Love, Chess and Literature in Lucena

The Unnoticed Precedent of

"LA CELESTINA"

An English companion to historical essays
gathered from the research of

Dr. Ricardo Calvo, M.C. Romeo, et al.

With sincere thanks to

Dr. Ricardo Calvo, Carmen Romeo

&

The Goddesschess Partnership

Acknowledgements

Over the years, the late Dr. Ricardo Calvo's research into the Spanish game resulted in a comprehensive series of essay and journalistic publications. Listed among the author's many contributions detailing 15th century Spain's introduction of modern chess to Europe, *"Lucena - La Evasion en Ajedrez del Converso Calisto",* reflects a lifetime of distinguished accomplishment. Well respected among the European historical community, Dr. Calvo's memory lives on through his investigation of medieval and Renaisssance chess, an interest he shared with his wife, M.C. Romeo, whose recent essay*, "Lucena: A Mystery After 500 Years",* is also included in this English companion.

Overall, proficient capture of Lucena's vital pairing of chess with romantic interests sets Dr. Calvo's and M.C. Romeo's historical accounts far ahead of all previous academic treatments. Not only the subject, but almost as importantly, its recovery and documentation, must be considered significant steps towards further enhancement of an already generous Spanish treasury of literary, ludic and theatrical gems.

While shedding additional light upon the social politics of Spanish unification and the overcast of Torquemada's Inquisition, reconstruction of the role Lucena played during the Spanish transition from Arabic to modern chess embarks upon a panoramic range of subjects. Addressing this challenge, Dr. Calvo's examination of various political, societal, technological and artistic trends common to Lucena's "Repeticion", Fernando de Rojas' theatrical classic, *"La Celestina*", and the lost work of Vicent, offers substantial redefinition of a longstanding historical question. Even as these three discrete literary works form a bridge of understanding that helps connect the virtual and historical realities of modern chess with actual people, places, ideas and events, formerly hidden clues to Lucena's willow-the-wisp emerge through points of contact discernable in the common enterprise of contemporary Spanish authors, publishers, printers, poets, politicians, academics and court personalities. Thus, as we follow Dr. Calvo's reconstruction of understated Valencian and Salamanican luminaries, the blossoming integrity of one of yesterday's great social, psychological, political, literary and board game adventures acquires a more robust

characterization – to the extent that the reader may, in fact, begin to see the same transubstantial possibilities emerging from this multifaceted description as met Vicent, Lucena and de Rojas' combined imagination.

Seen through Dr. Calvo's penetrating vision, readers gain insight into the many ways in which the full context of Lucena's "Repeticion" reveals more than just a catalogue of tactical puzzles. Building towards a holistic summit, the historian's incisive approach ascends a series of interdisciplinary explorations in order to gain deeper understanding of previously overlooked themes flowing through the Spanish heartland of modern chess. A stellar investigation, Dr. Calvo helps put modern readers in touch with a revitalized collection of actors and events, all of which have as much to say about chess as they do about everyman's desire for more serene, caring and hopeful futures.

Editorial Notes:

Reflecting upon evidence that a profoundly humanizing force moves quietly through the battlefields of chess, I have taken the initiative of producing this journeyman's collection of research notes. Containing material gratefully acquired through the aupices of M.C. Romeo and other sources, this abbreviated English companion is by no means intended to substitute for the original Spanish Perea version of Dr. Calvo's copywritten study, and may undergo further improvements in the coming months and years.

Aside from the facilitative goal of limited public presentation, the purpose of this edition has been to apply grammatical and other technical adjustments while striving to avoid corruption of necessary continuities. Although a cautious attempt has been made to limit them, for the sake of academic clarity, occasionally repetitious citations and ambiguous passages have been left unaltered in select portions of this revision. Alternately, I have chosen to shift a few brief passages to new locations I felt were more editorially or typograpically secure, while also blending two short chapters (26. Old and New Rules – Medieval Manuscripts) into one. With the exception of Dr. Calvo's four tables, graphical content appearing on these pages arrives from various sources, including essay materials archived at The Goddesschess Partnership's goddesschess.com website.

In order to conserve typographical space, the Perea edition's voluminous collection of chess diagrams and research tables have been excluded from this publication. In addition, omission of Spanish punctuation and diacritical marks are technical shortcomings for which I beg the reader's indulgence.

For those interested in acquiring an unabridged, fully illustrated copy of Dr. Calvo's book, complete with Lucena's 150 chess problems, additional tables, timelines and qualified references, I strongly recommend the official Spanish publication, *"Lucena - La Evasion en Ajedrez del Converso Calisto"*. Otherwise, it is my hope that this Anglicized "Repeticion" succeeds in addressing the core of Dr. Calvo's forensic examination of Lucena's generally understated place in history.

Yours truly,

Donald A. McLean
Montreal, Canada

Copies of the Spanish Perea Edition

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"Lucena - La Evasion en Ajedrez del Converso Calisto"
by Ricardo Calvo,

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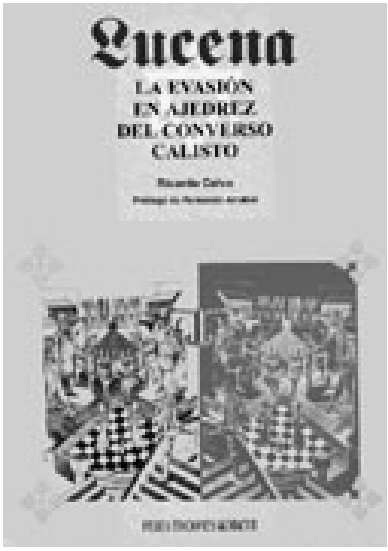

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I.S.B.N. 84-7729-217-5
D.L.: CR-372-1997

Imprime: Talleres Graficos
Perea Ediciones
Toboso. 1997.

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By Marcus Hieronymus Vida, Bishop of Alba

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(EXTRACTED AND EDITED FROM WIKIPEDIA FILES)

La Celestina provides both title and synecdoche, since the main character of the *"Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea"* or *"Libro de Calisto y Melibea y de la puta vieja Celestina"*, is, of course, the old procuress known as Celestina. Published anonymously in 1499 by Fernando de Rojas, the original work is considered one of the greatest in Spanish literature and traditionally marks the end of medieval literature and the beginning of the Spanish literary renaissance.

A cautionary tale, La Celestina polemicizes against servants of the lower nobility and the trickery of procuresses in general. It tells the story of Calisto, a bourgeois who falls in love with Melibea, the daughter of a nobleman. Anticipating Shakespeare's *"Romeo and Julliet"*, although the couple becomes engaged following the machinations of Celestina, their love comes to a tragic end after an accident in which Calisto falls off a ladder and Melibea subsequently leaps from a tower to her death.

The name Celestina has become synonymous with the role of procuress, especially an old woman dedicated to promoting the illegitimate pairing of an unwed couple. The feminine archetype of this form of literary portrayal, Celestina's masculine counterpart reveals itself in characterizations of Figaro.

Plot summary:

Calisto falls madly in love with Melibea and seeks advice from his servants, Sempronio and Parmeno. Sempronio informs Calisto about Celestina, a procuress who owns a brothel that employs two prostitutes, Elicia and Areusa. Calisto accepts his suggestion and requests Celestina's assistance, for which he pledges payment of a gold chain. Celestina agrees and promises Sempronio and Parmeno that she will reward them with part of the chain.

Celestina meets with Melibea and gives her a magic thread. However, when Celestina broaches the topic of Calisto, Melibea reacts angrily and commands her to leave. The following day, once Celestina informs her that Calisto is suffering pains only a word from her can cure, Melibea changes her opinion, and with that change of heart, Melibea asks Celestina to arrange a meeting with Calisto.

Calisto gives Celestina the chain, although the old procuress makes no mention of this to Sempronio and Parmeno. Upon discovering that Calisto has paid Celestina, they proceed to her brothel and murder her. However, one of the prostitutes witnesses their act and both are executed as a consequence.

Accompanied by his two servants Sosia and Tristan, Calisto meets with Melibea in her house. Meanwhile, Sempronio and Parmeno's former lovers, Elicia and Areusa, send two hirelings to avenge their loss. A confrontation ensues while Calisto is climbing to Melibea's balcony on a ladder. Hearing Sosia and Tristan's shouts, he intends to assist them, but instead falls off the ladder and dies. Upon discovering the fallen Calisto, Melibea runs to the highest tower of her house and throws herself from the parapet just as her father is returning home.

Editions:

There are two versions of the play; one is called a comedy and has 16 acts, the other is considered a tragic comedy and has 21 acts. Although it is suspected that there may have been an earlier edition, the first is considered to be the comedy published by Burgos and the printer Fadrique Aleman in 1499. Appearing under the title "Comedia de Calisto y Melibea" (Comedy of Calisto and Melibea), copies of this work are conserved in the Hispanic Society of New York. Some scholars have expressed doubt about the dating of the original work, considering the version published in 1500 by Toledo to be the first edition.

The comedy contains 16 acts, including some stanzas with acrostic verses, in which can be read:

"El bachiller Fernando de Rojas acabó la
Comedia de Calisto y Melibea e fue
nascido en la Puebla de Montalbán,"

— which translates as, "The graduate Fernando de Rojas finished the Comedy of Calisto and Melibea and was born in the city of Montalbán." For this reason it is believed that Rojas was the original author of the play. Afterward, a new edition entitled Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea (Tragic Comedy of Calisto and Melibea) (Sevilla: Jacobo Cromberger) appeared in 1502. This version contained 5 additional acts, bringing the total to 21 acts.

Characters:

Rojas makes a powerful stroke with his characters, who appear before the reader full of life, with deep psychology. Human beings with exceptional internal characterization, their development signals an important departure from the usual "type" in medieval literature.

Nonetheless, some critics view them as allegories. Thus, Gilman denies the possibility of analyzing them as characters. He bases this assumption on the belief that Rojas' limited dialogue, in which interlocutors respond to a given situation, produces a sociological depth that can only be argued on the basis of extratextual elements.

Elsewhere, Lida de Malkiel speaks of objectivity. In this way, different characters are judged in different manners. As such, their contradictory behavior is a result of Rojas' humanizing effect. One common feature of all characters (those belongng to the world of nobles as well as servants) is their individualism, egoism, and lack of altruism. However, these typologies are not perfect, and tend to alter throughout the play.

In a relativistic manner similar to the symbolic interplay of chessmen, Fernando de Rojas liked to create characters in pairs in order to build their development through relationships between complimentary and/or opposing traits. Thus, throughout the play there exist two opposite groups of characters, the servants and the nobles, and within each group are characters divided into pairs: Parmeno and Sempronio, Tristan and Sosia, Elicia and Areusa in the group of servants; Calisto and Melibea, Pleberio and Alisa in the group of nobles. Only Celestina and Lucrecia do not have a corresponding character, but this is because they perform opposite roles in the plot: Celestina is the element that catylizes the tragedy, and represents a life lived with wild abandon, while Lucrecia, Melibea's personal servant, represents the opposite extreme of total oppression. In this sense, the character of the rascal Centurino added in the second version achieves only minor functionality, despite that he has something to do with the disturbance that divides Calisto's attention and causes his death.

Celestina is the most suggestive character in the work, to the point that she gives it its title. She is a colorful and vivid character, hedonistic, miserly, yet full of life. A deep understanding of the psychology of the other characters enables her to convince even those who do not agree with her plans to cede to them. Using people's greed, sexual appetite (which she helps create, then provides means to satisfy), and love to control them, she represents a subversive element in society in that she spreads and facilitates sexual pleasure while capitalizing upon the opportunity.

Standing apart due to her use of magic, her character is inspired by the

meddling characters of the comedies of Plautus and in works of the Middle Ages such as the "Libro de Buen Amor" (The Book of Good Love) by Juan Ruiz, as well as Italian works epitomized by the "Historia de duobus amantibus" by Enea Silvio Piccolomini and "Elegía de madonna Fiammeta" by Giovanni Boccaccio. Although formerly a prostitute, Celestina dedicates her later years to arranging discreet meetings between illicit lovers, and at the same time uses her house as a brothel for the prostitutes Elicia and Areusa.

Calisto is a young man whose only interest is to seek out pleasure, and therefore does not appear very concerned about whom he may hurt along the way. His cynicism causes him to doubt the sincerity of his servant Parmeno when he warns him of risk. An entremely egotistical character, his is the most literary and contrived of all the cast.

Melibea is a vivacious young woman in whom repression appears as forced and unnatural. Slave to the hypocrisy that has existed in her house since her childhood, in the play she appears to be the victim of strong passions induced by Celestina's spell. Although she is really bound by her social conscience, Melibea worries most about her honor rather than modesty or her concept of what is moral. Altogether, her love is more realistic and less "literary" than that of Calisto. In effect, it is her love that motivates her actions, while Celestina's "spell"represents a form of contrivance that allows her to retain her honor.

ii . Foreword

The oldest preserved book on modern chess — that is, the game being played with the current rules of movement, was written by a Spaniard known as “Lucena” and printed in Salamanca by Hutz and Sanz. The book was published in 1497 under the following title:

> *”Arte breve e introduccion muy necesaria para saber jugar al axedres, conciento y cincuenta juego de partido; intitulada al serenisimo y muy esclarecido don Johan el tercero - principe de las Spanas. Por Lucena, hijo del muy sapientisimo doctor y reverendo prothonotario don Johan Ramirez de Lucena, embaxador y del consejo de los Reyes nuestros senores - studiando en el preclarisimo studio de la muy noble cibdad de Salamanca”.*

Translation:

> "The brief art and most necessary introduction to knowing how to play chess, with one hundred and fifty game moves; dedicated to the most serene and illustrious Don Johan the Third, Prince of Spain. By Lucena, son of the most wise doctor and reverend protonotario Don Johan Ramirez de Lucena, ambassador and member of the Council of our lords the King and Queen, studying in the distinguished studium of the most noble city of Salamanca."

Although there are still many outstanding areas yet to be researched, these pages are an account of my personal efforts to solve Lucena’s literary and historical puzzle.

Before deciding to publish my results, I submitted them to professor Peter Russell of Oxford, who encouraged me to continue. I am also grateful to Victor Keats, from London, for his support and particularly to John Bryne, who polished the English version.

Dr. Ricardo Calvo

1. Introduction

The purpose of these pages is to analyze a precedent that almost certainly inspired Fernando de Rojas and therefore, decisively influenced the creation of his perennial Spanish classic, "La Celestina". Witnessing this claim, a convincing amount of evidence certifies that a man named Lucena was not only responsible for writing the oldest preserved book on modern chess, but that specific portions of his work provided the catalyst for Fernando de Rojas' theatrical script.

Regarding the most relevant aspects of his personality, including his name, Lucena himself remains a mystery. Quoting the authoritative 19th century Spanish bibliophile Gallardo, in his prologue to the 1953 facsimile edition, Cossio calls him Luis Ramirez de Lucena, based on Gallardo's assertion that "such a prestigious scholar and bibliophile must have had his reasons for calling him by that name." ("...who should have good reasons to call him so"). So, in the foreword of this facsimile, Cossio refers to Lucena as "Luis Ramirez de Lucena". However, in this book, I prefer to simply call him "Lucena", because that is how he named himself.

Despite being the first author whose authenticated work deals with the subject of modern chess, the scarcity of information about Lucena is surprising. Evidently, prior efforts to research his personality and his work are rare. On the other hand, studies of the social and historical landscape surrounding Lucena and his manuscript offer several clues about the author, including his psychology. Bearing this in mind, I believe some obvious correspondences thus far gone unnoticed by previous studies are very important, not only for the history of chess, but particularly for the history of Spanish literature produced during this period. So, perhaps this is a good opportunity to give Lucena some of the attention he deserves.

2. A Brief Description of Lucena's Book

AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Lucena's book was printed in Salamanca by Hutz and Sanz in 1497, two years before the first accepted edition of "La Celestina". The first edition of Rojas' "La Celestina" appeared in 1499, whereas, according to Stephen Gilman, who researched its origins in depth, the creation of Roja's famous work must have taken place during the Easter holidays of 1498, or, at the earliest, in 1497, following the appearance of Lucena's book.

Stephen Gilman's *The Spain of Fernando de Rojas* - The Intellectual and Social Landscape of La Celestina, provides a basic reference for this period in Salamanca. Princeton University Press. 1972. I have used the Spanish version *La Espana de Fernando de Rojas* Madrid, Taurus 1978. The entire chapter VI (pp 267-345) is dedicated to Salamanca.

From historical and literary points of view, the most complete study is the one by Jacob Ornstein, which was published as an introduction to an edition of Lucena issued in 1954 by the University of North Carolina. (*Lucena: Repeticion de amores. Edited by Jacob Ornstein*. Chapel Hill 1954. North Carolina University. Studies in the Romance Languages and Literature. no. 23.). Basically, Ornstien's study refers to the importance of the Repetition in polemic controversies associated with misogyny and pro-feminism that were quite characteristic of the period.

Another American study is the one by Barbara Matulka entitled, *"An antifeminist treatise of fifteenth century Spain: Lucena's Repeticion de amores"*. (New York 1931. Institute of French Studies. Comparative Literature Studies).

Both studies concentrate on the literary section of the book, excluding the chess treatise from their analysis. On the other hand, chess historians refer only to the chess section.

> The first part of the book is for us indifferent", writes von der Lasa in his *"Zur Geschichte und Literatur des Schachspiels"*. Also, H. J. R. Murray in his monumental, *"A History of Chess"*, states that the first 50 pages of the book deal with a love subject and are, therefore, irrelevant to his purpose.
>
> Tassilo von der Lasa.*"Das Werk des Lucena von 1498"*. Schachzeitung. Berlin .13 Jg. 1858, 443-445, 481-498. 14 Jg, 1859, 9-12, 41-45, 71-74, 104-102, 224-226. *"Berliner Schachennnerungen. Nebst den Spielen des Greco un Lucena von Herausgeber des von Biguerschen Handbuches"*. Leipzig Veit, 1859.
>
> Antonius van der Linde. *"Quellenstudien zur Geschichte des Schachspiels"*. Leipzig 1881 (reprint Osnabrruck 1968). pp. 231-239. Adriano Chicco. *"Lucena"*. In Contro Mossa. Venetia. Anno 5. n.2. Feb. 1980, 36-37. N.3, 46-47.

The authorship of chess manuscripts from Gottingen and Paris can also be ascribed to Lucena. Victor Place. *"Le premier en date des theoriciens du jeu d'echecs"*. Paris 1992.

See also F.C. Gorschen. *"Entstehung und Ursprung des neuen Schachs"*. Schach Echo 33, Konigstein 1975, 74-76, 91-92, 105-108. "*Sprache und Bedeutung des Gottinger Handschnsft"*. Schachwissentschaftliche Forschungen, Winsen/Luhe. N.6. Dec. 1975, 163-170.

In spite of these scholarly efforts, the fact remains that both chess historians and literary experts have experienced common difficulties portraying Lucena's personality as an author. Clues to his character lie mainly in the literary pages of the Repetition. However, there are occasions when additional hints may be found in sentences hidden among chess problems. Despite being a combination of many elements, or perhaps precisely because of this, Lucena's book should be analyzed as a whole.

Apparently, the importance of the chess treatise was not fully realized by its own author. Significantly however, it becomes no less than the first preserved book on modern chess. Currently existing in various archives, Lucena's treatise shows how, towards the end of the 15th century, the old medieval rules had become displaced by the current and more powerful rules of movement ascribed to the queen and bishop, a change that made a tremendous impact upon the theory and practice of chess from Lucena's time onward.

When explaining the rules of the game, Lucena makes a careful distinction between the new way of playing chess, which he calls *"de la dama"*, and the ancestral rules, which he refers to as *"el viejo"* (the old one). All 150 chess problems are classified in two equal groups — 75 belonging to modern chess, and 75 to medieval chess.

So, it becomes apparent that both forms of play coexisted in Salamanca during the time Lucena wrote his treatise. From that moment onward however, the new rules of play spread rapidly through Spain and Italy, and in a few decades the old medieval form of play appears to have been completely forgotten in any European country. Even today, modern chess signifies the product of a 15th century revolution for which Lucena's book remains the oldest preserved source.


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3. Copies of Lucena's Book

Lucena's incunabulum is quite rare and one of the most exotic incunabulums to be found in any library. *"Rarisimo - sobre todo encarecimiento" — "Extremely rare - above all costly"* is how the great writer Menendez y Pelayo described it in the early 20th century. *("Origenes de la novela"* Edicion nacional. Santander 1943 II, p.55. Edicion original 1905).

Strange as it may seem, there are still debates as to the number of copies that exist today, and not even prestigious catalogues are free from errors, sometimes deplorable ones. The most recent catalogue of 15th-18th century books of games, *(Bibliographie der Spielbacher des 15. bis 18. Jahrhunderts.* Manfred Zollingeri, Hiersemann. Stuttgart 1996, pp. 4-5) refers to the existence of only a small part of the overall collection. It mentions the copies in London, Paris, Brussels and also the famous one in the Communal Library of Sienna, which seems to be a manuscript and the only copy left in Italy. There are at least eight copies in Spain and several more in foreign collections. Not all of them are intact and complete, since some have a page or more missing while others lack the "Repetition". This is one of the matters that has been most widely discussed by Lucena researchers.

Nowadays, the Spanish collection consists of three complete tomes lodged at the National Library in Madrid, one copy in the library of the Royal Academy of History and another in the Library of Cataluna. Copies with defects are to be found in the El Escorial Library and in the University Library of Salamanca, from which the first 37 pages before the treatise on chess were torn out for some unknown reason. The *"Catalogo general de incunables de las bibliotecas espanolas"* Madrid 1989, also cites the copy preserved in the private collection of Bartolome March, mention of which is due to the director of the incunabulum section at the Spanish National Library, Mr. Julian Martin Abad.

A total of six additional copies exist in the United States. These include the ones located in the Library of the Congress, the Henry E. Huntington Library of San Marino, California and the Pierpont Morgan Library, all of which are complete. The Cleveland Chess Library, the Houghton Library at Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and the University of Princeton house only the chess portion of Lucena's book. (Frederick R. *Goff "Incunabula in American Libraries. A third census"*. Millwood. N.Y. 1973 p. 387)

Yet another complete and very well preserved text (except for its lack of the first two pages), is the copy acquired in 1853 by the British Library (BL I. A. 52864), the prime basis for research by British historians. For his study on Lucena, the German bibliophile Antonius van der Linde made extensive use of a copy from the Brussels National Library, which at that time bore the code number II. 13790 and is otherwise identical to the British copy.

A partial copy containing only the chess section and bearing the marking Rés. V 1858 may also be retrieved from the Bibliotheque Nationale of Paris. Otherwise, the best Lucena incunabulum I have seen resides in a private German collection belonging to Lothar Schmid of Bamberg. Van der Linde (*Geschichte* I, p.239) mentions a handwritten copy bearing the signature LXXIII-K40 in Sienna (Libreria Communale).

As described by Von der Lasa, although in poor condition, a copy of Lucena's treatise also resides in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil). The text had been taken to Brazil as part of the library of King Joao VI of Portugal when he and the court fled during the Napoleonic invasion. Van der Linde (*Geschichte* I, p. 329) indicates that it is a very defectively conserved copy. It has recently been used in a Brazilian edition of the chess text. (Altair da Souza. Rio de Janeiro 1974).

In Spain, a copy of the Biblioteca Nacional was applied as a template for a bonded facsimile edition of 250 copies published by the Joyas Bibliograficasi collection (Madrid-Valencia) in 1953. These copies were numbered and sealed by a public notary. In 1975, thanks to Seville chess player A. Campoy, I obtained copy n.185 and have been working with it since then. More recently, J. Perez de Amaga has produced a much better facsimile edition —*"El mcunable de Lucena. Primer Arte de ajedrez moderno"*, (Ediciones Polifemo. Madrid 1997).

4. An Uncommon Mixture

The first unusual aspect of Lucena's treatise relates to its title: *"Repeticion de Amores y Arte de Acedrex"*. During Lucena's time, the word "*Repeticion"* meant an academic dissertation - a university speech. The basic form of teaching at the University of Salamanca where Lucena studied was the "Repeticion". To perform it, a professor read from an initial text, from which followed a series of pertinent comments, chains of psilogisms, deductions, inductions, and quotations of other authors related to the subject.

At the end of the 15th century, scarcity of books necessitated transmissions of knowledge that were essentially oral. As a result, the overall pedagogic structure had to be repetitive. According to the statutes of the University of Salamanca, during annual presentations of candidates pursuing the academic degree of *"licenciado"*, a public Repetition was mandatory. The ceremony was very formal, with the expenses being paid by the candidate himself. Thus, it is important to understand that, by its very nature, a "Repetition" was intended to be heard, rather than read. [(1)] (About the importance of oral transmission, see Gilman pp. 307-310).

A second oddity is the subject: To unite amatory literature with chess in the same book is, to say the least, unusual,[(2)] and upon examining Lucena's text, the impression of heterogeneity is unavoidable. The chess treatise, with 150 diagrams printed from woodcuts, is by far the most significant and voluminous section of the book, despite that it is preceded by other chapters which apparently have little to do with chess.

Lucena's book begins with a Latin epigram *("Lucena in opere suo")*, an homage to Lucena composed by Francisco de Quiros. Most probably one of Lucena's professors, and undoubtedly acquainted with him, Quiros was considered a Latin prodigy. As a result of his expertise, he occupied the chair of Latin poetry from 1496 until 1503.

Quiros' opening verse is followed by another more extensive Latin poem written by Lucena himself. In it, he compares the challenges of love to chess battles. [(3)]

Subsequent parts of the book contain a preamble and an "exordium" dedicated to certain ladies. Providing an important clue to Lucena's influence upon Rojas' "La Celestina", these segments can be understood according to Lucena's retelling of the following events:

> While a student in Salamanca, Lucena fell in love with a girl and saw no other way to approach her except by using the services of a go-between — an old woman whom he enlists to transmit letters of amatory content ("una madre muy mucho mi amiga'"). However, this romantic undertaking proves unsuccessful, and in a scene strongly

reminiscent of Act IV of "La Celestina", the old procuress is rejected by the girl, [4]

"Tu entrar en casas de nobles mugeres y tentar donzellas de tan alta sangre, y consentir que sean violadas, no rescibes verguenza?"

and again in letter of rejection to Lucena, in which she writes:

"... no soy la que tu piensas ni a quien devas enbiar alcagueta".

This incident gave Lucena a reason (or an invented excuse) to write a "Repeticion" about love and women in a style following the pattern of lessons prescribed by the university he attended as a student.

"The order of my Repeticion does not differ from the one used in scientific lessons", states Lucena.

At the end of the Repetition, we find:

"... a peroration made by the very discrete and great orator, the Bachiller Villoslada, in honour and glory of the man who dictated the present work."

Although no one seems to have noticed, this somewhat sarcastic peroration ends with a series of acrostic verses, wherein the first letter of each verse combines to read *"A Villoslada".* All these literary items form the non-chess sections of Lucena's incunabulum.

Acrosticity is not rare in Hebrew literature, and in Lucena's time it appears in other works originating among circles of *"conversos"*, or converted Jews. The best known example is "La Celestina", wherein its author, Fernando de Rojas, offers information about himself in such a way.

Otherwise relatively unknown, Villoslada appears only in this Spanish poem, where we find his character attempting to persuade the lady whom Lucena loves with the recurrent estribillo — *"No le negueys el favor".* ("Don't deny him your favour").

All these literary products form the non-chess sections of Lucena's incunabulum, whereas, the next and largest section of the book is the chess treatise. This is preceded by an extensive dedication to Prince Don Juan, heir to the Spanish throne. Since the prince died in 1497, the dedication is relevant to the chronology of the book, which lacks any mention of the date of printing or the names of the printers. The ultimate "terminus ante quern" is, therefore, 1497.

As previously mentioned, the chess section bears the following title:

"Arte breve e introduccion muy necesaria para saber jugar al axedres, con ciento y cincuenta juegos de partido: intitulada al serenisimo y muy esclarecido don Johan el tercero, principe de las Spanas. Por Lucena, hijo del muy sapientisimo doctor y reverendo prothonotario don Johan Ramirez de

Lucena, embaxador y del consejo de los Reyes nuestros senores, studiando en el preclarisimo studio de la muy noble cihdad de Salamanca".

As we shall see, Lucena's treatise is a mixture of many things and to analyze it, we encounter a few preliminary obstacles. For instance, the book is very rare, and only a comparatively small number of scholars have paid any attention to it. A second obstacle lies in the heterogeneity of the material. As a result, scholars have excluded those parts that did not appear relevant to their particular field of interest.

From historical and literary points of view. the most complete study is one by Jacob Ornstein [(5)]. This analysis was published as an introduction to an edition of Lucena issued in 1954 by the University of North Carolina, and refers to the importance of the Repetition in polemic controversies between misogyny and profeminism so characteristic of the period. Another American study is the one by Barbara Matulka [(6)] under the title *"An antifeminist treatise of fifteenth century Spain: Lucena's Repeticion de amores"*. Both studies concentrate on the literary section of the book, thereby excluding the chess treatise from their analysis.

On the other hand, chess historians refer only to the chess section. "The first part of the book is for us indifferent", writes von der Lasa in his "Zur Geschichte und Literatur des Schachspiels" [(7)]. Also, H. J. R. Murray [(8)] in his monumental "A History of Chess", states that the first 50 pages of Lucena's work deal with a love subject and are, therefore, irrelevant to his purpose.

But the fact is that both chess historians and literary experts experience common difficulties portraying Lucena's personality as an author. Clues to his character lie mainly in the literary pages of the Repetition, but sometimes are to be found in sentences hidden among chess problems. Despite being a mixture of many things, or perhaps precisely because of this, Lucena's work should be analyzed as a whole. And indeed, most of the relevant points (date of publication, influences, intellectual atmosphere, intention of the book, etc.) can only be deduced through interdisciplinary inquiry, a factor that will become evident in our next considerations.

5. Chronological Frame

"Dedicated to the most serene prince John"
(FOREWORD OF LUCENA'S CHESS TREATISE)

Although Lucena's book bears no date, it is, nonetheless, dedicated to Prince John.

> *"Intitulada al serenisimo y muy sclarecido don Johan el tercero, principe de las Spanas".*

Because the prince was born in 1478 and died tragically in 1497, we may regard this period as the general chronological frame of reference. In fact, much information focuses upon the latter period of Prince John's life and demonstrates that it is entirely consistent with the period during which Lucena wrote his book. I shall discuss these circumstances in the following paragraphs, since this information also provides a basic picture of the period and historical background important to our understanding of the cultural dynamics that gave rise to several attitudes expressed by Lucena.

For instance, in his chess dedication, Lucena says:

> *"I intended to carefully produce this book, because I desired that the prince might find rest from his noble thoughts and holy occupations, and alleviate his fatigue with the enjoyment."*

This passage indicates that the prince was not a child, since he was old enough to rest from his occupations by playing chess. Other parts of the dedication reinforce this impression, particularly the exaggerated flattery:

> *"...The prince compares in art of cavalry to Puhlius Cornelius Scipio, in patience to Mucius Scevola, in constancy to Fulvius Flacus, in continency to Drusus, in liberality to Quintus Fabius Maximus, in modesty to Siphar, king of Numidia, and to Perseus, king of Macedonia, in gratitude to Cayus, Marius and Darius, in pity, to Coriolanus..."*

Perhaps as a display of erudition, or perhaps to flatter the heir to the crown, Lucena's dedication recalls a cavalcade of heroic characters. Either way, certain elements of his dedication approach mockery, a factor that does not establish itself very clearly within the overall context of Lucena's work until the complete outline of the Prince's life and death becomes known.

For our purposes, we may note that the prince is already an adult. Otherwise, continency could not be ascribed as a virtue. Additionally, the Drusus to whom Lucena was referring, is probably Marcus Livius Drusus, famous in Rome of the first century B.C. for his austerity. [9]

In any case, even if they don't appear to be very reliable, historical depictions of Lucena resonate with the period marking the last years of Prince John's short life. Apparently, the chess treatise was written in haste, and it is most likely that a similarly cursory disposition affected the dedicatory, because many of the comparisons Lucena uses to flatter Prince John are not particularly astute.

For instance, Mucios Scevola is a mythical character of old Rome. During a siege of the city, he attempts to kill the enemy king, but is captured and brought before him. Scevola (which means "the left-handed") then puts his right hand into a brazier until it is completely burned, and informs the king that in Rome, another 300 men were prepared to do the very same in order to protect their city. As a result, the king abandons the siege of Rome. [10]

Mucius Scevola may have exemplified several virtues, although patience was not one of them. The same applies to Coriolanus, who excelled in several areas, but was not not particularly noted for his compassion. [11] I believe any reader of Shakespeare or Plutarch should agree with this, although despite that they offer suggestive clues about the sardonic aspect of Lucena's writing, when taken together, these quotations offer little of probatory value.

In fact, the dating of Lucena's book can be done with greater precision by other methods. Our trail of evidence shows that it was printed in Salamanca by Lope Sanz de Navarra, a priest and book merchant, and by Leonardus Hutz, a German printer. Typographical research has established this beyond all doubt. [12]

However, the important fact is that Leonard Hutz had been working actively in Valencia, printing books until early 1496. [13] He went thereafter, to Salamanca, where he printed several books together with Lope Sanz during the entire year of 1496. [14] After 1497 he proceeded to Zaragoza, were he appears printing books with other associates (Jorge Cocci and Lupus Appentegger in 1499 and 1500). Later in his life. Hutz returned to Valencia. In any case, linking this together with the biography of Prince John provides the only possible dating for Lucena's book, which would be the year 1496 or, more likely, 1497.

6. The Political Background

"I kiss the delphinic hands of your Highness,
hailed as a king by the voices of the peoples."
(LUCENA'S DEDICATION TO PRINCE JOHN)

Because this period was dominated by major conflicts, historical references to Prince John appear in a rather isolated and marginal manner. To summarize: Prince John was born in Seville, on the 30th of June, 1478. As a result, popular celebrations of his birth were overshadowed by Spain's war against Portugal.

His childhood runs relatively unnoticed, occasionally appearing in brief snapshots. Among these vignettes, we find him riding side by side with Queen Isabella, his mother, for the triumphal entry into Granada in 1492. The next year, he rides with King Ferdinand, his father, in the magnificent reception given in honour of Columbus at Barcelona following his return from the first New World expedition. These instances perhaps refer to the *"arte de caballeria"* mentioned in Lucena's flattering dedicatory.

The prince was the only son of Ferdinand and Isabella. The oldest daughter, also named Isabel, was born in 1470. After Prince John, came the *"infantas"* Juana (Cordoba 1480) and Catalina (Alcala 1485). Being the only male, John was proclaimed heir to the crown, and was expected to one day become "King John III".

Because of this, particular care was given to his education and the Queen adopted a method that combined all the advantages of domestic teaching with a collegial atmosphere. In the prince's entourage were always ten pupil companions from noble families, five of the same age as the prince, and five a little bit older. This form of classroom was chosen in order to stimulate rivalry among equals and emulation of the better ones.

Moreover, a council of men with experience in State affairs met regularly with the prince to initiate him in the political arts. This was done according to a pattern already known to the caliphs. Also, artistic education composed part of the program, and it was said that the prince showed an especially good aptitude for music. According to Lucena's dedication, Prince John (called by the queen *"my angel"*), grew and excelled *"...in goodness, justice, liberality, meekness, facility, prudence, insight, magnanimity and power, (that) surpasses all other sacred princes"*.

There are no explicit references to chess as having been a part of the prince's curriculum, but it is well known that King Ferdinand was very fond of the game. In the words of the royal chronicler Hemando de Pulgar, *"King Ferdinand devoted more time to chess than he should"*. Apparently, the prince must have been influenced, since in his private room he used to keep a chess set. (15)

Chess enjoyed a grand tradition in Spain, where it was regarded as a subject important to the education of noblemen. As early as the 11th century, Moses Sephardi, the author of the *"Disciplma Clericalis"*, mentions chess among desirable subjects for the education of noble youth:

> *"Probitates vero haec sunt: equitare, natare, sagittare, cestibus certare, aucupare, scacis ludere..."*.

In many ways, chess was a defining characteristic of the court of Ferdinand and Isabella. For instance, Lucena's father, the royal ambassador D. Juan de Lucena, wrote in a letter to a nobleman in the court Alvarez de Zapata:

> *"Whatever the king and queen are doing, good or bad, is done by us all. If it is good, to please ourselves. If it is bad, to please them. The King plays: we all are gamblers. The queen studies: we all are now students"*.

To highlight the picture, during the siege of Malaga, in 1487, a certain Ibrahim Algervi tried to assasinate the royal couple in their tent. However, he failed because he mistakenly attacked another couple, Beatriz of Bobadilla and Alvaro de Portugal, who happened at that moment to be playing chess. The couple's attention to chess helped mislead the dagger of this Islamic Mucius Scevola.

So. Lucena was surely well aware of this peculiarity of the court, which permits us to speculate about the possible intentions of the author. Clearly, Lucena's dedication flatters the prince, drawing royal attention towards his skills in chess in a manner that makes it appear as though he aspired to be included in the select group of noble youth sharing the prince's educational program.

Whatever his purpose, Lucena's choice of vehicle could not fail to draw notice, since, during those times, a printed book was still something relatively new, attractive, and noteworthy. Another interpretation for Lucena's purpose relates to his belonging to a well-known clan of "conversos", a factor we shall detail later.

Inasmuch as Lucena's exaggerated praise sounds almost ironic, this may help explain certain ambivalences appearing in the dedication. In addition, curious mention of Mucius Scevola, poses questions about possible betrayal of Lucena's secret feelings as they come to be expressed in a somewhat Freudian manner.

To understand several hidden forces involved in the tragic fate of Prince John, who died at the age of nineteen in Salamanca, an overview of general political aspects seems relevant. Thus, it should be carefully remarked that the *"Reyes Catolicos"*, Ferdinad of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, succeeded in creating a unitarian state — the first in Europe. Subsequent to their initial political battles against the competing power of noble families and the war against the Portuguese, they consolidated the *"Reconquista"* in 1942 following the conquest of Granada, and pushed towards a religious unification with the notorious expulsion of the Jews in 1492.

Also forthcoming via the overall framework of international political affairs, marriage policy proposes an additional factor. Within the compass of these intrigues, the first daughter, Isabella, was already a widow of D. Alfonso, heir to the Portuguese crown. Thereafter, in 1495, the new heir, D. Manuel, sent an embassy to seek the hand in marriage of his cousin's widow. However, despite that security on the Portuguese flank was a major political priority, the Spanish royal couple were reluctant to accept this new marriage proposal because of the Jewish question, and due to the fact that Portugal had absorbed a significant influx of expelled Spanish Jews, a situation Spain regarded as a potential danger.

Another project was to marry Prince John to Catalina of Navarra or the Duchess of Bretagne. But according to the historians, the Italian wars, and most particularly the conquest of Naples by the French king inspired a strategy of political marriages with neighbours of France. In the description of this policy, one of its active ambassadors was Lucena's father.

Thus, in 1495, a double wedding was agreed upon between Spain and the Hapsburg Emperor. This marital alliance recommended that Prince John marry Margaret of Austria, daughter of the Emperor Maximilian and that the "infanta " Juana should wed the son and heir of the emperor, the Archduke Philip, heir of the Low Countries via his mother Mana Caroline, the duchess of Bourgogne. In 1496, shortly after this agreement, the youngest daughter of the Spanish monarchy, Catalina, was promised to the Prince of Wales. Years later, she became the first wife of Henry VIII.

On October 20, 1496, there took place in Flanders the wedding ceremony between Juana and Philip. After this, Margaret, sister of Philip, travelled to Spain to marry Prince John, brother of Juana. Margaret sailed in the same fleet of 20 vessels and 3000 men which had previously taken Juana to Flanders. The voyage was tempestuous, as Columbus, who had already returned from his second expedition overseas predicted. But the biggest political tempest was yet to come.

Prince John appears suddenly at the forefront of this story in 1497, when he receives his fiance in Santander. With unprecedented splendour, the wedding ceremony took place on April 3, 1497 in Burgos. Almost in a fairy tale fashion, everything seemed promising for the couple. Among many other presents, Prince John received as dowry the university city of Salamanca, the very place Lucena wrote his book praising love, chess and Prince John.

Meanwhile, Prince Manuel of Portugal remained hesitant to fulfill Isabella's request regarding the expulsion of all Jews from Portugal. Finally, however, he surrendered to political pressure and accepted this condition. Afterward, in a quiet and discrete ceremony, the marriage took place at the end of September 1497, in Valencia de Alcantara, near the border.

By contrast, during those same days, Salamanca exultantly celebrated the arrival of Prince John, who received the city as his dowry on September 28, 1497, for which there exists an impressive description of the atmosphere penned by a direct witness, the Italian Pedro Martir de Anglena. (16)

However, as fate would have it, Prince John suddenly fell ill of a mysterious disease and, after three days of agony, died in Salamanca on October 4, 1497. There is no clear explanation for this illness and the official version of several historians is rather absurd. Their explanation offers how the lovemaking between John and Margaret was so passionate and intense that most of the court physicians became alarmed, and suggested a temporary separation of the couple. In contrary fashion, theologians rejected this idea with the *sentence — "Quos Deus coniuxit homo non separet".* As the story goes, the result was the physical exhaustion of the prince and his death.

In either case, a much more credible theory of poisoning as revenge against the crown for its policy of prosecuting Jews is possible to discern from the overall scenario. Caro Baroja *("Los judios en la Espana Moderna y Contemporanea"*, Madrid 1978. II. page 181) relates that the archives of Navarra and those of the Cathedral of Toledo contain documents supporting the theory of poisoning. In fact, the prince's Jewish physician, a Portuguese named Ribas Altas, was sentenced to death and burned a few days thereafter. Also to be remembered is the prediction of Rodrigo de Basurto, a "converso" and professor of astrology in Salamanca, who made statements about the prince's death before the royal visit. (J. E. Gillet *"Propalladia" Filadelfia,* 1961.Ill, p. 630. Ruiz de Vergara, *"Historia"* I, 229-30 Cfr. Gilman, note 9, p. 273).

This gives grounds for speculation, the primary question being whether Lucena was as aware of the conspiracy as Basurto seems to have been. Certainly, Lucena knew Basurto, who was one of his professors. Moreover, on March 8, 1497, the same printers of Lucena's book also printed Basurto's *"Praxis prognosticandi"*, which suggests probable connections among this group of conversos. Lucena may have been informed about the political background of royal marriages due to his father's active participation in their negotiation. If so, the sarcastic "Repeticion de amores" may have been conceived as an oblique satire of the prince's marriage, and the dedication of

the chess book, replete with exaggerated flattery and 150 chess problems, a symbolic checkmate against a crown that Jews like Lucena had no reason to love.

7. Notes & Complementary Bibliography

(1) A basic reference to this period in Salamanca is Stephen Gilman's *"The Spain of Fernando de Rojas. The intellectual and social landscape of La Celestina"*. Princeton University Press, 1972. I have used the Spanish version *"La Espana de Fernando de Rojas"*. Madrid, Taurus 1978. Referred from now on as Gilman, the entire chapter VI (pp 267-345) is dedicated to Salamanca. Regarding the importance of oral transmission, see pp. 307(c)310

(2) There are, however, precedents in the late Middle Ages. In France, *"Les echecs amoureux"*, with no less than six MS still preserved today, (listed in van der Linde *"Geschichte und Literatur des Schachspiels"* Berlin 1874, band I, Beilage, p 149-150), deals with love and chess in poetic fashion. This precious French MS apparently had only a limited geographical influence. Around 1495 a copy was jewelled with 24 beautiful miniatures by Maitre Antoine Rolm, a bibliophile and painter, son of a chancellor in Bourgogne, who lived in Hainaut. This particular MS is kept at the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris *(Manuscrit Francais 9192)* and has been recently re-edited (*"Les echoes amoureux"* Editions du Chene. Paris 1991) with a critical analysis by several experts. It presents a long commentary with allegorical and didactic purposes inspired by the *Roman de la Rose*. Taken from an anonymous poem completed around 1370 and polished into verse in 1400, its contents describe a literary battle between the Love and the Lady. Its author was Evrard de Couty, a physician and courtier who was fascinated by myths, images and symbols. The text alludes frequently to other subjects such as cosmology, astronomy, heraldry or classical stories.

Several *"Chansons de Geste"* had already paved the way with references to amatory bets upon the chess board.

(**Ed. note:** A truncated reference to Garin de Monglane appears at this stage in my copy of Dr. Calvo's notes. To clarify, *"La Geste Garin de Monglane)* is the second cycle of the three great cycles of chansons de geste created in the early days of the genre." — quote from: wikipedia.org)

In particular, the poem *"Scachs d'amor"*, written in Valencia around 1470 -1490, depicts Venus and Mars playing chess according to modern rules. This work may also have been inspired by Lucena's mixture of chess and romance. The links between Lucena and the literary circle of Valencia where modern chess seems to have been born are solid. Renaissance chess literature shows a predilection towards mythological correlations associated with the enigmatic origins of the game.

Particularly, the gods of classical times (Jupiter, Apollo and Mercury) were included in a fabulous chess game described in another famous chess poem, the *"Scacchia Ludus"* by Vida*, from the middle of the 16th century. The legend finishes with a love story between Mercury, the winner of the chess game, and a nymph named Scacchis. Some two hindred years later she inspired the literary creation of a chess goddess *("Caissa")* in a famous poem by sir William Jones.

(3) *Texto latino del poema. Traduccion. comentarios sobre el latin en Salamanca*

(4) *Breve resumen sobre La Celestina*

(5) *Lucena: Repeticion de amores. Edited by Jacob Ornstein*. Chapel Hill 1954. North Carolina University, Studies in the Romance Languages and Literature, n 23.

(6) Matulka, Barbara. *"An antifeminist treatise of fifteenth century Spain: Lucena's Repeticion de amores"*. New York 1931. Institute of French Studies. Comparative Literature Studies.

(7) Von der Lasa, Tassilo

(8) Murray, H.J.R. *"A History of Chess"* Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1913

(9) Veleius Paterculus informs us that the architect who was building his house promised to make it impenetrable to onlookers. *"On the contrary,"* said Drusus, *"build it in a way that everyone can look inside"*. See for instance *Enciclopedia Espasa. "Druso"*.

(10) Cita sobre Scevola

(11) Plutarco. *Vidas paralelas*.

(12) Haebler, Konrad. *"Geschichte des spanischen Fruhdruckes"*. Leipzig. Hiersemann 1923.

(13) *"Historia de la imprenta Hispana"* gives the following list of books printed in Valencia by Petrus Hagenbach and Leonard Hutz:

1. Imitatio Christi "Del menyspreu del mon". Feb. 16, 1491
2. Fenollar, Bernat. "Istona de la Passio del N. S. Jesu- Christ". Jan. 11, 1493.
3. Confessionale. "Breu tractatde confessio". Feb. 23, 1493.
4. Furs fets en les corts de Oriola. Sept. 6, 1493.
5. Hores de la setmana sancta segon lo us del archibisbat de Valencia. Feb. 21, 1494.
6. Miravet, Joan de. "Opus artis grammaticae". Jan. 8, 1495.
7. Ludolphus de Saxonia, "Lo quart del cartoxa a". Nov. 6, 1495.
8. Despuig, Guillermus. "Commentaria ars musicorum". Apr. 11, 1495.
9. "Libre de les quatre ultimes i mes darreres coses". June 8, 1495.
10. "La revelacio de Sant Pau". Aug. 3, 1495.
11. Ludolphus de Saxonia. "Lo premier del cartoxa a". Apr. 13, 1496

(14) *"Historia de la imprenta Hispana"*. The following books were printed by

Leonard Hutz, in Salamanca, in association with Lope Sanz:

1. Bricot. "Textus abbreviatus logicem Aristoteles". 1496.
2. Villadiego. "Contra hereticam pravitatem". Jan. 8, 1496.
3. Tomas de Aquino. "Commenta in libros Aristoteles de generatione et corruptione". Feb. 26, 1496.
4. "Leyes del estilo o Declaraciones sobre las leves del fuero". Feb. 10, 1497.
5. Lucena, Luis de. "Repeticion de amores y arte de Acedrex". No date. 1496 or 1497.

(15) Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo in his *"Libro de la Camara Real del Principe Don Juan"* (Sociedad de bibliofilos espanoles. Madrid 1870) mentions among itemstored in the private rooms of the prince: *"E en una mesica con su banco e una silla de espaldas e dos o tres escabelos o bancos pequenos bien pintados. Un tablero de ajedrez con sus trebejos e tablas"* (Cfr. Perez, de Arriaga p. 35)

(16)

> *"Asi pues, el dia 28 de septiembre entro el principe en Salamanca; y fue tanto el aplauso de trompetas y atabales que parecia rasgarse el aire de jubilo. Oh, que melodias de citaras, que diversidad de cantos, que himnos nupciales prepare el clero! Bien merecia contemplar en el campo las formaciones de la caballeria ligera; era no solo hermoso, sine admirable ver los jaeces de los caballos, los adornos de los jinetes. Creerias que aquel dia se dieron alii cita todas las riquezas de Espana. Los coros de ninos y ninas, desde los tablados construidos en las plazas y desde las ventanas de las casas, imitando celestes armonias, recreaban en extremo los animos de los transeuntes. Con juncias, perfumados tomillos y demas hierbas olorosas estaban alfombradas las calles por donde habia de pasar la comitiva. Todas las portadas estaban adornadas de ramas verdes y las paredes de las casas cubiertas de artisticos tapices admirablemente fabricados por artesanos flamencos. Con mas esmero y largueza se dispusieron estas solemnidades en honor del Principe, en razon de que siendo esta ciudad-en la cual tu, purpurado principe, desde tu juventud te dedicaste al estudio de las letras -la fuente literaria de toda Espana, esperaban de su futuro rey - porque amaba v cultivaba las letras-un patrocinio mas eficaz quo el dispensado a las demas ciudades"*

(Epistolario dc Pedro Martir de Angleria en *"Documentos meditos para la histona de Espana"*, vols IX-XII, publicados por J. Lopez de Toro. Madrid, 1955-57 . Cfr. Gilman, p. 20).

8. Facts and Speculations about Lucena's Biography

"In pay of good services, always a bad reward. Such is the Aragonese law."
(JUAN DE LUCENA. IN HIS LETTER TO KING FERDINAND)

Lucena was assuredly not from Salamanca, because he stated so himself. Almost certainly he came from some place in the kingdom of Aragon, probably the area close to Medmaceli and Almazan. Along with his father and his brother Jeronimo, in 1503, he lived in Zaragoza

To ascertain the date of birth, we must begin with the fact that Lucena wrote his book in 1496 or 1497 while a student in Salamanca. In those times, the common age to begin studies at the University was between 14 and 16 years. (1)

When Lucena wrote his book he was certainly older. It will suffice to quote his sense of superiority when describing the girl he loved —

"...she was so young that she had not reached the age of sixteen."

In addition, Lucena provides the picture of a man experienced in love affairs, offering us evidence of a go-between who is his friend and prostitutes whom he declares he no longer chases. We note that he claims to have been in Salamanca long enough to *"hear praise of his beloved girl as the most accomplished woman in the world".* Declaring that he has already traveled in France and Italy, Lucena can omit his Christian name since he is sure of being identified by his readers.

As mentioned by Gilman, on average, ten years were needed to complete one's studies, although a "licenciado" required about twenty five years in order to receive this academic degree. A previous degree was that of "bachiller", which required an average of six years of study. Thus, a Bachiller, like Fernando de Rojas, was someone between twenty and twenty five years old.

Lucena didn't have the title of Bachiller. Otherwise, he would have mentioned it in a work so obviously intended to display his merits. On the other hand, he mentions the degree of Bachiller possessed by his friend and companion Villoslada. Moreover, when praising the work of Lucena in his peroration, the Bachiller Villoslada includes himself in the same age group:

"You have obliged to emulation all of us who have the same age as you ...".

Apparently, the author of the "Repeticion" was between twenty and twenty five years old, and should have been born between 1470 and 1475.

Lucena's lack of academic degree could be due to his previous travels in France and Italy, probably done while following his father in some embassy. Or, perhaps he neglected part of his studies due to his devotion to chess. There is some hidden complaint in the words of Lucena when he says in his advice to chess players:

> *"... and those who are students, believe me, play not too much if you want to obtain profit for yourselves."*

As we have already witnessed, after Salamanca the next clue appears in the Zaragoza of 1503. Following this, the trail of evidence becomes much weaker. (2) The last traces point to France and Bourgogne, making it appear as though Lucena had emigrated or decided to escape from Spain. This is suggested by further findings in chess literature, primarily according to the so-called *"Manuscript of Paris"*. (3)

9. Literary Style as Psychological Clue

"Humorism is well suited to the conversos, because the humorist laughs at others, but begins by laughing at himself."
(CARO BAROJA. OP. CIT. I. P. 302)

There is a striking difference in literary style between the two main parts of Lucena's book. In the chess treatise, excepting the dedicatory to Prince John, the language is plain, clear, and almost colloquial, with no pomposity at all, as the reader has been used to in the previous chapters of the book. The man who is explaining chess rules, analyzing a dozen openings and commenting on chess problems, has a straightforward way of thinking and speaking.

On the contrary, in the *"Repeticion de Amores"*, sentences are finely drawn, long, pedantic and baroque. Typical of Latin construction, verbs sometimes come at the end of a long sentence. Omstein has analyzed the influence of other authors in the Repetition, and its significance in the polemic between misogyny and pro-feminism so characteristic of the literature of the 15th century. But, excepting Gilman (op. cit. note on page 293), no one seems to have noticed the clearlv burlesque intention of the Repetition. Gilman thinks that it was composed to be read at one of the BMS student feasts which intermittently enlivened the rigid academic calender,perhaps toward the end of the 1496-1497 session, before the summer holidays. In every university, such closing ceremonies are characteristically concluded with student feasts which, almost inevitably, include mockery of HSS professors as part of the speeches. Ironic even in its own title, the *"Repeticion de amores"* seems to belongto this form of expression.

Several of the allusions have double meanings, a matter Lucena's long description of Cupid's attributes underscores. It is also consistent with the pattern of student humour that the content relates to sex. A significant part of the Repetition, praise of chastity is ironic, a factor that can be witnessed in the way in which the author introduces himself as a friend of procuresses and "*malas muxeres*". Chess players and gamblers like Lucena had to lead a roaring nocturnal life, since gambling in any form, including chess, was strictly forbidden. With obvious irony, the Bachiller Villoslada refers to these nocturnal escapades in his chant to Lucena when he states:

> *"...you have obliged to emulation all of us who are the same age as you, so that we may never sleep, and must follow your steps very awake..."*

An important clue to his identity, Lucena's book also includes the versed acrostic, "A VILLOSLADA", which provides evidence of his relationship with this high school.

A quien siempre per serviros
nunca vive sin dolor
"no 1e negueis el favor".

Vive siempre padeciendo
de no veros con temor;
esta en pena, aunquc viviendo,
pues os llama ya muriendo,
"no 1o negueis el favor".

Jamas cesan sus sospiros
que le causa vuestro amor;
per quereros y scguiros
nunca cesa de pediros,
"no 1e negueis el favor"

La menor de sus pasiones
le pone tanto pavor,
que e causa mil prisiones
'y pues hay diez mil razones,
"no 1e negueis el favor"

La tristeza de sus males
no sabe pena mayor;
que sus angustias finales
os suplican ya mortales,
"no le negueis el favor".

Otro bien si a vos no tiene,
sois su luz y su claror,
pues quien tanta le sostiene
y es contento aunque mas pene,
"no 1e negueis el favor"

Solo fue causa escribir
publicar vuestro loor,
pues que no basta sofrir
a sin vos poder vivir.
"no le negueis el favor"

La virtud y la nobleza
nunca mucstra desamor;
pues porque mostrais crueza
a tan crescida pobreza,
"no le negueis el favor".

A la fe de bien serviros.
que famas sufrio error,
va no basta consentiros.
mas suplicar y deciros,
"no le negueis el favor"

Despues que per fuerte ser
y no oisteis su clamor,
distes causa a padecer
y no queriendo valer,
le negastes el favor,

Ansi que pues hizo veros
fuese vuestro servidor,
pues es sicrvo por quereros
de la vida conoceros,
"no 1e negueis el favor".

10. Acrostic Verses and "Villoslada"

It should be borne in mind that the condition of conversos and the social pressure under which they lived implied a tacit understanding among them, and also a common sense of humor. Scholars who have studied this period agree that one of the main topics of their jokes was the contrast between the joys of this life and the supposed heavenly delights in the other life, or as M. Rosa Lida put it: *"...the questionability of any ultraterrenal reward..."*.

Such jokes were very dangerous. This becomes obvious by the frequency with which they appear among inquisitorial documents as a reason (sometimes the only one) for accusation. In the *"Libro del Alboraique"*, a famous anti Jewish pamphlet of this period, it is stated as a Jewish characteristic that *"they consider there is nothing else except to be born and to die"*.

According to Caro Baroja (op. cit, I, p 512), because of this single accusation the Inquisition sentenced Alonso de Peralta in 1526. In 1494 the father of the theologian Juan Hurtado de Salamanca, Rodrigue de Sesena experienced a similar trial, as did the father in law of Fernando de Rojas, Alvaro de Montalban in 1525.

Francisco de Madrid was accused because of his statement:

"Yo despues de muerto, ni vina ni huerto."

("After my death, neither vinyard, nor garden").

In proceedings against Isabel, wife of Francisco Perez, she was accused for having said:

"En este mundo no me veas mal pasar,
que en el otro no me veras penar".

("In this world, don't see me needy.
So, in the other world, you won't see me suffering").

Gilman notices that such sayings had already reached the category of proverbs, as shown by their rhymed structure. These precedents are necessary in order to understand that when , for example, Lucena says: *"The beauty we must search for is in Heaven"*, it is by no means a *"pious comment"*, as Ornstein naively supposes. Such remarks were undoubtedly, a frequent irony in a circle of converseds, such as the student chorus which surrounded Lucena while listening to his Repeticion.

As we have seen, in the University of Salamanca the prevalence of conversos was overwhelming. Caro Baroja (op. cit. II. pag 228) mentions that the Colegio Viejo de San Bartoloma, a was so full of conversos that the daily coexistence with the *"old Christians"* was terribly conflictive. Christians appealed to Queen Isabella, who ordered the expulsion of conversos forrefusing to obey the order, thereby opening a conjunctive situation regarding the "reversal" of power relations. Gilman (op. cit. page 274) quotes another similar incident concerning an unnamed student of Jewish descent whom the Colegio de San Bartoloma expelled on the basis of statutes dealing with *"cleanness of blood"* (of problematic application, as we have seen).

Following the student's refusal to obey, the Colegio appealed again to the queen, who answered:

"Throw him out of the window if he
doesn't want to go out through the door."

All these incidents prove a very important point. Though darkened by sinister inquisitorial activities, conflictive social relations of everyday life between conversos and Christians could be softened and even reversed amid the intellectual atmosphere of the University. It gave stimulus to creative literature and artistic productions such as Rojas'and Lucena's work. On the other hand, it should not surprise that the style and the intention of works emerging during a short period of liberation convey caustic and ironical content. In this way, many conversos could express, once for all, what they had to say.

Lucena's irony was deeply rooted. Even in his chess treatise, the figure of 150 chess problems inspires him to immediately comment: *"150, like a complete rosary"*. The rosary is a daily prayer consisting of 50 *"Ave Marias"* repeated in five groups of ten, each part of the group contemplating one of the *"mysteries of Jesus Christ"*. After this, a long Latin litany recalling all the Virgin's names and most of the names of the saints followed. According to the day of the week, the mysteries were *"sorrowful"* or painful (Tuesday and Friday), *"gozosos"* or enjoyable (Monday and Thursday), or *"glorious"* (Wednesday, Saturday and Sunday). Often mechanical and boring, this form of prayer is one of the liturgical aspects Juan de Lucena had in mind in his criticism. On certain occasions, the whole block of mysteries with a long series of 150 Ave Marias had to be followed. This *"rosano cumplido"* is the object of Lucena's sarcastic comment, "*en passant*".

Lucena was very careful in his wording, and as Ornstein's naive misinterpretation proves, not even the sharpest Inquisitor could take his words as a formal attack against the Faith, even if the conversos as well as the old Christians were, in all probability, perfectly aware of the hidden intention. It explains the elaborate style. The malabarisms in the sentences about God being born from a virgin, or the frequent quotation of Saint Paul, such as the paragraph where the apostle wishes that all men in the world

were chaste (with the obvious demographic danger left implicit by Lucena in the air of his speech), are a constant "tour de force" among Lucena's words and the quotations. Probably, the only non ironical comment is the one of Francisco de Quiros when he calls Lucena *"maxime vatum"*.

11. Lucena's Personality

"Chess, and I know what I am saying,
can produce disturbances in the intellect and memory"
(FROM LUCENA'S CHESS TREATISE)

Our curiosity about an author and chess player like Lucena extends not only to the content of his work, but also his personality. Similar to the forensic procedure of discovering an unknown by adding successive physiognomical details to a basic outline, considerable amounts of information may be compiled on our subject. As a result, we are assured Lucena's treatise took shape while he was a student in Salamanca and that he wrote on chess while between 20 and 25 years of age. A member of an important family subject to the Aragonese crown, Lucena lived a somewhat bohemian lifestyle, entertained travel experiences abroad and acquired a solid background in classic culture, including a dedicated fondness for chess. As previously quoted, his histrionic abilities and burlesque spirit are evident in text of his writings and "Repeticion".

Above all, however, the basic framework required to understand Lucena's personality and the skeleton key we must apply if we are to unlock any meaningful characteriological approach, revolves about Lucena's *"converso"*, or converted status. As Caro Baroja discloses, the fundamental aspect of Jews converted to Christianity by force signified a difficult life marked by pain and suffering:

> *"A child born in a family of this lineage, was destined to live under a regime of terrible pressure. The general regime can he described, because it derives from the analysis of certain institutions. The individual response may vary, but within a table of variations not very wide. The amount of suffering experienced by generations upon generations of men and women cannot be weighed or measured."*

Each one of the multitude associated with this group represents a personal story and an individual answer to unmitigated tragedy. A spectrum of attitudes enables us to classify three separate segments of their society.

At one polarized extreme, persons converted by external pressure might maintain a private allegiance to the beliefs of their original faith. These persons were called *"anusim"* or *"hanuzym"* ("compelled") and, according to historians, orthodox Jews considered them their equal. Among their ranks and integral to the gallery of characters associated with our chess playing Lucena, was the stubbornly dedicated printer Juan de Lucena. Originating from Puebla de Montalban, he is described by one of his adversaries as follows:

"I came to talk to him and I said: Had vuesa merced this? - and he answered: Don't call me 'vuesa merced', because I am only a pure Jew".

Towards the other extreme we find converts wholly devoted to their new Christian religion. These persons were disparagingly referred to by former fellow Jews as *"mesumad"* ("trouble makers"). From this group, dissimilar branches grew. Within their ranks we may include Inquisitors of Jewish origin like Fray Diego de Deza, Torquemada, as well as the repugnant figure of the *"malsin"* or professional betrayer. However, at yet another extreme and one more difficult to categorize in any way shape or form, we may also find various mystics whose passionate embrace of their Christian faith reached near heretical heights. These included such noteworthies as Fray Luis de Leon, Saint John of the Cross and Saint Teresa of Avila, a Spanish born patron saint of chess.

According to what evidence we have about him, Lucena falls within the wide and ambivalent field situated between two extremes. Among this group of personalities, humour appears to have been an essential method for confronting life in the raw. Their writing reveals that it was not a placid or philosophical humour. Rather, their pens produced a corrosive and sour type of literature, such as the style Fernando de Rojas applies in "La Celestina", or the convulsive, grotesque sort of self mockery ascribed to the physician Francisco de Villalobos.

A story referring to the latter illustrates this kind of attitude. In it we discover that Villalobos was about to be accused by the widow of one of his dead patients, whereupon a young man approaches him in a church asking Villalobos to visit his ill father.

Villalobos answers:

"Don't you see that woman there calling me a Jew because I killed her husband?"

And pointing towards the Virgin on the altar:

"Don't you see that she also is very sad because she thinks I killed her son? And now, do you wish me to kill your father?"

Amid the histrionic sarcasm and mockery apparent in Lucena's work we detect a strident and tortured note. This occurs despite that his position as the son of a high ranking court officer might have inspired greater circumspection. Nonetheless, in such instances humor was not the result of pondered meditation. On the contrary, it expressed an uncontrolled explosion of angst and animosity.

As has been pointed out by psychoanalysts such as Lowenstein (quoted by

Caro Baroja, III page 287), eccentricities in behaviour and language are frequent in any group subject to extreme social pressure and these "converso" writers offered no exception. This neurotic aspect seems to have been admitted by Lucena himself when he remarks *"because I know what it is"*, in his stated assumption about the disturbances chess can provoke through intellect and memory. As with many other cases similar to Lucena's, neurotic or even psychotic symptoms may be explained by the simple procedure of blaming the intrinsically stressful nature of chess for their apparent development. However, in Lucena's instance, it would be much more sensible to blame conditioning social and familial factors for the outgrowth of psychic symptoms.

Thus, chess may appear as compensation for, or even analogous to many hidden traumas. Although the prevalence of Jewish chess players can be interpreted in this way, among reluctantly converted individuals, other compensations have been indicated by historians. These include a striking adherence to Seneca and philosophical stoicism. Therefore, it seems no accident that direct allusion to Seneca frequently appears among the authors quoted by Lucena in the Repeticion.

In Lucena we have a unique model and method for deepening our understanding of a specific type of personality. Moreover, Calisto, the main character in the Fernando de Rojas novel, seems to compose a literary form of "alter ego" for Lucena. This topic is the subject of our next considerations.

Notes:

(1) Pieman Cortes, born in 1485, began to study law in Salamanca in 1499, at the age of 14. Gilman points out that the same age applies to Fray Luis de Leon, Juan de Segovia and Juan de la Encina.

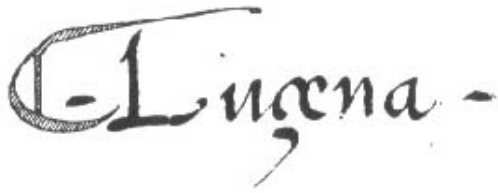
(2) There is a chess game, supposedly played in 1515 between Lucena and P. Quintana in another Aragonese city, Iluesca, which was published in a newspaper of that city ("La Nueva Espana: March 14,1959). In it, the journalist makes vague mention of a "document belonging to a private collection" that I have thus far been unable to trace.

(3) In 1922, Victor Place, a French bibliophile, published the discovery of a chess manuscript bearing Lucena's own signature in "L'Estrategie". Its 84 pages contain chess problems and opening analysis allowing the presumption that they represent a continuation of Lucena's previous work in Salamanca. The manuscript itself displays a mixture of old French and Catalan, which experts date somewhere between 1530 and 1550. In the summer of 1991, this "Paris Manuscript" sold at a record price of 100,000 DM at a Paris auction and its current owner is not known.

(4) The chess content of the Goettingen Manuscript (see Murray, op. cit) is an intermediate link between Lucena's Salamanca chess book and Lucena's Paris Manuscript. Murray's treatise of 1913 could not take the later into account.

12. The Lucena Treatise

Although Lucena's treatise offers some degree of self-reflection, the singular family name "Lucena" would signify considerably more to sharp eyed Spaniards living towards the end of the 15th century. The Lucena clan, whose existence paralleled the Rojas, Franco, Montalban and Torrijos of Castile, and the Santangel and Caballeriza of Aragon, were among the major families of Jewish converts to Christianity — *"marranos"* or *"anusim"*. As with many other clans, Lucena is the name of their city of origin. (1)



A considerable body of literature offers details regarding the history of the conversos. In ideology as well as in religion, their unique condition must be understood as having been situated in a peculiar "no man's land". Under pressure from a Christian entourage on one hand, and their ancestral roots on the other, they were driven to *"escape forward"* (ed. note: i.e., to become "upwardly mobile") through the ranks of a Spanish society that was simultaneously bent upon destroying them. Overall, conversos were decisive in almost every important event of their time and Spanish history cannot be correctly understood without taking into account this particular segment of society. Beginning with Americo Castro's "The Historical Reality of Spain", several historians have pointed repeatedly towards their significance. As Gilman says, the crucial paradox of conversos revolved about their social standing, which was partly central and partly marginal within Spanish culture. As the converso Hemando de Pulgar, official chronicler of the Reyes Catholicos put it:

> *"I do not understand how you manage it. You reject us as relatives, but you choose us as lords".*

It is altogether astounding to consider the number of conversos active in every structure and niche of Spanish society during that time. For an expanded view of their situation, a basic reference can be found in the work of Amador de los Rios *("Historia social, politicay religiosa de los judios de Espana y Portugal")*. The clan named "de Lucena" emerges at the beginning of the 15th century. A doctor "Maestre Martin de Lucena", physician of King John II of Castile, appears involved in curious court intrigues such as we find them explained in the work of Amador de los Rios (pp. 203-204).

Additionally, as with many other clans of conversos, among the Lucenas,

physicians were particularly common. A son of Maestre Martin, Francisco de Lucena, was also court physician. In 1451, a certain Alfonso de Lucena was physician to the Duchess of Bourgogne, and we may also mention the example of King Francis I of France, who refused to be treated by a non Jewish doctor.

According to Caro Barqja's examination of inquisitorial documentation, by far the most frequently occurring profession among conversos was that of "administrator" or lessee. Independent artisans were predominantly conversos and among intellectuals, the supremacy of conversos appears overwhelming. For instance, in 1460 one Fernando de Lucena translated the *"Triunfo de las donas"*, a pro-feminist treatise typical of literary polemic stemming from that period, into French. On page 419 of his aforementioned work, Barqja provides a detailed genealogical tree of the Lucena branch.

There also appears a Juan de Lucena, who is sometimes mistaken for the ambassador and "protonotario" father of our chess author. This particular Juan de Lucena established himself as a printer in Puebla de Montalban, birthplace of Fernando de Rojas, who was then but a child when this took place. With the help of his daughters, this Lucena printed the first Hebrew books in Spain. As a result, he was prosecuted by the Inquisition on the basis of a testimony stating how he made continuous commercial deals with Hebrew literati and other Jews dwelling within the besieged Granada. This Juan de Lucena was the second son of Maestre Martin and the inquisitional documents describe him *as "a cultivated man of great irony against the Holy Faith"*.

Another Juan de Lucena was the father of Lucena, the chess player, which leads to the gist of our next topic.

13. The Father's Image

"I am not ashamed of being called a Jew "
(JUAN DE LUCENA)

Considered among the most significant pre-Erasmists, Juan de Lucena is mentioned in almost every anthology of Spanish literature. His treatise *"De Vita Beata"* and his *"Epistola Exhortatoria a las Letras"* are works *"of the highest interest to those who study 15th century Spain"*. (Rafael Lapesa. *"De la Edad Media a nuestros dias"*, Biblioteca Romanica Hispana. Gredos 1971)

Juan de Lucena's Jewish origin has been established beyond all doubt, and was well known by his contemporaries. To a great extent, his writings were aimed at the defense of his people. One instance appears in the Vita Beata, during a dialogue in which Bishop Alonso de Cartagena intervenes. Alonso de Cartagena was, moreover, a converso, son of the famous bishop of Brurgos a Pablo de Santamaria who had been the first Rabbi before converting to Christianity. In the dialogue, it is said:

> *"Do not think that I shall become ashamed when you say that my parents are Hebrew. They are of course, and I love this. Because, if antiquity is nobility, who else comes from so far?"*

The intellectual attitude of Juan de Lucena reflects the intense internal crisis associated with the condition of conversos. On one hand, the roots of their diverse cultural and religious heritage adhered to a collective past. On the other, their adoption of Christianity could be more or less sincere or voluntary although, as newcomers they clearly perceived the contradictions of the Church.

Under those circumstances, the gap between the doctrine of the Gospels and the reality of ecclesiastic life was painfully apparent to those who, like Juan de Lucena, came from a group all too well accustomed to ill treatment and paying a high, sometimes heroic price, for their fidelity to principles. In his writings, Juan de Lucena sarcastically attacks the Church hierarchy and, in one instance, proposes to finish the war in Granada by sending an army of priests paid for with the church treasures. His criticism of the temporal power of the Papacy includes Pius II himself, who had been a friend of Juan de Lucena and his protector.

One disturbingly painful aspect encountered by Hebrew sensibilities involved the pomposity and emptiness of the church's liturgical ceremonies. The repetitive manner of praying, with Latin formulae often misunderstood by the very preachers who delivered it, offended Lucena's intellectual integrity. He perceived its use as contrary to the authentic and intimate

speech of the heart. In his *"Epistola Exhortatoria a las Letras"*, Lucena says, as will later Erasmists, that those who pray without understanding what they are saying, are *"donkeys with two feet"*.

> *"Neither are you praying, nor are you braying. Neither are you understanding, nor does God understand you, because God understands only the language of the heart"*.

As we shall later examine, this intellectual attitude is echoed in the "Repetition" written by his son Lucena, the chess player. It also explains why Lucena's manuscript parodies the university professors through mimicry of their own language, style and way of reasoning,.

Appropriately, we can imagine hearing a sarcastic chorus of students, most of them conversos, laughing at the twisted mockery.

Since C.G. Jung, psychoanalysts have pointed out that the image of the father is frequently a valuable clue for interpreting the hidden motivations of many creative personalities. Like his father, Lucena, the chess player, was not afraid of exhibiting his name and his origins. On the contrary, he states it with noticeable pride.

He also exhibits a solid intellectual foundation, mentions previous travels, as well as his rejection of a tacit code of rules, while showing a propensity to bow before power. The ambivalence of Lucena's attitude towards the Prince reflects the same problems his father experienced as an ambassador working on behalf of King Ferdinand. Similarly, there is a striking concordance in language. For example, Juan de Lucena dedicated his treatise *"De Vita Beata"* to *the "serenisimo principe y glorioso rey D. Juan el Segundo"*, whereas Lucena dedicates his chess treatise to *the "serenisimo y muy sclarecido principe D. Juan el Tercero, principe de las Spanas"*. The formula is the same, only the name of the royal person is changed from "the second" to "the third" - a clear imitation.

With no other fault than what can be accorded to their ancestral origins, by far the most threatening aspect for any converso was the continuous social pressure under which they lived. As a consequence, they acquiesced to social custom despite that Christian institutionalism bore a form and a method of carriage which strayed far from Evangelical principles. Like many other conversos, Juan de Lucena reflects negatively upon a cultural heritage that offered high esteem for Romans descendants *("Sinners in many forms of bestiality")*, the Goths, as well as the Twelve Peers of France *("Ones more beast-like than the others").* In keeping with his perceptions, he notes that:

> *"... when a man comes from the Jews, no matter how wise and virtuous he is, you call him a marrano, lower than the dust of the earth"*.

Clearly, his last sentence, in which he summarizes the tragedy, is bathed in

pathos:

"Unbelieving Christians who say this: Your eyes are blind!"

Juan de Lucena and his ideas did not go unnoticed by the Inquisition. Lapesa indicates that in 1493 there appeared a treatise written by a certain Alonso Ortiz, canon of Toledo, pointing out and listing a series of theological grievances encountered in the works of the *"prothonotario y embaxador"* Juan de Lucena.

As a result — *"...in Cordoba, before many prelates and theology masters, he reconciled himself with the Church and his writings were publicly condemned."*

The details of Juan de Lucena's inquisitorial prosecution are unknown, although we may suppose that to some extent his privileged post in the Court must have protected him. Juan de Lucena had been ambassador to England and 1493 he represented the Spanish Crown to emissaries of the Duchess of Bourgogne. Also it is known that he obtained an exemption from inquisitorial prerogatives for himself and his brother due to his former friendship with Pope Pius I.

However, the Inquisition was relentless and in 1503, Juan de Lucena and his brother suffered yet another trial directed by the "Inquisidor General" Hernando de Montemayor. As an outcome, there exists an emotional letter from Juan de Lucena to King Ferdinand describing the terrible situation facing his family and reminding Ferdinand of his past services to the Aragonese crown. Dated December 26, 1503, this letter is included in the appendix of the *History of the Inquisition* by Llorente, and according to him, it is preserved in the Royal Library, estante 5, codex 54. Written in Zaragoza, Juan de Lucena's letter provides several items that shed light upon the geographical location of his particular clan of Lucenas.

For instance, he says that the Inquisitor *had "always hated my family, for many years"*. This Inquisitor was previously a priest in the city of Almaza-an, near Medinaceli and during his tenure Juan de Lucena was secretary to the Duke of Medinaceli, thereby availing a compelling coincidence of clues. To complete this circle, it is important to know that the Court of Prince John was based in Almaza-an. Overall, various consequences lead to the assumption that the most probable birthplace, or at the very least, the domicile of the Lucena clan, centered around Almaza-an and Medinaceli. In fact, these areas show a characteristically high percentage of conversos dwelling in locations on the border between Aragon and Castile.

According to his letter, the Lucenas consistently swore loyalty to the crown of Aragon, and served King Ferdinand efficiently in the execution of many significant affairs. Juan de Lucena's incarcerated brother had actually been in charge of confiscating all properties of Jews expelled from Zaragoza in 1492.

Although the Lucena clan submitted to Aragonese laws in civil as well as in ecclesiastic matters, exemptions derived from Juan de Lucena's high post in the Court were granted. These matters refer to the complaint letter of one Juan de Lucena in which he states that the Inquisitor Hernando de Montemayor *"hated me and my family because he always wanted to have us under his power"*. When writing the letter dated 26th December 1503, Juan de Lucena resided in Zaragoza "together with my sons", which included the chess playing Lucena.

As indicated by Cossio in the foreword of the facsimile edition of the "Repeticion", by January 1507 Juan de Lucena had passed away. This is evident due to the fact that the Duke of Medinaceli had already appointed as administrator of Puerto de Santa Maria *"Jeronimo de Lucena, son of Juan, to pay the good services of the latter."*

14. Pieces and Pawns Surrounding Lucena

"They are more than the Rojas."
(JUAN DE LUCENA)

During the period in question, the University of Salamanca was relatively well known and we can identify several characters associated with Lucena's entourage according to information cited by Gilman in his aforementioned book about Fernando de Rojas.

During Lucena's university years, the professor of Latin was the Italian Lucio Marineo Siculo, a protege of Spanish kings who won his dispute for the chair against the famous Spanish grammarian Antonio de Nebrija. Nebrija was therefore absent from Salamanca during the period 1488-1503. As was typical among students, some of the satires contained in the book, such as Lucena's Latin poem or Quiros' epigram, appear to have been parodies directed against the Italian professor.

Also absent from Salamanca was the professor of Astrology and Cosmography Abraham Zacut who. as a Jew. had been expelled from Spain in 1492. In Lucena's day, these subjects were taught by Rodrigo de Basurto, the converso who predicted Prince John's death, and who, as we have seen, published his *"Praxis prognosticandi"* in 1497 in the same printing shop of Hutz and Sanz where Lucena was to publish his chess treatise. In 1495, Basurto was appointed director of the oldest Salamantine college, the Colegio Viejo de San Bartolome, where Lucena probably resided.

Some allusions and parodies included in the Repetition may have been directed against Fray Diego de Deza, professor of Theology and former director of the Colegio Viejo de San Bartolome. Deza left Salamanca in 1497 upon being nominated bishop of Zamora. In spite of being a converso, or as Gilman says, perhaps due to this, Deza was to become one of the cruelest Inquisitors of the following years. Rojas, a fellow companion of Lucena, contemptuously refers to Deza in Act III of his tragicomedy. This reference appears in a famous monologue Sempronio says *"Aquel es ya obispo"* ("That man is already a bishop").

Having encountered the characters of kings, queens, knights, rooks and bishops, we may now concentrate on the pawns surrounding Lucena, some of whom went on to become promoted. Members of the student chorus at which the Repeticion was aimed most certainly included the grammarian Francisco de Quiros and the Bachiller Villoslada, who appear in the book on obvious friendly terms with Lucena. Other fellow student acquaintances most likely included the musicians Diego de Fermoselle, Lucas Fernandez and future professors of law, Rodriguez de San Isidro and Tomas de San Pedro. Juan de Cervantes, grandfather of the author of *"Don Quixote"*, obtained his degree of "Bachiller" in 1499. Another converso yet to become famous was Francisco de Villalobos, future physician of emperor Charles V.

Villalobos wrote a *"Summary on Medicine"*, and was well known throughout his life because of his sarcastic and inventive humour, a characteristic typified by the bitterness of his religious condition.

Above all, however, the most relevant of Lucena's colleagues was Fernando de Rojas, the author of "La Celestina", a book that, as Cervantes put it: "Would have been divine had it better concealed its more human aspects". Rojas belonged to a large clan of conversos, one so numerous that Juan de Lucena coined the saying: *"Son ma as que los Rojas"*, or *"they are more (numerous) than the Rojas"*. Both clans were closely connected. Endogamy was a constant among conversos. According to Caro Baroja, this was true not only because of natural attractions among persons who shared the same *"Weltanschauung"* and the same sense of humour, but also for safety (less risk of being betrayed) and in many cases, common properties of material inheritances.

Situated near Toledo, the town of Puebla de Montalban was so characteristically Jewish that Alonso de Proaza identified Rojas as a Jew, (his *"clara nacion"*) only by stating that Rojas was born there. As previously mentioned, in the same town lived another Juan de Lucena, the printer of Hebrew books. As Gilman demonstrated, Rojas studied in Salamanca between 1494 and 1502 and his presence there coincided with Lucena's. Conspicuously, the first edition of "La Celestina" appeared in 1499, following Lucena's book. Moreover, one of the printers operating in the Toledo of 1500, Petrus Hagenbach, had previously worked in Valencia with Leonardus Hutz, the printer of Lucena's book. Whereas the work of Rojas and the work of Lucena are closely connected in style, intention and references, the episode of the rejected go-between appears in both books. Several names are mentioned equally by both and either book had to be born in the same intellectual circle, Lucena's work being the earlier of the two.

All things considered, Lucena and Fernando de Rojas were almost certainly friends. As further evidence leading towards this assumption, many years later, in Rojas' testamentary disposition, he leaves behind a chess set and a copy of the "Repeticion de amores y arte de Axedrez". Due to various facts regarding the probable friendship and other connections between the two, we shall discuss these matters in greater detail at a later point in this research.

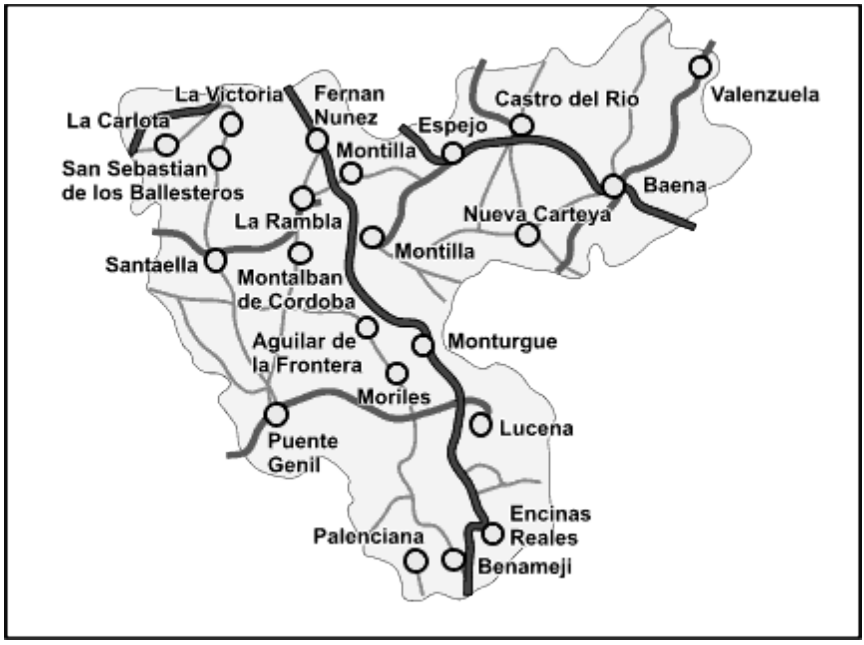
Notes:

(1) As in many other cases of converts to Christianity, Lucena refers to the name of a city. It was customary to name converted Jews after the name of a city, a profession, or even a peculiar physical characteristic. In his monumental work, Caro Baroja quotes a document stating that *"... when King Ferdinad and Queen Isabella ordered that baptism be given to Moors and Jews, many principal men took the name of the place where this happened"*.

Situated on the road between Cordoba and Malaga, and having existed since

remote pre-Islamic times, for centuries Lucena remained a very important Jewish town. During the first Caliphates, Lucena was considered a Jewish city and its name may be derived from the Hebrew *"Eliassana"*. In the 13th century, the Arab geographer and traveller Al Idrisi wrote that *"in Lucena, the Jews are richer and more powerful than in any other Islamic place"*. Indeed, to this very day, travellers can find many handicrafts typical of a Jewish heritage still being produced in Lucena.

At the end of the 14th century, a series of bloody pogroms led to mass conversions of Jews to Christianity. As a result, many people named *"de Lucena"* emerge during this time. Like other "anusim", from the moment of their conversion onward they belonged to a caste that bore all the social and psychological earmarks of their condition.



15. The Characters of La Celestina as Real Persons

Among our purposes is to show that Rojas extracted real human models from his personal entourage and applied them to the literary characters appearing in his novel. This seems a veritable certainty in the case of Calisto, who shows too many coincidences with Rojas' friend and fellow student, Lucena. Supportive evidence may be accessed through my book *"Lucena, la evasion en ajedrez del converse Calisto"* (Perea ed. El Toboso 1997) which appears to me as completely convincing.

In the case of Celestina and Melibea, testimonial statements written by Lucena anticipating the "Comedia" by two years supply suggestive reference to an old procuress and a noble young girl living in Salamanca during that time. As for the other secondary characters, (Sempronio, Parmeno, the prostitutes Elicia and Areusa, Centurio, etc.) no concrete identification can be made. However, the question regarding whether they could also have been citizens of Salamanca known to Rojas remains open.

"La Celestina" is supposedly a work of fiction, although scholars have stressed that its characters exude a singular liveliness. All of them are endowed with a past, and this past influences their decision making, their justification of faults, and their measuring of an opponent's stature. Transcribed memories of an actual past that subsequently appears among a

group of fictional characters lends a charming originality to Rojas's work. A basic reference for this literary insight relies upon the monumental study of M. Rosa Lida de Malkiel *("La originalidad artistica de La Celestina"*. Buenos Aires 1962). In any case, the theory of their real existence in Salamanca seems justified.

16. Fernando de Rojas and Lucena

Calisto as a literary representation of Lucena's personality

"I saw this work in Salamanca"
(FERNANDO DE ROJAS - "LA CELESTINA")

Both Fernando de Rojas and our chess author Lucena belonged to a large clan of conversos (1). Both studied in Salamanca during the same years. Their respective works share many common points. As shown in previous pages, there is a proven connection between the two that we shall examine more closely in this chapter,

The first edition of Roja's "La Celestina" appeared in 1499. According to Gilman, who researched its origin in depth, the creation of this famous work must have taken place during the Easter holidays of 1498, or, at the earliest, in 1497. In any case, "La Celestina" follows the appearance of Lucena's book.

Therefore, when Lucena engages *"an old procuress friend of mine"* to send a love message, and when the go-between is expelled from the young girl's house, it is impossible to deny a close relationship with "La Celestina". Furthermore, in Act IV of the "tragicomedia", there appears a literary re-creation of Lucena's story.

Scholars have also pointed out similarities in style. Both works offer philosophical discussions that sometimes refer to identical sources regarding love and women. In both works, statements of a general nature are immediately followed by tangible examples, a style typical of any "repetition" delivered at the university. Both works were written to be read. Both authors address certain topics similarly, including references to love as a "disease", amatory blasphemy and the subtleties of feminine cosmetics of the time. One of Lucena's quotations is the following:

> *"Parmeno, in the Terence, said: 0 God, what disease is this! How men are changed through love!... And he considered love as a disease".*

Parmeno is also the name given to Calisto's servant in Rojas's work. In the first Act, which according, to Rojas was written by someone else, Parmeno unburdens himself of regrets concerning his lord's love disease before old Celestina:

> CELESTINA: *You will be crying with no use, because by crying you cannot cure your lord. Has it not happened before to others, Parmeno?*
>
> PARMENO: *Yes. but I don't want to see my lord ill."*

Rojas gives his name and considerable information about himself in a series of acrostic verses preceding the novel. However, no commentary dealing with Lucena's work appears to have taken note that the burlesque verses of Bachiller Villoslada are also acrostic, and read "A Villoslada". Acrostic verse seems to have been a peculiarity of works created in the same circle by a close knit group of companions, such as the conversos studying in Salamanca. A Hebrew touch, like in many of the Psalms of the Bible, is evident in the acrosticity.

Rojas' creative procedure has been analyzed in detail. By his own admission Rojas states that the basis of Act I was already contained in a pre-existent work and that he actually "found" it. Then, in the solitude of his chamber, *"lying over my own hand*", he sent his "*senses as explorers"* and his judgement *"flying"*. *"I saw this work in Salamanca"* is a clue necessary to understand the relationship between the pre-existing work of Lucena and Rojas' later effort.

17. Calisto as Lucena's Literary Alter Ego

"Therefore, don't contemplate yourself in the greatness of your father, who was so magnificent, but in your own greatness."
(SERVANT SEMPRONIO TO CALISTO, IN ACT II)

"La Celestina" is supposedly a work of fiction, although scholars have stressed that its characters are remarkably lifelike. All of them are endowed with a past, and this past influences their decisiveness, their justification of faults, or their measuring of opponents' strengths and weaknesses. The deliberately embedded presence of an actual past among Roja's fictional characters is what provides this work with a charming originality. The basic reference is the monumental study of M. Rosa Lida de Malkiel (*"La originalidad arristica de La Celestina"*. Buenos Aires 1962).

In the creative process of supplying a past to his characters, Rojas often draws from his own biographical experiences. The quotation referring to *"the garden of Mollejar"*, which Sempronio says he knew as a child, refers to a well known location. Furthermore, this location was actually a part of Rojas' childhood experience. We may confirm this according to Gilman, who quotes the pertinent documents proving that Mollejar existed in Puebla de Montalban.

Other claims taken directly from reality have been pointed out by various scholars: In the famous monologue of Sempronio, the bridge destroyed by the river was probably identical to one in Salamanca that collapsed during a flood that documents show had occurred during those years. That man who is "already a bishop" was, as previously mentioned, Fray Diego de Deza. (R. Espinosa Mateo. *"Dos notas para La Celestina.* BRHE XIII. 1926. P 182(c) 184. Quoted by Gilman, p. 275).

In the case of Calisto, several scholars have wondered why he had to engage a procuress instead of approaching his beloved Melibea directly. Knowing the circumstances of the period, Calisto's difficulties point towards inherent social disparities that existed between conversos and old Christians.

J. Rodriguez Puertolas ("El linaje de Calisto", in "De la Edad Media a la edad conflictiva. Madrid Gredos 1972) comments convincingly upon the Jewish origin of Calisto as being the basic obstacle that prevented him from approaching Melibea directly. This point of view is deeply suggested in Act I by his servant Sempronio, who lists the qualities of his lord but carefully avoids any mention of family origins;

> *"First, you are a man of great ingenuity. Nature gave you the best gifts: beauty, grace, big stature, force, agility. Moreover, Fortune shared with you so generously, that your internal gifts join the external."*

But immediately, Calisto answers in complaint, referring to Melibea's lineage:

> *"In spite of all these flattering gifts, Sempronio, I cannot compare with Melibea. See how noble and old her family is..."*

Similarly, in another scene of Act II, a second clue is also given by Sempronio when consoling Calisto with the standard argumentation of looking towards his own merits and not those of his ancestors:

> *"A light coming from others never will make you brilliant unless you have your own light. Therefore, don't contemplate yourself in the greatness of your father, who was so magnificent, but in your own greatness".*

Regarding Calisto's father — there appear references to his magnificence, but not to his lineage or family. As stated by Calisto in Act XIV, the father was a powerful and influential person to whom the judge of the city owes many favors,

> *"Oh cruel judge! Such a bad reward in payment of the bread you have eaten from my father!"*

A few sentences later, Calisto disrespectfully calls the judge "a servant" of his father. However, despite all the power and influence of Calisto's father, when the other characters speak among themselves about the couple Calisto is only "a gentleman". Posing the contrary, Melibea is *"Hjadalgo"*, of noble family.

It is impossible to avoid remarking upon the parallelism between Lucena and his father, the Ambassador of Jewish descent. Lucena could not approach his beloved girl directly. When describing Calisto, the presence of Lucena in Rojas' mind seems reinforced by many other passages: *"You, the philosophers of Cupid"* says Sempronio to Calisto in Act I; as if Calisto had been the one who specified the detailed attributes of Cupid in the "Repeticion de Amores".

However, the most important point, and in my opinion, the decisive one, is that which reveals Calisto not only as a chess player, but a composer of chess problems, as Lucena was. The proof is given by Sempronio in Act II, when advising Calisto to compose chess problems *("arme mates")* in order to cure his love illness, a pattern that follows the 150 chess problems composed by his contemporary and fellow companion, Lucena. Prof. Russell personally told me that in the first Italian edition of "La Celestina", "arme mates" was translated less accurately as *"giuocare a gli scacchi"*.

There are other indirect references to chess in Roja's text. For instance, Celestina puts *"suvida al tablero"* (i.e. his life over the chessboard). Also, when, in Act VII, Parmeno reminds Celestina that she has promised to obtain Areusa for him, she answers *"ma as de tres xaques ha rescibido de mi sobre ello en tu absencia"*.

Lucena was between 20 and 25 years of age. In the novel, Calisto is 23 years old. So, we can assume that Rojas' creative process consisted of following real persons among his immediate entourage and letting them react according to their personal psychology throughout the intrigues of a fictional framework. This gives us a unique method of determining other aspects of Lucena's personality through the literary mirror of Calisto — a forensic examination impossible to disclose by other means.

18. The Image in the Mirror

"I am not Christian. I am Melibean."
(CALISTO IN "LA CELESTINA")

Through the description of Calisto, we may assume that Lucena was of large stature, agile, powerful, ingenious, rich and in love.

Calisto's main psychological characteristic, to which Melibea refers in her initial rejection of Act IV, is his "madness"

> *"Good God! I don't want to hear again about this madman, wall-jumper, night-spook, tall like a stork, ill-painted scarecrow..."*

Prior to his love disease Calisto's madness is a constant subject. This corresponds with the "disturbances of intellect" mentioned by Lucena. Part of this madness is simply astonishing imprudence when dealing with religious taboos. In any atmosphere other than the Salmantine University" the following dialogue would have been considered blasphemy.

> SEMPRONIO: *Aren't you a Christian?*
>
> CALSITO: *I am Melibean. I worship Melibea, I believe in Melibea, I love Melibea.*

Or, a few sentences later:

> CALSITO: *Woman? O stupid! God, God!*
>
> SEMPRONIO *Do you think so, or are you joking?*
>
> CALSITO: *Joking? I believe she is God, I accept her as God, and I don't think there is another sovereign in Heaven.*

Calisto's "madness" is the only excuse to save him from a possible inquisitorial process. As we can see, an echo of his attitudes can be found hidden carefully away, in Lucena's Repetition.

Calisto's neurotic symptoms have been analyzed in detail in the aforementioned study by M. Rosa Lida. If our assumption is correct, these insights can portray Lucena in a merciless manner. He escapes from reality (Act XIV, p. 132) and often loses complete connection with the "real" world (I, 111, II, 222 XIV, 125). His dream world merges with "normal" sensorial

perceptions (XIII, 114, XI 73) while he acts as an amatory exhibitionist (VI, 223, XIV 127). The composite Calisto-Lucena shows narcissistic selfishness, portrays moral blindness to the values established by his society and contradicts himself in a pendular oscillation of his feelings. His servants laugh at him.

If our assumptions about Rojas' creative compass are correct, the portrait of Melibea becomes a reflection of the one Lucena bestows upon his amatory interest. Moreover, the procuress would be none other than the true Celestina of the novel, even though Lucena does not say whether she did or did not have a scar on her face, or lived in the suburbs of the city. The prostitutes Elicia and Areusa would be the *"malas muxeres"* mentioned by Lucena, whereas Sempronio and Parmeno could be students of the circle from which the works of Lucena and Rojas emerged.

In the final analysis, this research is filled with speculation based upon coincidental evidence. Nevertheless, owing to the sheer number of coincidences apparent in both works, it is difficult to deny that the voices Rojas heard when lying over his own hand and sending his senses as explorers were indeed his vital inspiration and that these were, in effect, extracted from real voices sounding in the back streets of Salamanca — voices full of life and emotion.

Notes:

(1) Rojas' Jewish heritage has been established beyond doubt. In the Inquisitorial prosecution of his father in law Alvaro de Montalban, he appoints *"per su letrado al bachiller Fernando de Rojas, su yemo, vezino de Talavera, que es converse"*. The *Inquisition "Ie dixo que no av lugar, e que nombre persona syn sospecha"*. (M. Rosa Lida. op.cit. p.22)

(*) Alonso de Proaza mentions *"el modo que se ha de tener leyendo esta comedia"*, and recitation, not scenification of the primitive text was the normal performance *("finge leyendo mill artes y modos/pregunta y responde por boca de lodos")* most probably staged in the middle of a circle of fellow companions *("assi que quando diez personas se juntaren a oir |esta comedia"*, states the foreword of La Celestina). Sec M. Rosa Lida. op. cit.pp 66-67.

19. Sources of Modern Chess in Lucena's Book

"I will show here the chess problems I have learned from my travels in Italy and France, and the ones I have learned by myself."
(LUCENA IN HIS CHESS TREATISE)

The transition of medieval chess to modern chess (also, bishop and queen moving freely to the limits of the board), took place in the 15th century. There have been some considerable discussions concerning the birthplace of modern chess. However, most of our information points to Spain, particularly because in this country the first games, texts and problems first appear among carefully preserved documents that exist today. Among them, the first book on modern chess remains the one written by Lucena. In it rules governing the initial openings of modern chess appear for the first time. Included among the 150 chess problems provided by Lucena, 75 are classified as "de la dama" or modern chess and 75 are "del viejo", the old medieval form of chess.

From this evidence it appears that both forms of chess coexisted in Salamanca during the time Lucena wrote his book. However, from this moment on, modern chess spreads rapidly, especially through Spain and Italy. As a result, within a few years the old medieval chess seems to have been almost completely forgotten. Nonetheless, even when he tries to conceal his sources, it is possible to prove that Lucena took his material on modern chess from earlier works emanating from Valencia.

Therefore, Valencia was almost certainly the place where this decisive change effected tremendous impact on the theory and practice of our modern game. The proof is interrelated, and can be deduced from the research in three areas:

1) the lost book of Francesch Vicent

2) the early printers of German origin living in Valencia

3) the first "modern game" - i.e., the match between Castellvi and Vinyoles.

Therefore, we shall review the pertinent facts, which have been recently published (R. Calvo: *"Valencia, Birthplace of Modern Chess"*. New in Chess, 1991).

20. Vicent - the Missing Link

"Michele di Maure used L 'Alemanni"
(SALVIO 1604)

In 1495, a man named Francesch Vicent, born in Segorbe, not far from Valencia, published a chess book containing 100 chess problems. Written in Catalan, this book was printed in Valencia by Lope de Roca *"Alemany"* (a German printer) and Pere Trincher (a Catalonian book merchant) but disappeared after 1811 when French troops destroyed part of the only library in which a copy still existed. We know the book only through descriptions by bibliophiles who saw the last known copy preserved in the Benedictine Monastery of Montserrat. These descriptions are summarized by P. Francisco Mendez in his *"Tipographia espanola"*, vol. I, Madrid 1796,p.83. According to him, the colophon was:

> *"A loor e gloria de nostre Redemtor Jesu Christ fonc acabat lo dit libre quo ha nom libre dels jochs partits dels schachs en la insigne ciutat de Valencia e estampat per mans de Lope de Roca Alemany e Pere Trinchet librere a XV dies de Mag del any MCCCCLXXXXV"*

The book was also seen in Montserrat by the Jesuit Raymundus Diosdado Caballero (*"De prima typographiae hispanicae actate specimen"*, Roma 1793) and by the German bibliophile Georg W. Panzer (*"Annales tipographici"*, vol III. p 60. Nuremberg 1796). Vain efforts spent tracking down Vicent's book are summarized in von der Lasa's work *"Zur Geschichte und Literatur des Schachspiels"*, Leipzig 1897. As a result, Vicent's chess book remains a lost treasure of inestimable value. As one bibliophile put it, "*Vicent has become famous because of a book which nobody knows"*.

In later centuries, Vicent's book left two hidden traces, both of them discovered by Prof. Adriano Chicco (*"Un fantomatico incunabolo sul giuoco degli scacchi"*. L'Esopo. n° 3. 1979). The first appears in a quotation of the physician, astrologist and humanist Girolamus Cardanus (1501 (c) 1576) or Cardan (inventor, among other things, of the wheel transmission known in mechanics as "cardan transmission"). Cardan also wrote a chess book, which likewise disappeared. However, in his treatise "De rerum vanetate" (1557), he remarks that he composed his chess book with great effort, and makes several comments about the best way of printing diagrams. The outstanding technical problem lay in how to print a black piece on a black square, and Cardan suggests an intelligent way of solving it that involved substituting a completely black square for one that was "striped".

The Latin paragraph reads:

> *"Loci nigri lineis nigris, quasi cancellis sunt distinguendi... latrunculorum vero figurae nigrae quidem lota super-fide alramento tingantur."*

Cardan mentions how a bad example of early illustration methods allowed that "those who printed the Spanish book confounded everything": *"Qui hispanicum librum emiserunt, omnia confunderunt"*. However the question remains as to which Spanish book Cardan was referring? Although Lucena's book contains no mention of his printers, typographical research has recently established that the printers were, indeed, Leonard Hutz and Lope Sanz. On the contrary the colophon of Vicent's book clearly states his work had been printed by Lope de Roca "Alemany" and Pere Trincher. So, Cardan was obviously referring to Vicent's book - a book that was, moreover, well known in Italy during the middle of the 16th century.

A second clue appears in Salvio. In his very rare *book "II giuoco degli scacchi"*, Naples 1723, but first published in 1604, Salvio describes a chess match between Michele di Mauro and Tommaso Capputi. The astute Capputi prepared for the match by reading a chess book written by his opponent. On the contrary, Michele di Mauro used other chess books for his training.

> *"...prende il Bove, il Rui Lopes e il Carrera, L'Alemanni, il Gironi e gli altn erranti..."*

These books are known:

"Il Bove" (The Ox) is Paolo Boi's book. Ruy Lopez, Carrera and the Spaniard Ceron, (Giron or Gironi, in Salvio is also Zerone) also produced chess books that were in use during the time. However, no one knows "L'Alemanni". Chicco deduced that Salvio, who frequently misread names, was referring to Vicent's book, confusing the name of the printer Lope de Roca "Alemany" with the name of the author. So, the book of Vicent was known and used in Sicily in 1604.

This second clue is very important. However, Prof Chicco forgets to draw the most salient and obvious conclusion which was, namely, that the book of Vicent contained modern chess problems. Had it had contained only problems associated with medieval chess, it would have been useless for preparing players to engage modern games dating as late as the beginning of the 17th century.

Moreover, Cardan, an inventor and researcher of contemporary novelties, would have payed no attention to an outdated book and its diagrams. In addition, once modern chess appears, all books on medieval chess disappear very quickly in every European country. So, if not all, at least part of the 100 chess problems published by Vicent involved modern chess and I think it fair to admit this as fact - one which, incidentally, will be needed as we approach our next series of considerations.

21. German Printers in Valencia

"In the egregious city of Valencia, and printed by the hands of Lope de Roca Alemany and Pere Trincher"
(COLOPHON OF VICENT'S BOOK)

It is a well established fact that most of the early printers in Spain and especially Valencia, the Mediterranean cultural centre of the 15th century, were Germans. An exhaustive study on this subject can be found in Konrad Haebler's *"Geschichte des spamschen Fruhdruckes"* (Leipzig 1923).

Lope de Roca "Alemany" had probably transformed his original name of Stein into a Spanish version (Roca = Stein). He started his printing activity in Murcia in 1487 but later settled down in Valencia, where, in May 1495, he appears together with Pere Trincher while printing the Vicent's chess book. Lope de Roca "Alemany" died in Valencia in 1498. Even among his German colleagues, he was considered a true master and authority in the art of printing The list of the dozens of books he printed in Valencia during those three years is shown in Table I.

Pere Trincher, a Catalonian of German ancestry, began his career as a book merchant in Barcelona. He went to Valencia, where, on March 18, 1481, he married Isabel Tenza. Documents refer to him *as "libretio cive ciutatis barcinone"*. As late as 1500 he was still in Valencia, but later returned to Barcelona where he was still active in October of 1513. In Valencia, his main activity was bookselling or "libreter", and not printing. The only book, he worked upon in collaboration with Lope de Roca, was Vicent's chess book. However, in Valencia, as a solo project Trincher printed another book on February 3,1498, entitled *"Obra allaor de San Cristofol"*.

As will be discussed later, this is important to our considerations. For the moment, however, let us conclude that both publishers of Vicent's book participated in a very concrete Valencian circle of literary activities.

In Valencia there were also many other German printers, working alone or in couples. For our purposes, one such duo is extremely important -that being Petrus Hagenbach and Leonard Hutz. This is due to the fact that afterwards, Hutz went to Salamanca where he printed Lucena's chess book. Haebler has established solid facts proving the close connection between Lope de Roca, who was the one who produced the original printing types and the dies used by Hagenbach and Hutz. Several documents also prove that a friendly personal relationship existed among them.

Both Hagenbach and Hutz appear printing together in 1491 in Valencia, where they produced the eleven books listed in Table II. Their last book in Valencia is dated April 13, 1496. Afterward, they parted company, Hagenbach voyaging to Toledo, where he remained active as a printer until

1505. Curiously enough, in Toledo during 1500 Hagenbach printed the first complete edition of Fernando de Rojas "La Celestina". This fact reinforces the connection between Lucena and Rojas, this time via his printers.

Hutz went to Salamanca, where he joined Lope Sanz and, together they printed Lucena's chess book. Hutz remained in Salamanca the whole year of 1496, and as we have seen, this is a necessary fact required to combine the date of Lucena's work with Prince John's death. Table III shows a list of books printed in Salamanca by Lope Sanz and Leonardus Hutz. Among these selections, it is important to note Rodrigo de Basurto's book, *"Praxis prognosticandi"*, was printed March 8, 1497, because this points towards a connection between Basurto and Lucena.

After 1496 Hutz went to Zaragoza, where in 1499 and 1500, he appears printing books with Jorge Cocci and Lupus Appentegger. Later, he returned to Valencia, where he continued printing in 1505 and 1506. These facts are relevant because they enable us to establish a solid link (i.e. Leonard Hutz), between Lucena and the literary chess circle of Valencia, where modern chess seems to have been born. Most probably, Hutz brought to Salamanca one or several copies of Vicent's book, printed by his master Lope de Roca, because a chess book with diagrams was something novel that was also posed unique technical complexities. This may explain the manner in which Lucena obtained Vicent's book and the material on modern chess contained in it. Diagrams were made as woodcuts, a technique in which Lope de Roca excelled, as proved by many of his books.

22. The Chess Circle of Valencia and the "Schachs d'Amor" Manuscript

"Anyone who can understand the game of chess,
can also understand the Apocalypse."
(FINAL VERSES OF SCACHS D'AMOR)

Towards the end of the 15th century, the first recorded game of modern chess appears in a Catalan manuscript. As one instance, a full description appears in Murray's *"A History of Chess"* (Oxford, 1913). The names of the players were Castellvi (white) and Vinyoles (black), with an arbiter named Fenollar. The moves were as follows:

1. Pe4, Pd5
2. ?ed, Qd5
3. Ktc3, Qd8
4. Bc4, Ktf6
5. Ktf3, Bg4
6. Ph3, Bf3
7. Qf3, Pe6
8. Qb7, Ktb7
9. Ktb5, Rc8
10. Kta7, Ktb6
11. Ktc8, Ktc8
12. Pd4, Ktd6
13. Bb5, Ktb5
14. Qb5, Ktd7
15. Pd5, ?ed
16. Be3, Bd6
17. Rdl, Qf6
18. Rd5, Qg6
19. Bf4, Bf4
20. Qd7, Kf8
21. Qd8 — mate

(***Editor's note:*** *I have verified certain peculiarities evident in the above notation that repeat on p.99 of Dr. Calvo's Perea version. For instance, Knghts were incorrectly identified as "N", no pieces were assigned to moves marked "ed" at stages 2 and 15, nor does the "P", for pawn appear at any stage. I have assumed that unidentified pieces were pawns and made corrections accordingly.)*

The game is described in the form of an allegory. Playing the red pieces, Mars tries to obtain the love of Venus, who plays the green pieces. Mercury acts as an arbiter. In turn, the three speak in Catalan verses that were probably improvised, as is possible to witness even today during literary contests held in Valencian towns. Towards the end of the 15th century,

Castellvi, Vinyoles and Fenollar were three well known members of an active Valencian literary circle, and their works are relevant to questions regarding the origins of modern chess. The title of the manuscript is:

> *"Hohrajntitulada scachs d'amor feta per don fr and de castellvi e nor cis vinyoles e mossen bernat fenollar sola nom de Ires planetes co es Marc Venus e Mercuri per conjunccio e jnfluencia dels quals fon jnventada"*

First, a few words about the game itself…

Shortly after the "*Scachs d'amor"* manuscript was discovered, in his Chess Manual, Emmanuel Lasker wrote that it showed a very primitive level of playing. This is questionable. White makes 21 moves, which sum to 21 strophes in verse. Black produces 20 strophes and the arbiter another 20 which altogether add up to 61. There are 3 introductory strophes (or stanzas) explaining the allegory, which add up to the sum of 64 strophes, or as many as there are squares on the chess board, which was obviously one purpose of the allegory. The authors stated it explicitly:

> *"... suma lo nomhre de les cases, que son sexanta quatre a les quals corresponen sexanta quatre cobles ..."*

In other words, the game was a fantasy invention and as a result, we cannot draw any realistic conclusions about the actual playing strength of Castellvi, Fenollar and Vinyoles when a literary purpose clearly dominates the course of such an event. The title of the manuscript also uses the word *"jnventada"*. (i.e. "invented")

Inventions, puzzles and literary contests appear frequently in the activities of these three Valencian poet chess players. Castellvi, the less important of the trio, appears only in minor poetic collaborations with the other two. One of these poems, published in the *"Cancionero General"* de Hemando del Castillo (Valencia, 1514), consists of a *"demanda adevinativa"*, a riddle or word puzzle aimed at obtaining the name of a given lady. This consists of seven letters. Amounting to four syllables, the first syllables describe *"one of the highest names resounding in the passion of Jesus Christ"* and the second two syllables, *"a great reward"*. Fenollar poses the question whereas Castellvi and Vinyoles found the answer: *"Elionor"*. *"Eli, lamma sabbactani"* is one of the cries of Jesus on the cross. *"Onor"* means honour. The mute letter *"H"* was used in a very erratic manner in those times.

Even though he is the first known winner of a modern chess game, the "caualler" Francesc de Castellvi, is relatively unknown. The most important fact is that he died on November 6, 1506, and this is, therefore, the ultimate limit for the dating of the manuscript, which bears no date. Undoubtedly, he was a member of a distinguished Valencian family. Its heraldic shield shows an argent castle on an azure field, with a bordure of pieces. I have found a

sermon of this period dedicated to a certain Isabel de Castellvi, *"a great virtuous lady"*, and another sermon written by Mossen Galuany de Castellvi. Both references appear in an incunabulum printed in Valencia in 1497 by Nicolaus Spindeler, where a sermon by Narcis Vinyoles is also included.

We know more about the abbot *"mossen Bernat Fenollar"*. He was born in Penaguila, near Alcoy, in the province of Alicante. He belonged to a notable Valencian family. The year of his birth is generally estimated as somewhere between 1435 and 1440, and he died in Valencia before 1527. As a priest, Fenollar, held a post in the cathedral of Valencia, and in 1510 was also active as a professor of mathematics in the University. The Catalonian title *"mossen"* was mainly given to clergymen, but not exclusively. As we shall see, Vinyoles also held this title in the later years of his life, even though he was a married layman.

The importance of the abbot Fenollar lies in his activities as literary patron and organizer of cultural contests in Valencia. He was the soul of the group, and probably appears in the chess game in the role of Mercury, the arbiter. A considerable amount of the literary production of his group was printed in Valencia, which is relevant to us because it shows his relationship with printers of chess books.

For instance, on the 11th of January 1497 Hagenbach and Hutz printed a book by Fenollar: *"Istoriade la Passion de N. S. Jesu Christ"* which proves a relationship with the future printer of Lucena's chess book. On October 25, 1497, Lope de Roca "Alemany", one of the printers of Vicent's book, printed "Lo proces de les olives", a collection of satirical poems featuring several contributions by Fenollar and Vinyoles, including also a wood cut portraying Vinyoles. We have already mentioned that on February 3,1498 Pere Trincher, the other printer of Vicent, published the incunabulum *"Obra a llaor de San Cristofol"*, or a contest of verses in honour of St. Christopher, also organized by Fenollar.

All this proves another important point: The modern game of chess appears in Valencia towards the end of the 15th century, and emerges from a well known humanistic circle of poets, literary patrons and printers of books. To complete this picture, let us now concentrate on the best known member of this circle, Narcis Vinyoles, a man whose importance.was most recently honoured in1978 when the University of Valencia published a full account of his life and literary works. (Antoni Ferrando Frances: *"Narcis Vinyoles i la seua obra"*. Valencia, 1978).

23. A Winning Politician and a Losing Chess Player

"Our very beloved Narcis Vinyoles"
(KING FERDINAND IN HIS LETTER)

"Lo magnifich mossen Narcis Vinyoles", as he was called in his late works, died in Valencia in 1517, at an age estimated between 70 and 75 years. He belonged to a family of lawyers and throughout his long life occupied high political posts in the city. As early as 1468, Vinyoles was appointed as member of the City Council, an annual post proposed through local parishes. The parish of St. Thomas nominated him in the years of 1468, 1476 and 1492, the parish of St. Andrew in 1469 and St. Mary's parish in 1491. The parishes of San Salvador, St. Bartolomew and St. John elected him for other posts.

During a political life that spanned more than 48 years, Narcis Vinyoles was twice appointed to the very important post of *"Justicia Civil"*, the supreme judge in civil cases. Additionally, in 1495, while describing Vinyoles in the most laudatory terms, a letter from King Ferdinand, recommends him for the position of *"Justicia Criminal"*. For several years Vinyoles was also the chief administrator of the *"Llotja"*, or New Market (1473, 1496, 1497 and 1516), a significant success in such an important mercantile city as Valencia happened to be during those times.

This is relevant to the dating of *the "Scachs d'amor"* manuscript, which seems to belong to the period of Vinyoles' early youth. Its primary importance comes to light because it is a manuscript and not a printed book,. Otherwise, the first printed book *"Obres e trobes en llaor de la Verge Maria"*, by Lambertus Palmart appears in Valencia around 1474, containing poems authored by Fenollar and Vinyoles.

Secondly, it is important because the literary play in which Vinyoles portrayed Venus, conveys an informal attitude inappropriate to the high politician he was to become during his later years. Thirdly, it is significant because the manuscript does not mention the title of *"mossen"* when referring to Vinyoles, whereas this title is, on the contrary, specifically given to Fenollar. Castellvi, at least, has a *"don"* preceding his name, but Vinyoles is referred to by his name alone. Vinyoles appears with the title *"lo magnifich"* in 1488, during a literary contest in honour of Saint Christopher. Summed together, these facts point towards a probable dating of the manuscript which can be set no later than the decade spanning 1470 to 1480. In any case, the *"Scachs d'amor"* manuscript is probably older than Vicent's printed chess book of 1495.

Vinyoles's political activity, and his good relationship with King Ferdinand, give us another possible link to Lucena. It seems likely that Vinyoles was known by the Lucena clan, if not as a chess player, then at least as a high ranking Valencian official. King Ferdinand, Lucena's chief employer, held Vinyoles in high esteem and as we shall comment upon later, Vinyoles was

connected with another well known group of conversos. Therefore, a relationship between the Lucenas and the Valencian group seems highly probable.

Also to be remembered is the fact that Lucena, the chess player, had travelled *"in Italy and France"* with his father before writing his chess book, and the port of Valencia offered the most reasonable departure route for travelers destined to Italy. More succinctly. Lucena unites chess and love in ways that clearly resemble the poem *"Scachs d 'amor"* and one of the chess openings he mentions is identical to one employed by Castellvi and Vinyoles. Altogether, a probable connection between Lucena and the chess circle of Valencia is reinforced by this information, and not merely limited to the well established link between the printer Leonard Hutz and Vicent's book.

Another aspect of Vinyoles' personality resides in his literary productions. The poem "Scachs d'amor" should be one of his earliest, if not the first. In addition, there appear a number of poems, some trivial, satirical or amatory, but others as well, that grow increasingly concerned with religious themes. This tendency is typified by literary contest selections honouring the Virgin Mary, St. Catherina of Siena, St. Christopher, etc. While he was a prominent politician, he wrote in a more grave manner, as becomes apparent in his printed sermon on Psalm 50, *"Miserere mei Deus"* or "Have pity on me Oh God", an appropriate meditation for the first known loser of a modern chess game.

In 1510, Vinyoles' last work delivers a Latin-to-Spanish translation of the *"Suplementum chronicarum"* by Jacobus of Bergamo and at the end of this paper we shall discuss the Italian connections suggested by Vinyoles' literary output.

Vinyoles enjoyed the favour of King Ferdinand because he was a reliable advocate of the royal politics of centralization. Once the Kingdom of Aragon merged with the Kingdom of Castile, King Ferdinad and Queen Isabella formally enjoined a single-minded effort to create a new unitarian state in which linguistic and other differences would become undesirable. Thus, when translating *the "Suplementum chromcarum"* into the Castilian, Vinyoles explicitly abjures from Catalan, which he considers *"a barbaric language"*. The result is that even today, Catalonian scholars regard Vinyoles as having betrayed his own cultural roots, a factor which explains why research into Vinyoles' works is relatively rare.

24. The Jewish and Italian Connections

"Brianda I believe, is the vein of such a fountain."
(NARCIS VINYOLES IN A RHYMED ANSWER TO FENOLLAR)

Part of Vinyoles' political success appears due to his close affiliation with an influential family of conversos, the Santangels. Luis de Santangel was the most important banker in the Kingdom of Aragon, including the Italian parts of this kingdom. To a great extent, King Ferdinand relied not only on his money but also his advice, and Santangel helped finance the Columbus' first expedition. Vinyoles was related to Santangel through his marriage to Brianda de Santangel, the niece of the great banker. In 1513, the couple lived in the parish of Saint Valery.

A marked difference of age between Vinyoles and Brianda shows on the historical record, an indication that their marriage seems to have been dictated by political convenience. Vinyoles died in 1517, but Brianda was still alive in 1543, when she wrote her testament stating that marriage with Vinyoles had born no children. This impression is reinforced by one of Vinyoles' love poems, wherein Fenollar poses a puzzle about the name of Brianda. Vinyoles' answer was:

Hoynt tal nom, hoy cant de sirena
Fentm adormir 1'esperit sensual
Brianda, crech, es de tal font la vena
Y aquet dins mi, ab voluntat serena
Viu y viura lo terme natural

Translation:

> ("When hearing such name, I hear a siren chant /which makes my sensual spirit sleep./ Brianda, I believe, is the vein of this fountain, which, inside me,/ with serene desire, lives and shall live out its natural term.")

Brianda was the daughter of Berenguer de Santangel, brother of Luis. The eldest brother of Brianda, also named Luis, was abbot at St. John of Fiore in Naples in 1511. This branch of the Santangel clan lived in Naples for several years, which further explains Vinyoles' Italian connections. As a matter of fact, Vinyoles spoke not only Catalan, Castillian and Latin, but also Italian, a language in which he was adequately fluent to write verses. Beginning with the *verse "Dilecta da Dio, obediente ancilla"*, one of his poems delivered to the 1474 competition honouring the Virgin Mary was written in "lingua Toscana". In this contest honouring the Immaculate Conception (I486), there appears another of Vinyoles' "Tuscan" poems beginning with the verse *"Non*

po senlire lo insensibili morto".

Thus, we can establish yet another relevant link connecting the Valencian chess circle with southern Italy. This may explain why the Vicent book, complete with modern chess problems, was known by Cardan and Salvio as late as 1604. It further explains Valencian influence which has, thus far, been completely neglected by scholars of Italian chess works as important as Vida's famous *"Scacchia Ludus"*, wherein Greek gods also appear playing chess in verses. In addition, the rapid spread of this new way of playing chess in Italy can be more easily explained through these links than through Lucena's book, which remains unmentioned by the later authors from Damiano onward.

To summarize the chronological chain of events, we can admit the Valencian literary circle of 1470-80 as its birthplace, with the *"Scachs d'amor"* manuscript being the first written expression of modern chess. The second link is Vicent's book, also known to the Valencia of 1495. Our third link is Lucena, (1496 or 1497) which, as we have seen, is closely connected with the other two. Among a series of articles appearing in several chess publications, I have previously described a manuscript of modern chess. Dated to 1500, this document is preserved in the library of El Escorial under the listing Ms. 0 III. The fourth link in the chain, this early manuscript, contains two chess written in Italian by another hand. A fifth link would be the Gottingen manuscript, attributed to Lucena and eventually destined for Bourgogne.

Following this series of early manuscripts, an explosion of works on modern chess takes place, especially in Italy (Damiano, Vida, the lost book of Cardan), in France (the Paris manuscript of Lucena) and in Spain (Ruy Lopez, the lost book of Ceron). *(Ed. note: See TABLE I)*

25. Valencia - The Intellectual Atmosphere and the Birth of Modern Chess

The new moves of the queen coexist with literary activities in which the feminine figure acquires a new preeminence, as was evident in literary contests honouring the Virgin. At the same time, a powerful queen, Isabella of Castile, was playing a prominent political role esteemed to be at least as important as that of her husband, Ferdinand of Aragon. The decision of changing the rules of movement of the old medieval queen into the new, powerful queen of modern chess, may be explicable in this cultural atmosphere, though this point is, and will remain, a matter of speculation.

When Lucena wrote his chess book. the popularity of the game had already passed its medieval zenith. The 15th century produced many chess works, but the flourishing period of expansion was over. Furthermore, noticeable fatigue sets into player attitudes toward older medieval chess in which the queen or *"alferza"* could only move to an diagonal square and the bishop only to a third diagonal square.

The games were long and boring and as a result, the main form of playing chess according to the old rules was betting with chess problems and not playing a game. Manuscripts in use during those times were mainly compilations of chess problems, the most popular being those entitled *"Bonus Socius"* and *"Civis Bononiae"*.

In order to revitalize the game, several attempts emerged spontaneously in many places, an evolutionary aspect of the game's continual reformation apparent before, during and after the introduction of chess in Europe by the Arabs. Thus, the chess of medieval times could be played with dice on boards of varying dimensions, or with new pieces, as shown in the Codex of Alfonso X of Castile. In fact, the "normal" or a normalized form of medieval chess also underwent isolated modifications, with the outcome being that rules of play altered from country to country.

As Murray mentions, there was no ultimate tribunal that could decide which set of rules would be definitive. In any case, the new form of playing chess adopted by the chess circle of Valencia changed the picture completely. As a direct consequence, the rapid movements of queen and bishop, altered the theory of opening play and made it far more crucial since, unlike the older game, it became possible to checkmate an opponent in just a few moves.

Working under older rules, Arab players were not particularly concerned about chess openings because their chessmen deployed slowly. When beginning each game, each player bore in mind a distinct order of battle or *"tabiya"* (classified with fancy names) which he intended to institute without caring too deeply about the opponent's initial moves. Under the old rules, chess battles started in the middle game. Aside from openings, modern chess modified all principles of attack and defense, because the new moves of queen and bishop produced a wider array of possibilities.

Likewise, previous end game theory was quite thoroughly shaken since pawns could promote to a powerful queen. Thus, a completely new game emerged that was well suited to the spirit of the late XV century – a time during which geographic discoveries were broadening mental horizons, and the possibility of printing books enabled speedy codification and mass distribution of accumulated information and experience. In keeping with these advances, a new role for women in society and politics appears as does a changing social attitude towards unitarian states wherein the king's unique entitlement to costly artillery becomes questionable, along with the political and military influence of feudal lords.

All these changes were reflected in the chess board,and the modern way of playing chess. Tailored to a new era, its increasingly democratized format expanded rapidly and was immediately accepted in the leading European countries. From that moment onward, the popularity of chess has expanded until the game and its history currently put forth an imposing international body of accumulated knowledge.

26. New and Old Rules - Medieval Manuscripts

After his dedication to Prince John, Lucena proceeds with the explanation of the new chess rules. The first one is:

> *"To teach those who ignore everything, and so my work will not be lacking a starting point."*

He adds that:

> *"By learning how every chess piece moves, the difference between the game we play now, which is called 'de la dama', and the old manner used before, will become apparent."*

Lucena refers to this "old manner" as *"Del viejo"*.

The rules begin with the initial setting up of chessmen. These positions had undergone no changes since remote Islamic times and remained as they are today with pawns occupying the second rank and a first rank consisting of rooks at the corners, knights and bishops following, and king and queen on the central squares.

During Lucena's time chessboards were checkered and the universal rule was to position a white square on the right corner of each player. *"Hay que tener casa blanca a mano derecha"*, states Lucena.

The rule was already known two centuries prior, and Alfonso's diagrams systematically follow it. The next rule is*: "White king in black square, and black king in white square"*. This rule is also ancient, and a manuscript of the 13th century expresses it as: *"Rex ater in albo. Servat regina colorem"*.

Lucena's trickeries begin even with these conceptual basics. For instance, he comments that if one player is accustomed to playing with black, when having white he should turn the board 90 degrees and he will than have his king on the left side.

Pawn moves are the same as in the earliest medieval works, although Lucena describes the "en passant" capture for the very first time: *"You can put your pawn a square ahead of the square of the opponent's pawn, who can take it or leave it"*.

When reaching the eighth rank, rules of pawn promotion automatically transformed the humble foot soldier into a queen, the most powerful piece. However, Lucena also had his own rules, and *"if you want to play in the manner I use"*, the promoted queen could play its first move simultaneously as a queen and a knight, *"due to the many things we owe to women"*. The

movement of the king also had its peculiarities, and in its first move could "jump" to a third square (from e1 to e3, c3,c1, g3 or g1) even if the intermediate square was occupied. The only condition was not to have received check before, and that the intermediate square was not dominated by enemy pieces. Although this rule disappeared, it becomes the precedent for “castling”. Otherwise, rooks and knights moved as they do today, and remain the only chess pieces that have not changed their mobility since early Islamic times. The novelty of newly empowering rules governing bishops and queen, are also described in detail by Lucena for the first time.

Other rules refer to the "bare king". Despite that it was considered an inferior form of triumph, because of this rule, capturing all opposing pieces signified an automatic victory. As a result, those who won at chess by means of a “bare king” obtained only half a wagered bet. Thus, Lucena indicates that if there is mate in the moment of capturing the last piece, the rule of "bare king" is nullified and the victory is by mate, which results in the winning player’s right to claim the whole bet.

Several of Lucena’s problems use this tactical presentation, whereas stalemate was considered another inferior form of victory worth only half the prize. Money imposed the need for exacting precision in many details:

> *”If your opponent gives you check, but he says nothing, and you move another piece, he can say ‘Come out from check’ only before he has touched his pieces. Otherwise, he could move his knight or other piece over your queen, or another valuable piece, say ‘Come out from check’ and afterwards, take your queen.”*

The traditional rule signified that, when touching a piece, a player was obliged to move it. Lucena stresses that it is mandatory, *”even if the game is without bets”*. Only one exception could be made and as in the current FIDE rules: If a touched piece cannot move because one discovers the action of an enemy piece against his own king, then the king has to move. Also current is the regulation stating that when a piece has touched a square, it does not need to be put in this particular square *”even if your opponent shouts…”*

The rule of *”pieza tocada, pieza jugada”* (piece touched, piece played) appears in the Catalan manuscript *”Scachs d’amor”* (see chapter five), and is explained in the first stanza which shows Abbot Fenollar, acting as Mercury, the arbiter. We reproduce these Catalan verses here chiefly because of their historical interest:

"La ley que deu primer a, asser admesa,
a, as, en tal joch, que la pessa tocada
amb fermetat, sens debat ni contesa
per cascala, cert, hagia d'a, asser jugada.

Cau en rao: car pensa, namorada
havent elet, liberta ni sospesa
restar no deu, mes del tot subjugada
E per ao s diu: "Ardiment y follia
en cascun fet, puys fet es, fet se sia"

Translation:

> ("The law which first has to be admitted/ is, in this game, that the touched piece/ with firmness, without debate or arguing/ by everyone, for certain, has to be moved.
>
> And it is reasonable: because the woman in love thinks/ once she has chosen, neither free nor suspended/ should remain, but wholly submitted
>
> Therefore, it is said: "Ardour and madness/ in any fact, since what is done must be done")

Nowadays, a player who touches a piece, not to move it, but to center it properly in its square, will say : *"j'adoube"*, a French term employed by players of every nationality.

Although Lucena does not mention it, during his day this rule was already implemented. I discovered this by chance, for instead of "J'adoube", at the end of the 15th century Spanish players said *"Enderezote"*, which means *"I set you straight"*. The story behind this is rather amusing since it refers to King Ferdinand's fondness for chess and the sarcasm of the royal chronicler, the converso Hernando de Pulgar.

Pulgar used to argue with the king, who, in turn, would accuse Pulgar of ascribing solely to Queen Isabella certain acts that were performed by the two. Immediately afterwards, Pulgar wrote in his chronicle of the Queen's labour: *"Parieron sus magestades"*. *("The birth was due to both majesties."*).

This precedent must be borne in mind in order to understand the following sarcasm.

As it so happened, King Ferdinand was in a garden examining a fig tree bearing fruit that was mostly spoiled. He ordered several courtesans to take a fig, under the condition that they must eat it. While Ferdinand was enjoying the joke of watching their reactions, Pulgar enters, is told about the game's condition and takes a fig. Realizing immediately that it was sour, he left it uneaten saying *"Enderezote"*, a sarcastic remark referring to what would have been a familiar habit of the chess playing King Ferdinand. (Floresta General. Ed. Sociedad de Bibliofilos Madnlenos. Madrid 1911-1912).

Compiling chess problems was a professional requirement for any medieval gambler and, with the exception of Alfonso's codex, manuscripts in use were copied from hand to hand to serve the needs of an interested society of

initiated chess players. Two of these manuscript compilations were widely circulated in Europe: the "Bonus Socius" and the "Civis Bononiae". We summarize here descriptions provided by Murray (A History of Chess: Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1913).

The *"Bonus Socius"* or *"Good Companion"*, referred to from now on as BS, composes a collection of 194 chess problems gathered during the second half of the 13th century. Today, there are still five copies left in libraries of different countries. Supposedly, the anonymous author of the BS collection was a member of a University located in Lombardy, because the term *"socius"* was used to distinguish professors from students. The expansion area of BS and related manuscripts was basically France. Still more important is the second collection, the "Civis Bononiae" or "Citizen of Bologna", referred to from now on as CB.

According to the ten manuscripts currently preserved, its dating cannot be set at much before 1450. CB contains 288 chess problems, including practically all the BS problems. Nevertheless, some 90 problems come from other sources. For many centuries the author remained unknown. His only personal statements reveal that he was a citizen of Bologna and also contain a curiously hidden clue about his name, which he said could be obtained by selecting certain syllables of a Latin poem. His code was broken in 1950 by the Italian professor Bruno Bassi *("II labirinto"*. Rome, August 21, 1950). According to this interpretation, which seems very solid, the author was the grammarian Buoncompagno da Signa. CB, a late blooming fruit of chess, was not as widely distributed as BS, and circulated mainly in Italy. See also Chicco's *"Stona degli scacchi in Italia"*. Marsilio Editon, Venice 1990.

CB is, by far, the most important source of Lucena's medieval problems and two thirds of them come from the CB documents. When a given problem is common to BS and CB, a doubt might arise regarding the original source although, it is most probable that Lucena used only a CB copy. The words chosen by Lucena are an exact translation from the Latin text of CB and not from the more extensive text of BS. A good example is problem 53 (LUC 53). When a given chess position differs slightly in CB and BS, Lucena always uses the former. Moreover, Lucena gives several problems occurring only in CB and not in BS.

There is, however, a single exception. The problem 111 (LUC 111) comes from a particular BS copy, listed as 10286 in the National Library of Paris. It belonged to Charles, Duke of Orleans, who supposedly placed his own handwritten annotations into the margin. Problem 175 of this BS has no equal in any other work and Lucena either took it from here, or more likely, from some unknown source that also contained it.

The particular CB copy used by Lucena can be traced with acceptable probability. There is a CB manuscript in the National Library of Florence (codex XIX. 7. 37), dating back to the second half of the 15th century, where, in addition to the CB problems, there appears another small compilation of 27 new problems. These are later insertions that bear the following citation: *"Libro de belli partiti al giuoco de scacchi composto par un valenthuomo Spagnolo"*,

which means that an unknown Spaniard added it. Since several of these new problems are incorporated into Lucena's work, we will refer to this particular manuscript as CBF. This signifies that this source, a copy, or a common precedent, was the one Lucena held in mind or perhaps in his hands. Lucena used it with particular predilection, because several of his untraced problems are variations upon themes from CBF.

Another Latin manuscript from Florence is that which Von der Lasa called *"Piccolo"*, thus named due to its diminutive size in comparison to other medieval works (Codex XIX. II. 87). It contains 172 chess problems, 131 of which cannot be found either in the BS or the CB. From this source, problem number 20 (referred to as PIC 20) appears in Lucena with the number 12 (LUC 12). Lucena had not necessarily seen the Piccolo, and he could have taken this single problem from any other source, including his own personal experience in gambling sessions.

In the Casanatense Library of Rome, manuscript number 791 (referred to as CAS) contains a collection of 158 chess problems. There are five positions common with Lucena (LUC 78, LUC 110, LUC 139, LUC 140 and LUC 145), but it is not clear who took from whom. The CAS manuscript was copied in 1511 by a certain Joanes Cachi, from Terni in Umbra, and during those years Lucena's book was already in circulation. Both Lucena and Cachi could have used one common previous source.

Finally, there exists a manuscript of Italian origin in the British Museum, under the listing AD 9351. This contains a very limited part of CB (only 71 chess problems). However, in this collection there appears the position of LUC 80, which is completely original as the solution proves. Probably, both Lucena and AD 9351 took this problem from a common, unknown source. Lucena stated that he intended to compile *"the best chess problems I have seen played in Rome, Italy and France, and the ones I have obtained by myself."* (See Table IV Correspondence Between the Problems in Lucena and C.B.)

27. The Inertia of Historians

An important clarifying detail explains that the manuscript *"Scachs d'Amor"* was discovered in 1905, a relatively late date. It was originally located and is presently kept in the Real Chapel of the Palau legacy of the Counts of Sobradiel. We owe its recovery to P. Ignasi Casanovas *("Codexs of l'Arxiu of the Palau."* Magazine of Catalan Bibliography, I SAW, 1905, pp 32-34. The chess text appears in folios l-8a and 9b-13.). In total, these documents consist of several written folios that bear no special markings and were covered with parchment.

The two main pillars supporting the history of chess from that time, von der Linde and von der Lasa, had died a few years prior and their loss probably deprived the Catalan text its ability to achieve the more immediate resonances apparent to scholars living during their initial time of publication and circulation. Even if these scholars could not know *"Scachs d'amor"*, they had studied and set down its basics according to other works similar to the lost incunabulum of Vicent and Lucena's treatise. With regard to a general understanding of this historical period of chess, such works provide an accurate outline for today's readers.

The history of the historians is, in itself, not superfluous. Therefore, it is worthwhile to comment on its personalities. Most especially, Antonius von der Linde (1833-97) became the bibliographical authority of greatest prestige. His catalog, *Erste Jahrtausend der Schachliteratur (850-1880) — "The First 1000 Years of Chess Literature"*, has been reissued in facsimile by Caissa Limited Editions. Yorklin OF. 1979. Von der Linde's basic work, and one frequently referenced, *"Geschichte und Literatur Schachspiels"* Berlin 1874, was recently reissued by Olms, Zurich, 1981. He completed it along with the *"Quellenstudien zur Geschichte Schachspiels"* (Leipzig 1881), also a recent reissue (Osnabruck 1968). The foreword of the *"Geschichte"* contains Christiaan M. Bijl's biographical study on von der Linde, whose basic data is summarized next.

Born in Holland, he studied theology, philosophy and history, obtaining his doctorate in 1862. His first chess writings appear in a publication dated 1865 in Nijmegen of Of Schaakpartijen Gioachino, and was later translated into Greek After ten years, due to political problems in his country and a financial crash, he accepted a librarian's position in the Royal Bookstore of Wiesbaden, from which he retired in 1895, only to die two years later. Although somewhat chaotic, his work displays incredible learning and meticulousness. Von der Lasa studied theology in Holland, learned Sanskrit in Germany, and also became a preacher and political personality. He divorced from two marriages, published works in several languages and despite impoverishment, left behind a valuable collection of books that is largely conserved in the Royal Library of The Hague. According to Bijl, he didn't enjoy good fortune in human relationships.

Though often expressed in a language critical of popular authorities, his hypercritical spirit defines him as an important independent thinker who continues to exercise influence though posterity. In the summer of 1997, on the centennial of his death, an assembly of the "Group Konigstein" (IGK) at Wiesbaden held a commemorative meeting in his honour. Among numerous reports, Egbert Meissenburg's exhaustive work *"Wo viel Schatten ist, ist auch viel Licht."* Seevetal. 1997, offers a distinguished tribute to von der Lasa's memory.

Among the major historians of chess, it is necessary to include Tassilo von Heydebrand von der Lasa (1818-1899) who went onto become one of the most stellar representatives among a brilliant constellation of Berlin historians and bibliographers. His work provides a basic foundation of research attained during the 19th century. Even today, von der Lasa's work remains impressive in terms of its conciseness and precise interpretive craftsmanship.

A good portion of von der Lasa's achievement is explained in his biography. After carrying out law studies, he entered the German diplomatic body, practicing legations associated with Vienna. Estocolmo, Frankfurt am Main, Brussels and The Hague. In 1858 he accepted an ambassadorial position in Rio de Janeiro, where he remained for two years. There, he found one of the scarce copies of an incunabulum Lucena had analyzed that had been brought to America due to the vicissitudes of history. Destined next to Weimar, in1865 and Copenhagen in 1878, in 1880 he finally went into retirement at Stuttgart, bearing the title *of "Excellency"*. Afterwards, he devoted his attention to the coordination of an enormous amount of material dealing with the history of chess that he had acquired during his trips and also to the completion of a library consisting of 2,250 volumes. The result became the classic work: *Zur Geschichte und Literatur Schachspiels* Leipzig 1897.

Von der Lasa sustained the conviction that modern chess originated in Spain during the later part of the XV century. His last years were marked by an obsessive quest for the lost Valencian incunabulum of Vicent (1495) and in depth analysis of the Salmanican work of Lucena (1497) Tassilo von der Lasa.*"Das Werk des Lucena von 1498"*. Schachzeitung. Berlin .13 Jg. 1858, 443-445, 481-498. 14 Jg, 1859, 9-12, 41-45, 71-74, 104-102, 224-*226. "Berlmer Schachennnerungen. Nebst den Spielen des Greco un Lucena vom Herausgeber des von Biguerschen Handbuches"*. Leipzig Veit. 1859.

The hand written "*Scachs d'Amor"* began to be known thanks to the work of one of the rare Spanish historians and chess bibliophiles, Jose Paluzie (1860-1938). Aware of the relative indifference to these topics in his own Spanish environment, he made their first publication available in France: A manuscript written in Catalan exists in l'Archive du Palau a Barcelone The Strategie Has. Paris, April 4, 1912. pp. 121-123. Soon after, a short, half page revision was published in *"Deutsches Wochenschach"*, n°21, May 26, 1912 p. 189.

However, not even Paluzie, a solid authority on the historical atmosphere surrounding the chess of his day, dared to emphasize the enormous

significance his discovery posed towards questions regarding the origins of modern chess. His accomplishment did, however, provide important material which can be found in his *"Manual of Chess"* (J.Paluzie. 6 vol. Barcelona 1912. Reissue 1923-31, 1928, 1930-31, 1943. 1947-58) wherein a primary outline for a Spanish bibliography on chess makes mention of our manuscript on the first page.

Coinciding with these efforts, he is credited with producing the first entire edition of Ramon Miquel i Plane - *Escachs d'Amor, poetic meditation of the 15th century in Bibliofilia. Recull d''estudis, observacions, comentaris i noticies sobre llibres*, which surveys questions regarding Catalan linguistics and literature in particular in Volume One. Barcelona 1911-1914. pp. 413-440. A subsequent study in Catalan is that of Jose Ribelles *Comin Scachs d'amor, feta per Don Franci of Castellui, Narcis Vinyoles and Mossen Fenollar* in a Bibliography of the Valencian language, Madrid 1915, pp 275 - 297.

Categorical mention focuses mainly upon literary inclinations and again fails to emphasize the enormous significance these insights contain regarding the history of modern chess and its association with Lucena's manuscript. Similar implications appear in Jordi Rubio Balaguer (*History of Catalan Literature*, 1948) and in the chapter *"Bernat Fenollar i els seus amics"* of Martin of Riquer *(History of the Catalan Literature*. Vol. IV. Ariel. Barcelona 1980. Pp. 181-224) whereas, the most recent edition of Scachs d'amor is that of Salvador Juanpere i Aguilo. Figueras 1992. His work has the merit of referencing all individual initiatives that flow into the isolated historical undertaking attempted in this essay on Lucena.

The critical inadequacy of prior historians becomes palpable in their incomplete evaluation of the significance of the Scachs d'amor manuscript. Connected to other links such as the lost incunabular of Vicent (Valencia 1495) and Lucena's 1497 Salmantine writings that are, in turn, closely related to the Valencian circle of chess players, it is possible to establish a solid chain of convincing facts that, starting with of the aforementioned Valencian group, satisfactorily explain the Valencian birth of modern chess as it occurred towards the end of the 15th century, as well as its diffusion to other geographical areas, most especially Italy.

All texts and pertinent bibliography are detailed in my previously mentioned book, *"Lucena, la evasion en Aljedre del Converso Calisto"* (i.e. "Lucena, an escape into chess by the convert Calisto.") Perea Ediciones, Toboso, 1997.

28. Lucena - A Mystery after 500 Years

by M.C. Romeo
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Lucena was one of Ricardo Calvo's favourite chess celebrities, and he devoted great interest and effort to researching his alleged life and work from the day when he found a facsimile copy dated 1953. As he said, he read it many times.

Based on the testimony of Lucena himself, the conclusions he reached concerning the author of this book are different from the latest information found by my good friend Grovert Westerveld (a conscientious researcher who continues seeking definitive documentary proof of the history of chess and of checkers, his speciality). Dr. Westerfeld remits the author of the first known book on modern chess to the realm of mystery.

Was he the son of the protonotary of Fernando of Aragon, as he claims repeatedly in his book? According to Westerfeld, in the documents examined in the Royal Chancellery in Valladolid, Spain there is no record of any son recognised in that man's will and testament drawn up in 1501, wherein he names his nephew Juan Ramirez de Lucena, his brother's son, as his exclusive heir. Did he use the name Lucena to ensure the distribution of his work? Much has been said and more remains to be said. Nonetheless, until there is more evidence in favour of or against the filial connections of the author of the book that made him famous, we have to continue granting him the benefit of the doubt.

Two years after the appearance of the now-lost incunabulum of Vicent, the oldest book of modern chess still in existence was published by a converted Aragonese Jew who called himself Lucena. This book was printed in Salamanca on the press of booksellers Hutz and Sanz in 1496, or more probably 1497, bearing the following title:

"Repeticion de amores y arte de acedrex"

The 124 sheets of the book (two of them blank) in 8vo width - resembling in size a small quarto - (according to Antonius van der Linde) constitute both a treasure for bibliophiles and, in many aspects, a mystery for historians.

The Lucena book is an incunabulum since it was published before the year 1500. The typography is in 82 G Gothic letters, very regular and produced by a German printer named Leonard Hutz who had recently moved to Salamanca from Valencia, where he had been working with those same types. This permits, on the one hand, a more precise dating of the work, and on the other, establishes an important connection with the Valencia group which introduced the printing press there, as well as with the social setting in which the new chess came into being with the text of *Scachs d'amor*, (written by this same circle) and also with the appearance,within the same network of connections of the book by Vicent, printed by German publishers with close professional and friendly relations with Hutz.

Not a great deal is known about the author Lucena, whose personality remains to a large degree a mystery. Not even his complete name is entirely free of doubt and dispute. In his prologue to the 1953 facsimile edition, Cossio calls him Luis Ramirez de Lucena, based on the authority of Gallardo and on the assertion that *"such a prestigious scholar and bibliophile must have had his reasons for calling him with that name."*

The source for this name seems to go back to Ticknor, who in his *"History of Spanish Literature"* (London 1863, vol. I, p. 380), indicates that the chess author was the son of the Ambassador Don Juan Ramirez de Lucena, although other inexactitudes as to the date of the edition and the number of pages lead us to suppose that Ticknor based his comments on other equally dubious references by authors who had never actually had the book in their hands (Van der Linde, *Geschichte* I, p. 328).

The work of Lucena bears no date but the chess section is *"Intitulada al serenisimo y muy sclarecido don Johan el tercero, principe de las Spanas"*, who was the only male child of Isabel and Fernando the Catholic, born in 1478 and deceased the 4th of October, 1497, for which reason this would logically be the final date for its publication.

In the list of books printed in Salamanca by Leonard Hutz and Lope Sanz found in *"Historia de la Imprenta Hispana"* (E. Nacional, 1982), books between 1496 and 1497 are all dated except for the last one, which is precisely the Lucena book. Although it does not bear a date, it had to be printed between the work of Rodrigo de Basurto, (the new Professor of Astrology who achieved some measure of fame for having announced the impending death of Prince Don Juan), and the latter's death.

The dedication to the Heir to the Throne, who arrived in Salamanca to take possession of his matrimonial dowry — the city and its university — sounds very much like a rather opportunistic stroke that the course of events twisted

tragically. The *"Repeticiun de amores"* is by its character a student work of celebrations at the end of the school course, but the formally serious treatise on chess following it had to be quickly included in the summer months in order to take advantage of the occasion, which would explain the numerous irregularities it contains.

Lucena makes no mention of his printers or printers, and only thanks to typographical research since the early 20th century is it now known that there were two, Lope Sanz and Leonard Hutz; the latter, because of his greater technical experience, must have been the typographer responsible for the firm newly founded in Salamanca. Along with various other facts, typographic research also indicates that Lucena based his work on the plagiary of the 1495 Vicent book in Valencia, since a work with diagrams was something typographically revolutionary and Hutz must have brought it personally from Valencia as a novelty in the art of printing, all the more so if the types themselves had been produced at his own press in Valencia.

Hutz wound up moving late in 1497 for unknown reasons from Salamanca to Zaragoza, and subsequently returned to Valencia where he continued his printing activities. Thus, Hutz's transmission role decisively reinforces the mutual connections between Lucena and the literary chess circle of Valencia.

In the Lucena book the diagrams are excellent. Hutz the printer was familiar with the typographic problem of the chess master and found the solution by lightly outlining in white the black chess piece placed against a black square.

The contents of Lucena's book are also strange since they begin, as we have seen, with a "Repetition" or academic dissertation, a university lesson on a theme of love that has nothing to do with chess, although the part devoted to this game is clearly differentiated and by far the most voluminous typographically.

It is like a little mosaic made up of many different pieces. To analyse them, we come up against the initial obstacle which only a few researchers have paid attention to.

The great difference in subject matter leads chess historians and specialists in literature to concentrate, in each case, only on their respective subjects, passing over the other part. In his *work "Origins of the Novel"*, Menendez y Pelayo (1905. Red. Santander 1943. II, p. 55) and, after him, Hurtado and Palencia, classified the "Repetition" as a simple "sentimental tale" and "immature schoolboy essay"

The "Repetition" is aimed in its final part towards another popular and common theme in that period which has nothing to do with love: the relative superiority of military science over letters and philosophy. In this debate, Lucena takes the side of the military argument and it is here that he again mentions his father, providing the following information:

"Not even for this, insofar as I am under obligation to the legal counsels, although my father the protonotary be one of them, I will not cease to confess the truth."

The second and most voluminous part of the book, dedicated to chess, bears the following enormously pompous title, but in which he once more explicitly gives the name and position of his father:

"Brief art and most necessary introduction to knowing how to play chess, with one hundred and fifty game moves; dedicated to the most serene and illustrious Don Johan the Third, Prince of the Spains. By Lucena, son of the most wise doctor and reverend protonotario Don Johan Ramirez de Lucena, ambassador and member of the Council of our lords the King and Queen, studying in the distinguished Studium of the most noble city of Salamanca."

Lucena is so sure of being identified as a highly reputed chess player that he does not bother to give his full name, but does give that of his father, a high dignitary at Court, ambassador, Council member and Protonotario, which is another credential in favour of the student-chessman of Salamanca.

The chess part, with its 150 wood print diagrams, is far and away the most voluminous section and is dedicated to the prince, a youth of 19 years, of whom Lucena says at the end of his dedication:

"After reverently kissing the hands of the Crown Prince, begging the Supreme Being, to whom the voices of the people that He conserve him and grant a long life, that He lavish prosperity to the State with glory and everlasting fame. Amen"

There are no explicit references to chess as part of the prince's curriculum but it is well known that at the royal court chess enjoyed great prestige. Lucena was surely well informed by his father of this characteristic of the Spanish Royal Court, which allowed him to speculate with his intentions. In his dedication student Lucena praises the prince to an exaggerated degree, calling Don Juan's attention to his own chess proficiency as though he were trying to become a sort of chess mentor at the court. That was really not a wild idea, since in those days a printed book was an attractive novelty that would not have gone unnoticed.

Essentially, Lucena went to great lengths to bring out the chess book on the opportune occasion of the prince's visit to Salamanca. This required a huge effort in the short period of time available between the Repetition at the end of the school course and the conclusion of the Chess Treatise. For this he would have had to appropriate material from the Vicent book, Lucena played his card and destiny proved to be adverse, since mention of the

prince grafted onto the dedication turned out to be decisive for the future of Lucena's work.

Only this can explain the book's lack of circulation, the virtual ignorance concerning it almost all over Italy (except for the manuscript copy we have mentioned in Sienna), the lack of repercussion across the rest of Europe and the absence of translations or reprints. The dedication to Prince Juan dragged the book to an early grave. Lucena seldom speaks about himself and always in an indirect way. In his dedication to the prince, he describes himself as a student from outside Salamanca and, above all, the son of *"the most wise and reverend protonotary Don Johan Ramirez de Lucena, ambassador and member of the Council of our lords the King and Queen."*. His father, wise, learned, holder of high political posts, royal notary and ambassador, is his best calling card. Lucena could even omit his first name with the certainty of not being mistaken for any of the other thousands of students in Salamanca. It is in this society of guile and chicanery, of surpassing vitality, rocked by "merry youth and bachelorhood" surrounding our author and his comrades that the work of Lucena must be situated. This background setting is what we must keep in mind in order to correctly interpret certain aspects of his text and the circumstances in which it was written.

The advice given by Lucena in his chess treatise discloses the concern for details typical of true professionals. In the text he indicates some tricks quite removed from what is considered fair play:

> *"become familiar with the same board and chess pieces, avoid space disorientation by placing the king on whichever side you are accustomed to, if need be by turning the board around without your adversary noticing it."*

— which sounds more common to a chess shark than an amateur player. Other betting game tricks include slightly modifying the best known positions so that the problem does not fulfil what was announced, and the side one is defending becomes the winner. For this reason, Lucena adds some prudent recommendations to "avoid cries" or shouts of fury from the adversary.

Regarding the 150 chess moves included in the book, Ricardo Calvo had this to say.

> "In a chess tournament in El Algarve in November 1975, in which Yuri Averbach and I played and had a very friendly relationship, we had an opportunity to talk at length. Our subject was the origin of modern chess. I spoke especially of my incipient investigation into Lucena and the 1953 facsimile copy of his book which I had a copy of and had read several times. Averbach advised me*: 'Don't delve too much into Lucena and his 150 chess problems, but instead look into Vicent and his 100 lost chess problems, because I strongly suspect that Lucena drew his material in large measure from the lost Valencia incunabulum.'* Ten years later,

Averbach, The Great Master, "in every sense", wound up publishing an extraordinarily convincing interpretive theory in a Russian magazine called *"Science and Life"* (1985, pp. 137-141).

I found to begin with that the initial suspicion of the plagiary of Vicent by Lucena was much older. It appeared in "Letters on Chess" (London 1848) by W. Lewis, which said literally: *"It is very probable that Lucena copied many of his [problems] from Vicent's work, the rarest of all the printed books on Chess, and probably the first Chess that was ever printed. I have not been so fortunate as to meet with a copy, nor do I know anyone who has."* (Letter II, pp. 7-8).

This theory increasingly fascinated me as I began coming across data that reinforced it. In the first place, if someone appropriates a book containing 100 chess problems, he ought to add something else, and that is why Lucena felt obliged to present his work *as "a completed rosary"* - a compilation of 150 game moves. In the other medieval compilations of problems no indication was made of the number, either in the title or on the cover.

How many problems and what kind of problem were plagiarized by Lucena? Averbach undertook these aspects in his articles through an exhaustive comparison of diagrams, and came to the following conclusions:

1) Lucena expropriated 96 problems from Vicent (73 "of the queen" and 23 "of the old-fashioned type";

2) Lucena had to add 54 "old-fashioned" problems (18-67, 101-102 and 145-146) and

3) the Vicent book therefore had 75 problems of the new chess, 23 of the old chess and two undefined ones.

There is currently a debate, apparently on the rise, regarding whether Lucena is the author of the modern chess problems. Averbach, in the aforementioned work, supports the idea that Lucena used the contents of the 1495 Vicent incunabulum for the material on modern chess.

What Lucena says literally is:

"I attempt to write all the best moves that I have seen players make in Rome and all over Italy, and in France and Spain, and that I myself have been able to achieve."

From these remarks one clearly concludes that Lucena does not intend in the least to pass himself off as the author of the problems, which for the most part he "saw players make". Some of them he "was able to achieve himself".

On the contrary, the Repetition of loves is *"composed by Lucena"*, and the peroration of Villoslada is directed "in praise and glory to he who dictated the present work."

If Lucena himself had composed one of the endings, very obviously he would not have hesitated to say so. When he likes a position, for example, he says it is very subtle but never claims it as being his own, which he certainly would have done had he been able to prove it. This point, though negative, is quite weighty. The whole work was printed and published in order to extol Lucena's merits. Why would he have hidden inventions of chess subtleties if they were his own?

Lucena never says that he is the author or composer of a single one of the 150 chess problems, which seems strange in a work aimed at exalting his chess merits, above all before Prince Juan, the Spanish Crown Prince to whom it was dedicated. There is an indirect clue based on an unwritten code of gamblers and text plagiarists. The genuine author of a book would proudly give his own full name, and data such as his profession, place of birth and residence. On the other hand, the compiler of a work that is not his own would hide behind pseudonyms, such as Bonus Socius and Civis Bononiae, at times with coded acrostic verses, or simply offering ambiguities as to the authorship like the laconic "Lucena".

Lucena undoubtedly consulted such a source, from which he took a good part of his chess cases. The source was a Florentine manuscript by Civis Bononiae. Lucena presented 150 chess problems which he divided into 75 moves "of the queen" or new chess, and 75 "of the old school" or Arabic-medieval chess. This classification also affords many debatable aspects. The majority of the problems of the "old chess" are identifiably from the two great European compilations, *"Bonus Socius"* and *"Civis Bononiae"*.

The habits and style of a gambler or cheater consist in the way he behaves and in his bits of advice. He appreciates sly or deceitful solutions, such as the one given for problem 103, which can confuse the adversary. Moreover, he is decidedly inclined to resort to the most shameful tricks in order to win a bet, as is demonstrated in one of his problems and the revealing commentary accompanying it. The case in question shows that by following this advice Lucena won the bet whether with white pieces or black ones, the bet being the end game in that milieu of game sharks, students and unsavoury characters. The game — number 72 of Bonus Socius, and number 47 of Civis Bononiae, was famous in the Middle Ages.

As matters of curiosity for those interested in chess playing, of all the openings Lucena passes on to us not one bears his own name, nor are the *"Scandinavian Defence"* or the *"Sachs diamon"* called *"Valencian Opening"*.

Lucena composed the chess treatise in great haste and as an appendix to the text of his "Repeticion de amores". Prince Juan, to whom it was dedicated,

had just come into the limelight in April of 1497 with his lavish wedding. The end of the academic course in Salamanca, where the parody of the Repetition probably took place, would have been in May or June. Upon seeing the Vicent incunabulum in the possession of the printer Hutz, or on learning from him of the printing in Valencia of the Vicent treatise, Lucena appropriated it and added his own data about chess, all of which would have taken place during the summer months before the prince's death in October.

It has been seen that Lucena was not from Salamanca, since that is what he says; he may have come from somewhere in the Kingdom of Aragon, as his father declared that his family is subject to the laws of that realm. He did so in the famous letter of complaint to the king:

> *"For a good service, a bad reward. That is the law of Aragon."*

Quite probably, the ancestral home of the Lucenas was in the region of Soria close to Medinaceli and Almazan. In 1503, Lucena was in Saragossa with his father and at least one brother, named Jeronimo.

In order to estimate his date of birth we must keep in mind that the book was published in 1497, when Lucena was still a student. Lucena gives the impression of someone who had already been to Italy and France, that he is so well known in the University of Salamanca that he can skip mention of his given name among 7,000 other students there, that he is experienced in amorous affairs, is acquainted both a procuress and prostitutes whom he says he no longer pursues. He has been in Salamanca long enough to have accumulated references about his lady love, of whom he says:

> *"for which reason, having often heard praise for this work of mine from that lady whom I loved, and seeing that some upon hearing that felt envy: and others pain - and even though I had no knowledge other than having heard praise by the most perfect woman in the world."*

Lucena did not have the degree or title of "Bachiller" since, if he had been entitled to use it, he would surely have mentioned it in a work clearly aimed at exalting his own merits. On the other hand he does refer to the degree of his friend and carousal mate, the Bachiller Villoslada. What is significant here is that, in his laudatory peroration, the latter includes himself in Lucena's age group.

Lucena's lack of academic degree could be due to prior travels to France and Italy (presumably accompanying his father on his diplomatic missions), or perhaps to his failing courses because of time he dedicated to chess. At least this is what floats in the air in an indirect lamentation by Lucena, when he advises readers of his treatise:

> *"...and anyone who is a student should believe me because I know what this*

is, that if he wants to take advantage of his talent and memory, he should not spend much time playing so that the time lost therein be minor and no cause for grief: since otherwise it could well alter his talent and upset his memory."

Lucena had the excuse and alibi of his special social status as the son of a high Court dignitary and privileged student at the University of Salamanca. But his behaviour is that of a gambler. Thanks to his Repetition we know about his friendship with pimps, of his night-time carousing with his colleagues (Quirus, the Bachiller Villoslada, readers of his Repetition), of his relations with "women of ill-repute" and his advice in the very first rule about taking one's chess opponent off-guard in conditions of inferiority, with details that show the attention of a real professional to the ambience surrounding a chess bet.

The following biographical clue appeared in Saragossa around Christmastime of 1503, with his father and at the least one brother, Jeronimo. Following this date, proofs are far weaker. There is a chess game supposedly played in Huesca in 1515 between Lucena and a Father Quintana, published in *"La Nueva Espana"*, a daily newspaper of that city, on 14 March, 1959. The journalist makes a vague allusion to *"a document from a private collection"* that is difficult to follow up without more accurate details. After the year 1515, traces seem to fade between France and Bologna, as though our chess player had emigrated from Spain, and it is precisely in Bologna where two subsequent chess works appear.

Lucena's passion for chess is beyond all doubt, not only because of his 1497 book. It is not known whether it was before or after that he wrote the three chess manuscripts attributed to him today. With little or no doubt, the so-called Gottingen manuscript, the Paris-Place manuscript that bears his signature with rubric, and the manuscript of Paris f.allemand 107 which corresponds in content to the previous ones carry the designation of Lucena as author. The three texts form a rather consistent chain: Salamanca 1496-97, then Bologna around 1500 and finally any zone of France between 1530 and 1550.

Whether early or later, altogether the manuscript's printed matter portrays Lucena for us as one of the many itinerant players and professionals of the Middle Ages wandering all over Europe, driven by their chess passion.

In 1922 the French bibliophile Victor Place published in the magazine *"L'Estrategie"* the discovery of a chess manuscript. The enormous importance of the discovery hinged on the fact that it bore Lucena's signature ("Luzena" in black ink, with an initial rubric in red). The 84 pages contain 28 chess problems and an analysis of 20 openings. This material entails a more technically evolved compilation than that of the Salamanca text, which it completes, perfects and follows in the same order.

The Paris manuscript, as it is known, is written in a mixture of old French and Provencial Catalonian and dates approximately to 1530-1550. It was sold

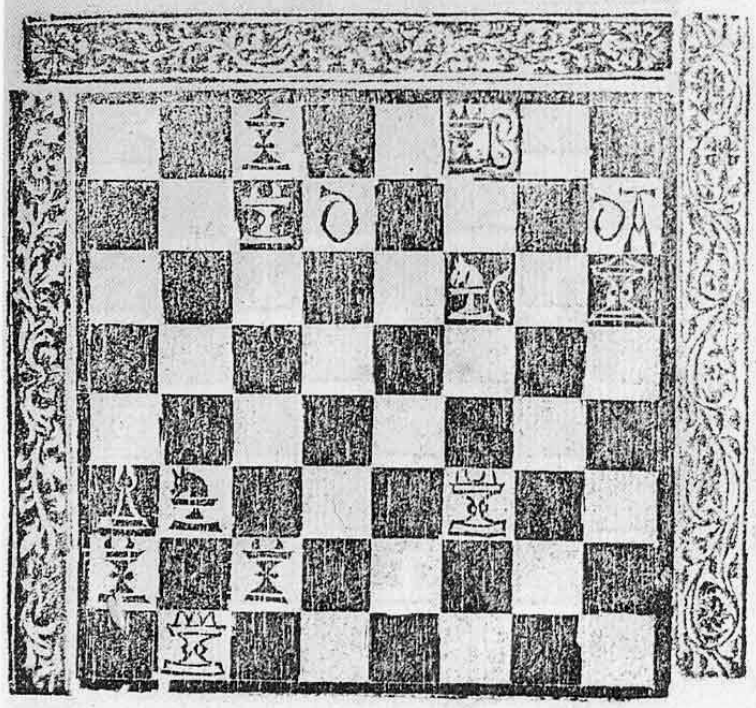
at auction in Paris in 1991 at a record price. Its current owner remains anonymous. Victor Place has also attributed to Lucena the authorship of the work known as *the "Gottingen Manuscript"* which bears no date but is thought to have been written around the year 1500. It comes from the area of Bologna, is written in Latin, and shows strong Spanish influences amoong technical chess terms. The contents of this manuscript contain 12 openings and 30 problems, all in the "new chess" style. It represents an intermediate link between the Salamanca work, which it also surpasses technically, repeating its material in the same order as the Paris manuscript.

In the Gottingen manuscript, the same dedication technique is used as the one employed by Lucena, It refers to someone to whom the treatise is dedicated with great respect, employing the "Vos" form instead of the familiar "T"", calling him *"Dominatio vestrai"*, *"Serenissime princeps"*, *"Magnifie domine"* and similar vocatives. This echos the dedication to Prince Juan in the Salamanca incunabulum.

In his in depth analysis of the linguistic peculiarities of the Latin text of Gottingen, German research scholar Gorschen comes to the following deductions about the author*:*

> *"he had a solid humanistic education, he wrote the work for a prince or a top-level personality; his chess force is that of a Master and his linguistic turns of phrase point probably to Spain or, to a lesser extent, to Portugal."*

After these clues and more or less well-based speculation, the figure and all traces of Lucena fade away altogether.



El blanco tiene la mano y dize que dara xaque y mate al negro en iiij. láces ni mas ni menos el primero de cauallo en a. y dize xaque despues de roque en. b. y de cauallo en c. y de roque en d.

Schaccia, Ludus

By Marcus Hieronymus Vida, Bishop of Alba

English translation by Oliver Goldsmith

Armies of box that sportively engage
And mimic real battles in their rage,
Pleased I recount; how, smit with glory's charms,
Two mighty Monarchs met in adverse arms,
Sable and white; assist me to explore,
Ye Serian Nymphs, what ne'er was sung before.
No path appears: yet resolute I stray
Where youth undaunted bids me force my way.
O'er rocks and cliffs while I the task pursue,
Guide me, ye Nymphs, with your unerring clue.
For you the rise of this diversion know,
You first were pleased in Italy to show
This studious sport; from Scacchis was its name,
The pleasing record of your Sister's fame.
When Jove through Ethiopia's parch'd extent
To grace the nuptials of old Ocean went,
Each god was there; and mirth and joy around
To shores remote diffused their happy sound.
Then when their hunger and their thirst no more
Claini'd their attention, and the feast was o'er;
Ocean, with pastime to divert the thought,
Commands a painted table to be brought.
Sixty-four spaces fill the chequer'd square;
Eight in each rank eight equal limits share.
Alike their form, but different are their dyes,
They fade alternate, and alternate rise,
White after black; such various stains as those
The shelving backs of tortoises disclose.
Then to the Gods that mute and wondering sate,
You see (says he) the field prepared for fate.
Here will the little armies please your sight,
With adverse colours hurrying to the fight:
On which so oft, with silent sweet surprise,
The Nymphs and Nereids used to feast their eyes,
And all the neighbours of the hoary deep,
When the calm sea, and winds were lull'd asleep.
But see, the mimic heroes tread the board;
He said, and straightway from an urn he pour'd
The sculptured box, that neatly seem'd to ape
The graceful figure of a human shape:-
Equal the strength and number of each foe,
Sixteen appear'd like jet, sixteen like snow.
As their shape varies various is the name,
Different their posts, nor is their strength the same.

Their might you see two Kings with equal pride
Gird on their arms, their Consorts by their side;
Here the Foot-warriors glowing after fame,
There prancing Knights and dexterous Archers came
And Elephants, that on their backs sustain
Vast towers of war, and fill and shake the plain.
And now both hosts, preparing for the storm
Of adverse battle, their encampments form.
In the fourth space, and on the farthest line,
Directly opposite the Monarchs shine;
The swarthy on white ground, on sable stands
The silver King; and thence they send commands.
Nearest to these the Queens exert their might;
One the left side, and t'other guards the right:
Where each, by her respective armour known,
Chooses the colour that is like her own.
Then the young Archers, two that snowy-white
Bend the tough yew, and two as black as night;
(Greece call'd them Mars's favourites heretofore,
From their delight in war, and thirst of gore).
These on each side the Monarch and his Queen
Surround obedient; next to these are seen
The crested Knights in golden armour gay;
Their steeds by turns curvet, or snort or neigh.
In either army on each distant wing
Two mighty Elephants their castles bring,
Bulwarks immense! and then at last combine
Eight of the Foot to form the second line,
The vanguard to the King and Queen; from far
Prepared to open all the fate of war.
So moved the boxen hosts, each double-lined,
Their different colours floating in the wind:
As if an army of the Gauls should go,
With their white standards, o'er the Alpine snow
To meet in rigid fight on scorching sands
The sun-burnt Moors and Memnon's swarthy bands
Then Father Ocean thus; you see them here,
Celestial Powers, what troops, what camps appear.
Learn now the sev'ral orders of the fray,
For ev'n these arms their stated laws obey.
To lead the fight, the Kings from all their bands
Choose whom they please to bear their great commands
Should a black hero first to battle go,
Instant a white one guards against the blow;
But only one at once can charge or shun the foe.
Their gen'ral purpose on one scheme is bent,
So to besiege the King within the tent,
That there remains no place by subtle flight
From danger free; and that decides the fight.
Meanwhile, howe'er, the sooner to destroy
Th’ imperial Prince, remorseless they employ

Their swords in blood; and whosoever dare
Oppose their vengeance, in the ruin share.
Fate thins their camp; the parti-coloured field
Widens apace, as they o'ercome or yield,
But the proud victor takes the captive's post;
There fronts the fury of th' avenging host
One single shock: and (should he ward the blow),
May then retire at pleasure from the foe.
The Foot alone (so their harsh laws ordain)
When they proceed can ne'er return again.
But neither all rush on alike to prove
The terror of their arms: the Foot must move
Directly on, and but a single square;
Yet may these heroes, when they first prepare
To mix in combat on the bloody mead,
Double their sally, and two steps proceed;
But when they wound, their swords they subtly guide
With aim oblique, and slanting pierce his side.
But the great Indian beasts, whose backs sustain
Vast turrets arm'd, when on the redd'ning plain
They join in all the terror of the fight,
Forward or backward, to the left or right,
Run furious, and impatient of confine
Scour through the field, and threat the farthest line.
Yet must they ne'er obliquely aim their blows;
That only manner is allow'd to those
Whom Mars has favour'd most, who bend the stubborn bows.
These glancing sidewards in a straight career,
Yet each confined to their respective sphere,
Or white or black, can send th' unerring dart
Wing'd with swift death to pierce through ev'ry part.
The fiery steed, regardless of the reins,
Comes prancing on; but sullenly disdains
The path direct, and boldly wheeling round,
Leaps o'er a double space at ev'ry bound:
And shifts from white or black to diffirent colour'd ground.
But the fierce Queen, whom dangers ne'er dismay,
The strength and terror of the bloody day,
In a straight line spreads her destruction wide,
To left or right, before, behind, aside.
Yet may she never with a circling course
Sweep to the battle like the fretful Horse;
But unconfined may at her pleasure stray,
If neither friend nor foe block up the way;
For to o'erleap a warrior, 'tis decreed
Those only dare who curb the snorting steed.
With greater caution and majestic state
The warlike Monarchs in the scene of fate
Direct their motions, since for these appear
Zealous each hope, and anxious ev'ry fear.
While the King's safe, with resolution stern

They clasp their arms; but should a sudden turn
Make him a captive, instantly they yield,
Resolved to share his fortune in the field.
He moves on slow; with reverence profound
His faithful troops encompass him around,
And oft, to break some instant fatal scheme,
Rush to their fates, their sov'reign to redeem;
While he, unanxious where to wound the foe,
Need only shift and guard against a blow.
But none, however, can presume t' appear
Within his reach, but must his vengeance fear;
For he on ev'ry side his terror throws;
But when he changes from his first repose,
Moves but one step, most awfully sedate,
Or idly roving, or intent on fate.
These are the sev'ral and establish'd laws:
Now see how each maintains his bloody cause.
Here paused the God, but (since whene'er they wage
War here on earth the Gods themselves engage
In mutual battle as they hate or love,
And the most stubborn war is oft above),
Almighty Jove commands the circling train
Of Gods from fav'ring either to abstain,
And let the fight be silently survey'd;
And added solemn threats if disobey'd.
Then call'd he Phoebus from among the Power,
And subtle Hermes, whom in softer hours
Fair Maia bore: youth wanton'd in their face;
Both in life's bloom, both shone with equal grace
Hermes as yet had never wing'd his feet;
As yet Apollo in his radiant seat
Had never driv'n his chariot through the air,
Known by his bow alone and golden hair.
These Jove commission'd to attempt the fray,
And rule the sportive military day;
Bid them agree which party each maintains.
And promised a reward that's worth their pains.
The greater took their seats; on either hand
Respectful the less Gods in order stand,
But careful not to interrupt their play,
By hinting when t' advance or run away.
Then they examine, who shall first proceed
To try their courage, and their army lead.
Chance gave it for the White, that he should go
First with a brave defiance to the foe.
Awhile he ponderd which of all his train
Should bear his first commission o'er the plain;
And then determined to begin the scene
With him that stood before to guard the Queen.
He took a double step: with instant care
Does the black Monarch in his turn prepare

The adverse champion, and with stem command
Bid him repel the charge with equal hand.
There front to front, the midst of all the field,
With furious threats their shining arms they wield;
Yet vain the conflict, neither can prevail
While in one path each other they assail.
On ev'ry side to their assistance fly
Their fellow soldiers, and with strong supply
Crowd to the battle, but no bloody stain
Tinctures their armour; sportive in the plain
Mars plays awhile, and in excursion slight
Harmless they sally forth, or wait the fight.
But now the swarthy Foot, that first appear'd
To front the foe, his pond'rous jav'lin rear'd
Leftward aslant, and a pale warrior slays,
Spurns him aside, and boldly takes his place.
Unhappy youth, his danger not to spy!
Instant he fell, and triumph'd but to die.
At this the sable King with prudent care
Removed his station from the middle square,
And slow retiring to the farthest ground,
There safely lurk'd, with troops entrench'd around.
Then from each quarter to the war advance
The furious Knights, and poise the trembling lance:
By turns they rush, by turns the victors yield,
Heaps of dead Foot choke up the crimsond field:
They fall unable to retreat; around
The clang of arms and iron hoofs resound.
But while young Phoebus pleased himself to view
His furious Knight destroy the vulgar crew,
Sly Hermes long'd t'attempt with secret aim
Some noble act of more exalted fame.
For this, he inoffensive pass'd along
Through ranks of Foot, and midst the trembling throng
Sent his left Horse, that free without confine
Roved o'er the plain, upon some great design
Against the King himself. At length he stood,
And having fix'd his station as he would,
Threaten'd at once with instant fate the King
And th' Indian beast that guarded the right wing.
Apollo sigh'd, and hast'ning to relieve
The straiten'd Monarch, grieved that he must leave
His martial Elephant exposed to fate,
And view'd with pitying eyes his dang'rous state.
First in his thoughts however was his care
To save his King, whom to the neighbouring square
On the right hand, he snatch'd with trembling flight;
At this with fury springs the sable Knight,
Drew his keen sword, and rising to the blow,
Sent the great Indian brute to shades below.
0 fatal loss! for none except the Queen

Spreads such a terror through the bloody scene.
Yet shall you ne'er unpunished boast your prize,
The Delian God with stern resentment cries;
And wedged him round with foot, and pour'd in fresh supplies.
Thus close besieged trembling he cast his eye
Around the plain, but saw no shelter nigh,
No way for flight; for here the Queen opposed,
The Foot in phalanx there the passage closed:
At length he fell; yet not unpleased with fate,
Since victim to a Queen's vindictive hate.
With grief and fury bums the whiten'd host,
One of their Tow'rs thus immaturely lost.
As when a bull has in contention stern
Lost his right horn, with double vengeance bum
His thoughts for war, with blood he's cover'd o'er,
And the woods echo to his dismal roar,
So look'd the flaxen host, when angry fate
O'ertumed the Indian bulwark of their state.
Fired at this great success, with double rage
Apollo hurries on his troops t'engage,
For blood and havoc wild; and, while he leads
His troops thus careless, loses both his steeds:
For if some adverse warriors were o'erthrown,
He little thought what dangers threat his own.
But slyer Hermes with observant eyes
March'd slowly cautious, and at distance spies
What moves must next succeed, what dangers next arise.
Often would he, the stately Queen to snare,
The slender Foot to front her arms prepare,
And to conceal his scheme he sighs and feigns
Such a wrong step would frustrate all his pains.
Just then an Archer, from the right-hand view,
At the pale Queen his arrow boldly drew,
Unseen by Phoebus, who, with studious thought,
From the left side a vulgar hero brought.
But tender Venus, with a pitying eye,
Viewinc, the sad destruction that was nigh,
Wink'd upon Phoebus (for the Goddess sat
By chance directly opposite); at that
Roused in an instant, young Apollo threw
His eyes around the field his troops to view;
Perceived the danger, and with sudden fright
Withdrew the Foot that he had sent to fight,
And saved his trembling Queen by seasonable flight.
But Maia's son with shouts fill'd all the coast:
The Queen, he cried, the important Queen is lost.
Phoebus, howe'er, resolving to maintain
What he had done, bespoke the heavenly train.
What mighty harm, in sportive mimic fight,
Is it to set a little blunder right,
When no preliminary rule debarr'd?

If you henceforward, Mercury, would guard
Against such practice, let us make the law:
And whosoe'er shall first to battle draw,
Or white, or black, remorseless let him go
At all events, and dare the angry foe.
He said, and this opinion pleased around:
Jove turn'd aside, and on his daughter frown'd,
Unmark'd by Hermes, who, with strange surprise,
Fretted and foam'd, and roll'd his ferret eyes,
And but with great reluctance could refrain
From dashing at a blow all off the plain.
Then he resolved to interweave deceits,
To carry on the war by tricks and cheats.
Instant he call'd an Archer from the throng,
And bid him like the courser wheel along:
Bounding he springs, and threats the pallid Queen.
The fraud, however, was by Phoebus seen;
He smiled, and, turning to the Gods, he said:
Though, Hermes, you are perfect in your trade,
And you can trick and cheat to great surprise,
These little sleights no more shall blind my eyes;
Correct them if you please, the more you thus disguise.
The circle laugh'd aloud; and Maia's son
(As if it had but by mistake been done)
Recall'd his Archer, and with motion due,
Bid him advance, the combat to renew.
But Phoebus watch'd him with a jealous eye,
Fearing some trick was ever lurking nigh,
For he would oft, with sudden sly design,
Send forth at once two combatants to join
His warring troops, against the law of arms,
Unless the wary foe was ever in alarms.
Now the white Archer with his utmost force
Bent the tough bow against the sable Horse,
And drove him from the Queen, where he had stood
Hoping to glut his vengeance with her blood.
Then the right Elephant with martial pride
Roved here and there, and spread his terrors wide:
Glittering in arms from far a courser came,
Threaten'd at once the King and Royal Dame;
Thought himself safe when he the post had seized,
And with the future spoils his fancy pleased.
Fired at the danger a young Archer came,
Rush'd on the foe, and levell'd sure his aim;
(And though a Pawn his sword in vengeance draws,
Gladly he'd lose his life in glory's cause).
The whistling arrow to his bowels flew,
And the sharp steel his blood profusely drew;
He drops the reins, he totters to the ground,
And his life issued murm'ring through the wound.
Pierced by the Foot, this Archer bit the plain;

The Foot himself was by another slain;

And with inflamed revenge, the battle burns again.
Towers, Archers, Knights, meet on the crimson ground,
And the field echoes to the martial sound.
Their thoughts are heated, and their courage fired,
Thick they rush on with double zeal inspired;
Generals and Foot, with different colour'd mien,
Confusedly warring in the camps are seen,-
Valour and Fortune meet in one promiscuous scene.
Now these victorious, lord it o'er the field;
Now the foe rallies, the triumphant yield:
Just as the tide of battle ebbs or flows.
As when the conflict more tempestuous grows
Between the winds, with strong and boisterous sweep
They plough th' Ionian or Atlantic deep!
By turns prevails the mutual blustering roar,
And the big waves alternate lash the shore.
But in the midst of all the battle raged
The snowy Queen, with troops at once engaged;
She fell'd an Archer as she sought the plain,-
As she retired an Elephant was slain:
To right and left her fatal spears she sent,
Burst through the ranks, and triumph'd as she went;
Through arms and blood she seeks a glorious fate,
Pierces the farthest lines, and nobly great
Leads on her army with a gallant show,
Breaks the battalions, and cuts through the foe.
At length the sable King his fears betray'd,
And begg'd his military consort's aid:
With cheerful speed she flew to his relief,
And met in equal arms the female chief.
Who first, great Queen, and who at last did bleed?
How many Whites lay gasping on the mead?
Half dead, and floating in a bloody tide,
Foot, Knights, and Archer lie on every side.
Who can recount the slaughter of the day?
How many leaders threw their lives away?
The chequer'd plain is fill'd with dying box,
Havoc ensues, and with tumultuous shocks
The different colour'd ranks in blood engage,
And Foot and Horse promiscuously rage.
With nobler courage and superior might
The dreadful Amazons sustain the fight.
Resolved alike to mix in glorious strife,
Till to imperious fate they yield their life.
Meanwhile each Monarch, in a neighbouring cell,
Confined the warriors that in battle fell,
There watch'd the captives with a jealous eye,
Lest, slipping out again, to arms they fly.

But Thracian Mars, in steadfast friendship join'd
To Hermes, as near Phoebus he reclined,
Observed each chance, how all their motions bend,
Resolved if possible to serve his friend.
He a Foot-soldier and a Knight purloin'd
Out from the prison that the dead confined;
And slyly push'd 'em forward on the plain;
Th' enliven'd combatants their arms regain,
Mix in the bloody scene, and boldly war again.
So the foul hag, in screaming wild alarms
O'er a dead carcase muttering her charms,
(And with her frequent and tremendous yell
Forcing great Hecate from out of hell)
Shoots in the corpse a new fictitious soul;
With instant glare the supple eyeballs roll,
Again it moves and speaks, and life informs the whole
Vulcan alone discern'd the subtle cheat;
And wisely scorning such a base deceit,
Call'd out to Phoebus. Grief and rage assail
Phoebus by turns; detected Mars turns pale.
Then awful Jove with sullen eye reproved
Mars, and the captives order'd to be moved
To their dark caves; bid each fictitious spear
Be straight recall'd, and all be as they were.
And now both Monarchs with redoubled rage
Led on their Queens, the mutual war to wage.
O'er all the field their thirsty spears they send,
Then front to front their Monarchs they defend.
But lo! the female White rush'd in unseen,
And slew with fatal haste the swarthy Queen;
Yet soon, alas! resign'd her royal spoils,
Snatch'd by a shaft from her successful toils.
Struck at the sight, both hosts in wild surprise
Pour'd forth their tears, and fill'd the air with cries;
They wept and sigh'd, as pass'd the fun'ral train,
As if both armies had at once been slain.
And now each troop surrounds its mourning chief,
To guard his person, or assuage his grief.
One is their common fear; one stormy blast
Has equally made havoc as it pass'd.
Not all, however, of their youth are slain;
Some champions yet the vig'rous war maintain. ,
Three Foot, an Archer, and a stately Tower,
For Phoebus still exert their utmost power.
Just the same number Mercury can boast,
Except the Tower, who lately in his post
Unarm'd inglorious fell, in peace profound,
Pierced by an Archer with a distant wound;
But his right Horse retain'd its mettled pride,-
The rest were swept away by war's strong tide.
But fretful Hermes, with despairing moan.

Grieved that so many champions were o'erthrown,
Yet reassumes the fight; and summons round
The little straggling army that he found,
All that had 'scaped from fierce Apollo's rage,
Resolved with greater caution to engage
In future strife, by subtle wiles (if fate
Should give him leave) to save his sinking state.
The sable troops advance with prudence slow.
Bent on all hazards to distress the foe.
More cheerful Phoebus, with unequal pace,
Rallies his arms to lessen his disgrace.
But what strange havoc everywhere has been!
A straggling champion here and there is seen;
And many are the tents, yet few are left within.
Th' afflicted Kings bewail their consorts dead,
And loathe the thoughts of a deserted bed;
And though each monarch studies to improve
The tender mem'ry of his former love,
Their state requires a second nuptial tie.
Hence the pale ruler with a love-sick eye
Surveys th’ attendants of his former wife,
And offers one of them a royal life.
These, when their martial mistress had been slain,
Weak and despairing tried their arms in vain;
Willing, howe'er, amidst the Black to go,
They thirst for speedy vengeance on the foe.
Then he resolves to see who merits best,
By strength and courage, the imperial vest;
Points out the foe, bids each with bold design
Pierce through the ranks, and reach the deepest line:
For none must hope with monarchs to repose
But who can first, through thick surrounding foes,
Through arms and wiles, with hazardous essay,
Safe to the farthest quarters force their way.
Fired at the thought, with sudden, joyful pace
They hurry on; but first of all the race
Runs the third right-hand warrior for the prize,-
The glitt'ring crown already charms her eyes.
Her dear associates cheerfully give o'er
The nuptial chase; and swift she flies before,
And Glory lent her wings, and the reward in store.
Nor would the sable King her hope~ prevent,
For he himself was on a Queen intent,
Alternate, therefore, through the field they go.
Hermes led on, but by a step too slow,
His fourth left Pawn: and now th’ advent'rous
White Had march'd through all, and gain'd the wish'd for site.
Then the pleased King gives orders to prepare
The crown, the sceptre, and the royal chair,
And owns her for his Queen: around exult
The snowy troops, and o'er the Black insult.

Hermes burst into tears,-with fretful roar
Fill'd the wide air, and his gay vesture tore.
The swarthy Foot had only to advance
One single step; but oh! malignant chance!
A tower'd Elephant, with fatal aim,
Stood ready to destroy her when she came:
He keeps a watchful eye upon the whole,
Threatens her entrance, and protects the goal.
Meanwhile the royal new-created bride,
Pleased with her pomp, spread death and terror wide;
Like lightning through the sable troops she flies,
Clashes her arms, and seems to threat the skies.
The sable troops are sunk in wild affright,
And wish th' earth op'ning snatch'd 'em from her sight.
In burst the Queen, with vast impetuous swing:
The trembling foes come swarming round the King,
Where in the midst he stood, and form a valiant ring.
So the poor cows, straggling o'er pasture land,
When they perceive the prowling wolf at hand,
Crowd close together in a circle full,
And beg the succour of the lordly bull;
They clash their horns, they low with dreadful sound,
And the remotest groves re-echo round.
But the bold Queen, victorious, from behind
Pierces the foe; yet chiefly she design'd

Against the King himself some fatal aim,
And full of war to his pavilion came.
Now here she rush'd, now there; and had she been
But duly prudent, she had slipp'd between,
With course oblique, into the fourth white square,
And the long toil of war had ended there,
The King had fallen, and all his sable state;
And vanquish'd Hermes cursed his partial fate.
For thence with ease the championess might go,
Murder the King, and none could ward the blow,
With silence, Hermes, and with panting heart,
Perceived the danger, but with subtle art,
(Lest he should see the place) spurs on the foe,
Confounds his thoughts, and blames his being slow.
For shame! move on; would you for ever stay?
What sloth is this, what strange perverse delay?-
How could you e'er my little pausing blame?-
What! you would wait till night shall end the game?
Phoebus, thus nettled, with imprudence slew
A vulgar Pawn, but lost his nobler view.
Young Hermes leap'd, with sudden joy elate;
And then, to save the monarch from his fate,
Led on his martial Knight, who stepp'd between,
Pleased that his charge was to oppose the Queen-

Then, pondering how the Indian beast to slay,
That stopp'd the Foot from making farther way,-
From being made a Queen; with slanting aim
An archer struck him; down the monster came,
And dying shook the earth: while Phoebus tries
Without success the monarch to surprise.
The Foot, then uncontroll'd with instant pride,
Seized the last spot, and moved a royal bride.
And now with equal strength both war again,
And bring their second wives upon the plain;
Then, though with equal views each hop'd and fear'd,
Yet, as if every doubt had disappear'd,
As if he had the palm, young Hermes flies
Into excess of joy; with deep disguise,
Extols his own Black troops, with frequent spite
And with invective taunts disdains the White.
Whom Phoebus thus reproved with quick return-
As yet we cannot the decision learn
Of this dispute, and do you triumph now?
Then your big words and vauntings I'll allow,
When you the battle shall completely gain;
At present I shall make your boasting vain.
He said, and forward led the daring Queen;
Instant the fury of the bloody scene
Rises tumultuous, swift the warriors fly
From either side to conquer or to die.
They front the storm of war: around 'em Fear,
Terror, and Death, perpetually appear.
All meet in arms, and man to man oppose,
Each from their camp attempts to drive their foes;
Each tries by turns to force the hostile lines;
Chance and impatience blast their best designs.
The sable Queen spread terror as she went
Through the mid ranks: with more reserved intent
The adverse dame declined the open fray,
And to the King in private stole away:
Then took the royal guard, and bursting in,
With fatal menace close besieged the King.
Alarm'd at this, the swarthy Queen, in haste,
From all her havoc and destructive waste
Broke off, and her contempt of death to show,
Leap'd in between the monarch and the foe,
To save the King and state from this impending blow.
But Phoebus met a worse misfortune here:
For Hermes now led forward, void of fear,
His furious Horse into the open plain,
That onward chafed, and pranced, and pawed amain.
Nor ceased from his attempts until he stood
On the long-wished-for spot, from whence he could
Slay King or Queen. O'erwhelm'd with sudden fears,
Apollo saw, and could not keep from tears.

Now all seem'd ready to be overthrown;
His strength was wither'd, ev'ry hope was flown.
Hermes, exulting at this great surprise,
Shouted for joy, and fill'd the air with cries;
Instant he sent the Queen to shades below,
And of her spoils made a triumphant show.
But in return, and in his mid career,
Fell his brave Knight, beneath the Monarch's spear.
Phoebus, however, did not yet despair,
But still fought on with courage and with care.
He had but two poor common men to show,
And Mar's favourite with his iv'ry bow.
The thoughts of ruin made 'em dare their best
To save their King, so fatally distress'd.
But the sad hour required not such an aid;
And Hermes breathed revenge where'er he stray'd.
Fierce comes the sable Queen with fatal threat,
Surrounds the monarch in his royal seat;
Rush'd here and there, nor rested till she slew
The last remainder of the whiten'd crew.
Sole stood the King, the midst of all the plain,
Weak and defenceless, his companions slain.
As when the ruddy morn ascending high
Has chased the twinkling stars from all the sky,
Your star, fair Venus, still retains its light,
And, loveliest, goes the latest out of sight.
No safety's left, no gleams of hope remain;
Yet did he not as vanquish'd quit the plain,
But tried to shut himself between the foe,-
Unhurt through swords and spears he hoped to go,
Until no room was left to shun the fatal blow.
For if none threaten'd his immediate fate,
And his next move must ruin all his state,
All their past toil and labour is in vain,
Vain all the bloody carnage of the plain,
Neither would triumph then, the laurel neither gain.
Therefore through each void space and desert tent,
By different moves his various course he bent:
The Black King watch'd him with observant eye,
Follow'd him close, but left room to fly.
Then when he saw him take the farthest line,
He sent the Queen his motions to confine,
And guard the second rank, that he could go
No farther now than to that distant row.
The sable monarch then with cheerful mien
Approach'd, but always with one space between.
But as the King stood o'er against him there,
Helpless, forlorn, and sunk in his despair,
The martial Queen her lucky moment knew,
Seized on the farthest seat with fatal view,
Nor left th' unhappy King a place to flee unto.

At length in vengeance her keen sword she draws,
Slew him, and ended thus the bloody cause:
And all the gods around approved it with applause.
The victor could not from his insults keep,
But laugh'd and sneer'd to see Apollo weep.
Jove call'd him near, and gave him in his hand
The powerful, happy, and mysterious wand
By which the Shades are call'd to purer day,
When penal fire has purged their sins away;
By which the guilty are condemn'd to dwell
In the dark mansions of the deepest hell;
By which he gives us sleep, or sleep denies,
And closes at the last the dying eyes.
Soon after this, the heavenly victor brought
The game on earth, and first th' Italians taught.
For (as they say) fair Scacchis he espied
Feeding her cygnets in the silver tide,
(Scacchis, the loveliest Seriad of the place)
And as she stray'd, took her to his embrace.
Then, to reward her for her virtue lost,
Gave her the men and chequer'd board emboss'd
With gold and silver curiously inlay'd;
And taught her how the game was to be play'd.
Ev'n now 'tis honour'd with her happy name;
And Rome and all the world admire the game.
All which the Seriads told me heretofore,
When my boy-notes amused the Serian shore.

TABLE I:
Books printed in Valencia by Lope de Roca "Alemany" (obtained through IP de la Imprenta Hispana Madrid 19S2 Edit Nal)

NAME	TITLE	DATE
Vincent, Francesch	"Jocs partits dels scachs" This is the only book Vicent printed in partnership with Pere Trincher	May 15, 1495
Aesopus	"Fabulae"	Sept. 28, 1495
Aesopus	"Les fabulas de Lauentino Vali"	Oct. 13, 1495
Ludolphus de Saxonia	"Vita Christi o lo quart del cartoxa"	Nov. 6, 1495
Honoratus, Saiint	"Vida de Saint Honorat"	Dec. 9, 1495
Ludolphus de Saxonia	"Vita Christi o La terca part del cartoxa"	Cica 1495
Bernardus Claravallensis	"Floretus"	Aug. 3, 1496
Phalaris	"Espistolae"	Sept. 17, 1496
Carroc, Francesch	"Moral consideracion contra les persuasions, vicis force de amor"	Circa 1496
Villena, Isabel de	"Vita Christi"	Aug. 22, 1497
Fennolar, Bernat 1) Jaime Guzull 2) —	"La proces de les olives"	1) printed Oct. 14, 1497 2) printed Oct. 25, 1497
Alexander VI Pont Max.	"Bula de indulgences"	1487

TABLE II:
Books printed in Valencia by Petrus Hagenbach and Leionard Hutz

NAME	TITLE	DATE
	Imatatio Christi "del menesperu del mon"	May 15, 1495
Fennolar, Bernat	"Historia dela Passio del N.S. Jesu Christi"	Feb. 16,1491
	Confessionale "Breu tractat de confessio"	Jan. 11, 1493
	"Furs fets en les corts de Orillia"	Feb 25, 1493
	"Hores de la setmana sancta segon lo us del archibisbat de Valencia"	Sept. 6, 1493
Miravet, Joan de	"Opus artis grammaticae"	Feb. 21, 1494
Ludolphus de Saxonia	"Lo quart del cartoxa"	Jan. 8, 1495
Despuig, Guillermus	"Commentaia ars musciorum"	Apr. 11, 1495
	"Libre de quartre ultimes I mes darreres coses"	June 8, 1495
	"La revelacion de Sant Pau"	Aug. 3, 1495
Ludolphus de Saxonia	"Lo premier del cartoxa"	Apr. 14, 1496

TABLE III:
Books printed in Salamanca by Leonard Hutz in association with Lopes Sanz

NAME	BOOK	DATE
Bricot	"Textus abbreviatus logicem Aristoteles"	1496
Villadiego	"Contra hereticam privatatem"	Jan. 8, 1496
Tomas de Aquino	"Commenta in libros Aristoteles de generatione et corruptione"	Feb. 26, 1496
	"Leyes del estilo o Declaraciones sobre las leys el fuero"	Feb. 10, 1496
Basurto	"Praxis Prognosticandi"	Mar.8, 1497
Lucena, Luis de	**"Repetcion de amores y arte de Acedrix"**	**No date: est. 1496 most probably 1497**

TABLE IV: (following page)
Correspondence of chess problems between Lucena and C.B.

v = some variation in originVI
s/a = not antecedent
L denotes Lucena's problems
CB corresponds to the number of problems in Civis Bononiac. If the origin is another manuscript, that precedent is signaled before the problem number
F = manuscript from Biblioteca Nacional Florencia;
Ad = manuscript from British Museum:
Mod = Manuscript of Civis Bononiac in Modena's Library

L	CB	L	CB	L	CB	L	CB	L	CB	L	CB	L	CB
2	F 311v	23	89	38=91v	97	53	71	70	47v	95	Mod 509v	122	187v
6	1v	24	65	39	117	54	67	73=44	85	96	96v	123	172v
9	F303v	25	58v	40	45	55=17	73	74	52v	97	168v	129	s/a
10	14v	26	63	41	44	56	66	75=32	50	101	Mod 509v	132	147
11	8	27	52	42	49	57	70	77	41	102	100v	133	168v
12	PICC20	28	42	43	83	58	82	78	s/a	110	s/a	134	173
13	F320v	29	46	44=73	85	59	80	79	56	111	LNP 175v	138	s/a
14	2v	30	55	45	95	60	74	80	Ad64v	112	135v	139	184v
15	6v	31	60	46	96	61	78	81	4v	113	135v	140	s/a
17=55	73	32=75	50	47	79v	62	108	84	106	114	134	142	s/a
18	88	33	64	48	76	63	116	86	105v	115	158v	144	177v
19	90	34	101	49	77	64	100	87	99	116	s/a	145	53
20	84	35	107	50	81	65	103	88	102	117	s/a	146	62
21	86	36	98	51	72	66	54	91=38v	97v	118	143v	147	172v
22	87	37	109v	52	75	67	61	94	120v	119	154v		

About the Goddesschess Partnership

Since 1999, **goddesschess.com** has combined an Internet portal for discussion with a growing archive of research materials on the history of chess. Currently (2007) celebrating our eighth anniversary, we continue to provide essays, articles and dialogues focused on various themes, paying particular attention to the role women have played throughout the historical evolution of "the game of the goddess".

At an early stage in our development, The Goddesschess Partnership was fortunate to have attracted Dr. Ricardo Calvo's attention. A deep and abiding friendship quickly developed and as a result, we became familiar with his research into medieval and renaissance chess, while also acquiring permission to publish many of his research papers online. Occasionally called upon to help provide English editorial assistance for some of these publications, we remain grateful for the opportunity, interest and warm support Dr. Calvo and Carmen Romeo have shown us over the years.

No less grateful for the support of our online readers and contributors, Goddesschess' current editing of Dr. Calvo's *"Lucena - La Evasion en Ajedrez del Converso Calisto"* signals our maiden voyage into the new world of "print on demand" publications. As our treasury of research materials expands, we look forward to many more similar adventures upcoming in the near future.

Yours truly,

The Goddesschess Partnership