

OF RUKHS AND ROOKS, CAMELS AND CASTLES

by

Remke Krulk

Leiden

For Franz Rosenthal on his eighty-fifth birthday

In the *Kirāb Tabā'i' al-Hayawān* of Sharaf az-Zamān al-Marwazī (fl. around 1100 A.D. in Isfahān), a curious animal by the name of *rukḥ* is described. This is not the fabulous bird of the same name, but a mysterious quadruped. The passage runs as follows (quoted according to MS UCLA, Ar. 52, ff. 150b20-151a7):

"The *rukḥ*. They say that this is an animal that looks like a camel (*ba'ir*). He has two humps, and tusks. One has to be wary of all the parts of his body: his flesh, his blood, his spittle and his dung. No animal can pass him when he has sighted it, for he can run faster than the wind and overtakes all other animals. If an animal fleeing from him gets high up in a tree or on another high place where he cannot reach it, he stops in front of it and spreads his tail so that it has the shape of a big shovel. Then he pees in it and throws his urine to the animal he is pursuing. His tail is membrane-like, so that it can easily be spread and used to hold something. If the fleeing animal then [several letters unreadable] comes down, he defecates on it. If his urine or faeces land on an animal, it dies. The *rukḥ* in chess is called after him, because it is stronger than all the other pieces."

This curious piece of information can be followed up along two different lines. There is the zoological angle: can Marwazī's remarks about this miraculous quadruped be connected to information in other sources? Then there is its relevance for the history of chess: does the connection made between this animal and the *rukḥ* (rook) in chess tally with what is known and said elsewhere about the rook, and what are the possible implications of this?

In this article, I try to follow up both questions. I also venture to suggest that connexion of the two strands may provide us with a plausible explanation for some of the characteristics of Marwazī's quadruped.

A. *Rukḥ*, the remarkable quadruped: zoological connections

Marwazī's reference to the *rukḥ*, quoted above, may be connected to one of the references found in Steingass' *Persian-English Dictionary* under the entry *rukḥ*: "a beast resembling a camel, but very fierce". Steingass, as usual, does not give a source reference. This makes it all the more difficult to answer the question whether this animal is the same as the *rukḥ* (also a quadruped) mentioned, a century before Marwazī, by another native speaker of Persian, namely Ibn Sīnā, who speaks about the *rukḥ* in his commentary (part of the *K. ash-Shifā'*) on Aristotle's zoological works. Discussing the strange and mysterious animal that Aristotle calls *marrichoras* (*Historia Animalium* 501A24 ff.), Ibn Sīnā (1390/1970: 29) adds: "If this animal at all exists, it is probably not the same as the *rukḥ*, for it is not red, but blond." Ibn Sīnā tells us nothing further about this intriguing *rukḥ*, and the usual Arabic sources on zoological lore – Damiri's zoological encyclopaedia, al-Jāhiz *Kirāb al-Hayawān* – do not elucidate the matter any further.

A noteworthy point is that Ibn Sīnā makes no mention of "humps" or other camel-like characteristics of the *rukḥ*. And the fact that he ponders about its possible identity with the *marrichoras* suggests that he, at least, did not have any associations with a camel. The difference in color is his main reason for considering the *rukḥ* not identical with the *marrichoras*. Ibn Sīnā's text runs as follows (1390/1970: 29):

"Antasās (evidently a corrupted spelling for Aqṭasiyās, Ktesias, RK) says in one of his books that there is in India a beast of prey that is called in Greek *bārīnas* (corrupted spelling of *marrichoras*, RK). It has three rows of teeth in each jaw, has a furry body, its limbs and size are that of a lion, its face is like that of man, it is bright red, like vermillion, and its tail is like that of the land-scorpion, with a sting. Its voice is like a trumpet (*mizmār*). It runs fast and is man-eating. I say: If this animal at all exists, it is neither the tiger (*babr*) nor the animal that is known as *rukḥ*, even though it resembles the *rukḥ* in some respects. For the tiger is like a big and furry lion, with black and yellow stripes, while the *rukḥ*, I think, has yellow hair."

It is noteworthy that Marwazī, who also describes the *marrichoras* (f. 152 ult. ff.), makes no connection between this animal and the *rukḥ*, although he knew Ibn Sīnā's *Hayawān* very well.¹

By way of comparison with Ibn Sīnā's text, I quote the passage on the *marrichoras* as it is found in the 9th century Arabic version of Aristotle's *Historia Animalium*. The text given here is that of Badawī's edition of the Arabic translation of the *Historia Animalium* (1977: 63-4), emended on the

¹ He quotes from it very extensively, usually without source reference. See my "On Animals: excerpts of Aristotle and Ibn Sīnā in Marwazī's *Tabā'i' al-hayawān*," in C. Steel e.a., *Aristotle's Animals in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*. Leuven 1999, 91-120.

basis of Marwazî's entry on the marichoras (*mâri'û'udûn*, ff. 152a21-b8). Marwazî, like Ibn Sînâ, evidently used this translation.

"Among these kinds of animals that we have described there is none that has two rows of rows of teeth (*sic*). As to whether we ought to believe what Aqâsiyâs (MS: Aqsîâs) says: he states in one of his books that there is in India a beast of prey (*sabu'*) that is called in Greek *mâritikhâras* (MS has *bârbit hânub*; corruption easily traceable, RK). It has three rows of teeth in its upper- and lower jaw, has the size of a lion (*asad*), much hair, just like it, and legs like that of a lion. Its face, eyes and ears resemble man's. It has bluish-black eyes. As to its color, it is bright red, like vermilion. Its tail is similar to the sting of the land-scorpion, and on its tail there is a sting. It throws ("shoots") off its hair and talks (here I follow the MS, and Marwazî, instead of Badawî's conjecture, RK), and it has a very loud voice, similar to the sound of a trumpet (*mizmân*) (omitting Badawî's addition, RK). It runs fast, like a deer. It is wild and man-eating."

The *rukḥ* of Ibn Sînâ and Marwazî is obviously also related to another mythical animal, namely the *zabraq* which is mentioned by al-Mas'ûdî. In his *Muru'î adh-Dhahab* we read (1966-70, II: 115, in the edition 1861-77, this is III: 11-14):

"In India there is great danger for them (i.e. elephants) from an animal known as *zabraq*. This animal is smaller than the cheetah; it is reddish yellow (*ahmar dhû zaghab*), has shining eyes and can jump fast to a height of thirty to fifty cubits or more. If he sees an elephant he sprays it with his urine, using his tail, and burns it. He also attacks people. There are people in India who try to escape from him by climbing to the top of the highest tree there is [...]. When the *zabraq* cannot reach them, he crouches down on the earth and jumps high up to the tree. If he does not manage to get the person in that jump, he sprays his urine high up in the tree. If he has no success, he puts his head down on the earth, utters a strange cry, vomits clots of blood, and dies. His urine burns every part of the tree that it falls on. Man and animal alike die when they are hit by it."

The *zabraq*, like the *rukḥ*, is not found in al-Jâhiz' *K. al-Hayawân* or in ad-Damiri's zoological dictionary.

One problem that these descriptions leave us with is the question how the *rukḥ*, as Marwazî's text shows, came to be associated with a Bactrian camel. We will see whether the information discussed in the second part of this article offers any clues.

B. *Rukḥ* and rook: a chess problem

In Arabic, *rukḥ* is also the name of a chess piece, the castle. The word has survived in English as "rook", and is still recognizable in "rochade". But, as modern histories of chess show, there has been a considerable amount of confusion about the connection between this word and the shape of the actual chess piece, in Middle Eastern as well as in medieval European culture.

1. *Rukḥ*: chariot

In the ancient Indian chess game, the rook was shaped like a chariot, and from that it received its name, *raṭha* (or *raiṭh*, as it is also spelt). Sir William Jones (1790; as quoted in Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v. *rukḥ* and *shatranj*), laid the connection from *raṭh*, in Bengali *roiṭh*, to Pahlavi *rôx²* and Persian *rukḥ*. *Rukḥ* (or *rukḥḥ*) was taken over in Arabic together with other Persian chess terms.

As to the interpretation of *rukḥ*: among the numerous meanings of this word given in Steingass' Persian dictionary, "chariot" is not found, and it is no different in the other Persian dictionaries. The one exception is Vullers' *Lexicon Persico-Latinum*, where in the entry *shatrank* (*sic*; Vol. II: 413) a native Persian dictionary (compiled in 1768) is quoted to the effect that the structure of the game was originally based on that of the army, and so its components were foot-soldiers, horses, elephants, and chariots. The word which this dictionary uses, speaking about the chariot, is *arâba³*, a word which, according to Steingass, means "cart, waggon". It adds that this is the *rukḥ*. Murray (1913: 160) takes this as an indication that the general meaning of "chariot" for *rukḥ* was still known, but this seems doubtful. Most likely, the author wants to point out that the piece nowadays (i.e. in 1768) corresponding to the chariot, the *arâba*, of the Indian chess game is the *rukḥ*. That the actual meaning of *rukḥ* was not known to him is implied by his use of the word *arâba*. In the same manner, we find *rukḥ* translated as "castle" (in chess) in modern Persian and Arabic dictionaries, referring to modern usage. In medieval Arabic sources, the meaning "chariot" for *rukḥ* is nowhere attested, and it was, as will be shown, apparently already unknown to Arab chess specialists as early as the 9th century A.D.

This makes it all the more surprising that *rukḥ* is connected to actual chariots in medieval Spain. As Dozy (*Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, s.v. *rukḥ*) pointed out, *rukḥ* in connection to chariot is attested in the *Glossarium latino-arabicum*: *currus – rukḥ*; *quadriga-rukḥ dhû arba'a aḡllāk*, and also in the *Vocabulista in Arabico*: *currus*, pl. *rikhâkh* and *arkhâkh*, with a note in the MS saying: *roc de seas* (the tower in chess). The *Glossarium* was tentatively dated by van Koningsveld (1976) in the second half of the 12th century; the *Vocabulista* was probably written in the 13th century.

It is not clear how the *rukḥ* came to be connected with an actual chariot in this European context. It clearly implies that chess pieces in the shape of chariots were known to the makers of these dictionaries. Such pieces were indeed known, as is shown by the rook of the famous "Charlemagne chess-

² As spelt in McKenzie, *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary*.

³ Not *arâba*, as Murray (1913: 160) says.

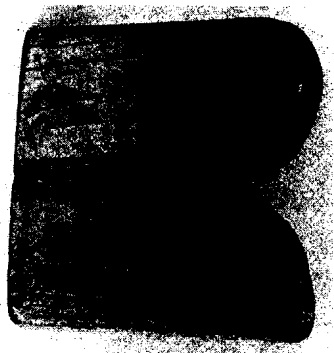


Figure 1. Rook, ivory, 11th-14th century AD. Ashmolean Museum, acc. no. X3320 (after Contadini 1995: 123).

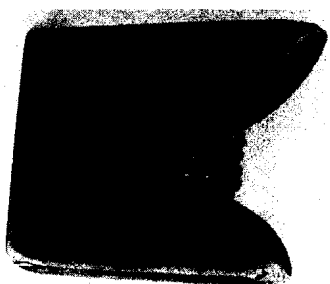


Figure 2. Rook, ivory, 7th-9th century AD. Ashmolean Museum, acc. no. X3316 (after Contadini 1995: 123).

men" (see, for instance, Murray 1913: 758 and Pastoureaux 1990: 23). These pieces are tentatively dated to the end of the 11th century (Pastoureaux) or the twelfth century (Murray). The provenance of these pieces is the subject of much discussion.

Could representational chess pieces have been introduced in Arab Spain when the game was first introduced? Chess is supposed to have been brought to Arab Spain in the 9th century by the musician Ziryâb.⁴ At that time, the existence of representational pieces was still known in the Eastern part of the Arab world, as is shown by a remark in the *K. ash-Shatranj*, originating from as-Sûlî's (*fl.* around 900) or from the compiler of this text (see below). Little or nothing, however, is known about the shape of the chess pieces that were used in Arab Spain.

All that can be said, is that the word *rûkh* survived in Europe, and that rooks shaped like chariots are known to have existed in medieval Europe, along with many other types of rook.

Prominent among them is the abstract type that had already been current for a long time in the Middle Eastern world, namely a square base with a cloven top (see Figs. 1 and 2). The *rûkh* that appears in the famous MS of Alfonso the Wise's chess manual (dated 1283) is of that type. As can be seen in the miniatures illustrating the text, the protuberances curve outward. The text says that the *rûkh* is to be conceived as a group of horsemen crowded together (Murray 1913: 769). Note here that, just as in the Arabic *K. ash-Shatranj* (1986: 38), the *rûkh* is associated with horses, albeit in a different manner, but not with a chariot.

⁴ See Parjea 1935: II, LXXII-LXXVII; Lévi-Provençal 1950-67: III, 443; Wieber 1972: 229-30.

In medieval European pieces, the protuberances if this type of rook sometimes curled outward so that they looked like a *fleur de lis*. Double horses' heads are also occasionally found (Murray 1913: 772). Rooks of both these types have found their way into European heraldry (Murray 1913: 773-5).

2. *Rûkh: fabulous bird*

McDonnell (1898: 136) mentions poetic references in European sources to the rook as a "double-headed griffin", and here another association of the word rook shows up. Because of its name, and probably also because of its powerful position in the pre-modern chess game, the *rûkh* was sometimes fleetingly identified with another *rûkh* of the same name, namely the huge mythical bird which appears, for instance, in the Sindbad tales, and which is already found in Babylonian literature, such as in the Tale of Lugalbanda (Wilcke 1969: 61-4). In Europe, it became known as *roc* (*rok, rokh*), and it was often identified with the griffin, although this is in fact another type of mythical bird.

The connection between the chess *rûkh* and the mythical bird is also occasionally made, albeit fleetingly, in Arab sources. We do not find it in Ibn Manẓûr's (d. 711/1311) *Lisân al-'Arab*, but ad-Damiri (d. 808/1405-6) has a lemma on the bird *rûkh* in his *Hayât al-hayawân al-kubrâ*, in which he briefly states that the word is also used for one of the pieces in the chess game. He does not make an explicit connection between the two, but his presentation is fairly suggestive. Az-Zabîdî (d. 1205/1790-1), in his *Taj al-'Arûs*, goes further: "*Rûkh* is a chess piece. Al-Layth said: It is an arabicised word that they have metaphorically connected (*wada'ûhu tashbihan*) to the *rûkhkh*, the bird to which Ibn Khallikân draws attention."

4. *Rook: actual shape*

The next question is: in how far did the word *rûkh*, in connection with the chess piece, continue to carry the meaning of "chariot" in the Middle Eastern tradition? Connected to this there is the question: how long did representational chess pieces, i.e. representations of the chariot, remain in use next to abstract ones in the Islamic world?

Not very many chess games have survived, which makes the evidence from literary sources all the more important. An excellent and well-documented overview of the various types, from India to medieval Europe, is given by Contadini (1995), with copious illustrations⁵.

It is generally assumed that representational pieces were used in India,

⁵ My sincere thanks to Prof. Robert Hillenbrand for referring this article to me.

and the rook that was found in Afrāsiyāb (Contadini 1995: 113, fig. 3), tentatively dated in the 7th century A.D., belongs to this tradition. It represents a two-horsed chariot with warriors.

How the chariot is connected to the abstract type of rook that is also attested at an early date (it possibly goes back to pre-Islamic days), is a matter for speculation. Possibly it was based on a front view of the two-horsed chariot. This is the rook that Contadini (1995: 115) describes as "... a rectangular body, normally at least twice as wide as deep, with a deep cut in the middle top creating two horns on the outside, the remnants of the shape of a castle" (my cursivation). This must be an inadvertent slip, caused by the later European identification of rook with castle, for in the Arabic tradition the association of *rukh* with a castle is nowhere attested.

The scarcity of material does not permit definite conclusions about the time when abstract chess pieces started to become widely, or even exclusively, used, but written sources are of some help.

Evidence from the legal discussion

From the time that chess was introduced in the Islamic cultural sphere (probably around the time of the conquest of the Persian empire, although it probably took some time to become widely divulged) there was discussion about the status of the game. Was a Muslim allowed to play chess, or did it come under the forbidden hazard games? The matter gets ample attention in the *K. ash-Shatranj*, an anonymous compilation that is considered to be the oldest still extant Arabic book on chess, and which contains substantial portions of treatises from 9th century chess masters. It was extensively used by Wieber (1972). In the discussions, the point is often brought up that the shape of the chess pieces was relevant. Authoritative figures from early Islam are often presented in *hadith* as frowning upon chess played with representational pieces, but having no objection against the game played with abstract pieces (e.g. *K. ash-Shatranj* 1986: 13=f. 7a).

The material clearly suggests that representational pieces fell into disuse at an early stage. We may quote here what the famous chess master as-Sūfi (*Jl.* around 900 A.D.) had to say on the matter (*K. ash-Shatranj* 1986: 13 (=f. 7a)): "In the days of the Umayyads, the pawns still looked like men, and the elephant (=bishop) and the horse also looked like what they were (NB: note the absence of rook, king and vizier (=queen) in this context). (.....) I have seen many such chess sets (i.e. consisting of figurative pieces), but they are no longer used. This is because the Persian business (*amr al-ʿajim*) is now a long way back. People used them at that time because they were still close to the days of the Persians."

So, representational chess pieces were apparently no longer current in as-Sūfi's day, and the only clue to the original meaning of the names denoting the pieces lay in the names themselves. As the evidence of the medieval Arabic dictionaries shows, the connection between *rukh* and chariot was no longer made. The closest association with men and horses is the remark found in the *K. ash-Shatranj* (1986: 38): "The *rukh* is as the leader and master of the army, and a knight just like the *faras*. It has the advantage of leadership. Its effectiveness diminishes when the game gets thronged."

One is tempted to connect this to "knight errant", one of the meanings given in Steingass for *rukh*.⁶ But the association is so vague that one is led to suppose that the original meaning of the word *rukh* was no longer known. Evidently, the actual *rukh* chess pieces also did not give a clue, since by that time they were all abstract shapes. For the rook, this would generally mean the "square base-cloven top" type.

C. The two-humped *rukh*

Given the fact that nobody knew any longer how the chess *rukh* came by its name, a logical development would be for people to start looking elsewhere for clues about the meaning of *rukh*. They could do so taking either the word itself or the shape of the piece as their starting-point.

In this manner the connection with the almost invincible bird *rukh*, who like the rook could suddenly swoop down from far away and strike, occasionally came about. That the often pointed and outwardly curving protuberances of the piece could be interpreted as bird wings may be too much of a guess, but it is clear that the shape of the piece is open to x number of interpretations.⁷

In this context, it is also very tempting to speculate a bit about the problem of Marwazi's miraculous quadruped. How did his *rukh* become two-humped and camel-like, unlike Ibn Sīnā's *rukh* and Mas'ūfī's very similar *zabraq*? Could this be because of association with the abstract, cloven-top chess *rukh*?

The two protuberances of the piece could easily be interpreted as the two humps of the Bactrian camel⁸, an animal with a formidable reputation. In

⁶ Cf. the ref. in Wilkinton (1968: XI), where reference is made to a passage in Firdausi's *Shahname* about *rukhs* (interpreted as "charioteers" or "heroes") with "lips full of blood and foam". Cf. also Murray 1913: 159.

⁷ The shape can even be connected to the form in which the rook appears in various Far Eastern countries (Murray 1913: 387) and also, in the past, in Russia (Murray 1913: 378-80), namely a boat. According to Wilkinton (1968: XXIII) says that this is due to association of with the Sanskrit word for boat, *roka*.

⁸ There can hardly be a connection, but it is remarkable to see the chess pieces in the

some of the pieces that are still extant, the protuberances do indeed look like humps, or rather humps (cf. Contadini 1995: 123, fig. 25).

Camels and castles: miscellaneous

Camel

Various bits of information about camel-shaped pieces (figuring as rooks or otherwise) turn up in modern chess histories. Examples are Golombek 1976: 27-8 and Eales 1985: 30. These remarks are not always well documented, and this tends to confuse the discussion. Whether there is any connection with the "camel" association mentioned above, is doubtful. The references apparently go back to Thomas Hyde's *Historia shahihudi* of 1694, mentioned, for instance, by McDonnell (1898: 136 n. 2), which gives an illustration showing what is supposed to be a rook represented as a camel.

The association may also have its base in the various references in Islamic sources to chess variants in which an extra piece, a camel, was added to the game. Two examples:

a) there is Firdausi's account of a game on a ten-by-ten square board, where an extra piece, a camel, was put between "horse" and "elephant" (ref., without exact source information, in McDonnell (1898: 134 and also in Murray 1913: 214). See, however, Mas'ûdi, *Muruj* (1964-79: V, 219): there this type of chess is described, and the extra piece is called *dabbāba*, interpreted (ed. Barbier de Meynard, VIII: 31) as "war machine; maybe the *turris ambulatrix* of Vitruvius".⁹

b) there is the story about the grammarian al-Khalil b. Ahmad, who added a camel on the outside of the *rūkh*. Some editions of Mas'ûdi's *Muruj adh-Dhahab* do contain this story. Pellat (1966-70: V, 219) gives it in a note, adding other sources for it.

Castle

How the identification of "rook" with a castle came about in the later European tradition, is a matter for speculation. According to Murray (1913: 772) it first appeared "in the fifth edition of Damiano, published between 1524 and 1550". It has been suggested that people connected "rook", *rochus* in Latin, with the Italian *rocca*, which indicates a fortress (Murray 1913: 792-3).

shape of a Bactrian camel that were used in a variety of chess that occurred among some North Asian tribes. This game also included the chariot. See Murray 1913: 371, after Savenkoff.
⁹ Cf. Pareja 1935: II, C, note 2.

Visual impressions will also have done something here: if one looks at abstract rooks, the ones with a square base with two, sometimes three simple protuberances, it is not difficult to imagine how they came to evoke the crenellated tower of a castle.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aristotle. 1965-91. *Historia Animalium*. Vol. I and II: ed. and tr. A. L. Peck, vol. III ed. and tr. D.M. Balme and A. Gotthelf. London-Cambridge Mass. Loeb Classical Library 437-9.
- Aristotélès. 1977. 'Abd ar-Rahmân Badawî (ed.). *Tibâ' al-Hayawân. Tariqat Yûhannâ ibn al-Birîq*. Kuwait.
- Contadini, Anna. 1995. "Islamic Ivory Chess Pieces, Draughtsmen and Dice". In: James Allen (ed.) *Islamic Art in the Ashmolean Museum. Part One. Oxford Studies in Islamic Art X*. Oxford 1995. Pp. 111-154.
- ad-Damîrî. 1963/1383. *Hayât al-hayawân*. 2 vols. Cairo.
- Dozy, R. 1881. *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*. 2 vols. Leiden.
- Eales, R. 1985. London.
- Glossarium latino-arabicum exvico qui exstat codice leidensi undecimo saeculo in Hispania conscripto*. 1900. Ed. C.F. Seybold. Berlin.
- Golombek, Harry. 1976. *A History of Chess*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Ibn Sinâ. 1970/1390. *Ash-Shifâ'. Ai-Tabî'iyât 8: Al-Hayawân*.
- Edd. 'Abd alhalim Muntasir, Sa'id Zâyid. 'Abdallah Ismâ'il. Preface by Ibrahim Maadhûr. Cairo.
- Jones, W. 1790. "On the Indian Game of Chess". *Asiatic Researches*. London 1790, 159-65.
- K. *ash-Shairanjî*. 1986. *Kitâb ash-shairanjî minnâ allafahu l-'Adî wa-s-Sûfi wa-ghayrhumâ* (Book on Chess: Kitâb al-Shairanjî. Selected (sic) texts from al-'Adî, Abû Bakr al-Sûfi and others). Frankfurt a/M. - *Publications of the Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science*. Ed. F. Sezgin. Series C: Facsimile Editions. Vol. 34. (Facsimile edition of MS. Süleymaniye Library, Lala Ismail Collection 560/1, 2, ff. 1a-133a).
- Koningsveld, P. Sij. 1976. *The Latin-Arabic Glossary of the Leiden University Library*. Diss. Leiden.
- Krug, Renke. 1999. "On Animals: excerpts of Aristotle and Ibn Sinâ in Marwazi's *Taba'i' al-hayawân*." In: Carlos Steel et al., (eds.), *Aristotle's Animals in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*. Leuven 1999, 91-120.
- Lévi-Provencal, C. 1950-67. *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*. 3 vols. Paris/Leiden.
- MacDonell, A.A. 1898. "The origin and early history of chess". *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 30, 1898, pp. 117-48.
- al-Marwazi, Sharaf az-Zamân. *Kitâb Tabâ'i' al-Hayawân*. MS UCLA Ar. 52. See A.Z. Iskandar, *A descriptive list of Arabic manuscripts on medicine and science at the University of California, Los Angeles*, Leiden 1984, pp. 75-6.
- al-Mas'ûdi. 1861-77. C. Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille (eds. and tr.), *Macoudi. Les Prairies d'Or*. 9 vols. Paris.
- al-Mas'ûdi. 1966-70. *Muruj adh-dhahab wa-ma'âdin al-jawâhir*. Ed. Ch. Pellat. 3 vols. Beirut.
- Murray, H.J.R. 1913. *A History of Chess*. Oxford.
- Pastoureau, Michel. 1990. *L'échiquier de Charlemagne: un jeu pour ne pas jouer*. Paris.
- Rosenthal, F. 1975. *Gambling in Islam*. Leiden.
- Rosenthal, F. "Shairanjî". *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition, Leiden 1960. Vol. IX, 366-8.
- Savenkoff, E.V. 1905. *Kroposu op evolutsiâ shakhmatnoi egry. Sravnitelno-emoğraficheskîe ocherk*. Otkâsk éz Ixiv kn. Emofatâch. Obozrâniya. Moscow.

- Vocabulista in Arabico*. 1871. Ed. C. Schiaparelli. Florence.
 Wieber, Reinhard. 1972. *Das Schachspiel in der arabischen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zur zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*. Walldorf-Hessen: Verlag für Orientkunde Dr. H. Vorndran. *Beiträge zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte des Orients* 22.
 Wilske, C. 1969. *Das Lugabanda-epos*. Wiesbaden.
 Wilkinson, C.K. 1968. *Chess: East and West, Past and Present, a selection from the Gustavus A. Pfeiffer Collection* Introd. by C.K. Wilkinson. Catalogue by J. McNab Dennis, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1968.

NOTES ON SOME TURKISH NAMES IN ABU 'L-FADL BAYHAQĪ'S TĀRĪKH-I MAS'ŪDĪ

by

Clifford Edmund Bosworth

Manchester

For Franz Rosenthal on his eighty-fifth birthday

I. Introduction

Islamic historians, at home in Arabic and Persian, have tended to ignore or to skate over Turkish linguistic and other elements which they have come across in the Arabic and Persian chronicles. Most of the early copyists of the manuscripts of such chronicles were ill-equipped to render Turkish linguistic materials in the first place. Certainly, many wrote under dynasties whose ruling strata were Turkish, since at various times, rulers who were ethnically Turkish in origin were to be found right across the Islamic world, from Algiers to Bengal, from Yemen to Siberia, but such Turkish-directed states in the Arab-Persian heartlands usually depended on an administrative and secretarial classes whose working languages would be Arabic or Persian. Not until the Ottoman sultanate developed its own Turkish cultural and literary traditions from the later fifteenth century onwards, and not until Chaghatay emerged as a flexible and expressive literary medium in the fifteenth century under the Chaghatayids and Timurids, did Osmanlı and Chaghatay Turkish come into their own as literary media, and the secretarial class in the lands where these tongues flourished had to add to its ancient mastery of Arabic and Persian a sound knowledge of Turkish, i.e. Turkish was no longer essentially, as it had earlier been, an oral means of communication among the Turkish military and governing classes.

Before the early twentieth century, European scholars, faced with Turkish names and titles in the Arabic and Persian historical and literary texts before them, had only inadequate means for elucidating these. Outside the Ottoman Turkish realm, the two standbys for reference were M. Pavet de Courteille's *Dictionnaire turc-oriental, destiné principalement à faciliter la lecture des ouvrages de Bâber, d'Aboul-Gâzi et de Mir-'Ali Chitir-Nevâi* (Paris