

Codex Wallerstein

A Medieval Fighting Book from the Fifteenth Century
on the Longsword, Falchion, Dagger and Wrestling

Introduction

(revised)

by Grzegorz Zabinski

REMARKS ON THE MANUSCRIPT¹

The subject of this edition, one of the best known late medieval *Fechtbuch* known as Codex Wallerstein is preserved in the collection of the Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg (I.6.4^o.2). The codex is a paper quarto manuscript, written in Middle High German with some Bavarian dialect influence, containing 221 pages,² every odd one numbered in the upper right corner, starting from page 4 which is given No. 1. Page 1 contains a date 1549, the supposed manual owner's name, *Vonn Baumans*,³ and the word *Fechtbuch*, while pages

2 and 3 are blank. This codex is by no means a homogenous source – it seems to consist of two different manuals (for the sake of convenience called further A and B), which were put together and later given a common pagination.⁴ Part A (No. 1 recto—No. 75 recto, and No. 108 verso; thus consisting of 151 pages) is probably from the second half of the fifteenth century, on account on both the representations of arms and armour on No. 1 verso (full plate armours and armets) and No. 2 recto, and costume details of costumes on No. 108 verso⁵. On the other hand, part B (No. 76 recto—No. 108 recto; 66 pages) is probably of much earlier origin,

¹ Some observations upon the Codex Wallerstein, incorporated into the present edition, were already published by the author in his paper "Several Remarks on the *Bloßfechten* Section of Codex Wallerstein." (Last Update 12 March 2001). Available from the author's homepage <http://sites.netscape.net/gadjaszczur/>. Available from the Journal of Western Martial Art http://ejmas.com/jmwa/jmwaart_zabinski_401.html. Internet.

² According to the numeration of pages, there are 108 charts; however, several pages at the beginning are not numbered, that is why it seems to be more proper to give an exact number of pages.

³ According to H.-P. Hils it is possible to attempt at identifying the owner of the manuscript on account of the tax registers of Augsburg, which mention persons called Michael Baumann (sometimes referred to as *Söldner*, i.e., a mercenary) in the second half of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century. As it was quite common in the Middle Ages to give father's name to male children, one may suppose that these mentions concern a family, in which the codex was inherited. See: Hans-Peter Hils, *Meister Johann Liechtenauers Kunst des langen Schwertes* (Europäische Hochschulschriften 3. Geschichte und ihre Hilfswissenschaften 257. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1985), 28.

⁴ Regretfully, the author had a microfilm and not the actual manuscript at his disposal while writing this contribution. As a thorough inspection of the codex would surely reveal much more than a mere view of a microfilm reproduction, the remarks on the manuscript and its origin are by no means as decisive. For more data about the codex consult the works quoted below. Previous literature dealing with the codex divides the manuscript into three parts: two *Fechtbücher* and one *Ring- or Kampfbuch* (i.e., concerning wrestling and dagger fighting), which corresponds to the division applied here: part A could be further divided into a *Fechtbuch* (long sword) and

Ringbuch (wrestling and dagger). See: Martin Wierschin, *Meister Johann Liechtenauers Kunst des Fechtens* (Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur Deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters. Kommission für Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 13. C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, München 1965), 21; H.-P. Hils, 26-27, divides the manuscript in two basic parts (I: charts 1-74, II: charts 76-108), which could be further divided: part I into 2 sub-parts (according to the division into *Fechtbuch* with long sword and *Kampfbuch* with wrestling and dagger), part II into 2 sub-parts as well, according to the same division; Friedrich Dörnhöffer, "Quellen zur Geschichte der Kaiserlichen Haussammlungen und der Kunstbestrebungen des Allerhöchsten Erzhauses: Albrecht Dürers *Fechtbuch*," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 27.6 (1909), IX-XIII, XXXIII, divides the manuscript into three parts: the first one is a *Fechtbuch* (principle of division see above), the second one a *Ringbuch*, and the third one a mixture of various scenes and ways of fighting. This author point rightly to the fact that the two first parts were put together in the fifteenth century, while the present form of the codex, with the addition of the third part, is the matter of the sixteenth century; F. Dörnhoffer and H.-P. Hils attempt at dating the manuscript, referring it in general to the fifteenth century: F. Dörnhoffer claims that the third, mixed part is the oldest, originating in the mid-fifteenth century, while the two first parts are dated at about 1470; H.-P. Hils, accepting the date 1470 for the two first parts, maintains that the third part is older, originating from the mid-or even early fifteenth century – his division seems to be more justified.

⁵ See: Mary G. Houston, *Medieval Costume in England and France: the 13th, 14th, and 15th Centuries* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1996), 158-185.

which, on account of the details of armour (basinets without visors or basinets with early types of visors; mail aventails; cloth worn on the breast-and backplates cuirasses) can be dated to late fourteenth – early fifteenth century.

It is worth noticing that this *Fechtbuch* belonged once to one of the most famous sixteenth-century authors of combat manuals, Paulus Hector Mair;⁶ and it was him who was the author of the contents of the manuscript (No. 109 recto), and several minor remarks on the number of pages for particular sections of the manual, which were inserted in some places in the codex.

Codex Wallerstein, like many other medieval and Renaissance *Fechtbücher*, contains a wide range of sections devoted to particular weapons and kinds of fighting:

PART A

- ❖ a representation of a man-at-arms, No. 1 recto,
- ❖ judicial duel scenes, No. 1 verso – No. 2 recto,
- ❖ long sword unarmoured combat (*Bloßfechten*), No. 3 recto – No. 14 verso; No. 21 recto – No. 21 verso,
- ❖ wrestling (*Ringen*), No. 15 recto – No. 20 verso; No. 33 recto – No. 74 recto,
- ❖ unarmoured dagger combat (*Degen*), No. 22 recto – No. 28 verso,
- ❖ unarmoured falchion combat (*Messer*), No. 29 recto – No. 32 verso,
- ❖ advice on how to rob a peasant with a knife, No. 74 verso,
- ❖ a representation of persons in courtly costumes, No. 108 verso.

This part consists of images provided with relevant comments.

PART B

- ❖ long sword (*Bloßfechten*), No. 76 recto – No. 80 verso; No. 101 recto – No. 102 verso,
- ❖ armoured combat (*Harneschfechten*) with long swords, shields, lances and daggers, No. 81 recto – No. 95 verso; No. 103 recto – No. 108 recto,
- ❖ judicial duel with judicial shields, maces, and swords, No. 96 recto – No. 98 verso,
- ❖ wrestling (*Ringen*), No. 98 verso – No. 100 verso.

This part consists of images only, without any comments or explanations. On No. 109 recto there is a summary of the manuscript's contents, written in sixteenth-century Neo-Gothic script. Apart from sections mentioned above, there are several blank pages in this codex: No. 2 verso, No. 34 verso, No. 75 recto (with an unfinished sentence), No. 75 verso, No. 92 recto, and No. 92 verso. Both parts, as already remarked in previous scholarship, were put together in the sixteenth century. According to H.-P. Hils, both parts were written by several different scribes and illuminators, which can be seen in the style of script and images. Moreover, he maintains that part B belongs to the so-called "*Gladiatoria*" group, which cannot be linked to the teaching of Liechtenauer.⁷

This manual, as many other fighting manuals,⁸ puts considerable stress on judicial duels, which is attested to by several elements typical

⁶ A note on No. 1 recto: *Uber ii Khumben Im / 1556 Jar am / 26 Januari / paulus hector / mair zugehörig*. Mair was a notary of the town of Augsburg and was executed in 1579 on account of theft, H.-P. Hils, "Hans Talhoffer: Fechtbuch," in Rudolf Frankenberger, and Paul Berthold Rupp, eds., *Wertvolle Handschriften und Einbände aus der ehemaligen Oettingen-Wallersteinschen Bibliothek* (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 1987), 96; id., *Meister Johann*, 198. See also: F. Dörnhoffer, XXXIII; H.-P. Hils, *Meister Johann*, 28. It is worth noticing that Augsburg was an important centre of martial arts teaching in the sixteenth century and the Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg has several fencing manuals in its collection – see: H.-P. Hils, 21-40, 189-201. It is also remarkable that

Codex Wallerstein served as a source for the Fechtbuch of Albrecht Dürer (1512), see: F. Dörnhoffer, IX-XIII, XXXIII; H.-P. Hils, 27. The section on wrestling from Codex Wallerstein, supplemented with techniques from Dürer's *Fechtbuch*, and provided with the images of the latter, was already a subject of the work of Karl Wassmannsdorff, *Die Ringkunst des deutschen Mittelalters* (Leipzig: M.G. Prieber, 1870). Moreover, it would be of extreme interest to research the relationship between Codex Wallerstein and Mair's works; On Mair and his manuals see Sydney Anglo, *The Martial Arts of Renaissance Europe* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000).

⁷ Hils, 26-28, 135, 201-202.

for such kind of fighting. For example, No. 1 verso and No. 2 recto, present a remarkable duel scene in a fenced yard, with coffins already prepared for both combatants; moreover (apart from such obvious elements like judicial shields and maces), one's attention is drawn by the crosses on the garments of the combatants in part B.⁹

Although such presentation of the material is not a peculiarity of this manuscript (another example could be Talhoffer's *Fechtbuch aus dem Jahre 1467*, where, for example, comments on long sword unarmoured combat are divided into two sections),¹⁰ the fact that sections on particular weapons are mixed with one another to such extent makes the researcher wonder about the way in which the manuscript was actually written. It could be tentatively suggested that the scribes proceeded gradually, writing or copying particular sections as they had access to relevant data, without caring about putting the material in a coherent order. Moreover, the scribes of part A were in all probability not very familiar with the *Kunst des Fechtens*. To support this point of view, one can refer to No. 9 verso and No. 10 recto, when the scribe simply confused two images' comments with each other—at least, he realized his mistake and provided the images with relevant explanations; moreover, he made another mistake (No. 12 recto), having confused the words 'your' (*deines*) with 'his' (*seines*). On the other hand, it seems that the manuscript was first illustrated, and then provided with comments; however, the fact that the scribe confused the comments for two entirely different techniques speaks a lot about his knowledge of the subject.

Of interest is the fact that in the first seven plates of the long sword section (No. 3 recto—No. 6 recto) there are headings with general fighting principles:¹¹ written just above the first line of the comments, and with a different script, they are in all probability later additions.

THE WEAPON OF CODEX WALLERSTEIN

THE LONG SWORDS PART A OF CODEX WALLERSTEIN

With regard to the length of the long swords in section A, they seem to vary considerably: from about 110-120 cm (plates 5, 6, 7, 8, 20, 24, 25, 26, and 41), through about 130-140 cm (plates 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, 23, 24, 27, 28, and 42) to about 150 cm (plates 9, 10, and 21), or even 160-180 cm (plates 1, 2, and 3); similarly, the lengths of the hilts vary. However, this variety seems to have been caused rather by the illuminator's style (it is a well-known fact that medieval artists often did not pay much attention to issues of dimensions and proportion) than by a conscious differentiation for the purpose of particular techniques. What is important is the fact that all the long swords can be seen as belonging to one type: ridged blades without fullers, with a diamond-shaped cross-sections, and rigid, sharp points; fig-shaped pommels; simple straight cross-pieces with chappes. According to the commonly accepted typology of Robert E. Oakeshott, the blades could be classified as type XV (XVa respectively, according to his recent observations) or XVIII/XVIIIa (the dif-

⁸ For example, see Hans Talhoffer, *Fechtbuch aus dem Jahre 1467*. Edited by Gustav Hergsell (Prague: J.G. Calve'sche K.K. Hof-und Universitäts-Buchhandlung, Ottomar Beyer, 1887). A modern English edition which is used here: *Medieval Combat: A Fifteenth Century Illustrated Manual of Swordfighting and Close-Quarter Combat*. Translated and Edited by Mark Rector (London: Greenhill Books, 2000); Judicial duels are also dealt with in other manuals of Talhoffer: *Fechtbuch aus dem Jahre 1443*. Edited by Gustav Hergsell (Prague: Selbstverlag, 1889), and *Fechtbuch aus dem Jahre 1459*. Edited by Gustav

Hergsell (Prague: Selbstverlag, 1889). A splendid example of such manual is *Das Solothurner Fechtbuch* (1423). Edited by Charles Studer (Solothurn: Vogt-Schild AG).

⁹ Like in Talhoffer (1467), plate 69, 104-169; Talhoffer (1443), plates 15, 17, 19, 21, 23, 27, 28, 29, 31, 35, 37, 39-47 and 55; Talhoffer (1459), plates 1, 15, and 16; *Das Solothurner Fechtbuch*, plates 59-71. See also M. Rector's comments, Talhoffer (1467), 10-11, as well as the remarks of Ch. Studer, *Das Solothurner Fechtbuch*, 8-13.

¹⁰ Talhoffer (1467), plates 1-67 and 74-78.

¹¹ See F. Dörnhöffer, LXXVI-LXXVII.

ference consist in the fact that a type XV blade has a ridge flanked with deeply hollowed faces, in the case of type XVIII the ridge rises from almost flat faces): it does not seem possible to solve this issue by looking at the images in the manuscript. Actually, one would rather opt for type XVIII, as type XV (which dates back to the thirteenth century) is in the fifteenth century accompanied by a short, one-handed grip. However, it may not be that important, as both types of blades were so similar to each other in the fifteenth century that it is sometimes hard to distinguish them from each other.¹² As regards the cross-pieces, they belong clearly to type 1;¹³ the pommels represent the T family and bear the strongest resemblance to the T3 type (plates 1, 2, 3, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 41, and 42).¹⁴

Of course, one could ask the question whether the codex illuminator had a particular type of sword in front of his eyes when illustrating the manuscript (this refers in general to all the types of weapons depicted in the codex), or he was rather presenting in general the forms of sword commonly used in his environment: the latter option is more probable. Moreover, one should not assume that he was that much interested in depicting the details of weapons which were surely well known to contemporary men. Therefore, the above attempt at classifying the swords should be rather seen as a search for analogies among the known examples of existing artifacts than as a decisive definition of the weapon's typology.

A functional analysis of the swords presented in the manuscript is more important: this shape of the blade was universal both for cutting and thrusting, and the form of pommels allowed for comfortable use with both hands—this is especially relevant for the purpose of

winding (e.g., plates 6 or 8), and generally the techniques performed with crossed forearms (e.g., plates 7, 9, 10 or 13), as well as hitting with the pommel (e.g., plates 22 or 25).¹⁵

THE FALCHIONS (MESSER) IN PART A

The falchions presented in part A of the manuscript (plates 57-64) are about 120 cm long, and their hilts, although basically designed for a one-handed grip, seem to be long enough to be used comfortably with both hands. The length of hilts if of importance not only from this point of view, but also with regard to the fact that long hilts could be of considerable use for the purpose of hooking the adversary's hand, forearm, or throat, like in plates 57, 59, 63 and 64. The pommels are of hoof or wedge shape (similar to sword type T1, although definitely asymmetrical),¹⁶ the handle is formed of two plates riveted to the tang; the cross-pieces are straight.¹⁷ The form of the blade is very interesting, as the sharp part of the short edge seems to extend from the point to the cross-piece—however, the manuscript does not contain any advice about using this part of the weapon.

THE DAGGERS IN PART A

The daggers depicted in the manual clearly belong to one type, very common in the late Middle Ages, called "Rondel daggers":¹⁸ about 40-60 cm long, with round cross-pieces, and round, slightly convex pommels. Their blades are tapering, with rigid points and diamond-shaped cross-sections. Such a weapon was used for thrusting only (as one can see, there are no cutting techniques in this manual), and was extremely efficient against an armoured opponent to penetrate the openings in the armour or stab through the chain mail. Of

¹² Robert E. Oakeshott, *The Archaeology of Weapons* (Boydell Press, 1964), 306-309, 313, and plates 16, 19, and 20 between pp.184-185; Id., *Records of the Medieval Sword* (4th ed., Boydell Press, 2000), 127-145, 171-196.

¹³ Oakeshott, *The Archaeology*, 232; Id., *Records*, IX.

¹⁴ Oakeshott, *The Archaeology*, 314-315; Id., *Records*, 10.

¹⁵ See also M. Rector's remarks in Talhoffer (1467), 15-16; John Clements, *Medieval Swordsmanship: Illustrated Methods and Techniques* (Boulder: Paladin Press, 1998), 38-39, 181-185.

¹⁶ Oakeshott, *The Archaeology*, 314.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 232.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 337.

interest is also the fact that the length of the blade allowed the fighter to apply several armlocks and levers, which are depicted in the manual.

THE LONG SWORDS IN PART B OF CODEx WALLERSTEIN

The long swords in part B (section on unarmoured combat, plates 151-160, and 201-204) show certain similarities to those in part A: about 130-140 cm long, with tapering blades (type XV or XVIII, with preference for the latter).¹⁹ With regard to the pommels, they all belong to the T family, although with certain differentiations: T2 in plate 203; T3 in plates 151, 152, 156, 159, 160, and 204; and the most common T4 (plates 152, 153, 155, 157, 159, 201, 202, 203, and 204).²⁰ All the cross-pieces are provided with chappes; however, the cross-pieces themselves show a variety of types: a sort of combination of 2 and 5 (or maybe a sort of 10?) in plates 151, 152, 153, 156, 158, 160, 201, 202, 203, and 204; a sort of combination of 6 and 9 in plates 151, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 201, 202, 203, and 204.

JUDICIAL SWORDS IN PART B

For the purpose of judicial armoured combat, although “normal” swords were applied, too, several special types of judicial swords were also designed: these depicted in the Codex Wallerstein are in fact of the same types as those described above, with the exception for their pommels, which are of ball shape,

equipped additionally with projecting spikes, designed for the sake of delivering devastating pommel strokes, surely very efficient against plate armour (plates 161–170; 176, 178–182; 185–187; 190; 205–215). Similar examples of judicial swords may be found in other manuals (although of later origin), as in that by Talhoffer²¹—a splendid overview of various forms of judicial swords is presented in his *Alte Armatur und Ringkunst* (1459).²²

On the other hand, swords used for judicial combat with large shields (plates 191–192, 196) do not differ from those used for “standard” purposes—they are either one-handed ones, with blade types XV/XVIII, crosspiece types 6/9, and ball-shaped pommels (plate 191),²³ or two-handed, like those depicted in the section of unarmoured combat.

JUDICIAL SHIELDS

A special weapon, used for the purpose of judicial combat, was a dueling shield, accompanied either by swords (according to the Swabian law), or by wooden maces (according to the Frankish law).²⁴ This shield was about 2 or more meters long, provided from inside with a pole for the purpose of holding it, and equipped with projecting hooks and spikes at the ends for the purpose of stabbing or hooking the adversary. This shield had a particular variation, called a throated hooking shield, with two central poles at both ends and four hooks.²⁵ There seems to be some confusion concerning the sort of fighting it served for²⁶—in

¹⁹ Ibid., 306-309, 313, and plates 16, 19, and 20 between pp.184-185.

²⁰ Ibid., 314.

²¹ Talhoffer (1443), plate 51.

²² Hans Talhoffer, *Alte Armatur und Ringkunst* (1459), Royal Library Copenhagen, ms Thott 290 2°, No. 107 verso-No. 108 recto. Available from the webpage of The Academy of Medieval Martial Arts (). Interesting examples of judicial swords are also presented in *Das Solothurner Fechtbuch*.

²³ Oakeshott, *The Archaeology*, 232-233, 306-309, 314, 323

²⁴ Talhoffer (1467), comments by M. Rector, 16.

²⁵ Ibid., 17.

²⁶ Talhoffer (1467): judicial shields with two spikes at the ends only (without hooks) are accompanied either with

swords, or maces, or used alone (there is even an example of two spikes' shield versus throated hooking shield, plates 104-169. Talhoffer (1443) depicts, apart from the presentation of a judicial shield equipped with five central parallel spikes at each end, and one hook on each side, the combat with hooking shields with two central spikes at the ends, accompanied either by maces, or used on their own, plates 7-47. Talhoffer, *Alte Armatur* (1459), shows a great variety of shields accompanied by various weapons: throated hooking shields with two spikes at the ends, accompanied with swords (No. 97 verso—No. 99 recto; No. 102 verso); shields with five radial (not vertical) spikes at each end (central spikes are equipped with rectangular hooks) used with maces or on their own (No. 99 verso—No. 101 recto; No. 103 recto; No. 110

relevant section of Codex Wallerstein combatants using swords carry shields on whose ends there are two spikes (a central one and a corner one) and a hook (plate 191), or even nine spikes (a central one and four corner ones; plate 192); one also notices a variation of the former type, with three spikes on the front of the shield (plate 196); for the purpose of mace duel the combatants apply shields with one long central spike at each end (or its variation with two hooks), like in plate 193, or even other combinations (plates 194–195).

ARMOUR IN PART B

The examples of plate armour worn by combatants in part B of the manuscript (plates 161–182; 185–190; 205–215) show several traits typical for the second half of the fourteenth or the early fifteenth century. The helmets (all accompanied by mail aventails) can be classified into several types:

- ❖ basinets without visors: plates 161–162; 166–167; 169–170; 173–175; 178–181; 186–188; 190; 205–206; 213.
- ❖ basinets with visors (either in form of early *Klappvisier* or later *Hundsgugel*): plates 161, 163, 174; 176–182; 185–186; 188–190; 205–207; 209–215.
- ❖ kettle-hat: plate 162.

The combatants wear full leg and arm armour. With regard to breastplates and backplates, they are all covered with outer cloth (sometimes with a cross, for the purpose of

verso—No. 113 recto); oval shields with no spikes (sometimes equipped with a hook on each side) used on their own, or accompanied with maces or swords (No. 111 verso—No. 117 recto)—Talhoffer himself depicts shields with five or three horizontal spikes at each end as serving for mace duel (No. 104 recto—No. 104 verso), and as destined for sword combat he presents throated hooking shields (two central spikes and four or two hooks), or such ones with two central spikes equipped with horizontal hooks (No. 105 recto—No. 106 recto); furthermore, he presents two kind of maces (long and short, No. 106 verso) as well as special costumes used for shield duels (No. 107 recto); *Das Solothurner Fechtbuch* shows two spikes' shields with two small hooks only) at the ends (attached diagonally), accompanied by maces, or used on their own, plates 59-71. All this seems to support

judicial duels), which is a typical feature of this period. The shields (plates 164, 176, 181, 190, 205, 208–210; 213–214) are concave and rectangular, with rounded corners, and a notch to give the support for the lance. Similarly to armour, they do not differ from those used for the purpose of war, with exception to the item presented in plate 206, equipped with hooks and spikes, most probably for the special destination of judicial combat.²⁷

GENERAL FIGHTING PRINCIPLES

THE LONG SWORD

With regard to the fighting principles, as well as possible analogies and similarities, this analysis focuses on annotated plates only, for which the reason seems to be obvious: actions presented in those without any comments could result from so many possible situations that it would be necessary to carry out a much more comprehensive analysis with much more comparative material than is possible in this work; otherwise, it would be mere speculation.

Like many other manuals, the Codex Wallerstein long sword section does not cover all the aspects of swordsmanship,²⁸ for example, it has been rightly noticed that there is no mention of *Meisterhau* 'master cuts'.²⁹ On the contrary, it seems to focus on some selected problems, such as:

- ❖ *Binden an das Schwert* (binding on the sword) and possible actions from that (plates 5, 6, 7,

the thesis of many local variations and customs concerning shield dueling.

²⁷ About the armour of this period see David Edge, and John Miles Paddock, *Arms and Armor of the Medieval Knight: An Illustrated History of Weaponry in the Middle Ages* (New York: Crescent Books, 1991), 69-73, 80-83.

²⁸ For example, as it was pointed by M. Rector, the manual of Talhoffer was not devised as a 'teach-yourself' handbook—it was rather to fulfil a sort of declaration of his competence, and was destined for men already possessing a certain amount of skills and knowledge, Talhoffer (1467), 9-10.

²⁹ Remarks to Codex Wallerstein on the webpage of The Association for Renaissance Martial Arts (<http://www.thearma.com/pdf/CodexW.htm>).

to a degree plate 8, where binding is not the point of departure, but one of consequent elements of action; 9, 10 (a situation similar to 8), 11, 12, 13, to a degree also plates 14, 15, 16, which are put as a sort of outcoming options from the action presented in plate 13; moreover, plates 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 41, 42). As one can see, almost entire long sword section in part A covers the problem of binding, which could suggest that it was copied from a relevant part of another manual. Obviously, one of most natural and recommended actions from *Binden* are *Winden* (winding) techniques (of particular interest is that here they are mostly performed with the short edge) which are presented on following plates concerning *Binden*: 6, 7 (here winding is used not to hit the opponent but to push his blade aside), 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15 (referred to as *Ausserwinn* ‘Outerwinding’), 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 28.

- ❖ *Schwertsnehmen* (taking the adversary’s sword): in general, these techniques result here either from binding (plates 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 42) or from other actions, like supposedly a missed thrust (plate 17).
- ❖ *Gewappnete Hand* (half-sword) techniques: resulting from binding, these techniques occur either in form of *Legen* (placing the blade at the adversary’s neck), followed either by a slicing cut or a throw (plates 19, 20, 26) or *Stossen* (thrusting) (plates 6, 21, 28).
- ❖ *Werffen* (throwing or armlocks) techniques, performed usually, although not always, with the help of the blade (plates 8, 11, 18, 19, 20, 27 and 41).
- ❖ *Leng* and *Masse* (length and reach, referring

to proper distance and stance), as in plates 5 and 6: of interest is the fact that this principle is also present in the tradition of Liechtenauer.³⁰

Moreover, one is able to discern some fighting principles (and several particular techniques) which were typical for the “school” of swordsmanship based on Johannes Liechtenauer’s teaching,³¹ for example:

- ❖ *Schwach/Sterck* (weak/strong), like in plates 7 and 8.
- ❖ Issue of timing (*Vor/Nach/Inndes*—‘before’, ‘after’, ‘simultaneously’), as in plates 9, 10, 11, 19 and 22.
- ❖ Mention of *Bloßen* (openings)—plate 7.
- ❖ *Überlaufen* (overrunning, here presented as *dringe in ihn* ‘run in him’)—plate 9 and probably 10.
- ❖ *Ausserwinn* (or *Aussernim*)—plate 15.³²
- ❖ *Verzuckerter Hau* (twisted stroke)—plate 13.³³

With regard to the issue of guards, one can see several of these which were used in the “school” of Liechtenauer, like *Pflug* (one of the middle guards—it is definitely the most common one in this section of the manuscript), depicted on plates 5, 6, 22, 25, 26; moreover (not directly, but it was surely a position of departure here) on plates 7, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 28, 41; *Hengort* or *Langort* (hanging point or long point) on plates 8, 14, 42; *Ochs* (hanging guard) on plates 9, 10, 11, 13, 27 (with a splendid example of hanging guard binding). The issue of interest is definitely the stance of the scale (*Waage*), known rather from wrestling than swordfighting³⁴ on plates 5 and 12—on

Liechtenauer’s tradition can be seen there as well. Generally speaking, in order to establish a comprehensive network of relationship between particular manuals, fencing masters and their teaching, a thorough research is necessary, which would also comprise a functional analysis of presented methods and techniques.

³² Ringeck’s comments on Liechtenauer, see M. Wierschin, 93, 115.

³³ *Ibid.*, 110.

³⁴ Remarks to Codex Wallerstein on the webpage of The Association for Renaissance Martial Arts (<http://www.thearma.com/pdf/CodexW.htm>).

³⁰ M. Wierschin, transcription of the comments of Sigmund Ringeck on Liechtenauer’s teaching, 87, 97.

³¹ According to M. Wierschin, 27, there is no evidence of the influence of Liechtenauer’s teaching, which could be questioned on account of the above remarks. Similar remark about no relationship of this manual has been made by H.-P. Hils, *Meister Johann*, 135, 201-202. On one hand, this author is right claiming that the Liechtenauer’s tradition was not the only one in the German *Kunst des Fechtens* and Codex Wallerstein is definitely not just one more manual containing comments to Liechtenauer’s teaching; on the other hand, the traces of

the other hand, one could assume that this principle refers rather to a principle of balanced legs and body position.³⁵ Moreover, it is necessary to mention that this stance is mentioned by Liechtenauer, which additionally reinforces the assumption about the relation between Codex Wallerstein and Liechtenauer's school³⁶, which, of course, does not exclude further research on this subject.

The question of interest, which has provoked a debate among the fencing audience, is definitely the problem of edge-parrying.³⁷ Although the phrase *versecz mit der kurczen sneid* (deflect with the short edge) appears in the section (plates 9, and 10), instead it should be understood as deflecting done on the opponent's flat performed with one's own edge, although one cannot exclude an accidental edge-to-edge contact there.

THE FALCHION

Although it is rather difficult to speak about any generalities on account of just a handful of examples of falchion techniques, one is also able to see some general principles:

- ❖ Flat-parrying—the swordsmen are advised to deflect the oncoming blows with the flat of the weapon, like in plates 57 and 61,
- ❖ Issue of timing, here as the *Inndes* principle: plate 58,
- ❖ Mention of *Bloßen*: plate 61,
- ❖ Mention of *Abschneiden* (chopping off the adversary's hands): plate 61,
- ❖ Half-sword (*Gewapendts Hand*) techniques: plates 62, 63, and 64,
- ❖ Throwing (*Werffen*): plates 59, 64,
- ❖ Taking the opponent's weapon: plate 63,
- ❖ Overrunning (*Überlauffen*): plates 59, 60, 62,
- ❖ Winding (*Winden*): plates 59 and 60 (meant as deflecting the adversary's weapon); 63 (deflecting the opponent's weapon followed by a pommel attack against his arm).

As it can be seen, several general principles and elements of fighting are similar for both long sword and falchion—it has been underlined that the application of similar general rules to different weapons is one of basic features of medieval *Kunst des Fechtens*.³⁸

THE DAGGER

Although, unlike in the case of the long sword or wrestling, no general rules are stated explicitly, it is possible to see some basic principles typical for the dagger-fighting:

- ❖ Grabbing the opponent's armed hand with the defender's left hand, followed by an arm-breaking (plate 43), stabbing the opponent with his own weapon and finishing him with one's own stroke (plate 52), or throwing the opponent with the help of the dagger (plate 55); a sort of variation is presented in plate 56, where the defender is advised to grasp the opponent's blade and break the dagger out of his hand.
- ❖ Catching the opponent's stroke on the dagger, held in one hand, followed by an arm-breaking and taking the opponent's dagger away (plates 44, 45), blocking the opponent's armed hand (plate 46), or throwing the opponent with the help of the dagger (plate 50).
- ❖ Catching the opponent's stroke on the dagger, held in both hands, followed by applying an arm-lock and stabbing the opponent with his own dagger (plate 47), throwing the opponent (plate 48), applying an arm-lock (plate 49), or an arm-breaking (plate 53), or applying an arm-lock and taking the opponent's dagger away (plate 54).
- ❖ Striking as first, with an application of a feinted thrust in order to liquidate the opponent's menace (plate 51)

³⁵ This stance also appears in the section on wrestling in Codex Wallerstein, No. 15 recto.

³⁶ Ringeck's comments on Liechtenauer, see M. Wierschin, 91, 109.

³⁷ J. Clements, 211, correctly underlines the purposelessness of edge-to-edge parrying as easily damaging the edge and probably leading to the blade breaking.

³⁸ Talhoffer (1467), comments of M. Rector, 12.

WRESTLING

The section on wrestling, the largest part of the manuscript, starts with an introduction of three rudimentary principles: strength (*Sterck*), reach (*Mass*), and agility (*Phentikait*), and their proper application in the fight—strength assures firm and balanced stance of the scale (*Wag*), reach helps putting legs and hands into proper positions, and agility allows one to use all the techniques and elements of fighting in the right manner. Then, it is advised to apply these principles for the purpose of fighting various opponents: in case of a weak adversary, one should attack first, using one's strength; fighting an equal opponent, it is recommended to start simultaneously and apply one's reach; finally, one is advised to let the strong opponent attack as first in order to use one's agility against him. Moreover, these rules are followed by more detailed pieces of advice, concerning the application of particular techniques against particular kinds of adversaries: fighting an equal opponent who overcomes one with agility, one is recommended to counter his agility with one's reach; in case of a stronger adversary, it is advised to apply one's agility against his strength. Of interest is the last remark of the introduction, stating that although in a serious combat a weak fighter can be an equal adversary to a strong fighter thanks to his agility and skills, in a friendly combat it is strength which has the advantage.

The techniques presented in the manual are divided into several groups, according to their point of departure³⁹. Moreover, counter-actions for the majority of the techniques are presented, either in the same plate, or in the next one.

With regard to the points of departure, from which the fight begins, they are following:

- ❖ “Lange Arme” or “Arme” (long arms or arms): the adversaries hold each other with their arms stretched forward. There is a variety of techniques applied in such a situation—raising the opponent's foot and countering it in various ways (plates 31, 32 and 33); stepping against the opponent in the “Twirch” in order to throw him (plate 34, 40, 70); stepping under the opponent to throw him through one's back (plate 72, with a counter-action in plate 73, and a counter-action against the counter-action in plates 74, 75 and 76); throwing the opponent through one's shoulder (plates 77, 78, with a counter-action in plate 79); applying an arm-breaking (plate 80).
- ❖ “Twirch” or “Zwerchstellung” (horizontal stance): a stance, where the fighter stands with one leg stretched forward (plates 34, 38, 40, 66, 70) in order to throw his opponent—here the manual presents various ways of countering the opponent's action (plates 37, 39, 65, 67, 69, 71)
- ❖ “Huf” or “Hüfte” (hip): hip-throws and counter-actions (plates 35 and 36).
- ❖ A sort of variation of the “long arms” is “gleich fassen in den armen” (parallel grasping in the arms), which relies in embracing the opponent with one's arms in order to raise and throw him: this leads to various manners of raising and throwing the opponent, and can be countered by hooking the opponent's leg (plate 82, with a possible response to the opponent's counter-reaction in plate 85; plate 95, with counters to this counter in

³⁹ A systematic division of wrestling items was already proposed by Wassmannsdorff, XV-XIX: 1. Raising the opponent's foot with both hands; 2. Defence against it; 3. Defence against 1.; 4–17. *Zwerchstellungen* (horizontal stances) with counters; 18–46. *Armringen* (fighting in the arms); 47–53. *Armringen. Untergriff mt beiden Armen* (fighting in the arms, embracing with both arms); 54–58. *Gegen des Gegners Erfassen der Joppe* (against the opponent's grabbing the dublet); 59–64. *Gegen das Rücklings-umfasst-sein* (against embracing from behind); 67–68.

Gegen das Vorlings-umfasstsein (against embracing from the front); 69. as 54–58; 70–72. *Gegen das Gehaltensein mit einer Hand hinten* (against grasping with one hand from behind); 73–78. *Kriegen mit einem Stirn-Gegner, der Faustschläge geben will* (fighting an opponent aiming at delivering a fist stroke); 79. *Kriegen (ohne Faustschlag)* (fighting—without a fist stroke); 80–85. *Faustschlag* (a fist stroke); 86–88. *Raufen* (a brawl); 89–94. *Gefangenhaltten* (holding the captured). However, for the purpose of this edition, another way of division was introduced.

- plates 96 and 97; plate 98, where a shoulder-throw is recommended if the opponent counters the leg-hooking, and a counter to this throw by means of raising the opponent's leg in plate 99; this, on the other hand, can be countered by another throw, like in plate 100), applying an arm-breaking on the opponent's shoulder (plate 86) or on his arm (plate 87); pushing the adversary away from oneself by means of raising his leg and pressing his jaw (plate 88, with a counter-action in plate 89); grasping the opponent's arm and seizing one's shoulder under the opponent's shoulder in order to make him tired (plate 90); grasping the opponent's leg from outside and throwing him (plate 91); stepping between the opponent's feet in order to apply a hip-throw or a heel-throw (plate 92, with possible counters in plates 93 and 94). Other solutions to opponent's embracing grasp are: stepping between the opponent's legs in order to apply a hip-throw or a heel-throw (plate 101, similar to plate 92; pressing the vital point under the adversary's eyes and on his nose (plate 102, with a counter in plate 103, and a counter to counter in plate 104); grasping the opponent's head and pressing it into his torso (plate 105); embracing the opponent's arms and seeking an opportunity to throw him (plate 106); twisting the opponent's head and throwing him through one's leg (plate 107). Other opportunities comprise: applying a pressure on the adversary's vital points on his throat (plate 121), hitting the opponent's testicles with one's knee (plate 122),
- ❖ Another variation is "zu laufs ringen" (wrestling by running to the opponent), where the fighter rushes towards his adversary in order to provoke his counter-reaction, used then to throw him above oneself (plate 81), throw him on his back by grasping and raising his feet (plate 83), or to throw him through one's feet (plate 84).
 - ❖ Grasping one's dublet and/or collar—this group comprises techniques applied when the adversary grasps one's clothes in order to throw him. Response techniques include: applying an arm-lock in order to break the opponent's joint (plates 108, 109, 112); driving the adversary down to the ground (plate 109); applying an arm-lock and then a counter throw (plate 111).
 - ❖ Grasping one from behind—when grasped from behind, one is advised to apply following techniques: in case of embracing from behind, it is recommended to grasp the opponent's hair and throw him over one's head (plate 113, with a counter in plates 114 and 115, and a counter to counter in plate 116); step behind the opponent and throw him over one's foot, like in case of a "horizontal stance" (plate 117); apply an arm-lock on the opponent's finger (plate 118, with a counter in plate 119, and a counter to counter in place 120); hitting the opponent's face with one's head, and then grasping the adversary's testicles (plate 123). In case of grasping one's collar from behind, one is recommended to turn around and apply an arm-lock on the opponent's elbow (plate 124), or to hit the opponent's stomach with one's head (plate 125), or to hit the opponent's elbow (plate 126).
 - ❖ Fist strokes—this group of techniques comprises various ways of defense against fist strokes: parrying the oncoming adversary's fist with an open hand (plate 127), followed by stepping in and throwing the opponent through one's foot (plates 128 and 129); applying an arm-breaking on the opponent's elbow (plates 130 and 135, which can also be followed by a throw, as in plate 136), or his shoulder (plate 137); winding one's arm around the adversary's arm and inflicting a death-stroke with one's fist (plate 131); grasping the opponent's foot and, as it can be presumed, throwing him (plate 132); out-pacing the opponent and hitting him with one's knee at his testicles (plate 133), or with one's foot at his stomach (plate 134); throw-

ing the opponent by hitting under his shoulder (plate 138).

- ❖ Techniques of various applications and purposes: in case of being offended by someone, one is recommended to do a feinted stroke at the opponent's face, and simultaneously hit the adversary's foot in order to make him fall (plate 139); in order to fight a considerably stronger opponent, it is advised to catch the adversary's hair and hit his teeth with one's fist (plate 140—if one cannot perform this action, one is recommended to apply an arm-breaking on the opponent's elbow, as in plate 141)—in a similar situation, one can also apply an arm-lock and hit the adversary's neck (plate 142)
- ❖ Holding multiple opponents—this group, comprising various types of arm-locks, shows how to hold securely one, two, or even three adversaries (plates 143, 144, 145, 146, and 147).
- ❖ The last technique advises how to... rob a peasant, by means of inflicting a knife stab, which should inflict an impression of being lethal, but in fact does no harm (plate 148).

The section on wrestling comprises a variety of techniques: throws, arm-locks, fist and foot strokes, hits and pressures towards vital points, etc. To sum up, it provides the fighter with diversified means of resisting various kinds of attack.

ANALOGIES AND SIMILARITIES

THE LONG SWORD

On one hand, it is extremely tempting to search for analogies from other fencing manu-

als in order to establish potential sources and a tentative provenience of the manuscript; on the other hand, it is a truism to say that writing was by no means a chief way of spreading swordsmanship—on the contrary, it was done by means of personal contacts with available masters and their skills. Moreover, it is to be borne in mind that the fact that similar or even identical actions are presented in two different manuals does not necessarily mean that they are interrelated: it is a well-known feature of the martial arts that different schools and systems may independently find similar solutions to similar problems. However, in order to see these similarities, an attempt at finding relevant fencing actions from some other well-known manuals is undertaken. For the purpose of comparison, several manuals available to the author were applied. With regard to these manuals, the parallels concerning the long sword combat are the following:

- ❖ plate 1: similar figure appears in *dei Liberi*⁴⁰ (chart 17a, page 151), demonstrating the angles of attack.⁴¹
- ❖ plate 8: one may search for analogies to *Das Solothurner Fechtbuch*, plate 77, where the swordsman on the left seems to cut into his opponent's neck with his short edge; however, in the case of this manual the matter is aggravated by the fact that it was not provided with relevant comments and one has to rely on the editor's interpretation.⁴²
- ❖ plate 9: a similar action is presented in *Das Solothurner Fechtbuch*, plate 84.⁴³
- ❖ plate 16: a certain degree of similarity may be seen in *dei Liberi* (chart 20b, page 158, bottom right), although in that case the point of departure of this action is unknown; the

⁴⁰ Fiore dei Liberi da Premariacco, *Flos duellatorum in armis, sine armis, equester, pedester*. Edited by Francesco Novati (Bergamo: Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, 1902).

⁴¹ Remarks to Codex Wallerstein on the webpage of The Association for Renaissance Martial Arts (<http://www.thearma.com/pdf/CodexW.htm>).

⁴² The editor claims that the action depicted is a deflection (*Absetzen*) of the attack of the swordsman on the left;

however, the cut into the attacker's neck is clearly visible.

⁴³ According to the editor, the swordsman on the left attempts at pushing aside with his cross-piece the blade of his adversary, who tries to hit his lower openings. Regrettably, due to the lack of space, a thorough polemic with the editor's interpretations is not possible; however, it should be mentioned that this way of dealing with the opponent's *Oberhau* does not make much sense.

same may be said about chart 22a, page 161, top right.

- ❖ plate 17: an obvious analogy is depicted in *dei Liberi* (chart 23b, page 164, bottom right).
- ❖ plate 19: similar action is presented in *dei Liberi* (chart 21a, page 159, bottom right). Although with a different point of departure (binding the swords in a low guard) and a different intention (to cut into the opponent's face); moreover, the way of holding the opponent's sword is slightly different (hooking the adversary's right arm). Moreover, there is an analogy to Talhoffer 1467 (plate 24), although the comment there is not very informative.⁴⁴
- ❖ plate 21: a similar thrust is depicted in Talhoffer 1467 (plate 36), although with a different point of departure (hanging guard in its version of squinting guard), and a different intention (thrusting into the adversary's throat).
- ❖ plate 22: the principle of grasping the opponent's sword and hitting his face with the pommel appears in *dei Liberi*, although with different way of grasping (catching the opponent's right arm, chart 22a, page 161, bottom left; grasping the opponent's left arm from above, hitting between the adversary's hands or grasping his pommel from under, chart 24a, page 165, top right, bottom left and right).
- ❖ plate 26: similar action is depicted in *dei Liberi* (chart 21a, page 159, bottom right), although with differences mentioned for plate 19.
- ❖ plate 27: a similar way of grasping the adversary's hilt above his right arm is depicted in *Das Solothurner Fechtbuch*, plate 90; however, this action is performed from middle guard.⁴⁵
- ❖ plate 41: a throw of the adversary with holding him on his legs is depicted in Talhoffer

1467 (plate 34), although with a different point of departure (as a defense against a stroke).

As it can be seen from the above comments, the *Bloßfechten* section in part A of the Codex Wallerstein bears several similarities to other swordsmanship manuals, with special regard to that by Fiore dei Liberi;⁴⁶ however, it cannot be determined here whether it was caused by a direct influence of this work, mutual contacts and analogies between German and Italian swordsmanship, or by merely solving similar problems in a similar manner.

THE FALCHION

With regard to this weapon, a technique parallel to the action presented in plate 61 (cutting from below at the opponent's right wrist in order to stop the oncoming stroke) can be found in Talhoffer 1467 (plate 228).

THE DAGGER

Parallels to other manuals dealing with dagger fighting are the following:

- ❖ plate 44: similar techniques are presented in Talhoffer 1467 (plate 179, far left, with a slightly different way of catching the opponent's armed hand), and in Talhoffer 1443 (plates 96-98: the whole action is presented in three sequences, although, due to the lack of explanatory text, it is difficult to say whether it had a similar point of departure).
- ❖ plate 45: analogical way of winding the dagger out of the opponent's hand may be seen in Talhoffer 1467 (plate 170, far left).
- ❖ plate 46: this very common technique, called "die Schär" (the scissors) can be seen in several manuals – Talhoffer 1467 (plate 174, close right), Talhoffer 1443 (plates 99-102, presenting a counter-action as well),

⁴⁴ It simply describes the action as *Ain überfallen*, which means 'a sudden attack'.

⁴⁵ According to the editor, the swordsman on the left probably wants to show his opponent how to hold the sword properly.

⁴⁶ Of interest is also the fact that long swords presented in this section of Codex Wallerstein show similarities to those in *dei Liberi's* manual. A similarity to Italian-style long swords has been mentioned on the webpage of The Association for Renaissance Martial Arts (<http://www.thearma.com/pdf/CodexW.htm>).

Talhoffer 1459 (plate 49—the same technique applied without the dagger; plates 60 and 61, presenting an action with a counter), and in *Das Solothurner Fechtbuch* (plates 105-107, presenting an action finished by taking the dagger from the opponent's hand).

- ❖ plate 47: similar action is visible in Talhoffer 1467 (plate 182), although the latter does not state explicitly that the technique should end up by stabbing the adversary's face with his own dagger.
- ❖ plate 48: a parallel may be supposed in Talhoffer 1443 (plate 103), although with the defender's hands crossed, not held parallelly, as in case of Codex Wallerstein.
- ❖ plate 49: similar way of dealing with the opponent's thrust from above may be seen in Talhoffer 1467 (plate 173), although in that case the action is supposed to end up with a throw.
- ❖ plate 53: this technique, called "under schilt" (lower shield), may be also seen in Talhoffer 1467 (plate 171, close right; analogy may be also sought in plates 181, close right, and 182, far left, which present an arm-breaking after parrying the opponent's stab from below), in Talhoffer 1443 (plate 108, with an arm breaking described above) and in Talhoffer 1459 (plate 47, presenting an arm-breaking, and plate 58, depicting "under schilt").
- ❖ plate 55: analogical action may be seen in Talhoffer 1467 (plate 173, far left, although with a different way of leg-grabbing), and in Talhoffer 1443 (plate 106, with a different way of leg-grabbing as well).

As one can see, the dagger techniques in Codex Wallerstein seem to be strongly linked to those depicted in the works of Hans Talhoffer. However, as in case of the long

sword techniques, it would be difficult to state openly whether this relation is to be attributed to any direct influence.

WRESTLING

With regard to the introduction to this section of the manual, one may seek certain similarities in the Ringkunst of Ott the Jew (quoted after Talhoffer 1443).⁴⁷ Master Ott gives also three basic rules of wrestling: "kunst" (skill), "snellikayt" (quickness), and "rechte abgeving der sterck" (proper avoiding of the strength); moreover, he advises the same rules of fighting particular kinds of adversaries—one should attack the weaker opponent as first, the fight with an equal one should be started simultaneously, and a stronger adversary should be let attack as first. When one attacks as first, Ott recommends to apply the quickness; in case of simultaneous beginning it is advised to use the scale stance, and if one lets the opponent attack as first, Ott advises the "knyepug" (bending one's knees)—generally speaking, these principles are a bit different than those of Codex Wallerstein; however, bearing in mind the fact of the spread of Ott's teaching, one may assume that the author (authors?) of the rules of wrestling present in this manual at least knew them, and modified them according to their own ideas.

Moreover, it is to be noticed that the scale stance has its parallel in the art of wrestling of dei Liberi (chart 4a, page 125, bottom left), although it cannot be said for sure whether it is anything more than a mere similarity.

As far as analogies to particular techniques are concerned, they are the following:⁴⁸

- ❖ plate 31: similar action is presented in Talhoffer 1443 (plate 131), although with a different way of raising the opponent's leg.

⁴⁷ Talhoffer (1443), 29-34. Some remarks about the relation of Ott's teaching to Codex Wallerstein were already made by Wassmannsdorff, VII-VIII, 4. However, he assumes that it was Ott who derives from Codex Wallerstein, as Ott's manual is definitely prior to Codex Wallerstein.

⁴⁸ Wassmannsdorf in his work gives also several parallels to other manuscripts; however, in this edition only those referring to contemporary or earlier manuals will be dealt with.

- ❖ plate 34: this technique may be related to Ott's teaching (page 30, item 3 from above "Ain ander stuck"), where it is advised to step behind the opponent's foot in order to throw him through one's leg.
- ❖ plate 36: there is a similar hip-throw in Ott's teaching (page 31, item 1 from above), applied as a defense against an arm-lock on the left elbow; moreover, such a throw can be seen in Talhoffer 1467 (plate 194, far left), although with a different grip, as one grasps around the opponent's neck.
- ❖ plate 39: a similar arm-breaking may be found in Talhoffer 1467 (plate 193, far left) – the difference is that the defender grasps the opponent's elbow in his hand; in Talhoffer's *Alte Armatur* (54 recto; with the reservation as above); in Talhoffer 1443 (plate 137: here the technique is performed with the forearm, as in Codex Wallerstein).
- ❖ plate 40: an analogical throw can be seen in Talhoffer 1467 (plate 204, far left; however, the defender grasps the opponent's shoulder with his hand); in *Alte Armatur* (49 verso; with the reservation as above); in Talhoffer 1443 (plate 157; technique performed with the forearm, as in Codex Wallerstein).
- ❖ plate 66: parallel throw may be found in Ott's teaching (page 30, item 3 from above "Ain ander stuck").
- ❖ plate 72: this technique has many analogies in various manuals – in Ott's teaching (page 29, item 2 from above "Ain ander stuck", although in this case the throw over one's back is performed, as opposed to Codex Wallerstein, on the left side); in Talhoffer 1443 (plate 135, done also on the left side); in Talhoffer 1459 (plate 69, done on the left side and with a different way of grabbing the opponent's leg); in *Alte Armatur* (53 recto; with a different way of grabbing the opponent: not in between his arms, but outside his right arm); in Talhoffer 1467 (plate 192, close left; as in *Alte Armatur*); in dei Liberi (chart 5a, upper left); in *Das Solothurner Fechtbuch* (plate 122; with a different way of grabbing the opponent's leg, and the throw is done on the left side).⁴⁹
- ❖ plate 73: similar technique may be found in Ott's teaching (page 33, item 2 from below); in Talhoffer 1459 (plate 70); as well as in Talhoffer 1467 (plate 209, close left).
- ❖ plate 76: this technique, relying on breaking the opponent's elbow on one's shoulder, can be also seen in Ott's teaching (page 30, item 4 from above, although Ott recommends to throw the adversary this way); in Talhoffer 1443 (plate 148); in *Alte Armatur* (55 recto; with a different stance – not with one's back turned towards the opponent, but frontally to him); in Talhoffer 1467 (plate 193, far right; as in *Alte Armatur*).⁵⁰
- ❖ plate 78: a similar throw over one's shoulder is present in Ott's teaching (page 31, item 1 from above).
- ❖ plate 80: a parallel is visible in *Alte Armatur* (139 recto, far left; with a bit different grip), and in Talhoffer 1467 (plate 208, far left; the difference is that the lever's fulcrum is not on one's elbow, but on one's chest).
- ❖ plate 81: this foot-throw can be also found in Talhoffer 1443 (plate 133); in Talhoffer 1459 (plate 78); in *Alte Armatur* (57 verso), and in Talhoffer 1467 (plate 207, far right) – in the two latter manuals this technique is plate 82: this technique may be found in Ott's teaching (page 43, items 4 and 5 from above), and in Talhoffer 1467 (plate 211, close left; done on the other side). The way of gripping parallelly with both arms, against which this technique is advised, is called "peasants' grip" (...als dy pawren thund... "as peasants do") – this name is also used in *Alte Armatur* (50 recto; "das burnvassen").
- ❖ plate 83: a parallel is visible in Talhoffer 1443 (plate 146).⁵¹

⁴⁹ Another analogy in Wassmannsdorff, an anonymous manual from the fifteenth century (Dresdner Hofbibliothek C 241), 166, item 5.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 175, item 11.

⁵¹ Ibid., 166, item 4; 168, item 11.

- ❖ plate 86: a similar arm-lock on the opponent's shoulder may be found in dei Liberi (chart 4b, upper left); in *Alte Armatur* (56 recto; with an additional grabbing the opponent's right arm); in Talhoffer 1467 (plate 209, far right). A certain parallel may be also seen in Ott's teaching (page 32, item 3 from above "Ain ander gefert"), although Ott recommends to finish the technique not with an arm-lock, but with a throw.⁵²
- ❖ plate 88: an analogy is visible in dei Liberi (chart 4b, middle left), although he presents this technique done on the other side. A similar technique may be found in Ott's teaching (page 32, item 3 from above "Ain ander gefert").
- ❖ plate 91: a similar throw may be found in Ott's teaching (page 31, item 2 from below "Aber ein ringen"), and in Talhoffer 1467 (plate 205, close left).
- ❖ plate 92: a parallel can be seen in Ott's teaching (page 30, "Ain ander stuck" 1), and in Talhoffer 1467 (plate 211, far right).
- ❖ plate 97: this technique can be also found in dei Liberi (chart 4b, upper right); in *Alte Armatur* (56 recto; see the remark to plate 86), and in Talhoffer 1467 (plate 209, far right; plate 216, close right).
- ❖ plate 99: a similar throw is depicted in Talhoffer 1467 (plate 203, far right).
- ❖ plate 100: a counter to the previous technique may be found in *Alte Armatur* (51 verso), as well as in Talhoffer 1467 (plate 196, although with a different point of departure).
- ❖ plate 102: this ways of pressing the vital points on the opponent's face may be found in Ott's teaching (page 32, "Ain ander gefert" 1); in Talhoffer 1443 (plate 154), as well as in *Alte Armatur* (59 verso).⁵³
- ❖ plate 104: a parallel may be found in Talhoffer 1467 (plate 199, far left), although with a different point of departure.
- ❖ plate 106: an analogy may be sought in Talhoffer 1467 (plate 219, close right), but with a difference relying in the fact that the fighter in Codex Wallerstein clasps both arms of his opponent, while Talhoffer shows a single clasp only.⁵⁴
- ❖ plate 107: there is a certain parallel to this technique in Talhoffer 1467 (plate 201, close left), although he advises to grasp the opponent's face with both hands, under his chin; moreover, he shows no foot action there, which is essential for Codex Wallerstein.
- ❖ plate 112: a similar technique may be found in Ott's teaching (page 31, item 1 from below "Also prich das").
- ❖ plate 113: a similar throw can be seen in *Alte Armatur* (60 verso), as well as in Talhoffer 1467 (plate 200, far left).
- ❖ plate 115: as in case of plate 104, a parallel may be found in Talhoffer 1467 (plate 199, far left), although with a different point of departure.
- ❖ plate 117: an obvious analogy of a defense against grabbing from behind is visible in dei Liberi (chart 5a, middle left).
- ❖ plate 118: similar advice to counter the grab from behind by means of grasping the opponent's finger is given by Ott (page 34, item 5 from below).
- ❖ plate 119: a parallel may be found in Talhoffer 1443 (plate 148).
- ❖ plate 121: a similar way of pressing the vital points on the opponent's neck is advised by an anonymous manual from the fifteenth century.⁵⁵
- ❖ plate 122: an analogical technique is recommended by dei Liberi (chart 5a, bottom right).
- ❖ plate 144: a similar way of holding two adversaries is visible in Talhoffer 1443 (plate 155).
As in the case of dagger techniques, the wrestling section seems to bear strong parallels

⁵² Ibid., 167, item 9.

⁵³ Ibid., 168, item 10.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 175, item 8.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 168, item 10.

to the works of Talhoffer; of interest is also the fact of visible analogies to the teaching of Master Ott.

Generally speaking, the techniques in Part A of the manual seem to be strongly related to the works of Talhoffer; thus, it could be possible to relate it to the South German school of martial arts, mentioned by H.-P.Hils.

TRANSLATOR'S REMARK

At the end of the introduction, some remarks on the way of translation are to be made: the comments to plates have been transcribed by F. Dörnhöffer, and K. Wassmannsdorff⁵⁶ and they were applied as a help for the present transcription. As far as the very translation is concerned, an attempt at being as faithful to the original text as possible has been made; however, for the sake of clarity and comprehensibility for modern audience, several minor changes have been introduced.

⁵⁶ Dörnhöffer, LXXVI-LXXIX. Transcription also in Wassmannsdorff, 3–136.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Anglo, Sydney. *The Martial Arts of Renaissance Europe*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000.
- Anonymous (15th c.), Dresdner Hofbibliothek C 241. In: Karl Wassmannsdorff. *Ringkunst des deutschen Mittelalters* (Leipzig: Verlag von M.G. Priber, 1870): 163–176.
- Clements, John. *Medieval Swordsmanship: Illustrated Methods and Techniques*. Boulder: Paladin Press, 1998.
- Codex Wallerstein*. Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg, Cod. I. 6. 4^o.2 Available on the webpage of The Association for Renaissance Martial Arts (<http://www.thearma.com/pdf/CodexW.htm>).
- Das Solothurner Fechtbuch* (1423). Edited by Charles Studer. Solothurn: Vogt-Schild AG.
- dei Liberi da Premariacco, Fiore. *Flos duellatorum in armis, sine armis, equester, pedester*. Edited by Francesco Novati. Bergamo: Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, 1902.
- Dörnhöffer, Friedrich. "Quellen zur Geschichte der Kaiserlichen Haussammlungen und der Kunstbestrebungen des Allerdurchlauchtigsten Erzhauses: Albrecht Dürers Fechtbuch." *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 27.6 (1909): I-LXXXI.
- Edge, David, and John Miles Paddock, *Arms and Armor of the Medieval Knight: An Illustrated History of Weaponry in the Middle Ages*. New York: Crescent Books, 1991.
- Rudolf Frankenberger, and Paul Berthold Rupp, eds., *Wertvolle Handschriften und Einbände aus der ehemaligen Oettingen-Wallersteinschen Bibliothek*. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 1987.
- Hils, Hans-Peter. "Hans Talhoffer: Fechtbuch." In *Wertvolle Handschriften und Einbände aus der ehemaligen Oettingen-Wallersteinschen Bibliothek*. Edited by Rudolf Frankenberger, and Paul Berthold Rupp, 96-98. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 1987.
- Hils, Hans-Peter. *Meister Johann Liechtenauers Kunst des langen Schwertes*. Europäische Hochschulschriften 3. Geschichte und ihre Hilfswissenschaften 257. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1985.
- Houston, Mary G. *Medieval Costume in England and France: the 13th, 14th, and 15th Centuries*. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1996.
- Oakeshott, Robert E. *The Archaeology of Weapons*. Boydell Press, 1964.
- Oakeshott, Robert E. *Records of the Medieval Sword*. 4th ed. Boydell Press, 2000.
- Talhoffer, Hans. *Alte Armatur und Ringkunst (1459)*, Royal Library Copenhagen, ms Thott 290 2^o. Available from the webpage of The Academy of European Medieval Martial Arts (www.aemma.org).
- Talhoffer, Hans. *Fechtbuch aus dem Jahre 1467*. Edited by Gustav Hergsell. Prague: J.G. Calve'sche K.K. Hof-und Universitäts-Buchhandlung, Ottomar Beyer, 1887.
- Talhoffer, Hans. *Fechtbuch aus dem Jahre 1443*. Edited by Gustav Hergsell. Prague: Selbstverlag, 1889.
- Talhoffer, Hans. *Fechtbuch aus dem Jahre 1459*. Edited by Gustav Hergsell. Prague: Selbstverlag, 1889.
- Talhoffer, Hans. *Medieval Combat: A Fifteenth Century Illustrated Manual of Swordfighting and Close-Quarter Combat*. Translated and Edited by Mark Rector. London: Greenhill Books, 2000.
- Wassmannsdorff, Karl. *Ringkunst des deutschen Mittelalters*. Leipzig: Verlag von M.G. Priber, 1870.
- Wierschin, Martin. *Meister Johann Liechtenauers Kunst des Fechtens*. Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur Deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters. Kommission für Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 13. C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, München 1965.
- Zabinski, Grzegorz. "Several Remarks on the *Bloßfechten* Section of Codex Wallerstein." (Last Update 12 March 2001). Available from the author's homepage <http://sites.netscape.net/gadjaszczur/>. Available from the Journal of Western Martial Art http://ejmas.com/jmwa/jmwaart_zabinski_401.html. Internet.