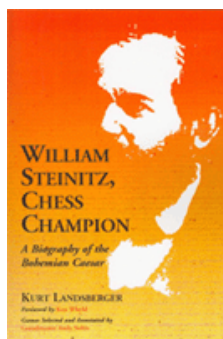




SKITTLES ROOM



CHESSTHEATRE

Play through and download
the games from
ChessCafe.com in the
[DGT Game Viewer](#).

Free Shipping!
On all Orders
More than \$75!



UPS GROUND Only.

Born in Bogotá (Colombia), composer and conductor Federico Garcia has been based in Pittsburgh since 2001. He is the Artistic Director of ALIA MUSICA Pittsburgh since its foundation in 2006. His essay “Wilhelm Steinitz and the Inception of Modern Chess,” was presented on March 3 at the GradExpo 2006, at the University of Pittsburgh.

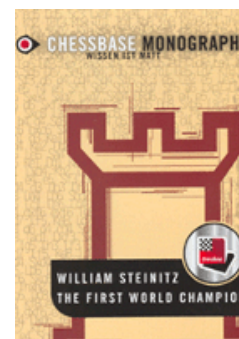
Steinitz and the Inception of Modern Chess Part One

by Federico Garcia

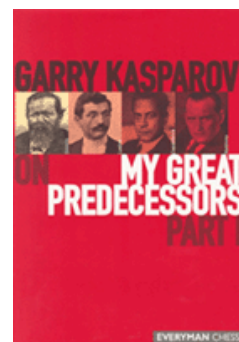
The history of chess is a discipline in its infancy. It still is done in subordination to other purposes, mainly to technical instruction in textbooks, or anecdotal variety in game collections. Very early in his training, alongside with relative value of pieces, the basic mates, and the rest of elementary principles, the chess student learns the general outline of the history of chess: Philidor and the pawns, Anderssen and combination, Steinitz and positional principles, Nimzowitsch and the Hypermoderns, the rise of the Soviet School, etc. But this ‘historical awareness’ of every chess player is rather uncritical and not very faithful to the way history really unfolded – just as happens with the casual historical conception of science or art. To be a chess player it is not necessary an acquaintance with the life of Philidor or the circumstances in which his work and discoveries took place, or an understanding of the conditions to which Steinitz reacted – just as a physicist does not need to know the biography of Robert Hooke, or as a biologist can harmlessly ignore the development and importance of the theory of spontaneous generation. Of course, this gives the student a poor understanding of Steinitz or Hooke as historical figures, but this is okay as long as they grasp the theory of position play or the law of elasticity – the focus is technical and a-historical.

There are works that pioneer an independent approach to the history of chess. Authors such as Anthony Saily and Raymond Keene have given the historical record a more historical treatment, using them no longer to illustrate principles of chess theory but their *development*.^[1] The title of Max Euwe’s (World Champion from 1935 to 1937) *The Development of Chess Style*^[2] reveals its historical leaning, and is to my knowledge the earliest book to identify the paradoxical rejection of Philidor’s ideas by the generations that followed him, and attempt an explanation more substantial than ‘Phillidor was ahead of his time and little understood by his contemporaries.’ Similar, by far more popular – and in my view less historically successful – is Richard Réti’s *Masters of the Chessboard*.^[3] Emmanuel Lasker (World Champion 1894–1921) approaches chess with a strong philosophical eye in his *Manual of Chess*,^[4] where he finds chess to be but one case of his universal philosophy, presented independently from chess in *Das Begreifen der Welt* (The Comprehension of the World, 1913) and *Die Philosophie des Unvollendbar* (The Philosophy of the Unattainable, 1918). So Lasker’s history of chess does from time to time escape the narrowness of chess techni-cality. With the exception of the latter (which in any case is more ‘philosophical’ than ‘historical’ in that it does not concern itself with the actual unfolding of events), however, the discussions are still very technical and confined to the ideas and perceptions about the game itself, not drawing on outside influences. Contemporary concepts and knowledge permeate the appraisal of past developments, and thus one of the main and perhaps foundational

Purchases from our [shop](#) help
keep [ChessCafe.com](#) freely
accessible:

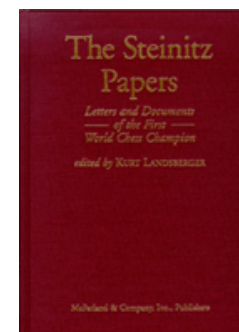


[William Steinitz](#)
by Thorsten Heedt
Save 10% Now!



[My Great Predecessors,](#)
[Part 1](#)

by Garry Kasparov



[The Steinitz Papers](#)
by Kurt Landsberger

traits that make history of science a separate discipline independent from science itself, namely the constant watch-out for anachronism, finds no analogue in the realm of chess.

The present essay is an attempt in that direction: a reassessment of the history of chess with the methodological standards borrowed from the mature history of science. Among them are a close and ideally unbiased reading of the different authors, trying to forget what we know but their contemporaries did not (and recover what we have forgotten); and the conviction that the 'wrongness' of past theories and views can and should be explained without resort to teleological ideas of an endogenous, unique and inevitable 'progress,' i.e. without saying that it was simply a matter of time before the obvious revisions were accomplished. This latter point is of course related to the mentioned suspicion against anachronism, against projecting notions from one time into another. At least from Adolph Anderssen, the greatest master of Romantic chess, on, it can be safely assumed that any of the chess players mentioned in this history would easily beat the average amateur player of today. So the fact that they failed so utterly to understand what the average player today finds obvious imposes hard thinking – it certainly overcomes the boundaries of the sixty-four-square board. On the other hand, as usually happens in history of scientific disciplines, the enrichment of the history of chess with careful tracing of historical development sheds a completely new and refreshing light on the theories themselves. An a-historical summation of the theories of, say, Steinitz, such as is found for instance in Kurt Landsberger's biography,^[5] however well done and useful for technical purposes, gives the impression that the theories stem solely from a cold analysis of the game; as we will see, history helps explaining why the theories emphasize certain aspects, why it was at all necessary to explicitly state others, etc.

My initial intention was to focus on the so-called 'Hypermodern Revolution' of the 1930s, the most famous instance of upheaval in chess theory, and probably the most consciously understood as such by its protagonists, Aron Nimzowitsch at its head. To that end, I planned to make a survey of the historical development up to the point where the revolt starts, and then direct the bulk of the philosophical and meta-theoretical discussion to the hypermoderns. But the 'survey' soon showed to me that philosophical discussion is very worth pursuing with regard to the revolution of Steinitz around the 1880s. My current view, barely surprising but learned the hard way, is that any philosophical treatment of the hypermodern revolution needs a previous philosophical consideration of Steinitz and his generation. In the end, because of reasons of space, I had to choose one of the two, and I had to decide in favor of Steinitz.

A last note on terminology before starting: the word 'modern' refers here to chess as it is conceived from Steinitz on. I am perfectly aware of the differences of contemporary chess and that of the 'Classical' era inaugurated by Steinitz and closed by Siegbert Tarrasch just before Nimzowitsch. Contemporary chess is soundly called 'modern' by John Watson in one of the books that most closely shares my ideal of history.^[6] But I think even Watson would agree that contemporary and Steinitz's chess can be grouped as opposed to the previous Romantic era of Anderssen and Morphy. Since I am stopping at the aftermath of Steinitz's defeat of Zukertort – this is, much before the raise of the hypermoderns – the appellation of 'modern' does not involve perilous overlaps. Furthermore, I find it particularly suitable since Steinitz's conception of chess is most consistent with what 'modernity' has come to mean in philosophy and the history of Western thought.

The history of chess as we conceive of it today^[7] can be safely assumed to start with the composer (of music) Francois André Danican Philidor (1726–1795). His undoubted status as a 'founding father' stems mainly from the famous sentence that everyone associates with his name, 'the

pawns are the soul of chess.’ That ‘pawns are the soul of chess’ is the fundamental law of chess theory. It is the identification and elaboration of the fact that pawns are heavily limited in their movement,^[8] so that the structure of pawns is much more static and rigid than that of pieces; this, coupled to the fact that an advantage of a pawn is usually enough to win the game (if the endgame, where pawns are potential queens, is reached), gives the handling of pawns an importance and a difficulty that goes beyond that of pieces. The consequences of a pawn move are lasting, and cannot generally be pondered by ‘concrete analysis,’ the sheer calculation of variations. Moving pieces always involves of course the risk of mistakes and blunders that immediately ruin a game – but these can be calculated and avoided. Moving pawns means a much more subtle risk, for relevant negative consequences might appear a long time afterwards; there is no need for blunder to lose a game because of a pawn move.

This distinction between pawns and pieces is at the core of the distinction between ‘strategy’ and ‘tactics,’ the two branches of chess theory, training, education, etc. (Strategy is the identification of the general long-term ideas and plans of the game, usually based on the configuration of pawns reached after the opening; tactics refers to the actual moves and short-term variations that execute the plans, and it usually focuses on the action of pieces. ‘Tactics consists in knowing what to do when there is something to do; strategy is about knowing what to do when there is nothing to do,’ Tartakower is reported to have said.) In this sense, the discovery of strategy, and with it the birth of chess theory as such, is essentially linked to the name of Philidor. Thus (and I choose the following source for no other reason than having it at hand – assertions to the same effect are easily found in any book on chess strategy),

It was master Filidor [*sic*], the luminous French musician and chess player, the first to understand, already at the end of the eighteenth century, the importance of pawns in chess; it is actually with him that the game’s positional strategy is born.^[9]

This is what the name Philidor means for chess today. He plays the role of the symbolic point of reference, the recipient that contains the essence and the primary source of chess theory. But, as usually happens with such figures – think of Thales as the father of philosophy, Pithagoras as the father of mathematics, and even of Aristotle as the father of empirical science – he himself is exiled from his name, and what he actually thought or understood is ignored in favor of what we think and understand. Historical fact is of little importance for the role of the figure – just as Homer, and more recently as Saussure, he is defined *by* us as the author of his works, rather than his works being defined *for* us as the product of his efforts.

In fact, ‘the pawns are the soul of chess’ is a corruption of what Philidor really said. (The fate of this sentence is similar to that of other myths like Newton’s apple or Galileo at the Tower of Pisa: dubious recollection of facts modified by tradition to suit its fancy.) The actual quotation from Philidor’s foreword to his 1749 *Chess Analysed or Instructions by Which a Perfect Knowledge of This Noble Game May in a short Time be Acquir’d* (his own translation of the *Analise des Echecs*) reads

My chief intention is to recommend myself to the public, by a novelty no one had thought of, or perhaps ever understood well. I mean how to play the Pawns. They are the very life [not ‘soul’] of this game. They alone form the Attack and the Defense; on their good or bad situation depends the Gain or Loss of each Party.

And then, immediately:

A player, who, when he had played a pawn well, can give no Reason for his moving it to such a square, may be compared to a General, who with much practice has little or no Theory.^[10]

Philidor's wording (Attack, Defense, Reason, Theory) reveals that 'strategy' and 'tactics' are not part of his conceptual net. When 'the pawns are the soul of chess' is interpreted today, what it brings to mind is the classification of pawns into weak pawns (isolated, doubled, hind pawn) or strong pawns (passed pawns), some especial configurations (chain of pawns, hanging pawns), and the concept of weak and strong squares. All this obviously remains at best inarticulate in Philidor's book. As Cecil Purdy says, "in Philidor's system of play, it is not at all evident to a mediocre player even if experienced why 'on the good or bad situation (of the pawns) depends the gain and loss to each Party.'" [11]

Few players today have played over any of Philidor's games – rarely reproduced in books – and fewer still have actually read his book. He is often depicted as the unchallenged but solitary, never understood sage of eighteenth-century chess, a 'man ahead of his time' with no interlocutors in a hopeless sea of ignorance. Philidor's approach had virtually no theoretical offspring for the next hundred years, although his book was widely and constantly read until well into the nineteenth century; the most immediate (but also, of course, the most naive) retrospective explanation to that paradoxical fact is the usual one that nobody was up to his teachings: "An exception [to pre-Morphy dark ages in chess] was the great chess philosopher, A. D. Philidor, who was too much in advance of his time to be properly understood," says Réti in a footnote to his *Modern Ideas in Chess*; [12] "of course, Philidor's audience (and, indeed, most of his opponents) were far below him in playing strength and consisted mainly of social players," is Keene's assessment. [13] But the assumptions that, on the one hand, Philidor understood the pawns as the world did only one hundred years later, and on the other that Philidor was *not* a 'social player,' are rather dubious contentions.

It is curious and a little bit surprising that Keene falls in the trap of giving Philidor a special, prophetic status. After all, it is he who quotes more cynical and skeptical assessments of Philidor's work, and who recovers "A Letter from the Celebrated Anonymous Modenese to a Friend, Respecting the Book of Mr Philidor," in which Ercole del Rio "lashed the great Philidor." [14] So he is fully aware that Philidor "is very doctrinaire, to the point of nonsense at times," and dogmatic; that his examples resemble Galileo's dialogues in that White plays well, while a Simplicius-like Black knows nothing: "There is hardly a struggle." [15] All of this, if arguably has some didactic advantages, make Philidor's claims hardly tenable. Ercole boils over:

In the Third [example] Game Philidor decides that after the two king's pawns have been pushed two squares he who has the move must not play the king's knight to bishop's third square, concluding that such a step would lose the attack, and he gives it to the adversary.

It is truly admirable how the writer will discard the Giuoco Piano Games, which have been approved of from age to age by the best chessplayers in Europe: we may collect from this what influence the love of novelty has upon the mind of man. [16]

Max Euwe, notably, takes another way, and emphasizes the dubiousness of Philidor's analyses to account for the failure of succeeding generations to develop along his lines: "The trouble was that Philidor himself was not altogether happy in the application of his theories. He tended to go too far, deeming the pieces hardly more than the servants of the pawns, and underestimating their powers. . . . This and other similarly exaggerated conclusions. . . damaged Philidor's reputation. A full century had to elapse before the pawn-lore of the great Frenchman was reinstated by Steinitz and refined to its true worth." [17] And later on: "Philidor influenced the style of his immediate successors in a totally unexpected way. The fact that the examples with which he sought to substantiate his pawn theories were on the whole not very convincing. . . , resulted in the true value of his teaching being overlooked. Players were only spurred on

to do better by tactical means.”[\[18\]](#) This is a more sophisticated tackling of the question why Philidor’s views did not take root. But there are still anachronistic assumptions: the opposition of ‘tactical means’ to Philidor is dangerous, and saying that Philidor chose the wrong examples for the right theories begs the question whether Philidor’s theories were not all that right after all – maybe these are right examples for wrong theories. . . . Once again, a skeptical spirit would tend to regard with suspicion the idea that Philidor anticipated the development of chess theory by a full hundred years; the fact that he did not know how to expound his foresight renders the idea less, not more, credible. Besides, it seems an established historical fact that Philidor was the best player of his time, and that he was regarded as such, and that his book was widely read.

The issue is very difficult in part because the historical record is not very generous as it comes to Philidor’s actual play. A reassessment is needed of his games, done not with the purpose of showing how he was ‘ahead of his time,’ but in order to form a better idea of what he really meant by his theories.[\[19\]](#)

To sum up, it is doubtful that the great Philidor, if asked today about the meaning of his assertions, both the general ones like the one about the pawns and the particular ones like ‘2.Nf3?,’ would answer satisfactorily. This of course is not to his demerit, but the anachronism of the chess community’s appreciation of Philidor is patent. Philidor was not ‘a man ahead of his time.’ Rather on the contrary, his book might be very well a manifestation of the contemporary conditions of chess: as it becomes less and less of a merely social activity, there is a nascent need for ‘general principles’ of (apparently) easy teachability, reinforcing, and reinforced by, the elevation (or downgrading) of the individual game to an instance, an *exemplar* – in all the Kuhnian sense – of chess. The conceptual net of modern chess theory is starting to see the light – ‘the pawns are the life of this game’ is the first, but still incipient step.

The next major discontinuity in the history of chess occurred in the second half of the nineteenth century, with the advent of William Steinitz (1836–1900). Steinitz holds the historical position of being the first ‘World Champion,’ important not so much because he held the title, but because he *invented* it. The creation of such a title is an index to an underlying revolution that affected from the outside the history of chess, and the game itself, at the time. In a natural outgrowth of the process by which chess had turned into a tradition rather than a mere social activity, chess achieved, toward 1880, *professionalization*.

Steinitz’s invention and claim to the title of ‘World Champion’ would have no effect had it not met with ‘resonance,’ i.e., had eventually also other masters not found such a title meaningful and legitimate. It is interesting to note that twenty years had to span between Steinitz’s first claim to the title (in 1866, after defeating Adolph Anderssen) and the first match organized explicitly to decide who had the honor (in 1886, when Steinitz and Johannes Zukertort vowed to recognize the winner as ‘World Champion’; Steinitz won). Before the time of the match, the title seems not to have been very relevant to the members of the chess community, and today it is at first sight hard to understand why nobody objected Steinitz’s early claim (especially in view that Morphy had previously defeated Anderssen). Kurt Landsberger, the author of Steinitz’s definitive biography, says that nobody objected the claim,

especially since Steinitz was always willing and never hesitant in defending his title. Morphy would have been entitled to such a title if he would have accepted and won challenges against Paulsen or Kolisch. Since he did not care to do this, the question of championship was left open until the claim of Steinitz.[\[20\]](#)

But this is anachronistic. What Morphy (or his fans) lacked was not reasons or arguments to support a claim; what he lacked was the claim, in the first place. He could afford denying matches because he had, quite

literally, nothing to lose or to gain. It is not that he was not the World Champion because he failed to meet the challenges, but the other way around: he did not meet them because he was not the World Champion. Nobody was. Before Steinitz, the question was not exactly “left open,” but directly unasked. Even when the concept of World Champion first appeared explicitly (in Steinitz’s claim), it did not immediately elicit any substantial reaction.

The professionalization and institutionalization of sports are related phenomena that first took place in England during the later part of the nineteenth century. In many respects, chess is a typical case. Throughout the century England had become the main center of the chess world, at least as it comes to ‘institutions’ (clubs, tournaments, journalism, etc.). Howard Staunton, today remembered as the best player next to Anderssen, had organized the first International Chess Tournament in 1851 (as part of the great International Exhibition). England had attracted Philidor, and it would attract both Zukertort and Steinitz (the latter wrote there chess columns for London journal *Figaro* and the newspaper *The Field*). Just as had happened with cricket, rowing, rackets, real tennis, athletics, shooting, billiards, steeple-chasing, golf, soccer, rugby, and polo, [21] an encounter between Oxford and Cambridge was (by suggestion of Steinitz) organized in 1873. Chess was a middle-class activity, like tennis (invented in 1873, first national tournament 1877, Davis Cup in 1900), and golf, and shares with them several interesting characteristics: “it was not based on team-effort, and its clubs. . . were not linked into ‘leagues’ and functioned as potential or actual social centres.” [22] The issue of amateurism/professionalism has to be understood in that context, for it had a social connotation that it lacks today:

Middle-class sport. . . represented [an] attempt to draw class lines against the masses, mainly by the systematic emphasis on amateurism as the criterion of upper-and middle-class sport (as notably in tennis, rugby union football as against association football and rugby league and in the Olympic Games).[23]

In fact, Steinitz (who had moved to London “primarily because they played there for higher stakes”[24]) had to struggle throughout his life against moralist anti-professional criticism. To mention just two instances:

After the match between Steinitz and Blackburn at the West End Chess Club in 1876, a writer in the *Chess Player’s Chronicle* took violent objection to the half-guinea admission charge and wrote that “the thoroughly mercenary spirit in which the latest exhibition of professionalism was conducted throughout, has heartedly disgusted all true chess players.”

As late as 1890 Leopold Hoffer wrote in the *Chess Monthly* that the agreed terms for a match between Steinitz and Gunsberg, were “contrary to the English ideas of sport,” because for the first time it was stipulated that the loser would receive one-third of the stakes. [25]

In his responses, Steinitz was the first to publicly defend professionalism, and very likely the first player not to feel shame for it (Zukertort, for example, used a totally spurious title of ‘Dr.’[26]). It is not a coincidence that he was to come up with the idea of a Chess World Champion.

References

- Chernev, Irving. *The Chess Companion: A merry collection of tales of chess and its players, together with a cornucopia of games, problems, epigrams and advice, topped off with The Greatest Game of Chess Ever Played*. New York: Simon and Schuster,

- 1968.
- Euwe, Max. *The Development of Chess Style* [Veldheershap op de Vierenestig]. Translated from the Dutch by W. H. Cozens. New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1968 [1966].
 - Golombek, Harry. “Writers who have Changed Chess History.” Pages 127–147 of Irving Chernev’s *The Chess Companion*.
 - Grau, Roberto G. *Conformación de Peones* [Pawn Configuration]. Volume 3 of *Tratado General de Ajedrez* [General Treatise of Chess]. Buenos Aires: Editorial Sopena Argentina, 1982.
 - Hobsbawn, Eric. “Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870–1914.” In Eric Hobsbawn and Terence Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
 - Hooper, David. “The Theory of Steinitz.” Pages 465–70 of Kurt Landsberger’s *William Steinitz: A biography of the Bohemian Caesar*.
 - Keene, Raymond. *The Evolution of Chess Opening Theory, from Philidor to Kasparov*. Oxford, New York: Pergamon Press, 1985.
 - Keene, Raymond. *The Chess Combination from Philidor to Karpov*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1990.
 - Landsberg, Kurt. *William Steinitz: A biography of the Bohemian Caesar*. Jefferson, N. C.: McFarland & Co., 1993.
 - Lasker, Emmanuel. *Lasker’s Manual of Chess*. New York: Dover Publications, Inc. [David McKay Company], 1960 [1947].
 - Réti, Richard. *Masters of the Chessboard*. New York: Dover, 1932.
 - Réti, Richard. *Modern Ideas in Chess*. 2nd. edition. New York: Dover [G. Bell & Sons], 1960 [1943].
 - Saidy, Anthony. *The Battle of Chess Ideas*. London: Batsford, 1972.
 - Watson, John. *Secrets of Modern Chess Strategy: Advances since Nimzowitsch*. Gambit Publications Ltd., 1998.

Sources

[1] Anthony Saidy, *The Battle of Chess Ideas* (London: Batsford, 1972); Raymond Keene, *The Evolution of Chess Opening Theory, from Philidor to Kasparov* (Oxford, New York: Pergamon Press, 1985) and *The Chess Combination from Philidor to Karpov* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1990).

[2] Max Euwe, *The Development of Chess Style*, translated from the Dutch by W. H. Cozens (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1968 [1966]).

[3] Richard Réti, *Masters of the Chessboard* (New York: Dover, 1932).

[4] Emmanuel Lasker, *Lasker’s Manual of Chess* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc. [David McKay Co.], 1960 [1947]).

[5] David Hooper, “The Theory of Steinitz,” pages 465–70 of *William Steinitz: A biography of the Bohemian Caesar* (Jefferson, N. C.: McFarland & Co., 1993)

[6] John Watson, *Secrets of Modern Chess Strategy: Advances since Nimzowitsch* (Gambit Publications Ltd., 1998).

[7] This qualification is intended in two senses: on the one hand, it refers to the moment (around the Renaissance) when chess rules reached the state today accepted; but it also excludes early activities (there are theoretical studies dating back to the late 16th. century whose conclusions still hold true today; the Spanish priest Ruy López (ca. 1540– 1580) is one of the most frequently heard names in chess today, if only because the opening that bears his name ranks among the most important ones). The boundary between what is chess as ‘conceived of today’ and what is

not is of course very hard to trace, but it seems to be related with the transcendence of the individual game. At some point in history, chess players start regarding the game as an instance of chess, rather than chess as an instance of a game. Two kinds of consequence are apparent: firstly, scores and results start being taken, and a notion of there being better and worse players comes to the surface; secondly, chess is understood to be susceptible of being taught and learned generically, by anyone interested: textbooks appear. Both circumstances are first clear with Philidor, who is the first player of whom contemporaries speak with awe, and whose is “the first book that captured public interest and retained it for a considerable length of time,” Harry Golombek, “Writers who have Changed Chess History,” pages 127–147 of *The Chess Companion* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1968), p. 127 (my italics).

[8] It is not that they move only one square at a time. Much more important are the limitations that pawns cannot move backwards, and that they can ‘change lanes’ only when capturing.

[9] “Fue el maestro Filidor, el luminoso músico y ajedrecista francés, el primero que comprendió, ya a fines del siglo XVIII, la importancia de los peones en ajedrez; con él nace en realidad la estrategia posicional del juego.” Roberto G. Grau, *Conformación de Peones*, volume 3 of *Tratado General de Ajedrez* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sopena Argentina, 1982), p. 5.

[10] Quoted by Keene, *The Evolution of Chess Openings*, p. 3.

[11] Quoted by Keene, *The Evolution of Chess Openings*, p. 4.

[12] Richard Réti, *Modern Ideas in Chess*, 2nd. edition (New York: Dover [G. Bell & Sons], 1960 [1943]), p. 2.

[13] Keene, *The Evolution of Chess Openings*, p. 1.

[14] *Idem*, p. 8.

[15] Quoted in *Idem*, p. 3.

[16] Quoted by Keene, *The Evolution of Chess Openings*, p. 7. In fact, Philidor’s assessment amounts, in modern notation, to the question mark in 1.e4 e5 2.Nf3? – certainly a joke. Ercole was one of several important analysts from Modena, Italy, active in the latter part of the 18th. century. Unfortunately, they had a different rule for castling, so much of their theory is quite simply inapplicable, it is theory of another game.

[17] Euwe, *Op. Cit.*, p. 7.

[18] *Idem*, p. 11.

[19] Publishing House Moravian Chess has issued in 2001 facsimile reprints of George Allen’s *The Life of Philidor, Musician and Chess Player* (1863) and *A Selection of Games at Chess: Actually Played by Philidor and his Contemporaries* (1835). This testifies and contributes to the building-up interest around this issue, which seems to be turning from unsettled to unsettling. I had no access to these texts, and in any case the proposed analysis is a major undertaking.

[20] Landsberg, *Op. Cit.*, p. 36.

[21] Eric Hobsbawm, “Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870–1914,” in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), table 3, p. 298.

[22] *Idem*, p. 299.

[23] *Idem*, p. 300 (my italics).

[24] Landsberg, Op. Cit., p. 21.

[25] Idem, p. 28.

[26] Idem, p. 147.

© 2003 Federico Garcia.

Comment on this month's column via our [Contact Page](#)! Pertinent responses will be posted below daily.

 [TOP OF PAGE](#)

 [HOME](#)

 [COLUMNS](#)

 [LINKS](#)

 [ARCHIVES](#)

 [ABOUT THE
CHESS CAFE](#)

[\[ChessCafe Home Page\]](#) [\[Book Review\]](#) [\[Columnists\]](#)
[\[Endgame Study\]](#) [\[The Skittles Room\]](#) [\[Archives\]](#)
[\[Links\]](#) [\[Online Bookstore\]](#) [\[About ChessCafe.com\]](#) [\[Contact Us\]](#)

© 2009 BrainGamz, Inc. All Rights Reserved.
"ChessCafe.com®" is a registered trademark of BrainGamz, Inc.