuego; que ell unicornio

¶ E ell Vnicornio es meior iuego *que* el Roque.

¶ E el Roque es meior que el leon.

¶ E el Leon meior que la Cocatriz.

¶ E la Cocatriz es meior *que* la Zaraffa.

¶ E la zaraffa es meior *que* el peon.

¶ E esta meioria se demuestra meior por los dados que son fechos assi como nombraremos adelant en este libro quando quisieren iogar con ellos; este iuego deste grant acedrex & esta es la figura del tablero. & de los iuegos. & de como an<sup>940</sup> a seer entablados en ell; el departimiento dellos.

[fol. 82v<sup>941</sup>]

[fol. 83r<sup>942</sup>] L DELOS DADOS<sup>943</sup>

**Aqui fabla delos<sup>944</sup> dados delas<sup>945</sup> ocho llanas.<sup>946</sup> & de como son fechos;**

<sup>931</sup> Trend: acedrex

<sup>932</sup> Trend: “asse” instead of “si sse”

<sup>933</sup> Trend: rey

<sup>934</sup> Trend: aanca

<sup>935</sup> Trend: acedrex

<sup>936</sup> Canettieri corrects (?): han

<sup>937</sup> Manuscript: por que el que el con ellos iogare, scribal deletion of the first “el”; Steiger, HSMS and Crombach correct to reinsert it and delete the second “el” for logic.

<sup>938</sup> Trend: conosca; Canettieri: coñosca

<sup>939</sup> Trend: rey, and all piece names through the end of the folio are given without capitalization

<sup>940</sup> Canettieri corrects (?): han

<sup>941</sup> Although Crombach’s transcription shows the miniature-only fol. 80r, she omits the image of fol. 82v.

<sup>942</sup> Trend: 83b[v]

<sup>943</sup> Calvo: E (from fol. 81v “LIBRO DEL ACEDREX” continuing through fol. 83r “E DE LOS DADOS” and fol. “E DE LAS TABLAS”)

<sup>944</sup> Janer: de los (254)

<sup>945</sup> Janer: de las (254)

<sup>946</sup> Trend: uanas

POr que este *grant*<sup>947</sup> *Acedrex*<sup>948</sup> se iuega muy de uagar & tardan mucho en el; por ende nos Rey don Alfonso mandamos fazer dados con que se iuegue este *Acedrex* mas ayna. & que se muestre la meioria delos trebeios por las suertes destos dados.

¶ E los dados son fechos desta guisa. que ha en ellos ocho llanas. & la llana es figura de triangulo por que a<sup>949</sup> en ella tres cantos. ca dotra guisa non podrien seer fechos que a este iuego perteneciessen. ca maguer la figura es non<sup>950</sup> par; por fuerça ha de caer la faz desuso llana. ca si fuesse non par; uernie aguda. & por esso fueron fechos estos dados de ocho llanas por las ocho suertes que son delos trebeios.

¶ E en la primera llana ha ocho puntos. & en ell otra siete. & assi uan descendiendo hata que llegan a uno. ¶ E por que el Rey es mayor & mejor ha los .viii.<sup>951</sup> puntos.

¶ E la AAncas los siete puntos. E ell vnicornio los seys. ¶ E el Roque los cinco. ¶ E el Leon los quatro puntos. ¶ E la Cocatriz los tres. ¶ E la zaraffa los dos. ¶ E los peones ell un punto; segund que desuso dixiemos en la meioria delos iuegos.

¶ E con estos dados destas ocho llanas pueden fazer tantos iuegos cuemo con los otros delas seys quadras que desuso auemos contado *en* este libro. ¶<sup>952</sup> E muestra sse desta guisa que assi cuemo en los otros dados delas seys quadras que nos usamos los mas puntos son dizecho & dizesiete & dizeseys & quinze. & estos son Azar. ¶ E las soçobras destas suertes *que* son seys & cinco & quatro & tres & estos son otrossi Azar. E toman la suerte de quinze puntos ayuso & de seys arriba. Assi en estos dados delas ocho llanas son Azar ueynte puntos & ueynteuno & ueynt & dos & ueynt & tres & ueynt & quatro.<sup>953</sup> & las soçobras destos puntos son otrossi azar; que son siete puntos & seys & cinco & quatro & tres. & de ueynte puntos ayuso & de siete arriba toman suerte. & daqui adelante pueden con estos dados fazer; qual iuego quisieren.

¶ E este es el departimiento destos dados; & esta es la su figura dellos que aqui esta pintada.

[fol. 83v<sup>954</sup>]

[fol. 84r] L DELOS DADOS<sup>955</sup>

<sup>947</sup> Canettieri: Grant, and also capitalizes all piece names for this game.

<sup>948</sup> Grandese (1987) and (1988): *acedrex*

<sup>949</sup> Canettieri corrects (?): ha

<sup>950</sup> Canettieri omits this word. The three-dimensional shape of the die has an even number of sides unlike the seven-sided die whose description follows, using the same phrase. Perhaps what is meant is that although each triangular face has an uneven number of sides, the die will still fall perfectly flat with only one face showing.

<sup>951</sup> Canettieri: ocho, noting VIII

<sup>952</sup> HSMS inserts this calderón logically even though the scribe left no space for it.

<sup>953</sup> Manuscript: *quantro*; Steiger, HSMS, Crombach and Canettieri delete the “n.”

<sup>954</sup> The roll of (8+7+6=21) would be a winning roll in *azar* or *triga* played with these dice.

Although Crombach’s transcription shows the miniature-only fol. 80r, she omits the image of fol. 83v.

<sup>955</sup> Calvo: E (from fol. 81v “LIBRO DEL ACEDREX” and fol. 83r “E DE LOS DADOS” and continuing through fol. “E DE LAS TABLAS”)

**Aqui demuestra de como son fechos los dados deste Acedrex<sup>956</sup> delas<sup>957</sup> diez casas & quantos puntos a en ellos**

ET por que este Acedrex<sup>958</sup> ha<sup>959</sup> mester dados pora se iogar mas ayna; por ende mandamos fazer dados con que se iuegue. E otrosi por que se muestre por las suertes dellos; la meioria delos trebeios.

¶ E estos dados son fechos desta guisa. que a<sup>960</sup> en ellos siete llanas. & la mayor suerte dellos es siete puntos ca dotra guisa *non* podrien seer fechos; que perteneciessen a este Acedrex. ¶ E por que la figura destes dados es non par; por fuerça a<sup>961</sup> de caer desuso agudo & caen en el dado dos suertes. ¶ E la suerte que cae contra aquel que los lança; es la suya. ¶ E si cayeren los dados aporluengas de guisa que se non puedan departir las suertes. qual es la suerte daquel qui los lança; ha los de lançar ffata que se pueda bien departir.

¶ E segundo enel otro Acedrex mayor los doze iuegos se tornan por la suerte de los sus dados en ocho; assi en este Acedrex los diez iuegos se tornan por la suerte destes sus dados en siete. ¶ Ca ha en la primera llana destes dados siete puntos. & en la otra seys. & assi uan decendiendo & menguando los puntos destes dados; hata que no hay mas de uno.

¶ E por que<sup>962</sup> el Rey es mayor & meior iuego que los otros. ha los siete puntos. ¶ E ell alfferza<sup>963</sup> los seys. ¶ E el Roque los cinco. ¶ E el cauallo los quatro. ¶ E el Juyz<sup>964</sup> los tres. ¶ E ell Alffil<sup>965</sup> los dos. ¶ E el peon ell uno

¶ E este es el departimiento destes dados. ¶ E esta es la su figura.

¶<sup>966</sup> Et otrosi hay otros dados destas mismas suertes que desuso auemos dicho; que ha en ellos tantos puntos cuemo en esos.<sup>967</sup> & este es el departimiento que ha en estos delos otros. ¶<sup>968</sup> Ha en ellos dos llanas. que si caen en la llana desuso siete puntos; ha *en* la deyuso seys puntos. ¶<sup>969</sup> Et estas llanas son de cinco cantos. & si caen estos dados delas otras cinco suertes *que* fincan non pueden uenir sino agudo como espinazo en cima. Et en estas cinco suertes es el departimiento el<sup>970</sup> mismo delos otros dados que desuso dixiemos.

<sup>956</sup> Janer (254), Trend and Grandese (1987) and (1988): acedrex

<sup>957</sup> Janer (254), Trend and Grandese (1987) and (1988): de las

<sup>958</sup> Grandese (1987) and (1988): acedrex

<sup>959</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “n.”

<sup>960</sup> Canettieri corrects (?): ha

<sup>961</sup> Canettieri corrects (?): ha

<sup>962</sup> Trend: porque

<sup>963</sup> While Canettieri does not capitalize “açedrex” for this game, he does capitalize all piece names for it except pawn.

<sup>964</sup> Trend: juyz

<sup>965</sup> Trend: alffil

<sup>966</sup> HSMS inserts this calderón. From this point forward on this folio, the text has been added by a different hand, probably at a later time when the new way of making the seven-sided dice was found.

<sup>967</sup> Manuscript: scribal correction of “estos” to “essos.” Steiger and Crombach: estos

<sup>968</sup> HSMS inserts this calderón.

<sup>969</sup> HSMS inserts this calderón.

<sup>970</sup> I insert “el” to smooth this phrase.

¶<sup>971</sup> Et esta es la su figura & de como son fechos.

[fol. 84v<sup>972</sup>]

[fol. 85r] L DELAS TABLAS

**Aqui comiença<sup>973</sup> el iuego delas tablas del Acedrex<sup>974</sup> delas<sup>975</sup> diez casas. & iuegasse con los dados delas siete llanas.**

Pves que uos ya mostramos los dados deste Acedrex<sup>976</sup> delas<sup>977</sup> diez casas de como son fechos & de como pueden con ellos iogar este Acedrex<sup>978</sup> segunt que desuso dixiemos. queremos uos agora *aqui* mostrar el iuego delas tablas que conuiene a estos dados.

¶ El tablero ha de seer quadrado. & con barras enderredor segundo los otros tableros. & con casas en *que* se entablen las tablas segunt que ya dixiemos. Et en cada quadra ha de auer; siete casas ca tantos puntos es la mayor suerte destes dados. & fazen se por todas ueynt & ocho casas. E han de seer estas tablas redondas. & las casas en que se entablen; an<sup>979</sup> de seer cauadas a *manera* de media rueda por que se encasen meior.

Otrossi ha mester que la meytad destas tablas que sean duna color; & la otra meytad dotra por que sean connoçudas<sup>980</sup> unas dotras & an<sup>981</sup> de seer por todas treynta & quatro tablas. las dizesiete duna color; & las dizesiete dotra. por que en la una quadra dela<sup>982</sup> meytad del tablero pueden poner en cadauna casa dos dos<sup>983</sup> tablas & fincaran tres pora deffuera pora baratar el iuego o pora mannar<sup>984</sup> le quando mester fuere ca sin estas tres tablas non se podrie fazer.

¶ E por esta razon ponen las tablas dobladas. por que bien assi como el iuego deste Acedrex<sup>985</sup> quando falla algun trebeio solo delos otros que non ha quien lo guarde & lo puede tomar tomalo segunt que desuso dixiemos. ¶ Otrossi en este iuego delas<sup>986</sup> tablas si non estan dobladas como ya dixiemos; ell otro que lançare aquella suerte que conuiene a aquella casa. & fallare una tabla sola; tomar la<sup>987</sup> ha. pues non ha quien la

<sup>971</sup> HSMS inserts this calderón.

<sup>972</sup> Although Crombach's transcription shows the miniature-only fol. 80r, she omits the image of fol. 84v.

<sup>973</sup> Janer (254): comienza

<sup>974</sup> Grandese (1987): acedrex

<sup>975</sup> Janer (254) and Steiger: de las

<sup>976</sup> Grandese (1987): acedrex

<sup>977</sup> Grandese (1987): de las

<sup>978</sup> Grandese (1987): acedrex

<sup>979</sup> Canettieri corrects (?): han

<sup>980</sup> Canettieri: coñoçudas

<sup>981</sup> Canettieri corrects (?): han

<sup>982</sup> Steiger: de la

<sup>983</sup> See note on fol. 72v.

<sup>984</sup> See notes on "manna" or "mannar" on fols. 72v, 76r, 85r, 91r and 93r.

<sup>985</sup> Grandese (1987): acedrex

<sup>986</sup> Grandese (1987): de las

<sup>987</sup> HSMS: tomarla

deffienda.

¶ E la barata dellas es; quando ell un iogador toma tantas tablas all otro; que non ha depues casas en que entrar con ellas & pierde por y el iuego.<sup>988</sup>

¶ E en este iuego destas tablas pueden fazer tantos iuegos como en ell otro tablero que se iuega con los dados delas seys quadras; segunt que desuso dixiemos. parando mientes *que* assi como toman en los dados delas seys quadras seys puntos por la mayor suerte; & en los dados del grant Acedrex otrossi ocho puntos que es la mayor suerte dellos; que tome en estos dados. siete<sup>989</sup> puntos que es la mayor suerte. & assi delas otras suertes descendiendo o subiendo pueden fazer quales iuegos quisieren; segundo fueren las suertes delos dados.

¶ E este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura dell entablamiento. & de como se iuega ell emperador; en este tablero. & por esto pusieron aqui la su figura.

[fol. 85v<sup>990</sup>]

[fol. 86r]

[fol. 86v]

[fol. 87r] ACE DRE<sup>991</sup>

**Aqui se comiença<sup>992</sup> otro Acedrex<sup>993</sup> que fue fecho a semeiança delos<sup>994</sup> quatro tiempos dell anno;<sup>995</sup> que assacaron.<sup>996</sup> los sabios antiguos.**

OTro Acedrex ha y que fizieron los sabios antiguos a semeiança delos quatro tiempos dell anno & fue ordenado desta guisa. ¶ El primer tiempo es el verano<sup>997</sup> & comiençasse mediado março; & tiene fasta mediado Junio. ¶ El segundo tiempo es ell estio. & comiença mediado Junio; & tiene fasta mediado Setiembre. ¶ El terçero tiempo es ell Otonno. & comiençasse mediado Setiembre; & tiene fasta mediado Deziembre. ¶<sup>998</sup> El quarto tiempo es ell yuierno & comiença mediado Deziembre; & tiene fasta mediado março.

¶ Et estos quatro tiempos partieron los a manera delos quatro elementos. ¶ El verano por ell elemento dell ayre. ¶ El Estio por ell elemento del fuego. ¶ El Otonno por

<sup>988</sup> A discussion of “barata”’s pair, “maña” is missing here for this tables.

<sup>989</sup> Manuscript: scribal correction from “siente” to “siete.”

<sup>990</sup> Although Crombach’s transcription shows the miniature-only fol. 80r, she omits the image of fol. 85v.

<sup>991</sup> HSMS: ACEDREX. The form *acedre* is not attested to in either the *Diccionario de la prosa castellana del Rey Alfonso X* or the *Tentative Dictionary of Medieval Spanish*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.

<sup>992</sup> Janer (254): comienza

<sup>993</sup> Janer (254): acedrex

<sup>994</sup> Janer (254) and Steiger: de los

<sup>995</sup> Trend: Aqui comiença otro achedrex que fue fecho a semeiança de los quatro tiempos dell anno.

<sup>996</sup> Brunet y Bellet: assacarian

<sup>997</sup> For this game, Canettieri capitalizes all seasons, months and piece names except pawns.

<sup>998</sup> HSMS omits this calderón.

ell elemento dela tierra. ¶ Ell yuierno por ell elemento dell agua.

Et por que en el primero tiempo del verano que desuso dixiemos se crien todas las cosas & reffrescan los omnes. & uerdeçen los Aruoles<sup>999</sup> & las yeruas. por *que* el su elemento es ell ayre que es mas claro que en ninguno delos otros tiempos; por ende pusieron este tiempo uerde. ¶ Et ell estio que es caliente & seco mas que los otros tiempos. pusieron lo a semeiante del fuego que es dessa natura; & por ende pusieron este tiempo uermeio; por el su elemento que es tal. ¶ Ell Otonno es seco & ffrio por que es dell Elemento dela tierra. & esmas temprado que ell Estio ca tira mas ala friura que a la calentura. & las cosas que fñcaron quemadas dell Estio; nacen & reffrescan en este tiempo. & por que el su elemento es la tierra & la su complexion friura & sequedat; por ende pusieron este tiempo de color negra. ¶ Et ell yuierno pusieron por ell elemento dell agua que es fria & humida ca en aquella sazón faze los grandes frios. & eladas & nieues. & grandes aguas de lluias. & por que el su elemento es ell agua; por endel pusieron de color blanca.

¶<sup>1000</sup> Et esta semeiança les dieron segund los quattros humores que se crien en el cuerpo dell omne. assi como la sangre; que pusieron al verano . & la Colera; all Estio. & la melenconia all Otonno. & la flema all yuierno.

#### **Delas humores que se crien en cada tiempo.**

DEstos quatro tiempos que desuso auemos dicho es el primero el verano. & criasse en ell la sangre mas que en todos los otros. ¶ Et en ell Estio la Colera. ¶ Et en ell Otonno la melenconia. ¶ Et en ell yuierno la flema.

¶ Et estos tiempos se departen desta manera. ¶ El verano es temprado por *que* es entrell yuierno que es muy frio & ell estio *que* es muy caliente. & segunt departieron los sabios antiguos; tira mas ala calentura; que al frio. por que<sup>1001</sup> tomo<sup>1002</sup> mas dell estio que uiene; que non recibio<sup>1003</sup> dell yuierno que es passado. ¶ Ell Estio es caliente & seco. por que tomo de la calentura del verano que passo. & recibe otrossi dela calentura dell otonno que uiene. ¶ Ell Otonno es temprado & tira mas a friura que a calentura. por que es entrell Estio que es

[fol. 87v] LIBRO DEL

muy caliente; & ell yuierno que es muy frio & toma mas del tiempo que uiene que non recibio del passado. ¶ Ell yuierno que uiene entrell Otonno & el verano<sup>1004</sup> es muy frio; por que tomo dela friura dell Otonno que passo; & recibe otrossi dela friura del verano *que* uiene. ¶ Et desta guisa toman estos quatro tiempos; los unos delos otros.

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<sup>999</sup> Here trees are masculine and on fol. 81r they are feminine. The *Tentative Dictionary of Medieval Spanish* lists the noun as being of either gender.

<sup>1000</sup> HSMS inserts this calderón.

<sup>1001</sup> Steiger, HSMS and Crombach insert “que.”

<sup>1002</sup> Rather than insert “que”, Canettieri instead changes “tomo” to “tomar”, noting Steiger and Crombach.

<sup>1003</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “d.”

<sup>1004</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of “&.”

¶ Et a manera destes quatro tiempos & destas quatro humores; partieron los iuegos dell Açedrex en *quatro* partes cadauna de su color. segunt *que* desuso oyestes; que conuiene a cada tiempo.

**De como es fecho este tablero. delos quatro tiempos. & de quantas colores son los sus trebeios. & de como an a seer entablados en ell.**

Este tablero deue seer fecho desta guisa. quadrado. & en cada quadra ha de auer ocho casas que *son* por todas sessaenta & quatro.

& ha de auer en ell; quatro carreras en guisa de aspa. que toma ell una carrera dela segunda casa dell un canto del tablero; & ua fasta la segunda casa dell otro canto en su derecho a postpunta. & ell otra carrera esso mismo. ¶ E la que ua por las casas blancas; ha de seer prieta. & la que ua por las prietas blanca; por que fagan departamento entre los unos iuegos & los otros ¶ Et estas sennales que atrauiessan estas casas departen a qual parte han de mouer primeramente los peones. ca los que souieren a diestro an<sup>1005</sup> a yr en su derecho. & los que souieren a siniestro esso mismo. & en yendo tomaran en sosquino como peones an<sup>1006</sup> de tomar.

¶ Et estos trebeios son por todos treynta & dos. & *han* se de entablar a los quatro cantos del tablero. & ha de auer en cada entablamiento ocho trebeios que *son* un Rey. & un Roque. & un Cauallo. & un alffil. & quatro peones. & todos los trebeios an de iogar a qual parte quisieren segunt su andamiento assi como andan en ell otro Açedrex que es mas usado.

¶ Et el su entablamiento es este. los Reyes estan entablados en las casas postremas delos cantos del tablero. & el Roque dell un cabo a cada Rey; & el cauallo dell otro. & ell Alffil antessi. Et los dos peones que caten all un rencon del tablero; & los otros dos all otro.

¶ Et en este Açedrex no ha alfferza ninguna; fasta que se faga delos peones. & ha en ell quatro Reyes. & han de iogar en ell *quatro* omnes cadauno con sus trebeios de su color.

¶ Et las colores son estas quatro; que auemos dichas que *conuiene* a los tiempos. ¶ Los trebeios del verano; son uerdes. ¶ Et los dell Estio uermeios. ¶ Los dell Otonno negros. ¶ Et los dell yuierno blancos.

**De como han de començar a iugar con estos trebeios.**

EL jugador que tiene los trebeios uerdes ha de iogar primero. & deue començar a la mano derecha; *contrall* otro que tiene los uermeios. assi como el verano ua *contrall* Estio. ¶ Et el *que* tiene los vermeios deue iogar esso mismo *contrall* otro que tiene los prietos<sup>1007</sup> guardandosse del que tiene los uerdes que nol empeeza. ¶ Et el que tiene los negros ha de iogar *otrossi* a la mano derecha *contral* que tiene los blancos;<sup>1008</sup>

<sup>1005</sup> Canettieri corrects (?): han

<sup>1006</sup> Canettieri corrects (?): han

<sup>1007</sup> Manuscript: blancos; Steiger and Crombach: prietos, in order to follow the stated summer (red) turns to fall (black) order. Canettieri: negros

<sup>1008</sup> Manuscript: prietos; Steiger, Crombach and Canettieri: blancos. *Negros* and *prietos* are synonyms.

guardandosse toda uia dell otro iogador que tiene los vermeios; que nol empezca. ¶ Et el *que* tiene los blancos deue fazer esto mismo guardandosse del que tiene los prietos que nol empezca otrossi.

[fol. 88r<sup>1009</sup>] ACE DREX

Et depues que iuege cadauno a su uoluntat.

¶ Et assi toman estos quatro iogadores iogando unos de otros; segundo los quatro tiempos dell anno reciben otrossi; unos de otros.

¶ Et deuen poner estos quatro iogadores sennos tantos primeramente por coto; ante que comiençen a iogar. Et depues por cada iuego que tome ell un iogador all *otro*; quel de un tanto. & por cada xaque que den al Rey otrossi un tanto.

& si fuere xaque & mathe; que de a *aquel* quel dio xaque & mathe tantos dineros quantos iuegos tiene & saque sus trebeios. ¶ Et delos tres iogadores que fincan depues. el que *primero fuere* uencido dexa en el tablero quantos dineros y ouiere ganados. & demas quantos trebeios le fincan quando es uencido. ¶ Et delos otros dos iogadores que fincan; el *que* uenciere deue tomar todos los dineros que estudieren en el tablero. Et demas quantos iuegos fincaren al uencido; que de tantos dineros.

¶ Et esta es la figura del tablero & delos trebeios; & este es el su entablamiento; que aqui esta pintado.

[fol. 88v<sup>1010</sup>]

[fol. 89r<sup>1011</sup>]

**Este es el Tablero delas tablas delos quatro tiempos del anno; a que dizen; el mundo que comiença assi.**<sup>1012</sup>

Pves que auemos dicho del tablero delos quatro tiempos dell *anno*. segundo lo ordenaron los sabios antigos; agora conuiene que mostremos el tablero delas tablas que se iuega segund aquella *manera*.

¶ Este tablero es quadrado & las barras son puestas en redondura. e la redondura es partida en quatro partes & en cada parte ha seys casas que *son* caudadas a *manera*<sup>1013</sup> de media rueda en que se encasen las tablas.

¶ Et en este tablero han de iogar quatro omnes cadauno con sus tablas de su color segundo las colores delos trebeios dell Açdrex que auemos nombrado.

<sup>1009</sup> The intentional tear to the right side of this folio has been sewn.

<sup>1010</sup> Sancho and the man below him have been intentionally defaced in this miniature. Wollesen shows this folio's miniature calling it fol. 87r. Although Crombach's transcription shows the miniature-only fol. 80r, she omits the image of fol. 88v.

<sup>1011</sup> The intentional tear to the right side of this folio has been sewn.

<sup>1012</sup> Janer (254): Este es el tablero de los quatro tiempos del anno a que dizen el mundo que comienza assi; Brunet y Bellet: Este es el tablero de los cuatro tiempos del anno que dizen del mundo que comienza aqui.

<sup>1013</sup> Steiger *amanera*

¶ E cadauno destes iogadores ha de tener doze tablas delas<sup>1014</sup> colores delos<sup>1015</sup> trebeios sobredichos que son estas. Verdes. Vermeias.<sup>1016</sup> blancas. prietas. & son por todas quarenta & ocho. & iueganse con los dados deste mismo Acedrex.<sup>1017</sup> & han de lançar batalla. & el que uençe la batalla iuega primero. ¶ Et luego ell otro que esta cabo dell a la mano derecha & assi ua<sup>1018</sup> todos en derredor.

¶ Et el que primero començare ha de encasar las tablas comol uiniere la suerte delos<sup>1019</sup> dados assi como los doze canes & todos los otros esso mismo.

¶ Et desde ouieren encasadas todas las tablas. & ha de leuar cadauno las suyas a aquel lugar do el terçero iogador encaso primero las suyas que esta en su derecho iogando todos enderredor a la mano derecha segundo las suertes delos dados.

¶ Et el que lançare suerte que non pueda fazer; faga la ell otro que estudiere luego cabo del a al mano derecha. & si este non el terçero. & si non fagala el quarto. Et otrossi en este iuego si lançare suerte de guisa que pueda alcançar a las<sup>1020</sup> tablas delos<sup>1021</sup> dos iogadores que estan a la su mano derecha & fallare alguna descubierta; ferir la ha. Et aquel cuya fuere la tabla; a la<sup>1022</sup> de tornar o primeramente la entablo.

¶ Et non han de leuar ninguna tabla fata o las hayan<sup>1023</sup> entabladas en el tercero entablamiento cadauno en su derecho segund sobredicho es.

¶ Et el iogador que primero sacare las suyas. ganara all otro que esta a su mano derecha. & assi los otros enderredor.

¶ Et este es el departimiento deste iuego. Et esta es la figura del tablero & delas tablas & de sus colores. & dell entablamiento.

[fol. 89v<sup>1024</sup>]

[fol. 90r]

[fol. 90v]

[fol. 91r<sup>1025</sup>]

**Este es ell Alquerque<sup>1026</sup> de doze que<sup>1027</sup> iuega con todos sus trebeios.**

<sup>1014</sup> Steiger and Grandese (1987) and (1988): de las

<sup>1015</sup> Steiger and Grandese (1987) and (1988): de los

<sup>1016</sup> Grandese (1987) and (1988): verdes, vermeias

<sup>1017</sup> HSMS: Acedrex; Grandese (1987) and (1988): achedrex

<sup>1018</sup> Canettieri corrects (?): van

<sup>1019</sup> Steiger: de los

<sup>1020</sup> Steiger: alas

<sup>1021</sup> Steiger: de los

<sup>1022</sup> Canettieri corrects (?): hala

<sup>1023</sup> Canettieri sees only "haya" in the manuscript and offers "hayan" as Crombach's correction.

<sup>1024</sup> Although Crombach's transcription shows the miniature-only fol. 80r, she omits the image of fol. 89v.

<sup>1025</sup> The tear in this folio has been sewn; there is also a hole. In his first quotation from this folio, Grandese (1987) refers to this as fol. 91v.

<sup>1026</sup> Janer (254): alquerque

PVes<sup>1028</sup> fablado auemos en los libros desuso de todas las maneras delos<sup>1029</sup> iuegos dell Acedrex.<sup>1030</sup> & delos<sup>1031</sup> dados. & delas tablas segunt aquellos tres sabios dieron la muestra al Rey & depues los departieron los omnes sabidores de iogar. ¶ Queremos<sup>1032</sup> agora aqui dezir de otros iuegos que fallaron depues los omnes; que non son encuenta<sup>1033</sup> destes sobredichos. & pero an<sup>1034</sup> parte en ellos. assi como los Alquerque<sup>1035</sup> que tannen all Acedrex. & a las tablas & a los dados. E tales y a que tannen all Acedrex & a las tablas & no a los dados.

¶ E conmençaremos<sup>1036</sup> primeramente en ell Alquerque de doze por que es mayor de todos los otros Alquerque & se iuega con mas trebeios. ¶<sup>1037</sup> Et diremos en quantas maneras se iuega & con quantos trebeios & por qual razon ha en el parte Acedrex & tablas & dados. ¶ Ell Acedrex<sup>1038</sup> ha en ell parte; por que se iuega por seso; & ell Alquerque<sup>1039</sup> otrossi. & los trebeios con que se iuega semeian a los peones dell Acedrex<sup>1040</sup> ¶ E a las tablas; por el mannar *que* se mannan<sup>1041</sup> el iuego segundo el suyo. & por las sennales o ponen los trebeios. ¶ E han y parte los dados por la uentura. ca assi como lançan en auentura los dados en el tablero a qui haya la mano. assi echan en ell Alquerque<sup>1042</sup> suertes otrossi en auentura qui iuegue primero.

¶ E iuegasse en esta manera. en ell Alquerque ha de auer ueynt y cinco logares do se puedan poner los trebeios. & los trebeios an a seer ueynt y quatro. & ponen los doze duna color dun cabo; & los otros doze dell otro cabo en az. E finca un logar uazio en medio poro se cometa el iuego E el que ha la mano; ha peoria por *que* ha de iogar por fuerça en aquel logar<sup>1043</sup> uazio.

¶ Et pon ell otro iogador el su trebeio en aquel mismo logar ondel salio & lieua aquel *que* mouio primero. passando sobrel duna casa a otra en derecho segunt ua la raya derecha dell Alquerque. & sobre quantos trebeios assi passare todos los leuara. & esso mismo fara ell otro iogador.

¶ Et toda uia el que ouo la mano; ha de mouer primero. guisando como lieue

<sup>1027</sup> Canettieri inserts: se

<sup>1028</sup> Grandese (1987) and (1988): Pves

<sup>1029</sup> Grandese (1987) and (1988): de los

<sup>1030</sup> Grandese (1987) and (1988): acedrex, and throughout

<sup>1031</sup> Grandese (1987) and (1988): de los

<sup>1032</sup> Grandese (1987) and (1988): queremos

<sup>1033</sup> HSMS: en cuenta

<sup>1034</sup> Canettieri corrects (?): han

<sup>1035</sup> Grandese (1987) and (1988): alquerque

<sup>1036</sup> HSMS: co<m>(m)enc'aremos. Although there is no scribal deletion there is a dot above and between the *c* and the *o* which usually means an omitted *n* in Castilian, as in *con*. Steiger and Crombach: començaremos. The *Tentative Dictionary of Medieval Spanish* lists all three options: *començar*, *commençar* and *comnençar*.

<sup>1037</sup> HSMS inserts this calderón.

<sup>1038</sup> Grandese (1987): acedrex

<sup>1039</sup> Grandese (1987): alquerque

<sup>1040</sup> Grandese (1987): acedrex

<sup>1041</sup> See also notes on “manna” or “mannar” on fols. 72v, 76r, 85r, 91r and 93r.

<sup>1042</sup> Grandese (1987): alquerque

<sup>1043</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of the repeated words “por fuerça.”

algun trebeio delos dell otra parte. ¶ Et ell otro iogador guardasse muy mejor por y. ca entendiendo el iuego quel quiere fazer guarda el su trebeio por y mejor. & faz le esso mismo que ell otro cueyda a el fazer & por esta razon ha peoria; el que ha la mano.

¶ Et el que peor guarda sus trebeios & los mas ayna pierde; es uençudo. ¶ Et si amos los iogadores lo sopieren iogar; communalmente puede se mannar.

¶ Et esta es la figura dell Alquerque & delos iuegos. & de como estan puestos en sus casas.

[fol. 91v] LIBRO DEL

**El iuego que llaman de cercar la liebre *quesse iuega otrossi en ell alquerque de doze.***

**Este es otro** iuego que se iuega otrossi en el alquerque de doze. & llaman le el iuego de cercar la liebre. & iuegasse desta guisa. toman un trebeio & ponenlo en medio dell Alquerque. & ponen doze dotra color en Az a sso el o onze o diez segunt ponen entressi so postura aquellos *quel an*<sup>1044</sup> de iogar.

¶ Et iuegan lo desta guisa ha de andar primero *aquell* trebeio. & los otros quantos quier *que* sean luego empos ell. ¶ Et *aquel* trebeio solo es atreguado *quel* no an de leuar mas an lo<sup>1045</sup> de encerrar en una casa; de guisa *que* no haya otra do yr.

¶ Et el leuara delos otros quantos pudiere passando sobrellos; segunt diximos duna raya a otra en derecho. & depues que *aquel* trebeio leuare uno delos otros; nol podran encerrar. pero si los trebeios fueren doze; por leuar uno fican onze. & pueden lo leuar con ellos alli do quieren. esso<sup>1046</sup> mismo faran con diez silo<sup>1047</sup> bien sopieren iogar. mas si delos diez leuare uno; los nueue que fincan nunqua lo pueden encerrar en ninguna manera. & pierden por y el iuego.

¶ Et este es el departamento deste iuego; & esta es la figura dell Alquerque & delos iuegos.<sup>1048</sup>

[fol. 92r] ALQUER QUE<sup>1049</sup>

**Este es ell Alquerque de nueue<sup>1050</sup> que se iuega con dados; & iuegasse assi.<sup>1051</sup>**

Otro iuego ha y dalquerque *que* se iuega con dizeocho trebeios los nueue duna color & los nueue dotra. & iuegasse con dados & sin ellos. segunt ell Acedrex. & an en el parte las tablas. por que las sennales o ponen los. trebeios semeianse con las suyas ca assi a en ellas. seys & cinco & quatro & tres & dos & as. bien como en el tablero. pero son departidos en las fechuras. ¶ Et en los trebeios. ¶ Et en el iogar. ¶ En las fechuras son departidos por las sennales o iuegan las tablas *que* son fechas enderredor del tablero cab

<sup>1044</sup> Canettieri corrects (?): han

<sup>1045</sup> Steiger: anlo; Canettieri: hanlo, noting Steiger

<sup>1046</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of "n."

<sup>1047</sup> HSMS: si lo

<sup>1048</sup> Crombach omits this final phrase from the calderón to the end of the folio.

<sup>1049</sup> HSMS omits the heading "ALQUER QUE." The tear in this folio has been sewn.

<sup>1050</sup> Murray refers this game as *Alquerque de nuevo* (1913: 569) but also gives it correctly (1913: 615).

<sup>1051</sup> Crombach gives this rubric twice, once in bold as a rubric and once not.

aquellas *que* dizen barras o en las *que* son cauadas a manera de media rueda de carro. ¶ Et ell *Alquerque* es todo sennales *tan* bien dentro ensipse<sup>1052</sup> como enderredor. ¶ Et los trebeios son departidos por *que* las tablas son redondas & allanadas *en* manera de rueda o quadradas ¶ Los otros son redondos & luengos *en* guisa de peones dacedrex. & estos son dell *alquerque*.

¶ En ell iogar<sup>1053</sup> son departidos por esta razon. ¶ El *que* ha la mano *que* lança los dados *primero*; si<sup>1054</sup> dixieren los puntos dellos. seys cinco & quatro. o ternas seys. o cinco & dos dos.<sup>1055</sup> o amas as & quatro. por *qual*<sup>1056</sup> quiere destas suertes *que* lance porna tres trebeios *en* az. & leuara cada uez uno delos dell otro iogador. ¶ Et si lançare de guisa *que* faga dos feridos leuara dos trebeios & este ferir es ponellos assi *en* az como dixiemos & *quantas* uegadas los assi eguala tantos trebeios leuara. ¶ Et esso mis

[fol. 92v] LIBRO DEL

mo fara ell otro iogador cada quelos<sup>1057</sup> assi pusier *en* az.  
& *en* esto se departe el iuego dell *Alquerque* del delas tablas.  
& esta es la figura del *Alquerque* & delos iuegos.

### De como se iuega ell *Alquerque* de nueue sin dados

EN otra manera se iuega este *Alquerque* de nueue sin dados a entendimiento. toman los iogadores los trebeios en las manos & echan suertes qui ponga *primero*. & el *que* ha la mano a<sup>1058</sup> meioria por *que* en poniendo<sup>1059</sup> los trebeios toma toda uia la *primera* casa qual se quier por *que* puede mas ayna fazer ferido assi como dixiemos & leuar dell otro cada uez un trebeio. o guisar como lo encierre de guisa que no haya logar do yr con ninguno de *sus* trebeios.

¶ Et si por auentura errare el *que* ha la mano de poner bien sus trebeios; es uençudo por que finca all otro iogador un trebeio & pon lo do quier que pueda fazer all otro destoruo. & que se egualen los suyos assi como dixiemos & gana por y el iuego.

¶ Et a este *Alquerque* llaman el de nueue por que los trebeios con que se iuega son nueue de cada color.

& esta es la figura dell *Alquerque* & delos iuegos. & este es el su departamento.

[fol. 93r] ALQUER QUE<sup>1060</sup>

### Este es otro *alquerque* de tres.

Otro *Alquerque* ha y que llaman el de *tres* & dizenle assi por que se iuega con

<sup>1052</sup> HSMS en sip-se

<sup>1053</sup> HSMS: logar

<sup>1054</sup> HSMS omits "si."

<sup>1055</sup> See note on "dos dos" on fol. 65v.

<sup>1056</sup> HSMS: *quel*

<sup>1057</sup> Steiger: que los

<sup>1058</sup> Canettieri corrects (?): ha

<sup>1059</sup> Steiger: enponiendo

<sup>1060</sup> HSMS omits the heading "ALQUER QUE." There tear to the top of this folio has been sewn.

seys trebeios los tres duna color & los tres de otra.<sup>1061</sup> en este no an<sup>1062</sup> parte dados & el *que* ha la mano uence si lo bien sopiere iogare.

¶ E el iuego dell es este. el que mas ayna pusiere sus trebeios *en az*; gana.

¶ Et pues el que iuega *primero* deve poner su trebeio en medio del *Alquerque*. & porna ell otro iogador el suyo do quisiere. & el *que* puso *primero* deve poner el segundo trebeio en manera que haya ell otro iogador a poner el<sup>1063</sup> su trebeio por fuerça en *Az* con el que tiene puesto.

¶ Pues el que ouo la mano aura a iogar por fuerça en igual daquellos dos contrarios & *seran*<sup>1064</sup> los sos trebeios puestos.

¶ Et si desta guisa los pusier do quier que ell otro iogador ponga el su trebeio quel finca pierde. & si lo<sup>1065</sup> assi non iogare el *que* ha la mano. puedegelo ell otro mannar o uencer

& por la manna<sup>1066</sup> & las sennales o ponen los trebeios an<sup>1067</sup> y parte las tablas & ell *Açedrex*;<sup>1068</sup> por los trebeios con que se iuega *que* semeian a los<sup>1069</sup> sus peones.

Et esta es la figura dell *Alquerque* & delos iuegos.

[fol. 93v<sup>1070</sup>]

[fol. 94r]

[fol. 94v]

[fol. 95r]

**Este es el<sup>1071</sup> Tablero delos escaques; <sup>1072</sup> que sse iuega<sup>1073</sup> por Astronomia.<sup>1074</sup>**  
**MOstradas todas las tres maneras de Juegos<sup>1075</sup> que son dichas en los Libros<sup>1076</sup>**

<sup>1061</sup> Manuscript: scribal insertion in red of this period.

<sup>1062</sup> Canettieri corrects (?): han

<sup>1063</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion in red of “*segu*.”

<sup>1064</sup> Steiger: y an; Crombach: serán; Canettieri: y han

<sup>1065</sup> Steiger: si lo

<sup>1066</sup> See also notes on “*manna*” or “*mannar*” on fols. 72v, 76r, 85r, 91r and 93r.

<sup>1067</sup> Canettieri corrects (?): han

<sup>1068</sup> HSMS: *Acedrex*

<sup>1069</sup> Steiger: alos

<sup>1070</sup> Although Crombach’s transcription shows the miniature-only fol. 80r, she omits the image of fol. 93v.

<sup>1071</sup> Steiger and Crombach insert “*el*” to smooth this phrase.

<sup>1072</sup> Manuscript: ***e delas tablas***, which I remove in order to reflect more precisely the content of this section since the boards used for the two astrological games are different.

<sup>1073</sup> Canettieri corrects to “*juegan*” perhaps because of the confusing rubric listing both games for this treatise.

<sup>1074</sup> Janer (254): *astronomía*

<sup>1075</sup> Grandese (1987) and (1988): *juegos*

<sup>1076</sup> Grandese (1987) and (1988): *libros*

ante deste; tan bien en el iogar delos Escaques;<sup>1077</sup> como delos dados e delas tablas. e departidos todos los departamentos que en ellos ha; e de como se pueden iogar; segund las mas apuestas maneras que los omnes y fallaron; por entendimiento e por uso.

¶ Conuiene<sup>1078</sup> agora que se muestre otra natura de iuego muy noble & muy estranno e muy apuesto. e de grand entendimiento; pora los entendudos. e mayormiente pora aquellos<sup>1079</sup> que saben la Arte de Astronomia.<sup>1080</sup>

Et<sup>1081</sup> este iuego<sup>1082</sup> nueuo es fecho segundo los siete cielos en que estan las Siete<sup>1083</sup> planetas. Et<sup>1084</sup> ell ochauo en que estan los doze Signos<sup>1085</sup> e las otras estrellas fixas. Et<sup>1086</sup> mostrando de cadauno<sup>1087</sup> como andan sus andamientos e como se catan echando los Rayos<sup>1088</sup> unos a otros; los unos de catamiento damor;<sup>1089</sup> los otros de mal querencia. Et<sup>1090</sup> esto segund los sabios partieron el cielo en doze quartos. e demuestran por cadauno<sup>1091</sup> dellos segunt el mouimiento delas<sup>1092</sup> planetas; qual es el catamiento de amor o de desamor.<sup>1093</sup>

**Delos Sextiles.** Et estos catamientos son Siete. los dos que llaman de sextil; que son damor; que se cuentan desse mismo Signo al tercero. assi como si contassen. de Aries a Gemini que es su tercero delante. o dell a<sup>1094</sup> Aquario que es su tercero detras.

**Delos Trinos.** Et otrosi los Trinos son dos; assi como de Aries a Leo que es delante. o del a Sagitario que es detras.

**Delas quadraduras e dela oposiçion.**<sup>1095</sup> Otrosi son dos quadraduras que se muestran de malquerencia. assi como de Aries a Cancro o del a Capricornio; ¶ Et ha y oppositionem que se ffaz desse mismo signo al otro que es contra ell. assi como de Aries a Libra o de Cancro a Capricornio.

**Dela**<sup>1096</sup> **coniuncion corporal.** Et sin esso ha y coniuncion corporal que es aiuntamiento de dos planetas en un signo. e auegadas muestra amor & auegadas desamor. Et este es mas fuerte que ningun catamiento o en bien o en mal. Et segund aquesto que agora aqui diximos; es este iuego establecido.

<sup>1077</sup> Grandese (1988): escaques; here “escaques” is entirely synonymous with “acedrex.”

<sup>1078</sup> Grandese (1988): conuiene

<sup>1079</sup> Calvo: aouellos

<sup>1080</sup> Calvo and Domínguez Rodríguez (1987): arte de astronomia (149; 65)

<sup>1081</sup> Toledano: E

<sup>1082</sup> Toledano: juego

<sup>1083</sup> Toledano: los siete

<sup>1084</sup> Toledano: E

<sup>1085</sup> Toledano: signos

<sup>1086</sup> Toledano: E

<sup>1087</sup> Toledano: cada uno

<sup>1088</sup> Toledano: rayos

<sup>1089</sup> Domínguez Rodríguez (1987) quotes this phrase as is (66); Toledano: de amor

<sup>1090</sup> Toledano: E

<sup>1091</sup> Toledano: cada uno

<sup>1092</sup> Toledano: de los

<sup>1093</sup> Domínguez Rodríguez (1987) modernizes this quote (58).

<sup>1094</sup> Steiger, Crombach and Canettieri insert “a” to smooth this phrase.

<sup>1095</sup> Manuscript: posiçion

<sup>1096</sup> Steiger: de la

**De la figura del Tablero & de como deue seer fecho.** Este Tablero ha de seer de Siete lados de fuera por que han y de iogar siete jugadores cadauno con su planeta. Et han de tener doze doze<sup>1097</sup> tantos de qual precio se abinieren. Et ha en ell ocho cercos de dentro redondos; segund son los ocho cielos. ¶ Et el cerco ochauo ha de seer llano. & las figuras delos doze signos puestas en ell como deuen seer. que son estas. Aries. ¶ Tauro. ¶ Gemini. ¶ Cançer. ¶ Leo. ¶ Virgo. ¶ Libra. ¶ Scorpio. ¶ Sagitario. ¶ Capricornio. ¶ Aquario. ¶ Picis. Et es partido en doze partes se

[fol. 95v] LIBRO DEL

gunt estos doze signos. ¶ Et del comienço de cada Signo sale una linna & taia los otros siete cercos; & llega fata el cerco dell helemento del fuego. ¶ Et los otros siete cercos son segund los siete cielos; en que estan las siete planetas. & son un poco caudados. & esta en cadauno dellos una tabla *quadrada* que anda enderredor.

¶ Et en estas tablas ha logares o ponen las figuras delas<sup>1098</sup> siete planetas quando quieren iogar. & caduna destas tablas ha de seer dela color dela<sup>1099</sup> planeta que han de poner en ella.<sup>1100</sup>

¶ Et otrossi ha y quatro cercos redondos que son segundo los quatro helementos; que son de dentro destos ocho. ¶ El primero es uermeio que es por ell helemento del fuego. ¶ El segundo es cardeno claro por ell helemento dell ayre. ¶ El tercero es blanco; por ell elemento dell agua. ¶ El quarto es redondo a manera de pella & de color parda que es por ell helemento dela tierra.

**Del departimiento delos siete cercos; & de quantas casas ha en ellos.** Estos siete cercos sobredichos; El primero es partido; en ochenta & quatro casas. ¶ El segundo. es partido; en setaenta & dos casas ¶ El tercero es partido en sessaenta casas. ¶ El quarto es partido en *quarenta* & ocho casas. ¶ El quinto es partido en treynta & seys casas. ¶ El sexto es partido en ueynt & quatro casas. ¶ El septimo es partido en doze casas. ¶ Et como quiere que los Siete cielos son departidos en mas partes; & non podrien aqui caber en este tablero que fuessen apuestos; tomamos destos departimientos segunt aquella cuenta lo mas breue que conuiene a este juego.

**Delas figuras que los sabios antigos pusieron las siete planetas & de que colores son.**

**Dela figura de Saturno**<sup>1101</sup> SAturno es el primero que esta mas alto de todos & fizieron le a figura de omne uieio & magro que anda coruo & desnudo todo si no

<sup>1097</sup> HSMS deletes the repeated word “doze”; Steiger and Crombach do not. See note on “dos dos” on fol. 65v.

<sup>1098</sup> Steiger: de las

<sup>1099</sup> Steiger: de la

<sup>1100</sup> Domínguez Rodríguez (1987) modernizes this quote (58).

<sup>1101</sup> Canettieri gives modern Spanish planet names for the rubrics in this game. Domínguez Rodríguez (1987) modernizes this and each description of the planets (69-79). Cf. the queen piece from the Isle of Lewis chessmen and *Setenario*, Ley XXXII: “Et la ssu ymagen era de plomo a ffigura de omne vieio seyendo ssobre cátedra, todo desnuyo e enbuelto en manto” (63). This and all *Setenario* citations from Kenneth H. Vanderford’s edition (Barcelona: Editorial Crítica, Grupo editorial Grijalbo, 1984).

pannos<sup>1102</sup> menores & enbuelto en una manta negra sobre la cabeça & que es triste de cara & tiene la mano ala mexiella como omne cuydadoso.

**Dela**<sup>1103</sup> **figura de Jupiter.**<sup>1104</sup> Ivpiter que esta cerca ell; ha semeiança domne de mediana edat. & de cara alegre & uestido de pannos uerdes & que tiene en la cabeça coffia ultra marina & tiene un libro antessi.<sup>1105</sup>

**Dela**<sup>1106</sup> **figura de Mars.**<sup>1107</sup> Mars ha semeiança de omne mançebo. & uestido de armaduras antiguas de grecia<sup>1108</sup> todas uermeias & tiene en la mano derecha una espada sacada dela uayna. & en la otra una cabeça domne colgada por los cabellos frescamientre<sup>1109</sup> descabeçada.

**Dela**<sup>1110</sup> **figura del Sol.**<sup>1111</sup> El sol ha semeiança de Rey<sup>1112</sup> mançebo que tiene corona doro en la cabeça. & uiste pannos doro reluzientes. & tiene en la mano siniestra una maçana<sup>1113</sup> redonda. & en la otra<sup>1114</sup> un Ramo<sup>1115</sup> con flores assi como los Emperadores<sup>1116</sup> quando los coronan.

**Dela**<sup>1117</sup> **figura de Venus.**<sup>1118</sup> Uenus<sup>1119</sup> ha figura de mugier mançeba muy fremosa & los cabellos muy ruuios luengos por las espaldas & tiene en la cabeça guerlanda de Rosas & uestida de pannos de violet. & tiene en la mano derecha un peine<sup>1120</sup> & en la otra un espeio en *que* se cata.

**Dela figura de Mercurio.**<sup>1121</sup> Mercurio ha semeiança domne mançebo uestido de pannos de

<sup>1102</sup> Calvo: pano (149)

<sup>1103</sup> Steiger: de la

<sup>1104</sup> Cf. *Setenario*, Ley XXXI: “Et la ymagen quel ffazien era de aquel metal mismo [estanno] en ffigura de omne aperssonado, vestido de pannos cárdenos e cauallero ssobre vn elefante” (62).

<sup>1105</sup> Calvo: omne de mediana edat & de cara alegre que tiene un libro antessi

<sup>1106</sup> Steiger: de la

<sup>1107</sup> Cf. *Setenario*, Ley XXX: “Et ffazíanle ymagen de fferro e teniendo en la mano diestra vna espada e en la otra cabeça de omne colgada por los cabellos como ssi lo ouyesse descabeçado” (61-62).

<sup>1108</sup> Steiger and Crombach: Grecia

<sup>1109</sup> Calvo: friescamientre

<sup>1110</sup> Steiger: de la

<sup>1111</sup> Cf. *Setenario*, Ley XXIX: “E ffazien la ymagen de oro en ffigura de rrey coronado de piedras preçiosas et estando ssobre vn carro, vestido de pannos de oro” (60). Note that here the Sun is a king rather than an emperador as in the *LJ*. Alfonso’s will gave his jeweled crown went to his heir to the throne.

<sup>1112</sup> Steiger: rey

<sup>1113</sup> Crombach: maçana

<sup>1114</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of the repeated words “un ra-mo.”

<sup>1115</sup> Steiger: ramo

<sup>1116</sup> Steiger: emperadores

<sup>1117</sup> Steiger: de la

<sup>1118</sup> Cf. *Setenario*, Ley XXVIII: “Et la ymagen quel ffazien era de aquel mismo metal [el latón amariello] et assí commo donzella que estaua de pie e que tenía en la mano espeio e en la otra peyne, e tenía en la cabeça corona de violetas e vistía pannos dessa misma color” (59).

<sup>1119</sup> Steiger: Venus

<sup>1120</sup> Steiger and HSMS: *penne*; Canettieri: *peñe*

<sup>1121</sup> Cf. *Setenario*, Ley XXVII: “Et ffiziéronle ymagen de forma de omne asentado, e era de plata e de cobre buelto en manera de omne que escriue, et vestido de pannos de muchos colores” (59).

[fol. 96r] ACE DREX<sup>1122</sup>

muchas colores. & que esta escriuiendo en un Libro.<sup>1123</sup>

**Dela**<sup>1124</sup> **figura dela Luna.**<sup>1125</sup> LA Luna ha semeiança de mugier manceba; uestida de pannos blancos. & tiene con amas la manos sobre su cabeça una figura de Luna.<sup>1126</sup>

**De como se deuen entablar estas siete Planetas**<sup>1127</sup> **en el Tablero**<sup>1128</sup> **quando quieren començar a iogar con ellas.** EN el primer cerco que esta mas cerca del cerco delos<sup>1129</sup> Signos,<sup>1130</sup> ha de estar la planeta que llaman Saturno. ¶ En<sup>1131</sup> el segundo ha de estar la planeta que llaman Jupiter. ¶ En<sup>1132</sup> el tercero ha de estar la<sup>1133</sup> planeta que llaman mars. ¶ En<sup>1134</sup> el quarto ha de estar la planeta. *que* llaman Sol. ¶ En<sup>1135</sup> el quinto ha de estar la planeta que llaman Venus. ¶ En<sup>1136</sup> el sexto ha de estar la planeta que llaman mercurio.<sup>1137</sup> ¶ En<sup>1138</sup> el seteno ha de estar la planeta; que llaman Luna. ¶ Et assi se han de entablar en sus casas. Et por que las mas dellas han dos dos<sup>1139</sup> casas sennaladas en sus Signos; ponemos la en aquella que esta mas apoderada assi como. ¶ Saturno en Aquario. ¶ Et Jupiter; en Sagitario. ¶ Et Mars en Scorpio. ¶ E el Sol en Leo. ¶ Et Venus en Tauro. ¶ Et Mercurio en Virgo. ¶ Et la Luna en Cancro.

**De como este iuego delos escaques se ha de iogar con un dado & no con mas.** Este juego se deue iogar desta manera. que cadauno delos iogadores que lançen su suerte *con* un dado en que ha siete sobreffazes & ha en el puntos; duno fasta siete. por que sepa cadauno con qual planeta ha de iogar. ¶ El que ouiere por suerte los siete que son los mas puntos; aura Saturno. ¶ Et el que ouiere los seys; aura Jupiter. ¶ Et el que ouiere los çinco; aura mars.<sup>1140</sup> ¶ Et el que ouiere los quatro; aura el Sol. ¶ Et el que ouiere los tres puntos; aura Venus. ¶ Et el que ouiere los dos; aura mercurio. ¶ Et el que ouiere ell uno. haura<sup>1141</sup> la luna.

<sup>1122</sup> HSMS omits the heading "ACE DREX."

<sup>1123</sup> Steiger and Grandese (1987): libro

<sup>1124</sup> Steiger: de la

<sup>1125</sup> Cf. *Setenario*, Ley XXVI: "Et ffazianle ymagen de fforma de duenna assentada en ssu cáthedra con corona en la cabeça commo rreyna, vestida de pannos blancos" (58).

<sup>1126</sup> Steiger: luna

<sup>1127</sup> Steiger: planetas

<sup>1128</sup> Steiger: tablero

<sup>1129</sup> Steiger: de los

<sup>1130</sup> Steiger: signos

<sup>1131</sup> Steiger: en

<sup>1132</sup> Steiger: en

<sup>1133</sup> Manuscript: scribal deletion of "p."

<sup>1134</sup> Steiger: en

<sup>1135</sup> Steiger: en

<sup>1136</sup> Steiger: en

<sup>1137</sup> Steiger: Mercurio

<sup>1138</sup> Steiger: en

<sup>1139</sup> HSMS deletes the repeated word "dos"; Steiger and Crombach do not. See note on "dos dos" on fol. 65v.

<sup>1140</sup> Steiger: Mars

<sup>1141</sup> Canettieri sees only "aura" and corrects to "avrá."

¶ Et otrossi lançan batalla. & el que la uenciere aura la mano. & lança el dado & quantos puntos le muestra; tantas casas ha de andar con su planeta. Et si *non* andudiere tantas casas por *que non* salga del signo en que esta; *nin* gana *nin* pierde. mas si entrare en ell otro Signo; pierde o gana segunt el catamiento que ouiere *con* las otras planetas. ¶ Et<sup>1142</sup> si esta planeta entrare en el sextil dela otra; gana della dos de doze. & si entrare en so trino; gana tres de doze. Et si entrare en su quadradura; pierde tres de doze. Et si entrare en su opposicion; pierde seys de doze. Et si<sup>1143</sup> entrare en su coniuccion; ha de pechar doze. ¶ Et desta guisa se ha de iogar este iuego.

¶ Et esta es la figura del tablero; & delas Siete planetas de como estan entabladas en el.

[fol. 96v<sup>1144</sup>] ACE DREX

[fol. 97r<sup>1145</sup>] LIBRO DELAS TABLAS

**Este es el Tablero delas<sup>1146</sup> tablas segund la natura delos Escaques;<sup>1147</sup> que se iuega por Astronomia.<sup>1148</sup>**

EL Tablero delas Tablas ha de seer de siete lados; assi como el Tablero delos Escaques. tan bien de dentro como de fuera. & dela<sup>1149</sup> parte del lado que es de dentro; ha de auer siete casas. ¶ Et esto deue seer en cadauno delos otros lados. & entre ell un<sup>1150</sup> lado. & ell otro; ha de auer un departamento que departe amos los lados. ¶ Et daquel departamento ha de auer una Linna luenga que llegue fata en medio del punto del tablero.

¶ Et cadaunas delas tablas destos lados; han<sup>1151</sup> de seer dela color de las planetas.<sup>1152</sup> Et las tablas han de seer tantas como son las casas. ¶ Et sobre cada un lado a<sup>1153</sup> de seer; figurada la planeta a que pertenece; aquel lado pintada & colorada daquella color quel conuiene. ¶ Saturno de negro. ¶ Jupiter<sup>1154</sup> de uerde. ¶ Mars de uermeio. ¶ El Sol de Amariello. ¶ Venus de uiolet. ¶ Mercurio de muchas colores diuersas. ¶ La luna blanca. ¶ Et por end aquestas tablas que pertenecen a aquella planeta; an<sup>1155</sup> a sseer de su color.

¶ Et ell entablamiento ha de seer desta guisa. que todas las siete tablas sean

<sup>1142</sup> Crombach: El

<sup>1143</sup> Steiger, HSMS, Crombach and Canettieri insert “si.”

<sup>1144</sup> Wollesen shows this folio’s miniature calling it fol. 85r. Crombach’s transcription shows the image of this folio but omits the folio indication 96v.

<sup>1145</sup> Wollesen transcribes the colophon from this folio, calling it fol. 98. The intentional tear to the right side of this folio has been sewn. There are also small holes.

<sup>1146</sup> Janer (255): de las

<sup>1147</sup> Janer (255): escaques

<sup>1148</sup> Janer (255): astronomía

<sup>1149</sup> Steiger: de la

<sup>1150</sup> Manuscript: scribal correction from “uno” to “un”; Steiger and Crombach: uno

<sup>1151</sup> Canettieri corrects (?): ha

<sup>1152</sup> Steiger: planetas; HSMS: plantas

<sup>1153</sup> Canettieri corrects (?): ha

<sup>1154</sup> HSMS: Iupiter

<sup>1155</sup> Canettieri corrects (?): han

entabladas en la primera casa delas setenas<sup>1156</sup> que esta aman siniestra. & han siempre de iogar ala<sup>1157</sup> mano diestra; segunt los puntos que mostraren los dados delas siete llanas que desuso diximos. Et non cuenta y la casa en que estan entabladas ni la otra casa que esta a su mano diestra; que es entablamiento delas otras siete tablas. sino<sup>1158</sup> si fincasse y una tabla sennera que la puede tomar [o] la casa uazia que puede y fincar; segunt le dixiere la Astronomia<sup>1159</sup>

¶ Et el iogar es desta guisa. que cadauno delos<sup>1160</sup> jugadores; tenga siete tantos. de qual precio se auinieren de morauedi; o de qual moneda quisieren. & si tomare tabla dell otro; no la ha de tornar. & deue tomar dell un tanto;<sup>1161</sup> por ella & por quantas tomare. & assi andan todos en derredor; fasta que finca todo el iuego en uno de los que iogaren. ca aquel finca por uencedor.

¶ Et esta es la figura del Tablero; & delas tablas.

Este Libro<sup>1162</sup> fue<sup>1163</sup> començado<sup>1164</sup> & acabado en la cibdat<sup>1165</sup> de Seuilla;<sup>1166</sup> por mandado del muy noble Rey<sup>1167</sup> don Alfonso<sup>1168</sup> fijo del muy noble Rey Don Ferrando<sup>1169</sup> & dela Reyna Donna Beatriz Sennor de Castiella<sup>1170</sup> & de Leon.<sup>1171</sup> de Toledo<sup>1172</sup> de Gallizia<sup>1173</sup> de Seuilla<sup>1174</sup> de Cordoua<sup>1175</sup> de Mvrcia<sup>1176</sup> de Iahen<sup>1177</sup> de Badaioz<sup>1178</sup> & dell Algarue;<sup>1179</sup> en treynta<sup>1180</sup> & dos annos que el Rey sobredicho regno. En la Era<sup>1181</sup> de mill &<sup>1182</sup> trezientos & veynt & un Anno.<sup>1183</sup>

<sup>1156</sup> Canettieri: setena

<sup>1157</sup> HSMS: a la

<sup>1158</sup> HSMS: si no

<sup>1159</sup> Manuscript: Astronomia; HSMS: “??.” This word is now within seam repairing a tear to the folio. In the original it is discernible between the stitches; in the facsimile it cannot be read. Steiger as well as Crombach and Canettieri who follow him all give a mostly logical but incorrect reading of “suerte.”

<sup>1160</sup> Steiger: de los

<sup>1161</sup> Manuscript: canto; Steiger, HSMS, Crombach and Canettieri: tanto.

<sup>1162</sup> Janer (229), Toledano and Wollesen: libro

<sup>1163</sup> Janer (48, 229): fué and modernized accentuation throughout

<sup>1164</sup> Janer (48, 229-30): comenzado; Wollesen: comencado

<sup>1165</sup> Wollesen: ciudad

<sup>1166</sup> Domínguez Rodríguez (1987), Toledano and Wollesen: Sevilla

<sup>1167</sup> Janer (48, 230): rey, throughout as well as don, doña and reina

<sup>1168</sup> Janer (230): Alfonso

<sup>1169</sup> Calvo and Wollesen: Fernando

<sup>1170</sup> Murray (1913): Castiello

<sup>1171</sup> Domínguez Rodríguez (1987): León; Wollesen omits “de Leon.”

<sup>1172</sup> Wollesen omits “de Toledo.”

<sup>1173</sup> Janer (48): Gallizia; Janer (230): Galicia; Wollesen omits “de Gallizia.”

<sup>1174</sup> Janer (230) and Domínguez Rodríguez (1987): Sevilla; Wollesen omits “de Seuilla.”

<sup>1175</sup> Janer (48) and Canettieri: Córdoba; Janer (230) and Wollesen: Cordova; Domínguez

Rodríguez (1987): Cordoba

<sup>1176</sup> Janer (48, 230), Canettieri and Wollesen: Murcia

<sup>1177</sup> Janer (48, 230): Jahen; Murray (1913): Talen; Domínguez Rodríguez (1987): Jaen; Canettieri:

Jahén; Wollesen: Ihaen

<sup>1178</sup> Janer (48, 230) and Canettieri: Badajoz

<sup>1179</sup> Janer (48, 230): Algarbe; Domínguez Rodríguez (1987) and Canettieri: Algarve

<sup>1180</sup> Wollesen: trenta

<sup>1181</sup> Janer (48, 230): era

[fol. 97v<sup>1184</sup>]

[fol. 98r<sup>1185</sup>]

[fol. 98v<sup>1186</sup>]

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<sup>1182</sup> Toledano: mille

<sup>1183</sup> Janer (48, 230) and Toledano: anno. The colophon appears to have been added by a different hand, perhaps, given the preterite verb tense, after Alfonso's death.

<sup>1184</sup> Although Crombach's transcription shows the miniature-only fol. 80r, she omits the image of fol. 97v.

<sup>1185</sup> This final folio is the only one that does not bear an Arabic page number in a later hand. There is a small hole at the top. Janer, Brunet y Bellet, Trend, Steiger, HSMS, Meissenburg (1973), García Morencos, and *PhiloBiblon* count only ninety-seven as the number of folios contained in the *LJ* and do not count the final blank and numbered fol. 98 bound with the manuscript. Murray (1913), Calvo, Grandese (1988), Toledano, Wollesen, Canettieri and I include the final blank folio in our computation of 98 total folios.

<sup>1186</sup> There is a faint sketch in black ink of two people playing at something, perhaps dice, in the lower left of this folio which may have been added at a later time in imitation of the scenes within the *LJ*.

**APPENDIX B: TOOLS FOR STUDYING CHESS AND CHESS PROBLEMS****APPENDIX B1: FRASER'S TRANSLATION OF FOLS. 1R - 27V OF THE *LJ***

George B. Fraser made an incomplete and problematic English translation of part of Alfonso X's *Book of Chess*, called the *English Translation of the Alphonsine manuscript from J.G. White's long hand copy*. Fraser's 96 pages give a rather unclear translation without diagrams of only fols. 1r-27v of the total 98 folios, meaning that he stops for no clear reason in the middle of Problem 36 of 103. The John G. White Collection at the Cleveland Public Library owns the item (call no. W q 789.092 AL28E) in a white on black Photostat copy bound slightly out of order in a lovely reddish leather binding. Two letters dated 1926 from collector John G. White to L.T. Maenner, Esq., of the Missouri Pacific St. Louis Chess Club, placed at the beginning of work explain its provenance.

The first eight pages are rather poorly typed and the remaining eighty-eight are written by hand. After the first typed pages, the pagination numbers also cease to be continuous. Whether Fraser simply gave up after fol. 27v or whether the rest was lost is not known. Two arguments for the former case could be offered. First, Fraser cheerfully acknowledges that his translation is poor and in a note confesses that he is unable to make sense of even the first chess problem. He may have been working from a draft without completed diagrams or perhaps did not understand the movements of the pieces despite his mostly successful translation of them. Second, the last page of his writing is not a full page and he stops mid-problem at the end of fol. 27v with a long dash apparently characteristic of his work when reaching a stopping point. The note in Fraser's hand to

which White refers in his letter is heavily damaged today but opens with a statement that family matters have delayed him from something. If the rest of his translation was lost, it must have been prior to the elegant binding in which White had it sewn and White makes no mention of this.

Reproduced below is my transcription of Fraser's translation. I have left his format and errors intact except for those of spacing, which are too frequent and too disruptive for modern word processing. His grasp of medieval Castillian vocabulary, grammar and punctuation is rather limited and on rare occasions he cannot even read the letters correctly. In addition, his typing did not have the benefit of modern spell-check tools and his own hand writing can be difficult. It is particularly difficult to discern between some of his upper and lower case letters, especially *a*, *k* and *w*, and in these cases I have simply given my best guess. I have inserted my comments between square brackets ([ ]) and placed a bracketed question mark ([?]) in lieu of illegible words or passages to distinguish from Fraser's question marks (?). Fraser's page numbering appears to follow White's long-hand copy in modern format (1, 2, 3, etc.) and not the manuscript's format of 1r, 1v, 2r, 2v, etc. He also seems to begin numbering anew with each period of work so that often there were one to three numbers at the upper right of his translation that made little to no sense to me. As these are often heavily crossed out and confusing, I have not reproduced them instead inserting between square brackets my reference to my count of his pages as they are bound.

For the first four chess problems, Fraser appears to have tried out several different notation styles for the problems finally settling on attempting a verbatim translation from

the Spanish (17-21). For the first four problems, Fraser uses the 19<sup>th</sup>-century English abbreviations for the pieces except for the use of the German notation letter S for knight (*Springer*) instead of the English notation of Kt on Problems 3 and 4. For his treatment of Problems 5 through 36 he uses a combination of English and medieval Spanish names for the pieces and check, switching on my page 84 to the use of all English terms. The solution for Problem 37 is begun but its remainder and all of Problems 37 through 103 are not given or are lost. Its shortcomings highlight the difficulty of the task, the limited usefulness of a word-for-word translation and the need for a translation that renders the games usable by the modern player.

**APPENDIX B2: CHESS TERMINOLOGY AND ABBREVIATIONS****IN SEVERAL LANGUAGES**

I compiled this chart a reference for chess studies done in other languages and ultimately it became the chief factor in my decision to use figurine notation for this dissertation. At the top are the categories needed for the comparisons in this study between my modern notation, Murray's nineteenth-century-style English notation (1913), Steiger's German notation, Calvo's modern Spanish notation (1987) and Alfonso's medieval Spanish terminology. The remaining languages which have been most useful to me are arranged in alphabetical order. Originally inspired by the chart in Mackett-Beeson's *Chessmen* (London: Octopus, 1973: 96), I have also used *U.S. Chess Federation's Official Rules of Chess, 4<sup>th</sup> ed.* (New York: McKay, 1993; 155), the assistance of my friends and websites featuring many more languages by Ari Luro and Bill Wall. Also of assistance may be Murray (1913: 79, 221, 367, 395-402 and 419-28), Keats (2: 108-11), showing the evolutions of these words within various language families and Wilkinson's diagram (xxv).

Table 17. Chess Terminology and Abbreviations in Several Languages.

Chess Alfonso Fonts:		+		 (   )	 		 	 
English (modern)	chess	check	king K	queen Q	bishop B	knight N	rook R	pawn
English (nineteenth century)	chess	check	K	Q	B	Kt	R	P
German	Schach	schach	König K	Dame or Königin D	Läufer L	Springer S	Turm T	Bauer (B)
Spanish (modern)	ajedrez	jaque	rey R	dama, reina D	alfil A	caballo C	torre T	peón
Spanish (medieval)	<i>acedrex</i>	<i>xaque,</i> <i>xaq, xac</i>	<i>rey</i>	<i>alfferza</i>	<i>alffil</i>	<i>cauallo</i>	<i>Roque</i>	<i>peon</i>
Spanish (Lucena)	axedrez	xaque	rey	dama, alférez	arfil	caballo	roque	peon
Arabic	shatrang		shah, mälik	wäziir, firz(an)	fil	faras, hosan	rukhh, tabja	baidaq, äskärii
Dutch	schaken	schaak	koning K	dame, koningen D	raadsheer, loper L	paard, ridder P	toren, kasteel, T	pion
Finnish	s(h)akki	s(h)akki	kuningas	kuningatar, rouva	lähetti	ratsu	torni	sotalias, sotamies
French	échecs	échec	roi R	dame D	fou F	cavalier C	tour T	pion
Greek	ζατρικι σκα κι ζατρικι skáki	σκακι skáki	Βασιλευ ξ vasiliás P	Βασιλισσα vasilissa B	τρελλοζ, αξιωματικ οσ trellós, axiōmatikos A	ιπποζ, ιπποτις, αλογο hippos, ippotis, alogo I	πυργοζ pyrgos Π	πιονι pioni

Hebrew	-	mat (dead)	-	malkah, obsolete: shegall (mistress)	ratz (runner), obs.: pil (elephant)	parash (horseman)	zeriyah (fortress or tower)	ragli (footsoldier ) , obs. hayall (soldier)
Hungarian	sakk	sakk	király (king)	királyné (queen), vezér	futó (runner), futár	ló (horse), huszár	bástya	gyalog (pedestrian ) , paraszt, tét
Icelandic	skák, tafl	skák	kóngur K	drottning D	biskup B	riddari R	hrókur H	peð
Italian	scacchi	scacco	re R	donna, regina D	alfiere A	cavaliere, cauallo C	torre T	pedina, pedone
Latin	scac, scacus, scacum, scaci, scacchia	cave regi	rex	regina, ferzia	alphiles, alfinus, curvus, calvus, senex, cornutus, comes, stultus, stoldius, cursor, episcopus	equus	rochus, turris	pedes, pedo, pedinus
Polish	szachy	szach	król K	hetman, dama, królowa H	goniec G	skoczek, koń S	wieża W	pionek
Portuguese	xadrez	xeque	rei	dama, rainha	alfil, delphim	cavalo	torre, roque	peão
Russian	шахматы shatmaty	шах shah	король karol KP	ферзь ferz Ф	слон slon (lit. elephant) C	конь kon K	ладья laddzja Л	пешка peshka пешка
Sanskrit	chaturanga		raja, nripa	mantri	dvipa, hasty	ashwa	ratha, rat- ha, agresara	patti, padati, padaty

### APPENDIX B3: THE NAMES OF THE 64 CHESS SQUARES

This table gives the modern algebraic designation for each square of the chess board from white's perspective, both proper and inverted; both white and black's perspectives from nineteenth-century English descriptive notation and (the sole perspective from) thirteenth-century Alfonsine descriptive notation for easy reference and comparison. It also highlights the precise economy of the notation at its current state of evolution compared to Alfonso's nearly equally precise but wordy descriptions.

Table 18. The Names of the 64 Chess Squares.

a1	h8	W QRsq/B QR8	<i>la casa del Roque blanco (que se entabla en casa prieta)</i>
b1	g8	QKtsq/QKt8	<i>la casa del cauallo blanco (que se entabla en casa blanca)</i>
c1	f8	QBsq/QB8	<i>la casa del alffil blanco (que se entabla en casa prieta)</i>
d1	e8	Qsq/Q8	<i>la casa del alfferza blanca</i>
e1	d8	Ksq/K8	<i>la casa del rey blanco</i>
f1	c8	KBsq/KB8	<i>la casa del alffil blanco (que se entabla en casa blanca)</i>
g1	b8	KKtsq/KKt8	<i>la casa del cauallo blanco (que se entabla en casa prieta)</i>
h1	a8	KRsq/KR8	<i>la casa del Roque blanco (que se entabla en casa blanca)</i>
a2	h7	QR2/QR7	<i>la segunda casa del Roque blanco</i>
b2	g7	QKt2/QKt7	<i>la segunda casa del cauallo blanco</i>
c2	f7	QB2/QB7	<i>la segunda casa del alffil blanco</i>
d2	e7	Q2/Q7	<i>la segunda casa del alfferza blanca</i>
e2	d7	K2/K7	<i>la segunda casa del rey blanco</i>
f2	c7	KB2/KB7	<i>la segunda casa del alffil blanco</i>
g2	b7	KKt2/KKt7	<i>la segunda casa del cauallo blanco</i>
h2	a7	KR2/KR7	<i>la segunda casa del Roque blanco</i>
a3	h6	QR3/QR6	<i>la tercera casa del Roque blanco</i>
b3	g6	QKt3/QKt6	<i>la tercera casa del cauallo blanco</i>
c3	f6	QB3/QB6	<i>la tercera casa del alffil blanco</i>
d3	e6	Q3/Q6	<i>la tercera casa del alfferza blanca</i>
e3	d6	K3/K6	<i>la tercera casa del rey blanco</i>
f3	c6	KB3/KB6	<i>la tercera casa del alffil blanco</i>
g3	b6	KKt3/KKt6	<i>la tercera casa del cauallo blanco</i>

h3	a6	KR3/KR6	<i>la tercera casa del Roque blanco</i>
a4	h5	QR4/QR5	<i>la cuarta casa del Roque blanco</i>
b4	g5	QKt4/QKt5	<i>la cuarta casa del cauallo blanco</i>
c4	f5	QB4/QB5	<i>la cuarta casa del alffil blanco</i>
d4	e5	Q4/Q5	<i>la cuarta casa del alfferza blanca</i>
e4	d5	K4/K5	<i>la cuarta casa del rey blanco</i>
f4	c5	KB4/KB5	<i>la cuarta casa del alffil blanco</i>
g4	b5	KKt4/KKt5	<i>la cuarta casa del cauallo blanco</i>
h4	a5	KR4/KR5	<i>la cuarta casa del Roque blanco</i>
a5	h4	QR5/QR4	<i>la cuarta casa del Roque prieto</i>
b5	g4	QKt5/QKt4	<i>la cuarta casa del cauallo prieto</i>
c5	f4	QB5/QB4	<i>la cuarta casa del alffil prieto</i>
d5	e4	Q5/Q4	<i>la cuarta casa del rey prieto</i>
e5	d4	K5/K4	<i>la cuarta casa del alfferza prieta</i>
f5	c4	KB5/KB4	<i>la cuarta casa del alffil prieto</i>
g5	b4	KKt5/KKt4	<i>la cuarta casa del cauallo prieto</i>
h5	a4	KR5/KR4	<i>la cuarta casa del Roque prieto</i>
a6	h3	QR6/QR3	<i>la tercera casa del Roque prieto</i>
b6	g3	QKt6/QKt3	<i>la tercera casa del cauallo prieto</i>
c6	f3	QB6/QB3	<i>la tercera casa del alffil prieto</i>
d6	e3	Q6/Q3	<i>la tercera casa del rey prieto</i>
e6	d3	K6/K3	<i>la tercera casa del alfferza prieta</i>
f6	c3	KB6/KB3	<i>la tercera casa del alffil prieto</i>
g6	b3	KKt6/KKt3	<i>la tercera casa del cauallo prieto</i>
h6	a3	KR6/KR3	<i>la tercera casa del Roque prieto</i>
a7	h2	QR7/QR2	<i>la segunda casa del Roque prieto</i>
b7	g2	QKt7/QKt2	<i>la segunda casa del cauallo prieto</i>
c7	f2	QB7/QB2	<i>la segunda casa del alffil prieto</i>
d7	e2	Q7/Q2	<i>la segunda casa del rey prieto</i>
e7	d2	K7/K2	<i>la segunda casa del alfferza prieta</i>
f7	c2	KB7/KB2	<i>la segunda casa del alffil prieto</i>
g7	b2	KKt7/KKt2	<i>la segunda casa del cauallo prieto</i>
h7	a2	KR7/KR2	<i>la segunda casa del Roque prieto</i>
a8	h1	QR8/QRsq	<i>la casa del Roque prietoo (que se entabla en casa blanca)</i>
b8	g1	QKt8/QKtsq	<i>la casa del cauallo prieto (que se entabla en casa prieta)</i>
c8	f1	QB8/QBsq	<i>la casa del alffil prieto (que se entabla en casa blanca)</i>
d8	e1	Q8/Qsq	<i>la casa del rey prieto</i>
e8	d1	K8/Ksq	<i>la casa del alfferza prieta</i>
f8	c1	KB8/KBsq	<i>la casa del alffil prieto (que se entabla en casa prieta)</i>
g8	b1	KKt8/KKtsq	<i>la casa del cauallo prieto (que se entabla en casa blanca)</i>
h8	a1	KR8/KRsq	<i>la casa del Roque prieto (que se entabla en casa prieta)</i>

### APPENDIX B4: ALGEBRAIC CHESS BOARD

This board shows the upright and reversed algebraic designations for each square for understanding problems inadvertently inverted by H.J.R. Murray (1913) and others.

<b>A8/H1</b>	<b>B8/G1</b>	<b>C8/F1</b>	<b>D8/E1</b>	<b>E8/D1</b>	<b>F8/C1</b>	<b>G8/B1</b>	<b>H8/A1</b>
<b>A7/H2</b>	<b>B7/G2</b>	<b>C7/F2</b>	<b>D7/E2</b>	<b>E7/D2</b>	<b>F7/C2</b>	<b>G7/B2</b>	<b>H7/A2</b>
<b>A6/H3</b>	<b>B6/G3</b>	<b>C6/F3</b>	<b>D6/E3</b>	<b>E6/D3</b>	<b>F6/C3</b>	<b>G6/B3</b>	<b>H6/A3</b>
<b>A5/H4</b>	<b>B5/G4</b>	<b>C5/F4</b>	<b>D5/E4</b>	<b>E5/D4</b>	<b>F5/C4</b>	<b>G5/B4</b>	<b>H5/A4</b>
<b>A4/H5</b>	<b>B4/G5</b>	<b>C4/F5</b>	<b>D4/E5</b>	<b>E4/D5</b>	<b>F4/C5</b>	<b>G4/B5</b>	<b>H4/A5</b>
<b>A3/H6</b>	<b>B3/G6</b>	<b>C3/F6</b>	<b>D3/E6</b>	<b>E3/D6</b>	<b>F3/C6</b>	<b>G3/B6</b>	<b>H3/A6</b>
<b>A2/H7</b>	<b>B2/G7</b>	<b>C2/F7</b>	<b>D2/E7</b>	<b>E2/D7</b>	<b>F2/C7</b>	<b>G2/B7</b>	<b>H2/A7</b>
<b>A1/H8</b>	<b>B1/G8</b>	<b>C1/F8</b>	<b>D1/E8</b>	<b>E1/D8</b>	<b>F1/C8</b>	<b>G1/B8</b>	<b>H1/A8</b>

## APPENDIX B5: CROSS-REFERENCED INDEX FOR PAREJA CASAÑAS

I created this chart listing *LJ* chess problems and Pareja Casañas's Rich manuscript diagram number, Spanish translation, Arabic transcription and algebraic notation of the comparable problem for ease of study between the *LJ* and the study of the Rich manuscript by Félix M. Pareja Casañas: *Kitab fi al-shatranj wa-mansubatihi wa-malahihi. Libro del ajedrez, de sus problemas y sutilezas, de autor árabe desconocido. Según el Ms. Arab. Add. 7515 (Rich) del Museo Británico. Texto árabe, traducción y estudio previo por Félix M. Pareja Casañas. 2 vols (Madrid: Maestre, 1935).*

Table 19. Cross-Referenced Index for Pareja Casañas.

<i>LJ</i> Problem #	PC diagram #	PC I: Spanish	PC I: Arabic	PC II: algebraic
1	50	75-76	60-61	72-76
4	52	78-79	63-64	79-81
7	40	63-65	58-59	56-58
12	44	67-68	62-63	62-65
14	21	44-45	39-40	29-30
15	17b	40	35	23-25
18	12, 12b	35	30	13-15
22 / 89	9	32-33	27	9-10
23	22	45	40	31-32
35	19	42	37	26-27
38 / 95	8	31-32	26-27	5-8
40 / 72	24	47	42	34-36
47	35	58-59	53-54	49-51
49	71	96	91	96-97
59	28	51	46	41-42
72 / 40	24	47	42	34-36
88 / 96	57	84	78	85-87
89 / 22	14	37	32	17-19
93	n1			LXXXII
95 / 38	8	31-32	26-27	5-8
96 / 88	57	84	78	85-87
99	16	39	34	20-21

## APPENDIX C: TOOLS FOR STUDYING DICE GAMES

### APPENDIX C1: POSSIBLE COMBINATIONS AND ODDS FOR DICE GAMES

For two six-sided dice there are a total of 36 possible combinations ( $6^2$ ). If the goal is to roll natural win of 12, 11, 2 or 1, as in the *LJ* game of *guirguesca*, the odds of making a natural are 6/36 or 1/6 (~17%). It is interesting to note that these are exactly the same odds to roll some combination of the number 7, a natural in modern craps.

Table 20. Possible Combinations and Odds for Two Six-Sided Dice.

total	# of ways to roll	possible combinations	odds
12	1	6-6	1/36 (~3%)
11	2	6-5, 5-6	2/36 or 1/18 (~6%)
10	3	6-4, 5-5, 4-6	3/36 or 1/12 (~8%)
9	4	6-3, 5-4, 4-5, 3-6	4/36 or 1/9 (~11%)
8	5	6-2, 5-3, 4-4, 3-5, 2-6	5/36 (~14%)
7	6	6-1, 5-2, 4-3, 3-4, 2-5, 1-6	6/16 or 1/6 (~17%)
6	5	5-1, 4-2, 3-3, 2-4, 1-5	5/36 (~14%)
5	4	4-1, 3-2, 2-3, 1-4	4/36 or 1/9 (~11%)
4	3	3-1, 2-2, 1-3	3/36 or 1/12 (~8%)
3	2	2-1, 1-2	2/36 or 1/18 (~6%)
2	1	1-1	1/36 (~3%)

For three six-sided dice there are a total of 216 possible combinations ( $6^3$ ). The *LJ* games which use three dice divide the possible totals into two groups: the middle numbers of 7 to 14 and the outside numbers of 3 to 6 and 15 to 18. *Marlota* and *panquist* use only the middle numbers as points. The odds of rolling any number which can be used as a point number in *marlota* or *panquist* are 176/216 (~81%); the odds of rolling any particular point number range between roughly 7% and 13% and are broken down in the table below. If the goal is to win by rolling a natural of any outer number, as in *triga*, *azar*, *medio azar* and *azar pujado*, then the odds are 40/216 or 5/27 (~19%). If a natural

win does not occur in the first phase, then the odds for point numbers same as given above for *marlota* and *panquist*.

Table 21. Possible Combinations and Odds for Three Six-Sided Dice.

total	ways to roll	combinations	odds
18	1	6-6-6	1/216 (~0.5%)
17	3	6-6-5, 6-5-6, 5-6-6	3/216 (~1%)
16	6	6-6-4, 6-5-5, 6-4-6, 5-6-5, 5-5-6, 4-6-6	6/216 (~3%)
15	10	6-6-3, 6-3-6, 3-6-6, 6-5-4, 6-4-5, 5-6-4, 5-4-6, 4-6-5, 4-5-6, 5-5-5	10/216 (~5%)
14	15	6-6-2, 6-2-6, 2-6-6, 6-5-3, 6-3-5, 5-6-3, 5-3-6, 3-6-5, 3-5-6, 6-4-4, 6-4-6, 4-6-6, 5-5-4, 5-4-5, 4-5-5	15/216 (~7%)
13	21	6-6-1, 6-1-6, 1-6-6, 6-5-2, 6-2-5, 5-6-2, 5-2-6, 2-6-5, 2-5-6, 6-4-3, 6-3-4, 4-6-3, 4-3-6, 3-6-4, 3-4-6, 5-5-3, 5-3-5, 3-5-5, 5-4-4, 4-5-4, 4-4-5	21/216 (~10%)
12	25	6-5-1, 6-1-5, 5-6-1, 5-1-6, 1-6-5, 1-5-6, 5-5-2, 5-2-5, 2-5-5, 5-4-3, 5-3-4, 4-5-3, 4-3-5, 3-5-4, 3-4-5, 4-4-4, 3-3-6, 3-6-3, 6-3-3, 6-4-2, 6-2-4, 4-6-2, 4-2-6, 2-6-4, 2-4-6	25/216 (~12%)
11	27	6-4-1, 6-1-4, 4-6-1, 4-1-6, 1-6-4, 1-4-6, 6-3-2, 6-2-3, 3-6-2, 3-2-6, 2-6-3, 2-3-6, 5-5-1, 5-1-5, 1-5-5, 5-4-2, 5-2-4, 4-5-2, 4-2-5, 2-5-4, 2-4-5, 5-3-3, 3-5-3, 3-3-5, 4-4-3, 4-3-4, 3-4-4	27/216 (~13%)
10	27	6-3-1, 6-1-3, 3-6-1, 3-1-6, 1-6-3, 1-3-6, 6-2-2, 2-6-2, 2-2-6, 5-4-1, 5-1-4, 4-5-1, 4-1-5, 1-5-4, 1-4-5, 5-3-2, 5-2-3, 3-5-2, 3-2-5, 2-5-3, 2-3-5, 4-3-3, 3-4-3, 3-3-4, 4-4-2, 4-2-4, 2-4-4	27/216 (~13%)
9	25	6-2-1, 6-1-2, 2-6-1, 2-1-6, 1-6-2, 1-2-6, 5-3-1, 5-1-3, 3-5-1, 3-1-5, 1-5-3, 1-3-5, 4-4-1, 4-1-4, 1-4-4, 5-2-2, 2-5-2, 2-2-5, 3-3-3, 4-3-2, 4-2-3, 3-4-2, 3-2-4, 2-4-3, 2-3-4	25/216 (~12%)
8	21	6-1-1, 1-6-1, 1-1-6, 5-2-1, 5-1-2, 2-5-1, 2-1-5, 1-5-2, 1-2-5, 4-2-2, 2-4-2, 2-2-4, 3-3-2, 3-2-3, 2-3-3, 4-3-1, 4-1-3, 3-4-1, 3-1-4, 1-4-3, 1-3-4	21/216 (~10%)
7	15	5-1-1, 1-5-1, 1-1-5, 4-2-1, 4-1-2, 2-4-1, 2-1-4, 1-4-2, 1-2-4, 3-3-2, 3-2-3, 2-3-3, 3-3-1, 3-1-3, 1-3-3	15/216 (~7%)
6	10	4-1-1, 1-4-1, 1-1-4, 3-2-1, 3-1-2, 2-3-1, 2-1-3, 1-3-2, 1-2-3, 2-2-2	10/216 (~5%)
5	6	2-2-1, 2-1-2, 1-2-2, 3-1-1, 1-3-1, 1-1-3	6/216 (~3%)
4	3	2-1-1, 1-2-1, 1-1-2	3/216 (~1%)
3	1	1-1-1	1/216 (~0.5%)

In *panquist's* unusually complex scoring scheme there is often very little difference in terms of odds for between one stake level and the next. Thus the fact that there are two possible combinations to win three stakes for 8 through 14, while only one combination wins the lesser amount of two stakes, is deceptive in terms of odds. At first glance it would seem that two possible combinations would mean greater odds but in fact since the three-stake wins contain doublets or triplets, their total odds for both combinations equal or are lesser than those for the single two-stake win. For example, the odds of winning one, two or three stakes are exactly equal (6/216) for point numbers eight and thirteen. The odds of winning two or three stakes are the same (6/216) for ten and eleven. For the point number seven there is even no difference in terms of odds between winning only three and all four stakes. The following table shows all possible winning combinations for each point number, the various stakes each wins. The total odds out of 216 are given in parentheses for each stake.

Table 23. *Panquist's* Combinations and Winnings.

point	1 stake	2 stakes	3 stakes	4 stakes
7	- (0)	5+1+1 or 4+2+1 (9)	2+2+3 (3)	3+3+1 (3)
8	5+2+1 (6)	4+3+1 (6)	6+1+1 or 2+2+4 (6)	3+3+2 (3)
9	6+2+1 or 5+3+1 (12)	4+3+2 (6)	2+2+5 or 3+3+3 (4)	4+4+1 (3)
10	5+4+1 or 5+3+2 (12)	6+3+1 (6)	2+2+6 or 3+3+4 (6)	4+4+2 (3)
11	6+3+2 or 5+4+2 (12)	6+4+1 (6)	5+5+1 or 4+4+3 (6)	3+3+5 (3)
12	6+5+1 or 6+4+2 (12)	5+4+3 (6)	5+5+2 or 4+4+4 (4)	3+3+6 (3)
13	6+5+2 (6)	6+4+3 (6)	6+6+1 or 5+5+3 (6)	4+4+5 (3)
14	- (0)	6+5+3 (6)	6+6+2 or 5+5+4 (6)	4+4+6 (3)

For two seven-sided dice there are a total of 49 possible combinations ( $7^2$ ). If playing *guirguesca* with two 7-sided dice, then the goal is to roll a natural with 14, 13, 3 or 2 and the odds are 6/49 (~12%). These odds are significantly less than those for play

with two six-sided dice (~17%), discussed above.

Table 23. Possible Combinations and Odds for Two Seven-Sided Dice.

total	# of ways to roll	combinations	odds
14	1	7-7	1/49 (~2%)
13	2	7-6, 6-7	2/49 (~4%)
12	3	7-5, 5-7, 6-6	3/49 (~6%)
11	4	7-4, 4-7, 6-5, 5-6	4/49 (~8%)
10	5	7-3, 3-7, 6-4, 4-6, 5-5	5/49 (~10%)
9	6	7-2, 2-7, 6-3, 3-6, 5-4, 4-5	6/49 (~12%)
8	7	7-1, 1-7, 6-2, 2-6, 5-3, 3-5, 4-4	7/49 or 1/7 (~14%)
7	6	6-1, 1-6, 5-2, 2-5, 4-3, 3-4	6/49 (~12%)
6	5	5-1, 1-5, 4-2, 2-4, 3-3	5/49 (~10%)
5	4	4-1, 1-4, 3-2, 2-3	4/49 (~8%)
4	3	3-1, 1-3, 2-2	3/49 (~6%)
3	2	2-1, 1-2	2/49 (~4%)
2	1	1-1	1/49 (~2%)

For three seven-sided dice there are 343 possible combinations ( $7^3$ ). The *LJ* does not specify how the 19 possible totals are to be divided into middle and outer numbers but it seems likely that they would be grouped 3 to 7, 8 to 17, and 18 to 21. If playing the *LJ's marlota* or *panquist* with three seven-sided dice, then the odds are 202/343 (~88%, slightly higher than with three six-sided dice) to roll a middle number (17, 16, 15, 14, 13, 12, 11, 10, 9 or 8) to use as a point number and then between roughly 4% and 11% (somewhat lower than with three six-sided dice) to make your point. If playing *triga* or one of the *azar* variants then the goal is to roll a natural win with an outer number (21, 20, 19, 18, 6, 5, 4, or 3) and those odds are 40/343 (~12%, significantly lower than the ~19% for three six-sided dice).

Table 24. Possible Combinations and Odds for Three Seven-Sided Dice.

total	# ways to roll	combinations	odds
21	1	7-7-7	1/343 (<0.05%)
20	3	7-7-6, 7-6-7, 6-7-7	3/343 (<1%)
19	6	7-7-5, 7-5-7, 5-7-7, 7-6-6, 7-6-7, 6-7-7	6/343 (~2%)
18	10	7-7-4, 7-4-7, 4-7-7, 7-6-5, 7-5-6, 6-7-5, 6-5-7, 5-7-6, 5-6-7, 6-6-6	10/343 (~3%)
17	15	7-7-3, 7-3-7, 3-7-7, 7-5-5, 5-7-5, 5-5-7, 7-6-4, 7-4-6, 6-7-4, 6-4-7, 4-7-6, 4-6-7, 6-6-5, 6-5-6, 5-6-6	15/343 (~4%)
16	21	7-7-2, 7-2-7, 2-7-7, 7-6-3, 7-3-6, 6-7-3, 6-3-7, 3-7-6, 3-6-7, 7-5-4, 7-4-5, 5-7-4, 5-4-7, 4-7-5, 4-5-7, 6-6-4, 6-4-6, 4-6-6, 6-5-5, 5-6-5, 5-5-6	21/343 (~6%)
15	28	7-7-1, 7-1-7, 1-7-7, 7-6-2, 7-2-6, 6-7-2, 6-2-7, 2-7-6, 2-6-7, 7-5-3, 7-3-5, 5-7-3, 5-3-7, 3-7-5, 3-5-7, 6-6-3, 6-3-6, 3-6-6, 6-5-4, 6-4-5, 5-6-4, 5-4-6, 4-6-5, 4-5-6, 5-5-5, 4-4-7, 4-7-4, 7-4-4	28/343 (~8%)
14	33	7-6-1, 7-1-6, 6-7-1, 6-1-7, 1-7-6, 1-6-7, 7-5-2, 7-2-5, 5-7-2, 5-2-7, 2-7-5, 2-5-7, 7-4-3, 7-3-4, 4-7-3, 4-3-7, 3-7-4, 3-4-7, 6-6-2, 6-2-6, 2-6-6, 6-5-3, 6-3-5, 5-6-3, 5-3-6, 3-6-5, 3-5-6, 6-4-4, 4-6-4, 4-4-6, 5-5-4, 5-4-5, 4-5-5	33/343 (~10%)
13	36	7-5-1, 7-1-5, 5-7-1, 5-1-7, 1-7-5, 1-5-7, 7-4-2, 7-2-4, 4-7-2, 4-2-7, 2-7-4, 2-4-7, 7-3-3, 3-7-3, 3-3-7, 6-6-1, 6-1-6, 1-6-6, 6-5-2, 6-2-5, 5-6-2, 5-2-6, 2-6-5, 2-5-6, 6-4-3, 6-3-4, 4-6-3, 4-3-6, 3-6-4, 3-4-6, 5-5-3, 5-3-5, 3-5-5, 5-4-4, 4-5-4, 4-4-5	36/343 (~10.4%)
12	37	7-4-1, 7-1-4, 4-7-1, 4-1-7, 1-7-4, 1-4-7, 7-3-2, 7-2-3, 3-7-2, 3-2-7, 2-7-3, 2-3-7, 6-5-1, 6-1-5, 5-6-1, 5-1-6, 1-6-5, 1-5-6, 6-4-2, 6-2-4, 4-6-2, 4-2-6, 2-6-4, 2-4-6, 6-3-3, 3-6-3, 3-3-6, 4-4-4, 5-4-3, 5-3-4, 4-5-3, 4-3-5, 3-5-4, 3-4-5, 5-5-2, 5-2-5, 2-5-5	37/343 (~11%)
11	36	7-3-1, 7-1-3, 3-7-1, 3-1-7, 1-7-3, 1-3-7, 7-2-2, 2-7-2, 2-2-7, 6-4-1, 6-1-4, 4-6-1, 4-1-6, 1-6-4, 1-4-6, 6-3-2, 6-2-3, 3-6-2, 3-2-6, 2-6-3, 2-3-6, 5-5-1, 5-1-5, 1-5-5, 5-4-2, 5-2-4, 4-5-2, 4-2-5, 2-5-4, 2-4-5, 5-3-3, 3-5-3, 3-3-5, 3-4-4, 4-3-4, 4-4-3	36/343 (~10.4%)
10	33	7-2-1, 7-1-2, 2-7-1, 2-1-7, 1-7-2, 1-2-7, 6-2-2, 2-6-2, 2-2-6, 6-3-1, 6-1-3, 3-6-1, 3-1-6, 1-6-3, 1-3-6, 5-3-2, 5-2-3, 3-5-2, 3-2-5, 2-5-3, 2-3-5, 5-4-1, 5-1-4, 4-5-1, 4-1-5, 1-5-4, 1-4-5, 4-4-2, 4-2-4, 2-4-4, 3-3-4, 3-4-3, 3-3-4	33/343 (~10%)

9	28	7-1-1, 1-7-1, 1-1-7, 6-2-1, 6-1-2, 2-6-1, 2-1-6, 1-6-2, 1-2-6, 5-3-1, 5-1-3, 3-5-1, 3-1-5, 1-5-3, 1-3-5, 5-2-2, 2-5-2, 2-2-5, 4-3-2-, 4-2-3-, 3-4-2, 3-2-4, 2-4-3, 2-3-4, 4-4-1, 4-1-4, 1-4-4, 3-3-3	28/343 (~8%)
8	21	6-1-1, 6-1-6, 1-1-6, 5-2-1, 5-1-2, 2-5-1, 2-1-5, 1-5-2, 1-2-5, 4-3-1, 4-1-3, 3-4-1, 3-1-4, 1-4-3, 1-3-4, 4-2-2, 2-4-2, 2-2-4, 3-3-2, 3-2-3, 2-3-3	21/343 (~6%)
7	15	5-1-1, 5-1-5, 1-5-5, 4-2-1, 4-1-2, 2-4-1, 2-1-4, 1-4-2, 1-2-4, 3-3-1, 3-1-3, 1-3-3, 3-2-2, 2-3-2, 2-2-3	15/343 (~4%)
6	10	4-1-1, 1-4-1, 1-1-4, 3-2-1, 3-1-2, 2-3-1, 2-1-3, 1-3-2, 1-2-3, 2-2-2	10/343 (~3%)
5	6	2-2-1, 2-1-2, 1-2-2, 3-1-1, 3-1-3, 1-3-3	6/343 (~2%)
4	3	2-1-1, 1-2-1, 1-1-2	3/343 (<1%)
3	1	1-1-1	1/343 (<0.05%)

For two eight-sided dice there are 64 possible combinations ( $8^2$ ). If playing *guirguesca* with two eight-sided dice, the goal is to roll a natural win with 16, 15, 2 or 1 and the odds are 6/64 or (~9%). These odds are far less than if playing *guirguesca* with two six-sided (~17%) or two seven-sided dice (~12%).

Table 25. Possible Combinations and Odds for Two Eight-Sided Dice.

total	# of ways to roll	combinations	odds
16	1	8-8	1/64 (~2%)
15	2	8-7, 7-8	2/64 (~3%)
14	3	8-6, 6-8, 7-7	3/64 (~5%)
13	4	8-5, 5-8, 7-6, 6-7	4/64 (~6%)
12	5	8-4, 4-8, 7-5, 5-7, 6-6	5/64 (~8%)
11	6	8-3, 3-8, 7-4, 4-7, 6-5, 5-6	6/64 (~9%)
10	7	8-2, 2-8, 7-3, 3-7, 6-4, 4-6, 5-5	7/64 (~11%)
9	8	8-1, 1-8, 7-2, 2-7, 6-3, 3-6, 5-4, 4-5	8/64 or 1/8 (12.5%)
8	7	7-1, 1-7, 6-2, 2-6, 5-3, 3-5, 4-4	7/64 (~11%)
7	6	6-1, 1-6, 5-2, 2-5, 4-3, 3-4	6/64 (~9%)
6	5	5-1, 1-5, 4-2, 2-4, 3-3	5/64 (~8%)
5	4	4-1, 1-4, 3-2, 2-3	4/64 (~6%)
4	3	3-1, 1-3, 2-2	3/64 (~5%)
3	2	2-1, 1-2	2/64 (~3%)
2	1	1-1	1/64 (~2%)

For three eight-sided dice there are 512 possible combinations ( $8^3$ ). The *LJ* specifies that the outer numbers are from 3 to 7 and 20 to 24. If playing the *LJ's marlota* or *panquist* with three seven-sided dice, the goal is to roll a middle number (8 through 20) the odds are 472/512 (~92%) and if playing *triga* or one of the *azar* variants then the goal is to roll natural win with an outer number the odds of which are 40/512 (~8%). Again, the odds for rolling a natural with eight-sided dice are significantly less than with three six-sided (~19%) or three seven-sided dice (~12%).

Table 26. Possible Combinations and Odds for Three Eight-Sided Dice.

total	# ways to roll	combinations	odds
24	1	8-8-8	1/512 (<1%)
23	3	8-8-7, 8-7-8, 7-8-8	3/512 (<1%)
22	6	8-8-6, 8-6-8, 6-8-8, 8-7-7, 7-8-7, 7-7-8	6/512 (~1%)

21	10	8-8-5, 8-5-8, 5-8-8, 8-7-6, 8-6-7, 7-8-6, 7-6-8, 6-8-7, 6-7-8, 7-7-7	10/512 (~2%)
20	15	8-8-4, 8-4-8, 4-8-8, 8-7-5, 8-5-7, 7-8-5, 7-5-8, 5-8-7, 5-7-8, 8-6-6, 6-8-6, 6-6-8, 7-7-6, 7-6-7, 6-7-7	15/512 (~3%)
19	21	8-8-3, 8-3-8, 3-8-8, 8-7-4, 8-4-7, 7-8-4, 7-4-8, 4-8-7, 4-7-8, 8-6-5, 8-6-5, 6-8-5, 6-5-8, 5-8-6, 5-6-8, 7-7-5, 7-5-7, 5-7-7, 7-6-6, 7-6-7, 6-7-7	21/512 (~4%)
18	28	8-8-2, 8-2-8, 2-8-8, 8-7-3, 8-3-7, 7-8-3, 7-3-8, 3-8-7, 3-7-8, 8-6-4, 8-4-6, 6-8-4, 6-4-8, 4-8-6, 4-6-8, 8-5-5, 5-8-5, 5-5-8, 7-7-4, 7-4-7, 4-7-7, 7-6-5, 7-5-6, 6-7-5, 6-5-7, 5-7-6, 5-6-7, 6-6-6	28/512 (~5.5%)
17	36	8-8-1, 8-1-8, 1-8-8, 8-7-2, 8-2-7, 7-8-2, 7-2-8, 2-8-7, 2-7-8, 8-6-3, 8-3-6, 6-8-3, 6-3-8, 3-8-6, 3-6-8, 8-5-4, 8-4-5, 5-8-4, 5-4-8, 4-8-5, 4-5-8, 7-7-3, 7-3-7, 3-7-7, 7-5-5, 5-7-5, 5-5-7, 7-6-4, 7-4-6, 6-7-4, 6-4-7, 4-7-6, 4-6-7, 6-6-5, 6-5-6, 5-6-6	36/512 (~7%)
16	42	8-7-1, 8-1-7, 7-1-8, 7-8-1, 1-7-8, 1-8-7, 8-6-2, 8-2-6, 6-8-2, 6-2-8, 2-8-6, 2-6-8, 8-5-3, 8-3-5, 5-8-3, 5-3-8, 3-8-5, 3-5-8, 8-4-4, 4-8-4, 4-4-8, 7-7-2, 7-2-7, 2-7-7, 7-6-3, 7-3-6, 6-7-3, 6-3-7, 3-7-6, 3-6-7, 7-5-4, 7-4-5, 5-7-4, 5-4-7, 4-7-5, 4-5-7, 6-6-4, 6-4-6, 4-6-6, 6-5-5, 5-6-5, 5-5-6	42/512 (~8%)
15	46	8-6-1, 8-1-6, 1-8-6, 1-6-8, 6-8-1, 6-1-8, 8-5-2, 8-2-5, 5-8-2, 5-2-8, 2-8-5, 2-5-8, 8-4-3, 8-3-4, 3-4-8, 3-8-4, 4-8-3, 4-3-8, 7-7-1, 7-1-7, 1-7-7, 7-6-2, 7-2-6, 6-7-2, 6-2-7, 2-7-6, 2-6-7, 7-5-3, 7-3-5, 5-7-3, 5-3-7, 3-7-5, 3-5-7, 6-6-3, 6-3-6, 3-6-6, 6-5-4, 6-4-5, 5-6-4, 5-4-6, 4-6-5, 4-5-6, 5-5-5, 4-4-7, 4-7-4, 7-4-4	46/512 (~9%)
14	48	8-5-1, 8-1-5, 1-8-5, 1-5-8, 5-8-1, 5-1-8, 8-3-3, 3-8-3, 3-3-8, 8-4-2, 8-2-4, 2-8-4, 2-4-8, 4-8-2, 4-2-8, 7-6-1, 7-1-6, 6-7-1, 6-1-7, 1-7-6, 1-6-7, 7-5-2, 7-2-5, 5-7-2, 5-2-7, 2-7-5, 2-5-7, 7-4-3, 7-3-4, 4-7-3, 4-3-7, 3-7-4, 3-4-7, 6-6-2, 6-2-6, 2-6-6, 6-5-3, 6-3-5, 5-6-3, 5-3-6, 3-6-5, 3-5-6, 6-4-4, 4-6-4, 4-4-6, 5-5-4, 5-4-5, 4-5-5	48/512 (~9%)
13	48	8-4-1, 8-1-4, 1-8-4, 1-4-8, 4-1-8, 4-8-1, 8-3-2, 8-2-3, 2-8-3, 2-3-8, 3-2-8, 3-8-2, 7-5-1, 7-1-5, 5-7-1, 5-1-7, 1-7-5, 1-5-7, 7-4-2, 7-2-4, 4-7-2, 4-2-7, 2-7-4, 2-4-7, 7-3-3, 3-7-3, 3-3-7, 6-6-1, 6-1-6, 1-6-6, 6-5-2, 6-2-5, 5-6-2, 5-2-6, 2-6-5, 2-5-6, 6-4-3, 6-3-4, 4-6-3, 4-3-6, 3-6-4, 3-4-6, 5-5-3, 5-3-5, 3-5-5, 5-4-4, 4-5-4, 4-4-5	48/512 (~9%)
12	46	8-3-1, 8-1-3, 1-3-8, 1-8-3, 3-1-8, 3-8-1, 8-2-2, 2-8-2, 2-2-8, 7-4-1, 7-1-4, 4-7-1, 4-1-7, 1-7-4, 1-4-7, 7-3-2, 7-2-3, 3-7-2, 3-2-7, 2-7-3, 2-3-7, 6-5-1, 6-1-5, 5-6-1, 5-1-6, 1-6-5, 1-5-6, 6-4-2, 6-2-4, 4-6-2, 4-2-6, 2-6-4, 2-4-6, 6-3-3, 3-6-3, 3-3-6, 4-4-4, 5-4-3, 5-3-4, 4-5-3, 4-3-5, 3-5-4, 3-4-5, 5-5-2, 5-2-5, 2-5-5	46/512 (~9%)

11	42	8-2-1, 1-2-8, 1-8-2, 8-1-2, 2-1-8, 2-8-1, 7-3-1, 7-1-3, 3-7-1, 3-1-7, 1-7-3, 1-3-7, 7-2-2, 2-7-2, 2-2-7, 6-4-1, 6-1-4, 4-6-1, 4-1-6, 1-6-4, 1-4-6, 6-3-2, 6-2-3, 3-6-2, 3-2-6, 2-6-3, 2-3-6, 5-5-1, 5-1-5, 1-5-5, 5-4-2, 5-2-4, 4-5-2, 4-2-5, 2-5-4, 2-4-5, 5-3-3, 3-5-3, 3-3-5, 3-4-4, 4-3-4, 4-4-3	42/512 (~8%)
10	36	8-1-1, 1-8-1, 1-1-8, 7-2-1, 7-1-2, 2-7-1, 2-1-7, 1-7-2, 1-2-7, 6-2-2, 2-6-2, 2-2-6, 6-3-1, 6-1-3, 3-6-1, 3-1-6, 1-6-3, 1-3-6, 5-3-2, 5-2-3, 3-5-2, 3-2-5, 2-5-3, 2-3-5, 5-4-1, 5-1-4, 4-5-1, 4-1-5, 1-5-4, 1-4-5, 4-4-2, 4-2-4, 2-4-4, 3-3-4, 3-4-3, 3-3-4	36/512 (~7%)
9	28	7-1-1, 1-7-1, 1-1-7, 6-2-1, 6-1-2, 2-6-1, 2-1-6, 1-6-2, 1-2-6, 5-3-1, 5-1-3, 3-5-1, 3-1-5, 1-5-3, 1-3-5, 5-2-2, 2-5-2, 2-2-5, 4-3-2, 4-2-3, 3-4-2, 3-2-4, 2-4-3, 2-3-4, 4-4-1, 4-1-4, 1-4-4, 3-3-3	28/512 (~5.5%)
8	21	6-1-1, 6-1-6, 1-1-6, 5-2-1, 5-1-2, 2-5-1, 2-1-5, 1-5-2, 1-2-5, 4-3-1, 4-1-3, 3-4-1, 3-1-4, 1-4-3, 1-3-4, 4-2-2, 2-4-2, 2-2-4, 3-3-2, 3-2-3, 2-3-3	21/512 (~4%)
7	15	5-1-1, 5-1-5, 1-5-5, 4-2-1, 4-1-2, 2-4-1, 2-1-4, 1-4-2, 1-2-4, 3-3-1, 3-1-3, 1-3-3, 3-2-2, 2-3-2, 2-2-3	15/512 (~3%)
6	10	4-1-1, 1-4-1, 1-1-4, 3-2-1, 3-1-2, 2-3-1, 2-1-3, 1-3-2, 1-2-3, 2-2-2	10/512 (~2%)
5	6	2-2-1, 2-1-2, 1-2-2, 3-1-1, 3-1-3, 1-3-3	6/512 (~1%)
4	3	2-1-1, 1-2-1, 1-1-2	3/512 (<1%)
3	1	1-1-1	1/512 (<1%)

## APPENDIX C2: SAMPLE GAMES OF AZAR

First, players roll to decide who goes first. Player 1 rolls 4-4-2 (total 10) and Player 2: rolls 3-6-5 (total 14). Result: Player 2 goes first.

Possible Game One: Player 2 rolls 6-6-5 (total 17) this is a winning combination because it is 15 or above, so he shouts “azar” and Player 1 gives him money.

Possible Game Two: Player 2 rolls 1-2-3 (total 6) this is a winning combination because it is 6 or less; he shouts “azar” and Player 1 gives him money.

Possible Game Three: Player 2 rolls 4-5-3 (total 12) this is not a winning combination, so he shouts nothing and Player 1 gives him nothing. Player 1 rolls 5-5-6 (total 16) that is a winning combination because it is 15 or above; he shouts “reazar” and Player 2 gives him money.

Possible Game Four: Player 2 rolls 4-5-3 (total 12) this is not a winning combination, so he shouts nothing and Player 1 gives him nothing. Player 1 rolls 4-2-2 (total 8) not a “reazar”; he shouts nothing and Player 2 gives him nothing. Now each takes a number between 7 and 14 (the non-*azar* numbers) and rolls for it. It is not clear in the manuscript whether they choose this number or they use the one from their first two rolls. Let’s say they choose the latter route. Player 2 shooting for 12 rolls 3-2-1 (total 6); he shouts nothing and Player 2 gives him nothing. Player 1 shooting for 8 rolls 5-5-6 (total 16); he shouts nothing and Player 2 gives him nothing. Player 2 (shooting for 12) rolls 5-5-2 (total 12), so he shouts and Player 1 gives him money.

Possible Game Five: Player 2 rolls 4-5-3 (total 12) this is not a winning combination; he shouts nothing and Player 1 gives him nothing. Player 1 rolls 4-2-2 (total

8) not a “reazar”; he shouts nothing and Player 2 gives him nothing. Now each takes a number between 7 and 14 (the non-*azar* numbers) and rolls for it. Player 2 shooting for 12 rolls 3-2-1 (total 6); he shouts nothing and Player 2 gives him nothing. Player 1 shooting for 8 rolls 5-5-6 (total 16); he shouts nothing and Player 2 gives him nothing. Player 2 shooting for 12 rolls 2-4-2 (total 8); he expresses his disappointment by shouting something which may include the prohibited blasphemy listed in Title I of the *Libro de las Tahurerías*, and he gives Player 1 money.

Possible Game Six: Player 2 rolls 5-5-1 (total 11); he shouts nothing and Player 1 gives him nothing. Player 1 rolls 6-2-3 (total 11); he shouts nothing and Player 2 gives him nothing. Player 2 shooting for 11 rolls 2-2-2 (total 6), so nothing happens. Player 1 shooting for 11 rolls 1-6-3 (total 10), so nothing happens. Player 2 shooting for 11 rolls 1-1-1 (total 3), so nothing happens. Player 1 shooting for 11 rolls 6-1-4 (total 11). He wins and Player 2 gives him money.

**APPENDIX D: TOOLS FOR STUDYING THE *LJ*'S MINIATURES****APPENDIX D1: ALFONSO'S ICONOGRAPHIC PORTRAITS**

See details of Alfonso's kingly portrayal from fols. 1r, 47r, 48r, 54v, 65r, 72r, 96v and 97v on the accompanying PowerPoint presentation on art.

**APPENDIX D2: POSSIBLE NON-ICONOGRAPHIC PORTRAITS OF ALFONSO**

An intriguing passage on fol. 85r may indicate that there are also non-iconographic portraits of Alfonso within the *LJ*.<sup>3502</sup>

See details of possible portraits of Alfonso in a more casual style from fols. 10v, 19r, 23r, 39r, 73v and 85v on the accompanying PowerPoint presentation on art.

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<sup>3502</sup> “E este es el departimiento deste iuego. & esta es la figura dell entablamiento. & de como se iuega ell emperador; en este tablero. & por esto pusieron aqui la su figura” (fol. 85r, underscoring mine).

### **APPENDIX D3: PORTRAITS OF QUEEN VIOLANTE**

See portraits I identify as showing Alfonso's wife, Queen Violante from fols. 16r, 18r, 47v, 49v, 54v and 56r on the accompanying PowerPoint presentation on art.

Following the portraits of Queen Violante, is a selection of images which serves to offer a small sample of the variety of facial features and particularly nose types shown in the *LJ*'s miniatures. This gallery's broad range of distinct types of facial features and characteristics clearly illustrates that the figures shown in the *LJ* illuminations do not have generic faces, even among those of the same race and gender. Rather, the paintings of figures in the *LJ*'s miniatures may be recognized as individual portraits painted with sufficient realistic detail to permit both a broad categorization of types of people in terms of race, ethnicity and gender. Often their unique facial characteristics often permit another, more narrow identification of certain individuals on the basis of the repetition of those features. This gallery of *LJ* facial and especially nasal variety is offered preparatory to the arguments made in this dissertation's second chapter towards the identification of Alfonso and members of his court on the basis of non-accidental likenesses between their several portraits in the *LJ*.

The details of the first two images show a total of four feminine noses from the same three-quarter perspective in which Violante is often shown, yet their delicately narrow noses or flared nostrils are all strongly different to the Queen's strongly prominent nasal bridge. The third image shows the realistic rounded and broad nose, full lips and tightly curled hair of a dark-skinned African while the fourth and fifth images show two different men, whose profiles have distinctly sharp features, including their

foreheads and chins as well as their aquiline noses. Finally, the final two details portray two men of very unusual appearance with matter-of-fact, realistic humanism rather than the ironic condescension or mockery of later portraits of jesters or fools.

**APPENDIX D4: PORTRAITS OF MAYOR GUILLÉN DE GUZMÁN AND  
BEATRIZ ALFONSO**

See portraits of one of Alfonso's *barraganas* and their daughter, who became Queen of Portugal from fols. 18r, 40v, 48r, 54v and 58r on the accompanying PowerPoint presentation on art.

#### APPENDIX D5: THE *LJ* AS A DIAL OF PRINCES AND PRINCESSES

The *LJ* shares a similar purpose, delivery and structure with many other medieval paremiological collections. Particularly its first treatise, the “Libro del acedrex,” but in a certain sense the entire codex, represents a collection of problems that a king must know how to solve. This edifying purpose is delivered in parables which naturally contain multiple levels of meaning, both metaphorical and allegorical. Thus, the “Libro del acedrex” in particular and the *LJ* as a whole represent a collection of problems for the purpose of training a king in both chess and real life.

Like other collections of *exempla*, such as *Calila e Digna* and the *Conde Lucanor* to cite only two examples from the many such collections translated and/or compiled by Alfonso and other members of his family, the *LJ* derives from an Eastern tradition and the sources of the individual components of its contents are largely from Arabic sources.

The structure of each game lesson, much like one of Aesop’s fables or any tale from the above-named collections, follows the same didactic pattern: the problem is laid out, its solution is presented and a more memorable and beautiful artistic summary is presented at the end. In the literary collections the aesthetic summary is generally verse in nature but in the lavishly illuminated *LJ*, the finale takes the form of a colored and gold-leafed miniature. This miniature’s position falling after the game to which it relates is somewhat counter-intuitive to the modern reader, but this final emphasis serves to underscore its intrinsic connection with and inseparability from the textual description and solution of each game.

See images of these miniatures from fols. 15r, 16r, 33r, 33v, 58r, 74r and 93v on the accompanying PowerPoint presentation on art.

**APPENDIX D6: BIRRETES**

See a comparison of the *birrete* buried with Fernando de la Cerda at the Museo de las Huelgas and those shown in the *LJ* on fols. 1r, 14v, 47v, 48r, 67v, 69r, 70r, 71r, 72r, 83v, 88v, 96v and 97v on the accompanying PowerPoint presentation on art.

### APPENDIX D7: JEWISH AND ORIENTAL HEADWEAR

There are several types of unusual hats in the *LJ* which lack sufficient criteria to allow them to be classified with precision and thus are grouped together for ease of visual reference in these Appendices. The hats may represent different types of Jewish headwear, as Janer thought, or they may identify some other Eastern-European, Near-Eastern or other ethnicity or region, or perhaps even simply be indicative of generic Eastern headwear. Supporting Janer's conclusion is that men in these hats tend to have more Semitic features and duller colored clothing than some of their generally fairer and more brightly-dressed opponents. However, seen nowhere in the *LJ* is the easily identifiable, traditionally rigid and conical *Judenhut* of *Cantiga 25*. Instead, Jews in the *LJ* appear to wear more closely-fitting, softer, peaked caps similar to the one worn by the Jewish father in *Cantiga 4* (fols. 8v, 20r, 41v, 46v, 71v, 75r, 82v). However, some of these hats tend to be more bullet-shaped and may be Syrian or Grecian in style.

A second type of pointed hat, but which is also curved like a Phrygian cap or the later Venetian doge's *corno ducale* (fourteenth century onwards), is also seen in the *LJ* (fols. 11v, 41r, 42r, 43v, 61v, 82v, 91v). See images of these hats compared with similar ones from the *CSM* on the accompanying PowerPoint presentation on art.

It may be significant that both types of pointed hats appear together in the miniature for *grant acedrex* (fol. 82v), which the text says was invented in India. The miniature might then be portraying two Indians or even the dissemination of this game with an Indian, at right in the curved hat, playing against someone from a land west of him. However, the origin of the man at left is still unclear; he could be from anywhere

between western Indian to Spain. Since men in the curved hat are shown playing *alquerque* (fol. 91v) and that game is possibly the *iskundrée* mentioned in the Talmud, this might be another type of Jewish hat. However, the second type of curved hats tend to be ornamented with gold and painted in colors prohibited to Jews. Further, musicians in these hats illustrate *Cantiga E 70* and it could be considered unusual that two Jews would be shown singing the praises of the Virgin Mary. Among a crowd of helmeted knights in *Cantiga 63*, panel 6, there is a man in a similar hat which could indicate it as a regional style of helmet. Although there is Biblical precedent for Jews as famed archers (2 Samuel 1:18 and Judges 20), these may also be Babylonians or the miniaturist's conception of Indians or other Oriental peoples where the text indicates that games originated.

The online encyclopedia Wikipedia's article on the Phrygian hat ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Phrygian\\_cap](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Phrygian_cap), accessed 25 Oct. 2006) uses an illustration of the Three Magi wearing similar caps in a sixth-century Italian mosaic, saying that their caps are meant to mark them as generic easterners. Bradford shows a forward-curling hat worn by a mounted Saracen soldier fighting Christians at Damietta, appearing in Matthew Paris, *Historia Major II*, c. 1255 (191).

A significant clue may be found in two cases (fols. 11v and 91v) showing these men with hunting bows which are both curved and relatively short in length which would be consistent with peoples of Eastern Europe or Central Asia. These men may be either Moslem enemies or Christian allies encountered in crusades or other travels, particularly Turks, or perhaps Georgians, Uzbeks or Huns (offering a Central Asian connection with Timur and his twelve-piece animal chess army and scalloped tables boards), Magyars,

Bulgars, Tabaristanis, Arpads or Syrians. Bradford notes the comparative shortness of the Scythian, Parthian, or Eastern bow as compared with the European long-bow and its considerable arc, derived from the Assyrians (100). Similar bows are seen in fourteenth-century drawings in Bradford's illustrations as used by Saracens, from the army of the Caliph al-Mahdi (101), Saracen horsemen (140) a Mongol warrior (218). Also, the Magyars (Hungarians) had a bow resembling this one and it is worth mentioning again that Alfonso's mother-in-law was from Hungary. Bradford's images include thirteenth-century "Saracen archers" whose bows are similar, as well as the rows of buttons at their necks, and though their hats are similar they are here less so.

I plan to continue my research into the question of these hats and what information they can tell us about Alfonso's sources and/or the origins of the games, particularly mill and *escaques*, as well as Alfonso's sources, particularly those for the pictorial representations of the planets described for *escaques*.

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