

Golf on the Rhine: On the Origins of Golf, with Sidelights on Polo

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Polo is perhaps the most ancient of games. All our best games are derived from it, and cricket, golf, hockey, and the national Irish game of hurling are all descendants of polo.

T.F. Dale¹

Comparisons between ancient continental games and Scottish golf make an interesting study, with balance of evidence in favour of Scotland.

*Encyclopaedia Britannica*²

The exact origins of golf will never be identified with any certainty, but wherever the practice of striking balls with clubs or sticks started, there can be no doubt the game as we know it began in Scotland probably six hundred years ago.

Sandy Mathewson, Captain, Royal and
Ancient Golf Club, August 1998

Uebrigens ist es bemerkenswerth, daß auch von diesem Spiele [curling] gilt, was überhaupt von den meisten Künsten und Erfindungen gilt, daß die Briten nicht ihre Erfinder, sondern ihre Verbesserer waren. Die Flamländer sollen das Spiel in Schottland vor 400 Jahren eingeführt haben.

Johann Georg Kohl³

The claim of golf's Scottish origins has always rested on two pillars, if the Acts of the Parliament of Scotland from the reigns of James II and James IV may so be called. In a resolution of the fourteenth parliament convened in Edinburgh on 6 March 1457, the games of football and golf ('futbawe and ye golf') were banned with a vengeance ('utterly cryt done').⁴ In the resolution passed in 1491, football, golf and other useless games were outlawed altogether ('fut bawis gouff or uthir sic unprofitable sports').⁵ In addition, both Acts enjoin the Scottish people to practise archery, a sport which, it is claimed, might be put to good use in defending the country. In the existing golf 'histories', the above-mentioned pillars can also be said to have defined the limits of navigation for the Anglo-Saxon golf historian, not unlike the Pillars of Hercules of yore.⁶ The purpose of this article is to show that this claim of Scottish origin is unsubstantiated and to bring to the

attention of golf historians new source material which proves the continental origin of Scotland's national game.⁷ At the same time, the time-honoured view that polo may have been influential in the genesis of golf will be reviewed and it will be shown that, although there is no basis for such an assumption, polo nevertheless tips the scales in favour of a continental origin of golf in an intriguing and decisive way.

The Sorcerer Merlin, the First Prophet of a Flemish Origin of Golf

As early as 1360, the authorities of the city of Brussels issued regulations very similar to the Acts of the Scottish Parliament which threatened citizens indulging in the game of golf with either a fine of twenty shillings or the confiscation of their upper garment ('Wie met Colven tsolt es om twintich scell[inge] oft op hare ouerste cleet').⁸ There are several conclusions to be drawn from this text. First, the Scottish term *golf* appears to be derived of Middle Dutch *kolf*, or *kolve*, which denoted a shepherd's crook. Second, the Scottish Acts did not refer to the game of golf as we know it; even in its early days golf was so innocent that nobody would have had a reason to declare it illegal. The regulations of Brussels were aimed at the game of *soule à la crosse* which was notorious for the many injuries and fatalities resulting from it. The occurrence of the verb form *tsolt*, 'plays the *soule* game' (an inflected form of *tsollen* which corresponded to French *souler*) makes such this conclusion inevitable.

The validity of this interpretation becomes evident from the Flemish version of a story which has been part of the literary tradition connected with the legendary King Arthur since the ninth century. After prolonged searches, emissaries of King Vortigern finally encounter the sorcerer Merlin, offspring of the devil, in front of the gates of a town where he is playing a club and ball game. Merlin, possessed with prophetic gifts, knew that Vortigern's men were looking for a child without a father and that he, since he had been begotten by the devil, fitted this requirement. In order to attract their attention, he raised his club and dealt one of his fellow players a vicious blow to the shinbone. The victim of the blow responded immediately, as Merlin knew he would, by calling Merlin a child without a father (a so-called 'indirect speech act', the implicature of this insult being that Merlin's mother was a whore!). In one of the early versions of the story, Robert de Boron's verse novel *Joseph d'Armathie – Merlin*, a verse composition in the dialect of northern France, Merlin's pastime is expressly referred to as the game of *soule à la crosse* (northern French *choulloient* for Parisian French *soulaient*, 'they played at *soule*'), and the club which Merlin wields so very impressively is a shepherd's crook (northern French *croche* for *crosse*).⁹ By a happy coincidence, the same story was adapted by Jacob van Maerlant, a poet who was born in Flanders

and educated in Bruges where he became a clerk in holy orders. In his *Histoire van den Grale – Merlijns boec* (c.1261) he turned the episode from Merlin's life into the following four-beat rhyming couplets:¹⁰

De vier voren zu lange to samen	These four [emissaries] rode together
Dat ze to enen dorpe quamen	Until they arrived at a village.
Dar liepen harde vale kinder	Quite a few young lads were running there
Jn enen mersche meere vnde mynder	On a meadow more or less quickly,
Vnde slogen dar eyne bal	And there were striking a ball.
Merlijn de dit wiste al	Merlin who knew all that
Sach de boden want he was daer	Saw the emissaries, since he was also there,
Vnde gaff den rikesten enen slach	And dealt the strongest lad
Van den dorpe dat le lach	Of the village on the leeward side
	[?] a blow
Mit ener koluen vor zine schene	To his shinbone with a club
Omb dat ene schelden zolde de gene	In order that he should insult him,
Dat kint weende vnde sprack to merlijne wart	The lad turned about and, addressing Merlin, he said:
Onreyne vaderloze bastart.	'[You] dirty, fatherless bastard!'

This literary source confirms that the bans levelled at the game of golf during the reigns of James II and James IV were actually imposed on the violent game of *soule à la crosse*. We therefore have to conclude that golf as we know it was at the time unknown in Scotland. Whenever golf was mentioned, the term referred to the brutal game of hockey.

The Legend of Darius and Alexander

At this point, it is worth considering an anecdote from the life of the greatest military leader of antiquity, Alexander the Great. It has tickled the fancy of men of letters from the dawn of European history until the waning of the Middle Ages, to use Huizinga's famous term, the time we are discussing here. On the point of embarking on his campaign against the Persian empire, Alexander received several gifts from his antagonist, the mighty Darius, King of Persia. What has proved especially intriguing among these gifts is a ball – it has helped to solve many a mystery in the history of European ball games.

As a rule, sources from Greek and Roman antiquity were adapted by medieval authors to suit their readers' taste. This story has therefore been a notable example of how by tracing the history of literary motifs light can be shed on the origins and diffusion of games.¹¹ It has served as a model for the famous tennis-ball episode in Shakespeare's *Henry V*, and its many ramifications in pre-Shakespearean literature have yielded important clues in reconstructing the history of tennis.¹²

However, tennis was neither the oldest nor the only game with which medieval authors chose to associate Darius's gift. As we shall see they also in a remarkable way shed light on the evolution of two bat and ball games, polo and golf.

The Western Version of the Story

An early source of the story was a Greek romance of Alexander attributed to Callisthenes, Peripatetic and one of Alexander's campaigners,¹³ and completed by a native of Alexandria in the third century AD.¹⁴ According to this story, Alexander, after having overthrown the city of Tyros, was marching along the coast of Syria when he was met by emissaries of Darius who presented him with three gifts from their master: a leather thong or whip (*skutos*), a ball and a coffer (*kibotion*) filled with gold.¹⁵ The King of Persia explained his gifts in a letter: The whip was meant to remind Alexander that he was still a child and needed education for which, in the orient of old at least, the whip was apparently considered indispensable. The ball was also intended to make him remember his childishness, albeit in a less painful way. The letter explained that Darius was sending the ball so that Alexander could play with other children of his age rather than seduce young people into pillaging his cities. Finally, the coffer of gold indicated that Darius had more than enough riches and that he was sending it in order that Alexander might give his companions their due if he ran short of provisions, so that each could return safely to his country. The letter concluded that if Alexander did not obey his orders, Darius would dispatch soldiers to seize him and he would be nailed to the cross like a renegade.

At first, Alexander wanted to vent his anger on Darius's messengers but he decided instead to treat them well and send them back to their master with his own interpretation of the gifts.¹⁶ Alexander's letter claimed that the whip referred to the weapons with which he would punish the barbarians and make them his slaves. He told Darius that the ball denoted the earth which he would bring under his rule and explained that the coffer with gold was an important foreboding since it showed that Darius would pay tribute after he had been defeated.

This story was soon adopted by the Latin authors responsible for two rather distinct variations on the theme. In the fourth century AD, Julius Valerius Alexander Polemius, perhaps not too familiar with the Greek word *skutos* of his source, turned Darius's whip, rather ambiguously, into *habena Scythica*, which could either mean a Scythian whip or a Scythian bridle.¹⁷ Both images were undoubtedly very suitable as symbols for the chastising of an unruly child and that is why, when the story was eventually taken up by Walter of Châtillon (Gualterus de Castellione; fl. 1170–80) in his famous *Alexandreis*,¹⁸ it is by no means clear whether he was talking of a whip or a bridle.¹⁹ The plural noun *lora* which Walter selected denoted, as did *habena*, a whip as well as a bridle. Accordingly, both medieval and modern adaptors and translators were free to opt for either the whip or the bridle, or indeed both, as is evidenced by the author of the famous *Roman d'Alexandre*. He picked the rod (*verge de lis*)²⁰ as well as the reins (*frains*) ?as if/so as to make sure that the unruly Alexander was thoroughly chastised.²¹ When Walter was translated by Jacob van Maerlant in the thirteenth century, the Flemish poet decided in favour of the image of the bridle after embellishing it to suit the somewhat rude taste of his readers: according to Maerlant both Darius and Alexander are very keen on treating their antagonists like horses – hence his preference for the bridle.²² Modern translators have bestowed their favours on both options.²³

The Eastern Version of the Story and the Emergence of Polo

From an early time, perhaps from the very beginning, there must have existed a tradition very different from the story related in Pseudo-Callisthenes. It must have been a story which viewed Darius's gifts from an oriental perspective which therefore appeared in a different form.

The first idea of what the original eastern version may have been like is given by two ancient Persian writers, the famous historian Tabári (839–923), and, after him, the poet Nizami (d. 1209). Though writing in Arabic from his residence in Bagdad, Tabári was nevertheless a true son of ancient Persia and therefore can be said to have had the customs of her peoples at his finger tips.²⁴

According to a source other than Hisham [b. Muhammad]: When Darius's son Darius became king, he ordered a vast city to be built in the Jazirah, and he named it Daranawa – it is called Dara today. He also reports that Darius built and equipped it with everything necessary, and that Philip, the father of Alexander the Greek, reigned over a Greek land known as Macedonia and other lands that he had occupied. He concluded a peace treaty with Darius, under which he

paid an annual tribute to the latter. Philip died, and his son Alexander succeeded him, but he did not send the tribute that his father used to send. This brought the wrath of Darius upon him; Darius wrote to him upbraiding him for the misdeed of stopping the payment of the tribute his father used to pay, and so forth, and (saying) that it was youth and ignorance that led him to withhold what his father used to send in tribute. Darius sent to Alexander a polo mallet (sawlajan), a ball, and a load of sesame. In a written message he stated that Alexander was a boy, and that he should play with the polo mallet and ball, but not function or parade as a king. Should he not confine himself to this order, and should he assume kingship and rebel, then he, Darius, would send an emissary to fetch him in shackles; and (he stated) that the soldiers of Darius were as numerous as the grains of sesame (he) sent to Alexander.

In reply, Alexander wrote to Darius that he understood the message. (He said) that he had looked at the polo mallet and the ball sent to him, and saw therein a good omen (that is, he would) throw the thrower of the ball to the mallet, and drag him with the ball. He likened the earth to the ball, and declared that he would drag the realm of Darius to his own kingdom and country, (and this) into his domain. In the same light, he viewed the sesame went to him; although abundant, it was neither bitter nor pungent. Along with his letter, he sent Darius a sack of mustard and told him that what he was sending was small in size but that in pungency, bitterness and strength, it equalled the gift of sesame, and that his army fully answered this description.

Nizami relates more or less the same story but he makes a few additions and embellishments. He has, for instance, Sikandar-Alexander pour the sesame seed in his palace courtyard where it is pecked by his birds; he says this illustrated the manner in which Dārā's army would be annihilated by his. The implication of the pungent mustard seed sent in return is that it is seldom devoured by birds. Likewise, Dārā's army would be unable to overcome Sikandar's.²⁵

Unfortunately, Tabāri does not name his source²⁶ but Nizami at least declared that his book of Alexander was founded on authentic records of the Greeks and Jews as well as on volumes written in the Pahlavi or the ancient Persian language.²⁷ We may therefore speculate about what these sources may have been like and where they might have come from.

The most interesting feature of Nizami's version of the story, absent from all versions we have considered so far, is the fact that two of the royal gifts are related to each other in an intelligent way. Typically, Darius sent

Alexander a chaugān stick, an implement used in his own national game. Alexander, however, was either ignorant about this game, or deliberately reinterpreted the gift in terms of one of the Greeks' national games for which a curved stick was also used – the game of *keretizein*! The object of this game was to drag the ball towards one's own area by means of a stick curved at its end. It is illustrated by a bas relief of about 480–70 BC on one of three bases integrated into a somewhat more recent layer of the Themistoclean wall.²⁸ Incidentally, Tabāri constitutes a noteworthy written testimony of how the Greek game, mysteriously called 'the horn game' (presumably after the stick curved like an animal's horn), was actually played, a question about which there has been considerable uncertainty among scholars.²⁹

How could Tabāri have had access to a source which showed such familiarity with Persian and Greek games alike? Such a source could well have originated in ancient Byzantium where customs from Greek antiquity may have lingered on but where the game of polo is known to have been played, on a specially designed pitch referred to by the Greek term *sphairodromion* or, by a loan word adapted from Persian, *tzykanisterion*,³⁰ from the reign of the Emperor Theodosius II (408–50 AD) until the overthrow of the Eastern empire by the Turks.³¹ From Byzantium, no doubt the story could well have made its way to Bagdad, Tabāri's place of residence, which is known to have been in the Arabic world the hub of western knowledge.³²

In the West, apart from the literary tradition of the Alexander romance, polo became known through the testimony of Liutprandus of Cremona who accounted for the embassies he undertook to the Byzantine court in 949 and 968 in two works: *Liber antapodoseos* and *Legatio ad imperatorem Constantinopolitanum*.³³ In his *Liber antapodoseos*, he mentioned the magnitude of the polo ground (*Zucanistrii magnitudo*) within the imperial palace.³⁴ The first informant from the British Isles was an Irish monk, Symon Semeonis (FitzSimon), who made a pilgrimage from Clonmel to the Holy Land in 1323–24 and gave an account of the game as it was played in Cairo by the Mameluke Sultan Al Malik-al-Nasir and his noblemen. He likened it to the game of hockey played with ball and curved stick by shepherds in Christian countries, the difference being that the Egyptians played it on horseback.³⁵ The first Englishmen to report on polo were the three Sherley brothers who visited the court of the Mogul Emperor Akbar (1542–1602),³⁶ and Thomas Hyde, Oxford Professor of Arabic and vice-librarian of the Bodleian Library. The adventures of the Sherleys were recorded by their secretary, George Manwaring, who compared polo with the game of football in contemporary England.³⁷ Thomas Hyde gave an account of the game in his *De ludis orientalibus* in which he included remarkably specific terminology.³⁸

At an early date, Tabári's version may have come to the attention of western writers such as the Neapolitan archpresbyter Leo whose translation *Nativitas et victoria Alexandri Magni regis* originated between 869 and 951 AD.³⁹ Of course, Leo may himself have rendered Greek *skutos* by Latin *virga*, 'rod', but it is much more likely that he found some equivalent of it in an earlier (presumably Greek) version influenced by the eastern tradition. At any rate, in much the same way as Tabári he chose to associate the rod (*virga*) with Darius's ball and conceived of it as an implement used in the game Darius had wanted young Alexander to engage in. That is why he described the rod as *curvata*, curved.⁴⁰ Here the question is, what kind of game Leo had in mind when he penned the words *virga curvata*. However, it can hardly be doubted that the game referred to in his source must have been polo. Such a view is supported by the next adaptation of the story in a work known as *Historia de preliis* of which three different recensions (J1-3) appeared between the eleventh century and 1236.⁴¹ One feature of this version of the story, in which both Darius and Alexander strictly observe the rules of the medieval art of elegant letter writing, *ars dictaminis*, is a conference Darius has with the refugees from Tyre in which the king himself gives orders for his gifts to be sent to his Greek antagonist. Here we could well be listening to Darius's own words when Latin *virga curva a capite*, 'rod curved at the head', is paraphrased by *qui grece zocani dicitur*, 'which in Greek is called (a) zocani'. Of course, as we have seen, contrary to what the text says, *zocani* is not a Greek but rather a Persian word and, to judge from the many variant spellings with which they experimented – *zocanis*, *zocanis*, *çocanis*, *zocani*, *zochani*, *çocani*, *çocane*, *zocatus*, *zocam*, *zoca*, *zonam*⁴² – the term must have completely bewildered medieval scribes.

I will now quote, because it is very likely to assume a key role, not only in the history of golf but also in future discussions on the evolution of European ball games, from recension J2 the letter in which Alexander gives the gifts of the Persian king a different interpretation. For comparison, I will also include a fifteenth century French prose translation.⁴³

Epistola Alexandri ad Darium ...

De eo autem quod direxisti nobis pilam ludicram et zocani cum quo luderem atque cantram auream cum qua exerceam et cogitem iocandi causam, hoc futurum in me esse intelligo; pro rotunditatem pile intelligo quia subiugabitur mihi imperium totius orbis; per zocani intelligo quia sicut illud curvum est a capite, sic curvabunt ante me capita omnes potentissimi reges; per cantram auream intelligo me esse victoriam et censum ab omnibus hominibus recipere, quia tu qui magnus es et excelsus pre omnibus primum censum nobis misisti cantram auream.

A tres haut emperor et poissant Dayre ...

je ai ja veü apertes ensaignes d'ataindre as chozes desusdites en ce que vous m'aves envoié .i. estuef reont et une crosse d'or et une corgie por moi solacier. Dont je entens par la reondece de l'estuef que je conquerrai tout le monde qui est reons et recevrai de tous les princes dou monde le treü si com je ai comenchié de vous par les presens que vous m'aves envoiés; par la crosse [que vous m'envoïastes] si entent je que tout aussi com ele est courbe au bout, ensi se corberont et enclineront tout li chief des poissans hommes devant moi; et par l'escorgie que l'en doit mander al mestre et non pas au desciple, si entens je que je chastierai tous cheaus qui ne me voldront/envoier le treü aussi cortoisement que vous avés fait, douquel je vous merchie mout et me tieng du treü et des lettres mout bien a paiié par les raisons [de]susdites.'

We, Alexander ... inform Darius ...

As for the playing ball and the crook with which to play and the gold coffer by which you meant me to exercise my brains and to think of the reason for your jesting, I understand this to lie in store for me: by the roundness of the ball, I understand that the empire of the whole earth will surrender to me; by the crook, because it is curved at the head, I understand that the most powerful kings will all bend their heads before me; by the gold coffer, I understand that I shall be victorious and receive the tribute from all mankind since you, who are great and excel all others, were the first to give us our tribute by sending us the gold coffer.

If we consider the French prose version of the story, matters take a most interesting turn. Not only was its author apparently influenced by the Western tradition (hence his adoption of the scourge, *l'escorgie*) but, unable to make sense of the strange *zocani*, turned the *virga curvata* into a solid French hockey stick, a *crosse*, although it is difficult to explain why it should have been of made of gold.

This is what we shall bear in mind as we now turn to the British Isles. Here we find the story of Darius's ball incorporated into an Anglo-Norman romance by Thomas of Kent as early as the second half of the twelfth century.⁴⁴ Towards the end of the twelfth century, this was adapted by the author of the romance *Kyng Alisaunder*.⁴⁵ It also appeared in *The Prose Life of Alexander*⁴⁶ and, around the middle of the fifteenth century, an unknown Lancashire author elaborated upon it in an alliterative romance, *The Wars of Alexander the Great*.⁴⁷ In one way or another, all these authors had access to the western tradition of the story and adapted it more or less faithfully. Only the Lancashire poet added a new touch by transforming the nondescript ball

of old, in much the same way as the *Brut* chronicle before him,⁴⁸ into a more fashionable tennis-ball (hand-ball).⁴⁹

However, there is a notable exception from this rule in the work of a Scotsman, Sir Gilbert Hay.⁵⁰ Hay was presumably born in either 1399 or 1400 which would tally with the fact that a certain Gilbertus de Haya was a 'determinant' at St. Andrews University (of all places, in view of what he has done, to Scotland's golfing heritage) in 1418 and took his Master's degree there one year later, in April 1419.⁵¹ He then seems to have begun to study canon law in Paris, receiving his degree in either 1422 or 1423.⁵² Meanwhile, Scots forces had landed in France in 1419 to assist the French in their struggle against the invading armies of Henry V. It is possible that this is why Hay's name could appear, in 1421, in a muster-roll for the Scottish expeditionary force under the Earl of Buchan and the Earl of Douglas,⁵³ and in another roll of 1422–23 when he was a captain in charge of six men-at-arms and 18 archers.⁵⁴ In July 1429, the Scotsman witnessed to the coronation of Charles VII in Reims. He was present at the siege of Orleans and knighted after the battle of Senlis by no less a personage than the French king himself.⁵⁵ Because of his good command of French and the necessity of communicating with his allies from Scotland, Charles made him chamberlain of his household. After a stay in France of no fewer than 24 years,⁵⁶ Hay in all likelihood returned to his native country late in 1443 or 1444.⁵⁷ In 1448, his name appeared in a Papal Letter concerning money he had loaned to a certain John Stewart, deceased, which Stewart's brother refused to repay.⁵⁸ Hay also appears in a will made by Alexander of Dunbeath in which a silver collar is bequeathed to him.⁵⁹ The last record relating to him is an entry in the Exchequer Rolls of Scotland of 1459 stating that he received a Robe of Honour from James II.⁶⁰ He is believed not to have lived much beyond 1470.⁶¹

An expert in the French language he became, on behalf of his patron, William Sinclair,⁶² Earl of Orkney and Caithness,⁶³ the translator of various treatises such as the *The Buke of the Ordre of Knychthede*, *The Buke of the Gouvernaunce of Princis* and the *Buke of the Law of Armys* (written around 1456).

Hay's only poetic work seems to have been the *Buik of King Alexander the Conquerour*. His authorship has recently been disputed⁶⁴ but in the issue at hand this is irrelevant since the only thing which really matters is the fact that the romance was composed by a Scotsman in the second half of the fifteenth century and can thus be said to be fairly contemporary with the acts of parliament we have been discussing: According to Sally Mapstone, the version which has survived was compiled by an unidentified writer around 1499 who made substantial use of Hay's earlier poem composed c.1460.⁶⁵

Hay adapted his *Buik* from the French *Roman d'Alexandre* and two Latin works, the *Secretum Secretorum* and one of the three recensions (J2) of *The Historia de Preliis Alexandri Magni*.⁶⁶ However, there is no denying the fact that he was almost certainly indebted to the French prose version quoted above, at least in his treatment of the ball episode.⁶⁷

[Off the forraye of Gadderis]

Therefore I rede that thou draw
the arere,
And to thai dame thou pas in
thi cuntrie,
With barnis to play, and lat the
were-fare be,

For men of Pers ma no mare
nowmerit be
Na sternis in lift, nor sandis into
the se.
And ane golf-staff to driff the
ball withall,

As barnis dois in cities for to
play,
And counsaes the that thou pas
hame thai way,
And sulk ane quhile apoun thai
moderis kne,
Quhill bettir starkyn for the were
thow be.
With that ane scourge to drive ane
top also,
For barnis sayis it will the glader
go;

A chaiplet als here I of gold the
send,
Like till a myter, that foly sould
pretend,
In barnis plais or into desgysing –

It settis the bettir na counterfete
ane king.

I send the ball for it betakynnys

[On the Forage of Gaza]⁶⁸

Therefore I advise you to retreat

And to return to your country and
your mother
In order to play there with children,
and to abandon warfare,

For the people of Persia can even
less be counted
Than the stars in the air, or the sands
in the sea.
Therefore I am here sending you a
ball for playing,

And a crook with which to drive the
ball
Like children do in town in order to
play,
And I advise you that you take your
way home
And to sulk for a while on your
mother's knee,
Until you have become stronger for
war.
In addition, [I] also [give you] a
whip to spin a top,

For children say it will spin more
merrily [with it],
I am also sending you a little cap of
gold
Resembling a mitre meant to denote
folly
In children's games or when people
disguise themselves –

It suits you better not to pretend to

play,
 Sa dois the staff that wissis it
 the way;

The scourge betakynnys
 chastiment to the,
 That as an barne that thow mot
 chastyt be;
 The myter als is takynnyng of
 Thow hes done in thi barnhede
 wantonlye;
 The gold betakynnys riches to
 habound,
 For vnder the hevin thare is na
 richer ground
 And becaus thow art of ane pure
 cuntrie,
 I gert it mak of gold to send to the
 Giff thow dois nocht my bidding
 haistalie,
 I sall gar the be punyst creuely,

Nocht as a kingis sone of
 Massedone,
 Bot as a prince of reiffaris⁷⁰
 and patrone.

be a king.
 I am sending you a ball for it
 denotes play,
 So does the club that shows it the
 way
 The whip is a token of punishment
 for you,
 That you must be punished like a
 child;
 The mitre⁶⁹ is also a symbol of folly,
 In your childhood, you have been
 unruly;
 The gold denotes riches which
 abound,
 For under the sky there is no richer
 ground [than Persia],
 And because you have come from a
 poor country,
 I had it made of gold in order to
 send it to you.
 If you do not obey my orders in
 haste,
 I shall have you cruelly punished,
 Not as befits the king of
 Macedonia's son,
 But as the prince and patron [of a
 gang] of robbers.

It is clear from Hay's use of the term *golf-staff* that he cannot have considered young Alexander a golf player. The term *crosse* in his French source, for one meant 'stick used in soule à la crosse' and the fact that Hay had lived in France where he is likely to have become acquainted with this game precludes the possibility that he is referring to a game resembling modern golf. For another, the game he alludes to used to be played, in Hay's own words, by 'barnis ... in cities', in the streets of Scottish towns where its followers constantly threatened to smash the windows of honourable citizens in the process.⁷¹ It is therefore completely out of the question that this text cites a fifteenth century example of golf. Rather, this is another instance of the medieval hockey encountered in the story of the 'barn' Merlin.⁷² In the discussion about the meaning of the word 'golf' in the Acts

from the reigns of the James II and James IV, it is worth quoting the opinion of Eric Midwinter as expressed in an article on the origins of cricket: 'the usage of the name [cricket] is not very significant, unless we know exactly what it entailed in practice ... Thus, by the strictest definition of historical evidence, we require both the name, and its attachment to some description which is recognisable cricket, before it is safe to talk about the origin of the game.'⁷³ All these requirements are finally met by Hay. If in the first part of his narrative he used the term *golf-staff*, in his continuation of the story, although in so doing he may not be considered a grammatical model, Hay also supplements the necessary description.⁷⁴ In his answer to Darius, Alexander goes on to liken the ball to the orb, the symbol of royal power, which Darius has to render to him. The crooked stick, however, not only means that Darius has been forced into submission but also that Darius and his barons would be at Alexander's beck and call from then on in the same way as a *soule* ball chased to and fro by opposing teams.

And as belanging to thir similitudis	As for the likeness of the things
Thow hes me send, the quhilck baith fare and gude is,	which you have sent me which are both beautiful and good,
As to the ball, the O may liknyt be, Quhilck is baith sound and round in all degrie,	as for the ball, the [?letter] O can be likened [to it] which is both healthy and
Off quhilck thow sayis hale emprioure thow was,	round in every way of which, you say, you were
And be the ball resignit to me thow has;	the emperor entirely; and by means of the ball you rendered it to me;
And of the crukit staff to cache the ball,	and as for the crooked stick with which to drive the ball,
That is the staff I mon the kepe withall,	this is the stick with which I intend to keep you,
And as it is crukit and bowand, sa sall thow	and since it is crooked and bending, so you
And all thai barnage vnto my bidding bow,	and all your baronage will bow to my orders,
And as the ball it caxis to and fra,	and like the ball which it strikes to and fro,
Sa sall ye at my bidding cum and ga;	so you will at my bidding come and go.

And as the scourge betakynnys chaistiment,	And like the scourge which denotes punishment,
Sa yow to me alhale the iugment	so [you will yield] to me the judgement of you
Off the and vtheris quhare thow was lord and king	and others over which you were lord and king;
Thow hes resignit to me thare punyssing.	to me you yielded [the power] to punish them.

One interesting feature of the text should not be overlooked, namely the verb used for the action of driving the ball. It is a verb loaned from Flemish, *cache* (ultimately from northern French *cachier*).⁷⁵ Together with *golf* (from Flemish *kolf*) it proves that not only the Scottish terminology of modern golf but even that of hockey had its roots on the European continent.⁷⁶ Generally speaking, Hay can be said not only to have followed the custom of medievalizing sources from Greek or Latin antiquity. He went a step further by Scotticizing them.

The custom of labelling hockey-like games as golf may have been preserved among Scottish inhabitants in the City of London until the middle of the nineteenth century. Immanuel Schmidt, a German observer writing in the 1850s, reported an annual solemn 'golf' match (*solemn Partie*) played on Blackheath Common near Greenwich in Scottish national costume to the ecstatic accompaniment of the bagpipe. Schmidt's description is illustrated by a woodcut said to have been adapted from a sketch by Gilbert on which a band of kilted highlanders is engaged, to judge from the shape of the heads of the sticks used, in a variety of shinty.⁷⁷ Of course, calling this game by the name of 'golf' may have been blunder on the part of the German.

This observation leads to a brief remark on polo. Polo was first introduced in England after the middle of the nineteenth century after it had been played by British tea planters in Assam. There is hardly any evidence that it was ever played in Europe before this date although there has been some speculation about whether it may have been a sport of crusading knights, especially the branch of knights residing at an eastern outpost of Europe, the Teutonic Order. In the Middle High German *Buch der Rügen*, a satire directed against the religious estates of the time, the crusaders are blamed for no longer leading the lives of spiritual children and for indulging in superfluity and frivolous living instead. In exchange for a short Ave Maria, they are nevertheless allowed to play *schaggûn*. However, the text continues that it would be better to abstain from it and to engage in some board game for a cup of wine.⁷⁸

und sît doch leider niht gelîch geistlîchen kinden, wan ir lât iuch vinden alle tage an ûppekeit und an manger lîhtekeit.	and [you] unfortunately are not like spiritual children for you allow yourselves to be found in superfluity every day and in many sorts of lighthearted- ness
mit schaggûn ist iu ein spil erloubet, der ez tuon wil umb âvê Mariâ: daz lât ir underwîlen dâ	with schaggûn a game is to you permitted (whosoever will do it) for a Hail Mary: which you are to abandon now and then
und spilt mit dem wihtelîn	in order to play with the little (?chess) men
ûf dem tisch um guoten wîn.	on the table for good wine.

Theodor von Karajan, the editor of *Das Buch der Rügen*, drawing on Johannes Voigt's *History of Prussia* in which knights of the Teutonic Order are forbidden to play games for money (except chess and *czackunen spele*),⁷⁹ ventured the opinion that the knights' pastime might have been encountered by members of the Order in Jerusalem while staying at the German house, and that it may have been identical with the *chaugân* game of the Persians, Arabs and Turks.⁸⁰ Although the Teutonic Knights can hardly be credited with having played this bat-and-ball game on horseback in the Hall of their Marienburg, it could nevertheless be assumed that *chaugân*, like so many other games, degenerated into a more civilized board game but retained its old name in the process. That polo, as was claimed by Sir William Ouseley and T.F. Dale, was the most ancient of all games and the source from which most of Europe's other competitive ball games (including golf) have sprung can be ruled out completely, although such a view has been expressed time and again in works dealing with the history of ball games.⁸¹

Golf in the Low Countries: the First Description of the Game

It has always been thought that the first source to give a description of golf is David Wedderburn's Latin-Scots phrase booklet *Vocabula* completed by 1636.⁸² Almost a century before, in 1545, a certain Pieter van Afferden, who as a true humanist called himself by the Latin pen name of Petrus Apherdianus, had put the finishing touches to a book entitled *Tyrocinium latinae linguae*,⁸³ which might be rendered by Recruits' Drill in the Latin Language. Pieter derived his name from a small village on the northern bank of the river Waal in the former duchy of Gelderland where he had been

born c.1510.⁸⁴ The village is located some 30 miles south of Harderwijk on the southern bank of the IJssel Lake. Pieter was a lecturer in Harderwijk from 1543–52, then rector at the municipal school until 1556 after which he was promoted to the Grote Latijnse School in Amsterdam⁸⁵ where he occupied first the post of conrector and then that of rector. As a result of the upheaval caused by the Reformation, Pieter was ousted from his position by the Protestant party (1578). He died in 1580 after several years eking out a living as a private tutor.⁸⁶

Not unlike Wedderburn's *Vocabula*, Pieter's *Tyrocinium* is a phrase book in which Latin phrases are matched with Dutch ones. Both books were written after the model of Erasmus of Rotterdam's *Colloquia familiaria* and designed to improve the use of Latin in everyday situations. That is why they contain chapters on sports and games, in much the same way as the *Colloquia*. However, contrary to the great Erasmus, Wedderburn and van Afferden saw fit to devote a whole chapter to the game of golf. The truly remarkable feature of van Afferden's book is not so much that it antedates that of his Scots colleague by almost a century, but that its treatment of the game is a great deal more elaborate. If, so far, we had come across the Dutch term of *kolf* and its Scots equivalent *golf* only in connection with *soule à la crosse*, Pieter's chapter 'De Clauis plumbatis' (On the [Game with the] Leaded Clubs)⁸⁷ allows no room for doubt that golf was also referred to by the term *kolven*, the infinitive of a verb derived from *kolf* turned into a noun: 'Vis ne ludamus claua plumbata?' ('Shan't we play with the leaded clubs?').⁸⁸ One of the players asks at the very beginning, in Dutch, 'Willen wy coluen?' At the same time we learn that the club is called a *kolf*: 'Ferire pilam claua/den bal met die colue slaen'.⁸⁹ The object of the game as described by Pieter is clearly to strike the ball into a hole, a feature that has stubbornly been denied the Dutch varieties of *kolf* or *kolven* in Scotland by self-appointed experts. One of the players is heard to rejoice 'I am not far from the hole' and he continues: 'I will go straight for the hole; I will can it easily.' The author might have gone one step further by calling the hole a *put* but that would certainly have been too much of a good thing. He refers to it as *cuyt*, (*kuil* in Modern Dutch, *Kuhle* in German). Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that we have here before us the sixteenth century prototype of modern golf. In exactly the same way as billiards, modern golf owes its name to the club used in it, the shepherd's crook. Incidentally, the term *kolf* (variant *kolve*)⁹⁰ corresponds to the German *Kolben*, 'piston', a parallel which seems strange only against the background of modern German usage. Those consulting a historical dictionary would soon realize that in former times the term could denote the shepherd's crook even in this language.⁹¹

What Wedderburn does not seem to have taken into consideration is the formulation of rules. Even in St. Andrews, as is well known, the first 13

rules were adapted from earlier ones of the Company of Gentlemen Golfers of Edinburgh (1744) as late as 1754 only.⁹² Pieter van Afferden's text is also exceptional in its implication of the existence of rules and the violation of these by some of the players.

Rule Number One

Who misses the ball (thus producing a 'silent one'), loses the right to strike, wastes a stroke. ('Qui aberrat à pila, perdit ius feriendi/die mist/die verliest sinen slach.')

Rule Number Two

To step onto the teeing ground before it is one's turn is against the rules since a certain order of play (*behoorte, beurt* in Modern Dutch) has to be observed. ('Ego vicem tuam obibo/ick sal voor v spelen. Haud moris est, obseruat quisque suam vicem/dat is gheen manier/een yegelijc houde zijn behoorte.')

Rule Number Three

A player must be allowed to swing freely, his fellows have to step back. ('Abscedite parum, dum feriam/wijckt een weynich soo langhe als ick slaec.')

Rule Number Four

A golfer is not allowed to stand in the light of his partner. ('gaet wt dat licht./A luce absitis, ...')

Rule Number Five

In order to putt, the ball has to be struck; merely pushing it is forbidden. ('Tu ducis pilam/ghy leyt den bal. Haud me fallunt tue artes/ic weet v boeuerije wel.')

Because of the explicitness of Pieter's text it seems justified to claim that golf was played on the continent long before any such activity in Scotland, not only in its basic form, but with all sorts of mannerisms. In view of the Scottish claim for precedence, however, it is not without irony that the Germans had seen to it that Pieter's book was translated into their own language as early as in the sixteenth century. The translation was published by Johannes Gymnich, a printer from Cologne, in 1575 and that is why even the Germans, who had quite a reputation for their lack of interest in and talent for ball games, can be said to have given the proud Scots the slip, at least with regard to golfing literature.

Golf on the Lower Rhine: The Evidence

At this point, the question may be asked whether there is evidence that the game described by Pieter van Afferden was not only exported to Scotland but also played on the continent and, if so, for how long. As chance would have it, a most intriguing document has recently come to light in Germany of all places.⁹³ Figure 1, an oil landscape by H. Golt, can not only be dated accurately but can also be located with notable precision.⁹⁴ The painting is a view of Haus Wohnung,⁹⁵ the residence of local nobleman, Johann Carselis of Uft (who was also called by the last name of Doornick) in the vicinity of the town of Voerde on the Lower Rhine. The original building dates back to a moated castle of the late Middle Ages but in its present state it reflects the architecture of the late seventeenth century when the owner had the whole building refurbished.⁹⁶

Figure 1 views the two-towered building from the southwest and from a position on the eastern bank of the Rhine. In the lower right-hand corner, the date 1706 is inscribed on a stone; it is conceivable that Johann Carselis commissioned the painting to commemorate the completion of the extensive renovation of his residence.⁹⁷ Equally, Carselis may have wished to express his gratitude towards his mother-in-law, the widowed Sophia Heilwig von Lynden,⁹⁸ who had enfeoffed him with the stately mansion. It is presumably she who is seated in a costly, festive red dress in the left-hand corner. Standing on her left, with identical coiffure to indicate a close relationship, her daughter Johanna Maria, the lord of the manor's wife, can easily be identified, as can his two unmarried sisters, Woltera Stephania and Elisabeth Katharine, who both lived at the residence.⁹⁹ Woltera Stephania had died in February 1705,¹⁰⁰ one year before Golt finished his painting, but her inclusion in the picture may have been a deliberate attempt to pay a lasting tribute to her. Idealization may also have played a role in depicting the person on whom all future hopes were pinned, and who therefore was granted the privilege of occupying the very centre of the picture, Johann Carselis's son and heir Reiner Johann Theodor von Doornick. Reiner Johann Theodor had been born only three years previously, on 3 February 1703,¹⁰¹ but the artist has depicted him at the age of ten or thereabouts and, in order to show that he was on the verge of fulfilling his father's expectations, has him preoccupied with the pastime of the noble and the rich: the fashionable game of golf.

The golfing scene is truly remarkable. The lord of the manor had devised a golf course to the south of his residence; a large rectangular hedged enclosure with a closely trimmed lawn. Under a tree in the remote corner of this enclosure, young Reiner Johann Theodor has teed his ball on a truly sophisticated contraption: a peg stuck into the turf at an angle which roughly

anticipated the trajectory of the ball.¹⁰² The device apparently featured a concave top in which players deposited their ball before teeing off. It is conceivable that this device made it easier for a player to address the ball and to hit it properly. Young Reiner is pictured taking a mighty swing at the ball. As befitted a young man of his status, he is wearing the clothes of an adult which, in turn, closely resemble the attire worn by the golfers on the earliest Scottish golfing pictures, the first of which is dated variously 1680 or 1720,¹⁰³ and the second 1746/47. The first Scottish picture is an oil painting by an unknown artist which depicts a gentlemen foursome and two caddies watching one of their fellows in his attempt to swing at the ball against the backdrop of the town of St. Andrews. The second picture, a water-colour by the Englishman Paul Sandby, shows a squad of soldiers fighting it out between them with a golf-ball in the shrubbery at the foot of Edinburgh Castle. Young Reiner's club is similar to those wielded by these Scottish golfers, or seventeenth century clubs that have survived.¹⁰⁴

If we now turn to the original question of whether golf was actually played on the continent, Golt's painting proves that Gymnich's printed rules were indeed put into practice a few miles down the Rhine. Moreover, the von Doornick's, the Lords of Wohnung, derived their name from Doornick in the parish of Zetten southeast of Wageningen and virtually a stone's throw – about five miles across the river Waal – from Afferden, Pieter van Afferden's birthplace.¹⁰⁵ If we assume that Pieter had engaged in the game of golf in his youth and that this experience enabled him to write competently about it in later life, Golt's painting supports this view and also testifies to the fact that golf continued to be played in the Dutch province of Gelderland for at least 150 years until it was taken to the Rhineland by the branch of the van Dornick family which is known to have settled in, or in the vicinity of, Amersfort in the fifteenth or sixteenth century.¹⁰⁶ Why a game that was apparently popular at least among the Dutch landed gentry should have been abandoned in the course of the eighteenth century yet at the same time began to flourish in Scotland is another question. It is not unlikely that further research will establish that the reason for golf's decline was religious, the strict position the Dutch Reformed Church held against playing games, especially on the Sabbath, which is known to have led to the abolition of games in countries into which its followers had set foot.¹⁰⁷

University of Bonn

FIGURE 1
H. GOLT, *HAUS WOHNUNG*, 1706



Courtesy: STEAG AG

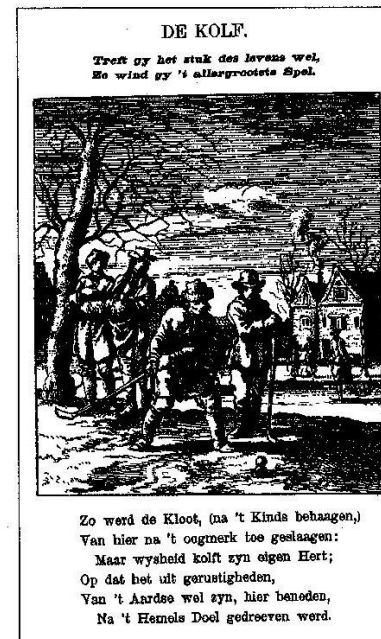
Although earlier than the earliest Scottish pictorial representations of golf, this painting perhaps constitutes the last testimony of the game on the European continent where it originated.

FIGURE 2
HAUS WOHNUNG TODAY



The manor, backdrop of the golfing scene of yore, was heavily damaged by shelling in 1945 and, as a result, the southern tower had to be demolished in 1957.

FIGURE 3
DE KOLF



Courtesy: Bonn University Library

Emblem from Joannes Luiken, *Des Menschen Begin, Midden en Einde, vertoonende het kinderlyk Bedryf en Aanwas, in een en vyftig konstige Figuren, met godlyke Spreuken en stichtelyke Verzen*, which was printed in Amsterdam by Houttuyn in 1782. From the Leiden edition by A.W. Sijthoff (1888). The picture may be taken as evidence that golf continued to be played even in the Netherlands until well into the eighteenth century.

NOTES

The author owes a debt of gratitude to Richard Leech for reading and criticizing the original manuscript and to Sally Mapstone for her generous help.

1. T.F. Dale, *Polo Past and Present* (London: Country Life, 1905), p.1. The view that golf is descended from polo was expressed by William Ousely as early as 1819. See *Travels in Various Countries of the East; More Particularly Persia* (London: Rodwell and Martin, 1819-23), Vol.1, p.346: 'Degraded into a pedestrian exercise and under various forms and denominations, this game seems to have been widely diffused throughout Europe, and we may perhaps trace it in the Cricket of England, the Golf, or Gough of Scotland, and the Hurling-matches of Ireland.'
2. Francis Moran and John Ross Goodner, 'Golf', in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 15th Edn. 1997), Vol.28, pp.150-55.

3. Johann Georg Kohl, *Reisen in Schottland* (Dresden: Arnoldsche Buchhandlung, 1844), p.181: 'It is, incidentally, remarkable that even with regard to this game [curling] it is a fact which indeed also applies to most other arts and inventions that the Britons were not their inventors, but those who improved them. The Flemish are said to have introduced the game in Scotland 400 years ago.'
4. Olive M. Geddes, *A Swing through Time: Golf in Scotland 1457-1743* (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1992), p.1. This ban was repeated in 1471: 'it is thocht expedient [th]at ... ye futbal and golf be abusit.'
5. Ibid.
6. The most recent case can be encountered in France in the early history part of Georges Jeanneau's, *Le Golf en France: Quelques siècles d'histoire* (Biarritz: Atlantica, 1999), p.4. One wonders when compilers of golf histories will at last try to keep abreast of the results of recent scholarship.
7. See also H. Gillmeister, 'Wer erfand das Golfspiel? Der letzte Putt in einem langen Streit', in Max Triet (ed.), *Schweizer Beiträge zur Sportgeschichte* (Basle: Schweizerisches Sportmuseum, 1990), Vol.2, pp.20-29; idem, 'A Tee for Two: On the Origins of Golf', *Homo Ludens: Internationale Beiträge des Instituts für Spielforschung und Spielpädagogik an der Hochschule 'Mozarteum' Salzburg* (Ball- und Kugelspiele), VI (1996), 17-37; idem, 'The Language of English Sports Medieval and Modern', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, CCXXXIII (1996), 268-85; idem, 'Warum ein Golfer rot sieht. Über die Ursprünge des Golfspiels', *Golf, Geschichte einer Leidenschaft* (Exhibition Catalogue, Zurich, Credit Suisse, 21 Aug.-20 Nov. 1998), 6-18.
8. S.J.H. van Hengel, *Kolf, Golf: van middeleeuws volksspel tot moderne sport* (Zutphen: Uitgeverij Terra, 1982), p.14. Van Hengel deserves credit for unearthing sources such as this. Unfortunately, his method for establishing a chronology of the evolution of golf on the basis of different spellings is, from a scholarly point of view, rather misguided.
9. Gaston Paris and Jacob Ulrich (eds.), *Merlin: Roman en Prose du XIIIe siècle publié de Robert de Boron* (Paris: Didot, 1886), Vol.1, p.43.
10. T. Sodman (ed.), *Jacob van Maerlant: Histoire van den Grale und Boek van Merline* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1980), p.263.
11. H. Gillmeister, 'The Language of English Sports' advocates this method on p.274.
12. See H. Gillmeister, *Tennis: A Cultural History* (London: Cassell Academic/Leicester University Press, 1997), pp.110-17.
13. Callisthenes of Olynthus, reputed to have been the nephew of Aristotle, Alexander's tutor, accompanied Alexander in order to record his exploits. However, he was executed in 327 for his alleged involvement in a conspiracy. Therefore, his accounts of Alexander's campaign hardly continued beyond the Iaxartes campaign of 329 bc. *Quintus Curtius Rufus: The History of Alexander*, trans. John Yardley (London: Penguin, 1984), p.5. Callisthenes' work, now lost, is the ultimate source of later writers, historical as well as literary.
14. J. Gruber's entry in *Lexikon des Mittelalters* (Munich: Artemis Verlag, 1980), Vol.1, Col.355 (entry 'Alexander d. Gr. in Kunst und Literatur'. I. ANTIKE LITERATUR).
15. *Skutos*, a neuter noun, had two basic meanings: 1) 'skin', 'tanned hide'; 2) 'leather thong', 'whip'. *Kibotion*, from *kiborion*, was a variant of *kibotos*, 'box', 'chest', 'coffer'. Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925-40), Vol.1, p.950, Vol.2, p.1618.
16. I am paraphrasing the relevant passages in Helmut van Thiel (ed.), *Vita Alexandri Magni. Recensionem Graecam codicis L* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1974), pp.1, 36-8, 52-9.
17. Bernard Kuebler (ed.), *Iuli Valeri Alexandri Polemi Res Gestae Alexandri Macedonis Translatæ ex Aesopo Graeco* (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1888), p.47-8.
18. The source Walter used is Quintus Curtius Rufus, besides Arrian one of the chief historical accounts of Alexander's campaign. Elizabeth Baynham, *Alexander the Great: The Unique History of Quintus Curtius* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), p.3. Significantly, Curtius and Arrian are both silent about Darius's gifts. *Quintus Curtius Rufus*

- and Arrian: *The Campaigns of Alexander*, trans. Aubrey de Sélincourt (London: Penguin, 1971), *passim*.
19. Marvin L. Colker (ed.), *Galeri de Castellione Alexandreis* (Padua: Editrice Antenore, 1978), p.38, II, ls.26-8, 38-40, 42.
 20. The term contains Old French *lice* (variant spelling *lis*) 'line', from Latin *licia*, the meaning being 'scourge', i.e. leather thongs attached to a stick. It looks as if the term *verge de lis*, a coinage necessitated by the rhyme, was the poet's own invention and not influenced by Latin *virga curvata* in Latin sources which will claim our attention later.
 21. Edward C. Armstrong and Alfred Foulet (eds.), *The Medieval French Roman d'Alexandre* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1937), Vol.2, p.43, Branch I, Stanza 88, ls.1905-23, p.48, Stanza 103, ls.2148-56.
 22. Johannes Franck (ed.), *Alexanders Geesten, van Jacob van Maerlant* (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1882), p.39-40, Dander Bouc, ls.60-64 and 96-104.
 23. R. Telfryn Pritchard, *Walter of Châtillon: The Alexandreis* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1986), p.58: 'And as things more suitable to your age, I have sent you reins, a round ball, and capacious coffers to pay your expenses and to be some compensation for your companions and relief for your journey ... The ball's round form well denotes the spherical appearance of the round world which I shall subject to myself. With these reins I shall bridle the conquered Persians when, as conqueror, I shall break open the ancient treasures of Darius.' Gerhard Streckenbach, Otto Klingner and Walter Berschin, *Walter von Châtillon: Alexandreis, Das Lied von Alexander dem Großen* (Heidelberg: Verlag Lambert Schneider, 1990), p.48, II, ls.26-8 and 38-42.
 24. Moshe Perlmann, *The History of al-Tabari (Ta'rikh al-rusul wa'l-muluk)* (New York: State University of New York, 1987), Vol.4, pp.89-90. Tabari was mentioned early in the nineteenth century by Ouseley, *Travels in Various Countries of the East*, Vol.1, p.350 and has more recently been referred to by Siegfried Mendner, *Das Ballspiel im Leben der Völker* (Münster: Verlag Aschendorf, 1956), p.110; and by John N.P. Watson, *The World of Polo Past and Present* (Topsfield, MA: Salem House, 1986), p.21. Watson may have been the source of Frank Milburn's, *Polo: The Emperor of Games* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994), p.28. A. Anderson, 'Bucephalus [Alexander's horse] and his Legend', *American Journal of Philology*, LI (1930), 9, mentions a 'lost Arabic version of the Alexander Romance, dated about the ninth century, that ... seems to have been the source both of the Ethiopian version, published by Budge, *Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great* (Cambridge, 1896).' Unfortunately, in the Ethiopian version Alexander is only presented with a measure of oil-seed and a ball, gifts which are interpreted thus: 'And as for the ball which thou didst send inasmuch as it is round it symbolizes the earth. And I hope in the Lord my God ... that he will set my memorial and my power in all the earth.' Ernest A. Wallis Budge, *The Alexander Book in Ethiopia: the Ethiopic Versions of Pseudocallisthenes* (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), pp.36-8.
 25. Henry Wilberforce Clarke (ed.), *The Sikandar Nama, or Book of Alexander the Great* (London: W.H. Allen, 1881), pp.282-6.
 26. On Tabari's method of juxtaposing several sources without commenting on them, see Hamilton A.R. Gibb and Jacob Landau, *Arabische Literaturgeschichte* (Zurich: Artemis Verlag, 1968), pp.100f.
 27. Ouseley, *Travels in Various Countries of the East*, Vol.2, p.528.
 28. Th. Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou, 'Other Sports and Games', in Iris Douskou (ed.), *The Olympic Games in Ancient Greece: Ancient Olympia and the Olympic Games* (Athens: Ekdotike Athenon, 1982), pp.257-8 and 254, Fig.147. On *keretizein*, see Ludwig Gründel, 'Griechische Ballspiele', *Archäologischer Anzeiger: Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch des [deutschen] Archäologischen Instituts*, XL (1925), Cols.86-7; and Mendner, *Das Ballspiel im Leben der Völker*, pp.107-9.
 29. Compare the long-winded description of the picture by Mendner, *ibid.*, pp.107-9.
 30. *Ibid.*, p.111.
 31. *Ibid.*, p.110: Theodosius II had a *tyzkanisterion* built in the part of his palace adjacent to the shore of the Marmara Sea; plate 18 in the appendix provides a reconstruction of the palace and shows the venue and the stables belonging to it. Mendner's source (p.153, Note

- 301) is Theodor Preger (ed.), *Fasciculus alter Ps.-Codini Origines Continens*, Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitarum (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1907), p.225, l.3f. A description of how polo was played in Byzantium is given by the twelfth century court biographer Johannes Kinnamos (cf. Mendner, *Das Ballspiel im Leben der Völker*, p.110; Greek text p.153, Note 302). There is an entire chapter devoted to polo in Georgios G. Giatses' doctoral dissertation, 'To Théama tou Hippodróμου kai hoi Somatikés Askéseis sto Butzántio' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Thessaloniki, 1988), pp.171–86. I am indebted to my Greek colleague George D. Xiarchos for having made this dissertation accessible to me.
32. In Bagdad, Harun's son al-Ma'mun had established the academy Bait al-Hikma (House of Wisdom) where philosophical texts and texts relating to the natural sciences from Greek were translated, cf. Hamilton, *Arabische Literaturgeschichte*, p.82.
33. Joseph Becker (ed.), *Die Werke Liutprands von Cremona* (Hanover: Hantsche Buchhandlung, 1915), pp.viii and xxii; Rudolf Buchner (ed.), *Ausgewählte Quellen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters: Freiherr vom Stein-Gedächtnisausgabe* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1971), Vol.VIII, pp.235–6; and E. Karpf, 'Liutprand von Cremona', in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, Vol.V (Munich: Artemis Verlag, 1991), Cols.2041–2.
34. Paolo Chiesa (ed.), *Liutprandi Cremonensis Antapodosis, Homelia paschalis, Historia Otonis, Relatio de legatione Constantinopolitana* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), p.135, V.21, 443–5. See also Becker, *Die Werke Liutprands von Cremona*, p.142; and Buchner, *Ausgewählte Quellen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters*, pp.468–9. As Becker points out, Liutprandus's *zucanistrum* referred to the polo field laid out by Theodosius II (408–50 AD) and represents Greek *tzukanisterion* and *tzoukanisterion*. Liutprandus is also mentioned by Mendner in *Das Ballspiel im Leben der Völker*, p.153, Note 305, who has *Zucanistri* [instead of *Zucanistrii*, genitive of *Zucanistrum*] *magnitudo*. Mendner also lists a Greek verb derived from *tzukanion*, namely *tzukanizein* meaning 'eph' hippou claunein sphairan'. Greek *tzoukanistérion* as a loan from Persian is also dealt with in B. Hemmerdinger, '158 noms communs grecs d'origine iranienne d'Eschyle au grec moderne', *Byzantinoslavica*, XXX (1969), 26. I am indebted to my colleague Erich Trapp for this piece of information. As Becker remarks (p.xiv), Liutprandus had a thorough knowledge of the Greek language and actually preferred it to Latin because of its euphony.
35. Mario Esposito (ed.), *Itinerarium Symonis Semeonis Ab Hybernia Ad Terram Sanctam* (Dublin: The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1960), pp.76–7. Symon is referred to by Giatses, 'To Théama tou Hippodróμου kai hoi Somatikés Askéseis sto Butzántio', p.180. For an early reference to the medieval shepherds' game in the Anglo-French novel *Horn et Rimenhild* (c.1170–80), see F. Michel (ed.), *Horn et Rimenhild* (Paris: Maulde et Renou, 1845), p.240.
36. Giatses, 'To Théama tou Hippodróμου kai hoi Somatikés Askéseis sto Butzántio', pp.181–2, and Note 65; quoting from *The Three Brothers, or The Travels and Adventures of Sir Anthony, Sir Robert, & Sir Thomas Sherley, in Persia, Russia, Turkey, Spain, Etc.* (London: Hurst Robinson, 1825), p.70. Giatses states that the year of Sir Anthony's travel was 1569 but this should read 1599, cf. *ibid.*, p.22: 'I [Sir Anthony] embarked myself at Venice for Aleppo ... the four-and-twentieth of May, 1599.' Elsewhere in the book, there are a few more references to oriental sports and games. There is, for example, one to 'wrestling with men naked, fighting of camels, and rams and antelopes, bear-baiting, bull-baiting' and other such sports (p.80) and another to 'hawking, hunting, and other sports' in Isfahan (p.92). There does not seem to be any reference to polo in the following volumes held in the British Library: William Parry, *A New and Large Discourse of the Trauels of sir Anthony Sherley Knight, by Sea, and ouer Land, to the Persian Empire* (London: Printed by Valentine Simmes for Felix Norton, 1601); *The English Brothers, Sir Thomas Sherley his Trauels ... 1607. Sir Anthony Sherley his Embassage to the Christian Princes. Master Robert Sherley his Wars against the Turks, with his Marriage to the Emperour of Persia his Neece* (London: John Hodgets in Paules Churchyard, 1607); and *Sir Antony [sic] Sherley His Relation of His Travels into Persia ... Penned by Sir Antony Shereley, and recommended to his Brother, Sir Robert Sherley* (London: Nathaniell Butler and Ioseph Bagset, 1613).

37. Giatses, 'To Théama tou Hippodróμου kai hoi Somatikés Askéseis sto Butzántio'; and Watson, *The World of Polo Past and Present*, p.23. The text from *The Three Brothers*, pp.70ff, implies that goals were used in at least one variety of contemporary English football.
38. Thomas Hyde, *Historia Nerdi ludii ... item ... De Ludis Orientalibus lib.2^{da} ...* (Oxford: E Theatro Sheldoniano, 1694), pp.250–52.
39. M. Wesche's entry in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, Col.358.
40. Friedrich Pfister (ed.), *Der Alexanderroman des Archipresbyters Leo* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1913), pp.7 and 81, ls.6–14.
41. These recensions are based on the tenth century translation by the archpresbyter Leo of Naples.
42. DuCange has the entries *Zoca*, *Stipes* ['pile', 'stick', 'pole'], *truncus*, Ital. *Zocco*; and *Zocchus*, *Stipes*, *truncus*, Ital. *Zocco*. Innocentius III. lib. 13. Epist. 95 *Truncos arborum, qui ipsi* (Ravennates) *Zoccos ... vocant*. DuCange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsgesellschaft, 1954), Vol.VIII, p.432.
43. Quoted from the critical edition of Alfons Hilka, Hans-Josef Bergmeister (ed.), *Historia Alexandri Magni (Historia de Preliis): Rezension J2. (Orosius-Rezension)* (Meisenheim am Glan: Verlag Anton Hain, 1976), Part I, p.89. The French parallel text is to be found in an earlier edition of the Latin text: Hans-Josef Bergmeister (ed.), *Der altfranzösische Prosa-Alexanderroman nach der Berliner Handschrift* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1920), pp.75–6.
44. Brian Foster (ed.), *The Anglo-Norman Alexander (Le Roman de Toute Chevalerie)* by Thomas of Kent (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1976–77), Vol.1, pp.47–8.
45. Dieter Mehl, *The Middle English Romances of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1968), p.227. The relevant passage is to be found in G.V. Smithers (ed.), *King Alisaunder* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), Vol.1, pp.95–100; in this version, the presents brought by Darius's messengers are: 'A scourge and a top of neilles/Ful of gold and an haumudeys/[variant]/A scourge and a toppe of nobles./And ful of golde an haum[u]ndeys'. Here *top* is the Middle English word for 'ball' and *haumudeys*, later referred to as *punge*, 'purse', denotes a chest [Spanish *almud*, ultimately from Arabic], cf. the explanatory note by Smithers, *King Alisaunder*, Vol.2, p.91, Note to l.1706. *Kyng Alisaunder* is mentioned by Ouseley, *Travels in Various Countries of the East*, Vol.1, pp.354–5.
46. J.S. Westlake (ed.), *The Prose Life of Alexander* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1913), pp.21–2.
47. Hoyt N. Duggan and Thorlac Turville-Petre (eds.), *The Wars of Alexander* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), p.xlii.
48. Gillmeister, *Tennis: A Cultural History*, pp.110–12.
49. Duggan and Turville-Petre, *The Wars of Alexander*, p.60, ls.1896–1911. Judging from the form of his letter, the poet must have been, like most of his forerunners who used the anecdote, familiar with the writing of elaborate letters in the ornate style of contemporary diplomacy, the *ars dictaminis*: 'Se quat I send to the, son, thiselfe with to laike:/A hatt & hand-ball & hernepanne,/Slike presandis to play with as pertines to babbis./For ai a child mot him chese to childre geris'. The meaning of *herne-panne* in l.1896 is obscure, see the *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. *Harnpan*, The skull, the brain-pan, b.
50. On the life and circumstances of Sir Gilbert Hay, see Thomas Bayne's entry in Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee (eds.), *Dictionary of National Biography* (London: Smith Elder, 1908), Vol.9, pp.264–5; Matthew P.McDiarmid (ed.), *Barbour's Bruce: A Fredome is a Noble Thing!* (Edinburgh: The Scottish Text Society, 1985), Vol.1, pp.27–32 [of the General Introduction], McDiarmid, 'Concerning Sir Gilbert Hay, the Authorship of *Alexander the Conquerour* and *The Buik of Alexander*', *Studies in Scottish Literature*, XXVIII (1993), 28–54; D.E.R. Watt, 'Items by Gilbert de Hay in Corpus MS', in D.E.R. Watt et al. (eds.), *Scotichronicon* by Walter Bower in Latin and English (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1998), Vol.9, pp.50–53, Sally Mapstone, 'The Scotichronicon's First Readers', in Barbara E. Crawford (ed.), *Church, Chronicle and Learning in Medieval and Early Renaissance Scotland* (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1998), pp.31–55, eadem, 'The

- Scots Buke of Phisnomy and Sir Gilbert Hay' in A.A. MacDonald, Michael Lynch and Ian B. Cowan (eds.), *The Renaissance in Scotland* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), pp.1-43.
51. Bayne, p.264, and McDiarmid, 'Concerning Sir Gilbert Hay', 30; being a determinant meant that the student in question had completed the three years of attendance preliminary to one's Master's degree.
 52. McDiarmid, 'Concerning Sir Gilbert Hay', 30-31.
 53. Mapstone, 'The Scotichronicon's First Readers', p.32.
 54. McDiarmid, 'Concerning Sir Gilbert Hay', 31.
 55. Mapstone, 'The Scotichronicon's First Readers', p.32; and Watt, 'Items by Gilbert de Hay in Corpus MS', p.52.
 56. This is what is claimed in the curious epilogue in the *Buik of King Alexander*, cf. McDiarmid, *Barbour's Bruce*, pp.27-8: 'Quhilk into France trewlie was duelland/Weill fower and tentie yeir out of Scotland'.
 57. McDiarmid, 'Concerning Sir Gilbert Hay', 32.
 58. Ibid.
 59. Ibid.
 60. Ibid., 33.
 61. Ibid.
 62. John Cartwright (ed.), *The Buik of King Alexander the Conquerour by Sir Gilbert Hay* (Edinburgh: Clark Constable, 1986-1990), Vol.1, p.xvi. William Sinclair belonged to a family notable for its record of literary patronage; Henry, 3rd Lord Sinclair, commissioned Gavin Douglas's translation of the *Aeneid*.
 63. Jonathan A. Glenn (ed.), *The Prose Works of Sir Gilbert Hay* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1993), Vol.III, p.vii.
 64. The view that the *Buik of Alexander the Conquerour* was not composed by Sir Gilbert Hay (on the basis of biographical and linguistic reasons) is held by McDiarmid, cf. *Barbour's Bruce*, pp.27-32 and 'Concerning Sir Gilbert Hay', *passim*.
 65. Mapstone, 'The Scots Buke of Phisnomy', pp.1-2.
 66. On Hay and his sources, see John Cartwright, 'Sir Gilbert Hay and the Alexander Tradition', in Dietrich Strauss and Horst W. Drescher (eds.), *Scottish Language and Literature, Medieval and Renaissance* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Peter Lang, 1984), pp.230-31; and Deborah E. van Duin, "'Na Man Micht Nourber The Riches': The City of Segar in Sir Gilbert Hay's Buik of King Alexander", *English Studies*, Vol.LXXVII (1996), 518-9.
 67. Cartwright, *The Buik of King Alexander*, Vol.1, p.110, ls.4321-51. Vol.III is long overdue. That is why there are as yet no scholarly comments available on the passages quoted. I am indebted to Paul Campbell of the Department of English and Theatre Studies at the Australian National University for having brought Hay's reference to 'golf' to my attention.
 68. This present is explained in a preceding passage in which Darius orders his gifts to be sent, cf. Cartwright, p.109, ls.4286-93: 'And send till him [Alexander] haistalie/With certane barnis playokis scornandly./That was to say a gol[f]-staff and ane ball./And ane scourge-stik to drife ane top withall./With ane chaplet of gold and perreye/Like till ane mytir, in takin of folly./And as in sindrie contrie barnis vsis/Till were myterris in clerk playis and gysis'.
 69. The old Scots spelling *reiver*, 'robber' (rather than *reaver*) was brought into literary use by Scott. Cf. the entry *reaver* in the *Oxford English Dictionary*. For the graphs *thorn*, used in this text indiscriminately alongside <th>, and *yogh*, <th> and <y> have been substituted throughout. The translation into Modern English cannot render the meaning of medieval Scots second person singular pronouns *thow*, *thi*, and *the* which were used to address a socially inferior person by individuals who considered themselves to be his or her social better.
 70. Middle Scots *Gadderis*, medieval French *Gadres*, is modern *Gaza*. This part is an interpolation from a French chivalric epic entitled *La Fuerre de Gadres* by a poet called Eustache, cf. Foster, Vol.2, p.14.
 71. Jeanneau is quite correct when he writes (*Le Golf en France*, p.3): 'Une des expressions les plus fréquentes de ces jeux de crosse demeure la *chole*, originaire du nord de la France et

- de la Belgique ... Les règlements des échevins rangent la crosse parmi les jeux de rues: "On jouait dur, les mêlées étaient furieuses, les boules volaient, les crosses tournoyaient, de là crânes fendus et nez aplatis" [The game of *chole* remains one of the most frequent varieties of these games. People played rough, scrimmages were furious, balls flew, clubs spun round, hence skulls cracked and noses flattened].
72. Eric Midwinter, 'From Meadowland to Multinational: A Review of Cricket's Social History. 1. Delayed Start', in *Cricket Lore*, Vol.3 No.1, 15.
 73. It is interesting that, as Midwinter, 14, observes, Samuel Johnson, in his famous dictionary of 1755, should have defined cricket as a 'sport at which the contenders drive a ball with sticks in opposition to each other'. Samuel Johnson, *Dictionary of the English Language* (London: J. and P. Knapton, 1755). This is, of course, a description of either *soule à la crosse* or hockey but it is also evidence that cricket too originated in Flanders where, in the early days, the team game played with curved sticks was presumably referred to as *kolf*, or *kolven*, or *krikkrek ketsen* (literally 'driving the ball with a curved stick') depending on the geographical area or dialect. It could well be that the distinction between cricket and hockey was eventually made in England, Johnson's definition being a sole survivor of one of the original meanings of the term *cricket*.
 74. Cartwright, *The Buik of King Alexander*, pp.112-13, ls.4434-49.
 75. On the form *cache* in the Scots language of tennis, see H. Gillmeister, *Tennis: A Cultural History*, pp.98-101.
 76. On Scotland's strong ties with the Low Countries, and especially with Flanders and the city of Bruges since the eleventh century, see Alexander Stevenson, 'Trade with the South, 1070-1513', in Michael Lynch, M. Spearman and G. Stell (eds.), *The Scottish Medieval Town* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1988), pp.180-205.
 77. Immanuel Schmidt, 'Die nationalen Spiele der Engländer', in *Westermann's Jahrbuch der Illustrierten Deutschen Monatshefte*, Vol.1 (Brunswick: Verlag von George Westermann, 1857), pp.612-13. Schmidt here indeed seems to consider the game on Blackheath called golf as similar to English hockey and his description would seem to fit both shinty and hockey. To his mind, the game of hockey so very popular with English schoolboys was played with ball clubs similar to Scottish golf clubs. Because the only object of the game was to strike a ball beyond a certain target, or, at best, through some sticks or flags, strength and agility might well be exhibited, but there was very little true skill. There were two members of the Blackheath Royal Golf Club with artistic leanings who, according to R.W. Moore, archivist of the Blackheath Royal Golf Club, went by the name of Gilbert. The first, the later Sir John Gilbert (1817-97), produced some rather amateurish sketches as a teenager. Of these, one is titled *Sport on Blackheath* (1832) and shows games such as cricket, golf and bowls in progress. The other club member, Frederick Gilbert (1829-1901), was a much more accomplished artist who produced several professional engravings of the Blackheath golfing scene. It was presumably he whom Schmidt took for his model. I am indebted to my colleague Dietrich Quanz for having brought Schmidt's disquisition to my attention. That the game portrayed by Gilbert was indeed shinty was kindly confirmed by Roy Moore. On the shinty matches on Blackheath common since the early 1800s by the London based Club of True Highlanders, see Hugh Dan MacLennan, 'Shinty in England, Pre-1893', *The Sports Historian*, XIX, 2 (Nov. 1999), 43-60, especially 48-9. Dr MacLennan was so kind as to draw my attention to reports of shinty matches on Blackheath Common and in Copenhagen Fields from the *Inverness Courier*, 10 Jan. 1822, 23 June 1841, and 3 Jan. 1844. A coloured sketch titled 'The Exiles' Spectacle' and similar, but not identical to, Schmidt's reproduction, can be found in Hugh Dan MacLennan's book *'Shinty!' - Celebrating Scotland's Game - 100 years of the Camanachd Association* (Nairn: Balnain Books, 1993), p.xiv. It is interesting to note that MacLennan quotes (p.25) from a certain *Liber Collegii Notre Domine* [sic], p.lxviii, where as late as 1589 golf and shinty are treated as quasi-synonyms: 'That there be no playing at golf, carri or shinny, in the High Kirk or Kirkyeard, or Blackfriar Kirkyeard either Sunday or workday'.
 78. Theodor von Karajan, *Buch der Rügen, Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* (1842), 2, 59, ls.500-10. The term *wihetlin* normally refers to a puppet, in this context it may mean 'piece in a board game', but hardly 'dice', which in Middle High German was either *topelstein* or

- würfel-*tworfel*(*bein*). It may perhaps be of interest that the Latin poem (c.1220) on which the German text (later half of the thirteenth century) is based blames the knights for playing the lute after meals, drinking bouts, squandering of their time, loitering about, prattling while idly standing about, playing some sort of game and engaging in archery. See Karajan, *Buch der Rügen, Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, p.24, ls.313–20.
79. Johannes Voigt, *Geschichte Preussens von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Untergange der Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens* (Königsberg: Verlag der Gebrüder Bornträger, 1834), Vol.6, p.503. The late Middle High German text is supplied by von Karajan, see p.59, Note to L.505. The reference is to be found in a visitation from the times of Grand Master Konrad von Jungingen (1393–1407).
 80. Ibid. See also Gerhard Krupski, 'Über das "schaggun-Spiel" der Mönche im Mittelalter', *Die Leibeserziehung*, XIV (1965), 246–7. The title of this article is misleading for in the two sources discussed, not monks but only the orders of crusading knights are associated with it. Linguistically, a metathesis of the vowels in *chaugân* resulting in *schaggân* would seem plausible.
 81. It is possible, albeit somewhat unlikely in view of the rather different nature of the two games, that the French game of *chicane* owes its name to Greek *tzukanion*, a term which can be said to have been imported to the West by crusading knights. *Chicane* is a cross country variant of the French game of (*pale*)*mail* (English *pallmall*), cf. Hemmerdinger, '158 noms communs grecs d'origine iranienne d'Eschyle au grec moderne', 26; and Jean-Jules Jusserand, *Les sports et jeux d'exercice dans l'ancienne France* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1986), pp.306–19. In the north of France, the game was also known as *choule*, as is exemplified by the nineteenth century novelists Charles Deulin and Émile Zola. H. Gillmeister, 'The Flemish Ancestry of Early English Ball Games: the Cumulative Evidence', in Norbert Müller and Joachim Rühl (eds.), *Olympic Scientific Congress: Sport History, Official Report* (Niedernhausen: Schors-Verlag, 1985), p.70.
 82. A transcript of the paragraph devoted to golf in the 1700 edition held in Aberdeen University Library can be found in H. Gillmeister, 'Wer erfand das Golfspiel', p.29; a facsimile of it is included in David Hamilton's article 'The Origin of Golf' in Laurence Viney (ed.), *Benson and Hedges Golfer's Handbook 1987* (London: Macmillan, 1987), p.150.
 83. The book is entitled *Tyrocinium linguae Latinae ex optimis quibusque Autoribus collectum, & in capita digestum in gratiam studiosae iuuentutis*. Authore M. Petro Apherdiano. Antverpiae, Excudebat Ioannes Latius. An MD.LII. There is a modern edition by Felicien de Tollenaere and F. Claes, SJ (eds.), *Het Tyrocinium (1552) van Petrus Apherdianus* (s'Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1976).
 84. For a discussion of Pieter's date of birth, see H. Gillmeister, 'A Tee for Two', p.35, Note 46.
 85. De Tollenaere Tollenaere and Claes, *Het Tyrocinium (1552) van Petrus Apherdianus*, pp.12 and 16.
 86. Ibid., p.17.
 87. Club heads with a lead alloy shell wrapped around a wooden core were discovered when the Dutch East Indiaman *Kennemerland* which sunk off the Shetland Islands in 1664 was excavated in 1970. Geddes, *A Swing through Time*, p.56.
 88. All quotes from Pieter on the following pages can be found in either de Tollenaere's facsimile edition, ff.45r–45v, or H. Gillmeister, 'Wer erfand das Golfspiel', p.26.
 89. Wedderburn's *pila clavaria*, 'golf ball', is not so called because the seams of the leather made the ball resemble a human skull (Latin *calva*) as Geddes, *A Swing through Time*, p.25, seems to believe. The word is in fact a derivation of the Latin *clava*, 'knotted stick', 'club'.
 90. The Dutch variant *kolve* (with the voiced fricative /v/) is also reflected in Scots. In 1687 Thomas Kincaid, a student of medicine from Edinburgh, used the expression to *play at the golfe*, and spoke of colouring a *golfe ball* with white lead. Geddes, *A Swing through Time*, pp.40–41.
 91. Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuchverlag, 1984), Vol.V, p.1603; and Kohl, *Reisen in Schottland*, p.184.
 92. Geddes, *A Swing through Time*, p.58.

93. The picture was brought to my attention by Karl F. Grohs' article 'Beeinträchtigen die funktionalen Anforderungen des Turniersports das erklärte Ziel "Landschaftsgolfplatz"', in Internationale Vereinigung Sport- und Freizeiteinrichtung e.V. (IAKS) (ed.), *Golftag '97 Köln* (Cologne: Barz und Beierburg, 1998), p.9.
94. Earlier continental pictorial representations of golf include: a miniature in a book of hours formerly owned by Adelaïde of Savoy, the Duchess of Burgundy, mid-fifteenth century, Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS. 76. The golfing miniature is the forerunner of a well-known illustration among the holdings of the British Library. This is to be found on one of several separate sheets which once formed part of a book of hours that originated in sixteenth century Flanders. These are normally ascribed to the workshop of the famous Simon Bening but the catalogue of the British Library assigns them to Gerhard Hoornbach. There is yet another miniature from the book of hours belonging to Philip I the Handsome, the son of Emperor Maximilian I and Archduke of Flanders (Colegio Real de Corpus Christi, Valencia). Manufactured in 1505, one year before Philip's death, it shows golfers swinging and putting. A reproduction of the image by The Bridgeman Art Library, London, – JAL 62048 – names the Museo del Patriarca, Valencia, as its source. Here it is referred to as 'Game of golf from a Book of Hours, Flemish, 15th century'. There are other golfing pictures outside the genre of the book of hours. One such, bearing witness to the sophistication with which golf was played in the Low Countries by the sixteenth century, is an engraving by Pieter van der Borcht IV. Pieter was born in Mechelen (halfway between Brussels and Antwerp) in 1545 where he lived until 1572. He died in Amsterdam in 1608. The hairy golfer in the very centre of Pieter's engraving *Playing Monkeys* proves that at a time when Scottish golfers still teed off from little piles of sand, their continental colleagues made use of veritable tees. On Pieter van der Borcht, see F.W.H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts ca. 1450–1700* (Amsterdam: Herzberger, 1949), Vol.3, p.99. For a reproduction of the engraving, see H. Gillmeister, *Tennis: A Cultural History*, Figure 37. Mention must also be made of an early pictorial representation which is to be found on a copper engraving by Jan Pietersz Saenredam (*Zaandam 1565–Assendelft 1665) which took an earlier work by Hendrik Goltzius (*Venlo 1558–Haarlem 1617) as a model and is entitled *Venus Protectress of Lovers*. The picture shows, besides a football match in the right margin, what may be a putting scene in the foreground. The series of pictures to which the engraving belongs is dated 1596. Cf. Eva Magnaguagno-Korazija (ed.), *Hendrik Goltzius: Eros und Gewalt* (Dortmund: Harenberg Kommunikation, 1983), pp.186–7. The original of this print is to be found in the Graphische Sammlung of the Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule, Zurich. Intriguing allusions to golf may be found on two early sixteenth century triptychs showing the Holy Family. In one, which originates from the workshop of Jan Baegert of Wesel (c.1530), the neighbouring town of Voerde on the Lower Rhine, children are shown with various toys amongst which may well be a golf club and ball. This leads to the possible identification of a golf club in the second triptych by the Master of the Holy Family (active in Cologne from c.1480–1520) whose art shows a strong Dutch influence. (Collection Ferdinand Franz Wallraf, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne, WRM 165.) To this can be added the illustration from another Flemish book of hours dated c.1530. As early as 1894 it was referred to in a contribution to the journal *Golf* by Henry J. Hillène but has been largely ignored in Britain. The miniature is clear evidence that early Flemish players, as was pointed out by Hillène, putted at holes and waited their turn to play. The miniature has recently been reproduced in David Stirik, *Golf: History and Tradition 1500–1945* (Ludlow: Excellent Press, 1998), p.17.
95. The name is first instanced in 1327 when a certain Arnd van der Wonyngen ('the one living at the great house', so called because *Wohnung* dominated the farmsteads and cottages of its neighbourhood) had the jurisdiction of nearby Götterswick, cf. Walter Neuse, *Die Geschichte der Rittersitze Haus Wohnung und Haus Endt* (Neustadt/Aisch: Verlag Schmidt-Degener, 1956), p.7. On the picture, the steeple of the church of Götterswickershamm can be seen down the river at a distance. *Wonynge* is the equivalent of Middle Dutch *woninge*, and the expression *op ter Woning*, meaning 'at Wohnung', has been preserved in the local dialect of Möllen.
96. Ibid., p.56; and Harald Herzog, *Haus Wohnung: Ein barocker Adelsitz am Niederrhein*

- (Duisburg: STEAG AG, 1995), pp.12-13, who on this point is indebted to Neuse's book.
97. The daughter of the last von Doornick heir, Wilhelm Kaspar, married Count Hermann Adolf von Nagel; the couple had a son, Wilhelm Christian Nagel, who apparently inherited the painting and that is the reason why it was found at Vornholz Manor near Warendorf, the seat of the Nagel family, cf. Neuse, *Die Geschichte der Rittersitze Haus Wohnung und Haus Endt*, pp.76 and 78.
 98. See Neuse, *Die Geschichte der Rittersitze Haus Wohnung und Haus Endt* p.56.
 99. *Ibid.*, p.64.
 100. On 25 Feb. 1705, she was buried at the conventual church of Dinslaken on 2 March 1705, cf. Neuse, *Die Geschichte der Rittersitze Haus Wohnung und Haus Endt*.
 101. *Ibid.*, p.65.
 102. This device is clearly related to those used in the many varieties of Swiss *hornussen* and in the Dutch game of *duzend-slan*. Cf. the table in J.B. Mastüger, *Schweizerbuch der alten Bewegungsspiele* (Zurich: Artemis Verlag, 1955), pp.230-31.
 103. Geddes, *A Swing through Time*, pp.44-5; and Malcolm Campbell, *The Encyclopedia of Golf* (London: Dorling Kindersley, 1991), p.15.
 104. Two specimens are reproduced in Geddes, *A Swing through Time*, p.25.
 105. Neuse, *Die Geschichte der Rittersitze Haus Wohnung und Haus Endt*, p.39. As early as 1326 a Jan van Dornic was lord of the manor Doornick in Betuwe in the parish of Zetten with which he had been invested by the Duke of Gelderland.
 106. *Ibid.*, p.40.
 107. The abolition of games under Pieter Stuyvesant, the son of a minister of the Reformed Church from Franeker, in New Amsterdam was formulated thus: 'the Director General and Council ... hereby interdict and forbid, First; all persons performing on the Lord's day, by us called Sunday ... any lower or unlawful exercises or games, drunkenness, frequenting taverns or grogshops, dancing, cardplaying, backgammon, tennis, ballplaying, bowling, rolling nine pins, racing with boats, cars or wagons before, during or between divine service under double the fine [of One pound Flemish] ... Thus done, renewed and amplified at the meeting of the Director General and Council of N: Netherland this 26th Octob. 1656. holden in Fort Amsterdam: ... Was signed P.Stuyvesant.' Berthold Fernow (ed.), *The Records of New Amsterdam from 1653 to 1674 Anno Domini* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1976), Vol.2, pp.204-5 and 208.