Identifying evolution in a fencing lineage through successive written works

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Abstract – Even a superficial study of fencing treatises published at different times will readily show that the art of fencing constantly changes with time. However, while large differences between separate treatises are easily identified, pinpointing how these changes develop is much more difficult. One requirement for tracking how a single fencing lineage evolves is that such a lineage can be identified and contains sufficient different written works that can be studied.
Unfortunately, historical European fencing masters rarely documented who they received their instruction from, making it difficult, if not impossible, to identify fencing lineages. One exception to this is the fencing lineage of Paduan fencing master Salvator Fabris, whose fencing lineage can be documented with some certainty, and contains a relatively significant number of treatises by different authors.
In this article, we will analyse the fencing lineage of Salvator Fabris, in particular his *Caminiren* ('proceeding with resolution'). Our goal is to identify how the teachings within a martial lineage may evolve gradually with time, considering that teachings may develop both as the ideas of individual masters evolve as they gain experience and age, and as subsequent masters or fencers adapt these teachings to their own preferences.
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INTRODUCTION

Comparing *Fechtbücher* and fencing treatises published at different times clearly shows that not just the way people fenced, i.e., the techniques they used and how these techniques were applied, but even the theoretical and tactical frameworks used to analyse and describe fencing were constantly evolving. Some of these changes may have been relatively instantaneous, such as the introduction and adoption of Italian rapier fencing and its associated theoretical and tactical framework in the German nation in the early seventeenth century. However, a lot of change would have been gradual, for example driven by gradual changes in the weapons used, the clothing (and protection) worn, and the main context that people trained in fencing for. When comparing a wide corpus of sources, such gradual changes are difficult, if not impossible, to pinpoint as they may depend on time, location, individual master, and many other factors. Therefore, gradual changes in a martial art may be assessed more accurately when considering a group of sources from a single (or limited) lineage, preferably with clear interconnections.

Unfortunately, in the context of Historical European Martial Arts, the citing of lineage is not common. Most masters and other authors leaving behind fencing treatises did not identify the master (or masters) they studied under. While in some works, the masters do name their students (or at least their patrons), these students are typically nobles who did not leave writings on fencing themselves. One rare exception, however, is the lineage of the Paduan fencing master Salvator Fabris (1544-1618), whose lineage can be resolved with some accuracy, both with regards to written works and in-person instruction.[1] This lineage was analysed and described in an earlier paper.[2] As it contains a relatively extensive corpus of written works, in this paper we will use the lineage identified by Van Noort as basis for a comparison aimed at identifying how martial lineages may evolve with time. One further reason making Fabris's lineage an interesting candidate for the analysis presented here is that it includes an alternative tactical framework for confronting an opponent, called *andare di risolutione*, or *Caminiren mit der Resolution*, generally translated as "proceeding with resolution".[3] The development of this *Caminiren* is commonly ascribed to Fabris himself by his successors, and it (or something similar) is not taught or described in significant detail outside Fabris's lineage.[4] Therefore, the *Caminiren* may be relatively isolated from being influenced (or contaminated) by the teachings or writings of other masters, and therefore a more direct witness to developments within a single lineage. Furthermore, the *Caminiren* also presents a relatively limited set of techniques to focus on. Fig. 1 below presents a diagram outlining the various works discussed in this article, and how these correlate to one another.

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[1] One important source here is the German translation of Fabris's main treatise published by Johann Joachim Hynitzsch in 1677, in which Hynitzsch included a Foreword naming a number of students of Fabris who were now fencing masters themselves. Hynitzsch, *Scienza e pratica d'arme*.

[2] Van Noort, 'Compiling a fencing legacy'.

[3] As most of the works considered in this paper are German, and thus use *Caminiren* (or a variant spelling thereof) rather than the Italian *andare*, here we will also use *Caminiren*.

[4] With an arguable exception in the unpublished treatise of William Cavendish, Marquis of Newcastle, for whom there is otherwise no indication that he should be considered as part of Fabris's lineage. That said, it should be noted that a copy of Fabris's *De lo Schermo* with the stamp of Henry Cavendish (son of William Cavendish) is found in the Corble Collection held at the Leuven University Library, and thus Cavendish may have been inspired by Fabris. Other exceptions, pointed out to me by an anonymous reviewer, include Federico Ghisliero, who discusses the benefits of using natural steps in fencing; Camillo Palladini, who presents a 'Resolution with the sword alone' that appears to be a less refined version of Fabris's second Rule; and Girard Thibault, who describes the advantages of being constantly in motion over standing in a posture. Leuven, R4B86, fol. A2^{v}; Ghisliero, *Regole di Molti*, p. 56; Palladini, *Discorso di Camillo Palladini*; Terminiello and Pendragon, *The forgotten discourse*, p. 115; Thibault, *Academie de l'Espée*; Greer, *Academy of the Sword*, p. 57.

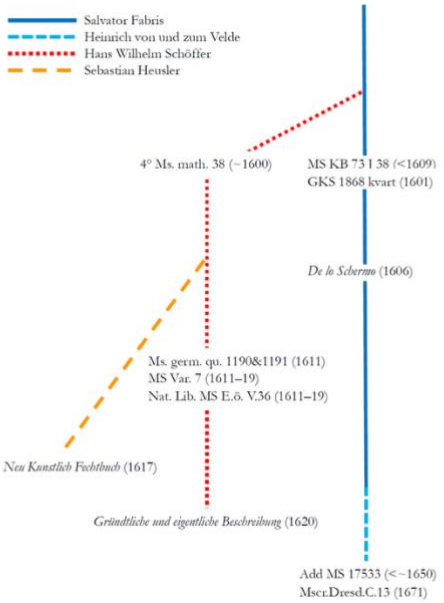


Fig. 1 *Diagram of works discussed in this article and their relation to each other. By author.*

Thus, the goal of this paper is to analyse written works in the fencing lineage of Salvator Fabris, focusing on descriptions of the *Caminiren*. The express purpose of this analysis is to identify how the teachings within a martial lineage may evolve gradually with time, considering that teachings may develop both as the ideas of individual masters evolve as they gain experience and age, and as subsequent masters or fencers adapt these teachings to their own preferences.

WHAT IS *CAMINIREN*, OR PROCEEDING WITH RESOLUTION?

The regular tactical framework in Italian fencing with the single rapier (as well as in German fencing with the rapier from the early 1600's onwards), also known as fencing firm-footed (*à piedo firmo*) is based on a right foot forward stance that is often relatively narrow; simple stepping footwork where (most commonly) the right foot is first set forward, and then the left foot is drawn after it; and the lunge — an attack made with an extension of the step by setting the right foot further forward while keeping the left firmly in place — as the basic attack. A fencer is expected to advance at their opponent with their blade held more or less extended in front of them, and to use body position and blade placement to exclude the opponent's blade from attacking along the centre line as the measure is entered. Once within measure, an attack is then most preferably made when the opponent carries out some action against the fencer that gives a *tempo*, or

opportunity, for it. During the approach and attack, a fencer may pause and wait at any time. This creates a style of fencing that is very dependent on the opponent's actions, and whether or not sufficiently advantageous opportunities (*tempi*) for an attack are given, or can be induced (for example through the use of a feint or an invitation).

Caminiren provides an alternative tactical framework, based on the same basic principles (measure, closing the line, and *tempo*), but where the fencer, after taking a certain position with advantage outside of measure, approaches continuously using narrow but natural steps (i.e., setting the left foot in front of the right, and then advancing the right foot in front of the left, etc.). A key aspect is that the approach must be continuous, without standing still at any time as then momentum is lost. When carried out skilfully, the fencer forces their opponent to react, yielding a *tempo* that can be exploited, as otherwise they will be hit by the advancing fencer without a *tempo* being required. The opponent's options for reacting are limited due to the continuity of the approach, and this in turn limits the counter-reactions needed by the fencer.

SALVATOR FABRIS'S SIX RULES

In his *De lo Schermo*, Fabris described six Rules for the *Caminiren*. These are six different manners in which the *Caminiren* can be carried out, each based on taking a different initial advantage and subsequent approach to press home the attack.[5] Fabris presented each of his six Rules by first giving a general description, and then six to twelve plates (forty-eight plates in total) with specific lessons, or variations, demonstrating the Rule in practice.

When taking Fabris's first Rule, you approach much as you would when fencing firm-footed, keeping your arm and blade extended, placing your sword next to and over theirs to close the line, and approaching with your blade moving along theirs until your hilt ends up at that initial crossing, and you hit them. This can be carried out either on the inside or on the outside, depending on the position in which you find your opponent when you start. During your approach, your opponent is essentially limited to two options. First, they may push against your blade trying to move it off the line. When they do so, your reaction depends on whether your next step will carry you past their point or not. If you are close enough, you turn your hand into *secunda*, yielding to a push on the inside, or placing your blade below theirs when on the outside, lower your body, and hit them. If they try to push your blade when you are still too far away, or if they step backwards at the same time, you simply disengage narrowly and either attack or continue your advance on the other side of their blade. As a second option, the opponent may disengage to the other side of your sword, in which case you simply counter-disengage while attacking or continuing your advance.

In Fabris's second Rule, your initial position is a *tertia* taken with your body squared opposite your opponent, your arm bent at the elbow, and your lower arm and blade

[5] Fabris, *De lo Schermo*.

initially pointing almost straight up and slightly forward, with your hand next to your face. Having taken this position, you approach your opponent on a somewhat wide angle to the outside of their blade, gradually hinging your body forward (from the hip) as you come closer, without moving your arm or sword, until your hilt is placed next to your opponent's point, with your point on line to hit them. Then, without extending the arm, you continue forward to hit. If the opponent tries to parry your blade, you simply attack underneath their sword in *secunda*. If they try to push your blade aside as you are penetrating their guard, turn into *secunda* and attack over their arm. If they disengage and attack on the inside (which is your only opening), you turn your body aside and turn your blade into *quarta* to close the line there and hit them on the inside.

In his third Rule, Fabris describes approaching without guard, until you lift your foot to enter the measure. At this point, you place your strong against the opponent's weak, shutting their sword out of line, so that you can approach along their blade and hit them. If your opponent parries, you disengage into *secunda* to hit. If they try to resist your blade when you move to find it, you disengage and continue on the other side. If your opponent tries to disengage as you move to find their blade, you should hit them before the disengage is finished; if they step back while doing so, you counter-disengage and continue to hit. While the initial approach is preferably done on the outside, if your opponent does not let you approach there, then it is done on the inside instead.

Fabris's fourth Rule is somewhat similar to his third, in that you approach without clear guard or positioning of the blade until you enter the measure. In this Rule, you simply walk straight at your opponent's point, with your body squared. Then, as you enter the measure, you set the foot that you are entering with off the line (your right foot to the inside, or your left foot to the outside) and lean your body over it while placing your sword straight under theirs. If your opponent does not react at this time, you raise your blade to exclude theirs, and continue on your new line to hit them. But if they follow you with their point as you step and lean offline, you return to the initial line and raise your blade there, and then step and lean in that direction to hit them there. If they already try to attack you as you step into measure, Fabris notes that you should be able to defend and hit easily.

Fabris's fifth Rule describes approaching your opponent while gradually moving your blade into position with your point close to, and to the side of, their hilt, and preferably a little lower than your hand. This should be done holding the sword in *quarta*. From there, if the opponent does not react, you attack a nearby opening while covering yourself with your hilt and through the placement of your body. If the opponent tries to find your blade, either to the inside or outside depending on what side you approach on, you simply disengage (staying in *quarta*) and hit them on the other side while continuing forward.

Finally, Fabris's sixth Rule again describes an approach where, when reaching the long measure, you place your weak against that of the opponent, though with some advantage, doing so with your arm (and blade) extended. Then, as you continue forward, you shorten

your arm and turn back the right side of your body such that the point of your sword does not move. Once your body passes your opponent's point, you attack mostly through your step and by leaning your body forward, without extending your arm unnecessarily.

In addition to Fabris's published work, two manuscript versions of his treatise are known to exist. The first, GKS 1868 kvart in Det Kongelige Bibliotek in Copenhagen contains six Rules for the *Caminiren*, closely resembling *Caminiren* in Fabris's published book.[6] Upon closer inspection, however, a number of differences are found. Firstly, the plates and accompanying lessons are organised somewhat differently in the Copenhagen manuscript compared to *De lo Schermo*, though this may have been a book binder's mistake.[7] In addition, there are various technical differences between the two editions. The main technical difference is seen in Rule five.[8] Here, the Copenhagen manuscript shows the approach on the inside first (fols 83–84) and has both the approach on the inside and the approach on the outside (fols 87–88) done in *tertia*, in both the illustration and the accompanying text. Conversely, *De lo Schermo* shows the approach on the outside first, and has both the approach on the inside and on the outside done in *quarta* (plates 142 and 144), in both the plate and the accompanying text. Furthermore, the hit following the approach on the inside (a hit made on the outside after the opponent disengages) is done in *tertia* in the Copenhagen manuscript (see illustration and text on fols 85–86), but in *quarta* in *De lo Schermo* (plate 145 and accompanying text).[9] Likewise, in Rule Four, *De lo Schermo* describes the hit against an opponent standing in a low guard performed in *quarta*, though in the accompanying plate (plate 141) the hit is shown in *tertia*. Here, the Copenhagen manuscript describes and shows the hit in *tertia* (fols 92–93). Furthermore, while in this plate *De lo Schermo* shows the fencer making the attack with his right shoulder forward and his hips aligned (while his left foot is in front, meaning he crosses his legs), the Copenhagen manuscript shows the attacking fencer with his shoulders and hips squared.[10] One final notable difference between the Copenhagen manuscript and *De lo*

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[6] Copenhagen, GKS 1868 kvart.

[7] See the appendix for a full comparison of the illustrations in the three editions of Fabris's treatise.

[8] Here, I must acknowledge Julian Schrattenecker for pointing out this key difference between the two editions of Fabris's work.

[9] Note that, as shown in the appendix, the remainder of the actions for Rule Five are also presented in a different order in the Copenhagen manuscript.

[10] Other (minor) technical differences between the plates in the Copenhagen manuscript (CM) and *De lo Schermo* (*DlS*) include:
1) Fols 15^{v}–16^{r} in CM show the attacker's left hand held up against his opponent's blade, while in *DlS* plate 115 the left elbow is highest and the left hand is not seen to be placed against the blade;
2) A much clearer offline step in CM fols 35^{v}–36^{r} vs. *DlS* plate 120;
3) Hits performed with a significantly more shortened arm in CM compared to *DlS* (fols 27^{v}–28^{r} vs. plate 123 and fols 45^{v}–46^{r} vs. plate 126);
4) Hips that are held much more squared in the attack in CM, while they are more aligned in *DlS* (fols 51^{v}–52^{r} vs. plate 129);

Schermo is that in some plates the fencers are shown from the opposite side (cf. plates 123 and 141).

The technical differences between these two books show that Fabris continued to improve and refine his *Caminiren* between when he wrote his manuscript (around 1601) and his printed edition (1606). Furthermore, while the relatively small disparity between plate 141 and the accompanying text in *De lo Schermo* could be one of the mistakes made by the artist drawing the plates that Fabris laments elsewhere in his book, it could alternatively reflect Fabris changing his preference while finalizing his book, and the fact that the same hit was made in *tertia* in the Copenhagen manuscript (in both text and plate) can support this hypothesis.

The second manuscript version of Fabris's treatise, the MS KB 73 J 38 held in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague, only contains the first four of Fabris's Rules.[11] A further comparison of the plates and lessons in this edition to the Copenhagen manuscript and *De lo Schermo* shows that where the illustrations in these latter two editions differ, the The Hague manuscript consistently follows the Copenhagen manuscript.[12] Furthermore, compared to both other editions, the The Hague manuscript commonly shows the initial engagements made at a considerably closer range.[13] However, this could be related to the page size of the manuscript, and the artist's choice to place both fencers

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5) The fencer's left foot is set in front in CM fols 55^{v}–56^{r} while the right foot is set in front in *DlS* plate 140. Here, CM also appears to show the left foot stepping offline to the right, the left leg crossing in front of the right.
6) In many of the illustrations in CM, the fencers typically stand more upright and with their legs more extended. Where the upper body is bent forward, their back often appears more curved than in *DlS*;
7) In CM, hits are more commonly made to higher targets than in *DlS* (e.g., hits to the face vs. to the chest or shoulder).

[11] It is interesting to note that of the 35 illustrations in this manuscript, eight show different postures for fencing firm-footed with single rapier (39^{r}, 41^{r}, 43^{r}, 45^{r}), rapier and dagger (47^{r}, 49^{r}, 51^{r}) and rapier and cloak (53^{r}), while the remaining 27 are all dedicated to the *Caminiren*. The Hague, MS KB 73 J 38.

[12] Such instances where the The Hague manuscript (HM) follows CM include:
1) The illustration on 101^{v} of HM shows the attacker's left hand held up against the blade, as in CM fols 15^{v}–16^{r};
2) The illustration on fol. 116^{r} of HM mirrors the clear offline step of CM fols 35^{v}–36^{r};
3) Shortened arms on fols 120^{r} and 125^{r} — 125^{r} of HM shows a hit to the opponent's chest, while CM shows a hit to the opponent's flank, and *DlS* shows a hit to the opponent's hip;
4) Fol. 142^{r} of HM shows the attacker's hips squared, while *DlS* plate 129 shows the hip aligned (and the legs crossing). Here, HM and CM also show the attacker's shoulders somewhat less aligned, and his left elbow lowered while *DlS* shows the shoulders fully aligned and the elbow held at shoulder height;
5) Fol. 144^{r} in HM, like CM, shows the left foot being placed in front and being set offline to the right (i.e., crossing in front of the right foot), while *DlS* plate 140 shows the right foot set in front;
6) HM shows similar postures as CM;
7) As in CM, many hits in HM are made to higher targets than in *DlS*.

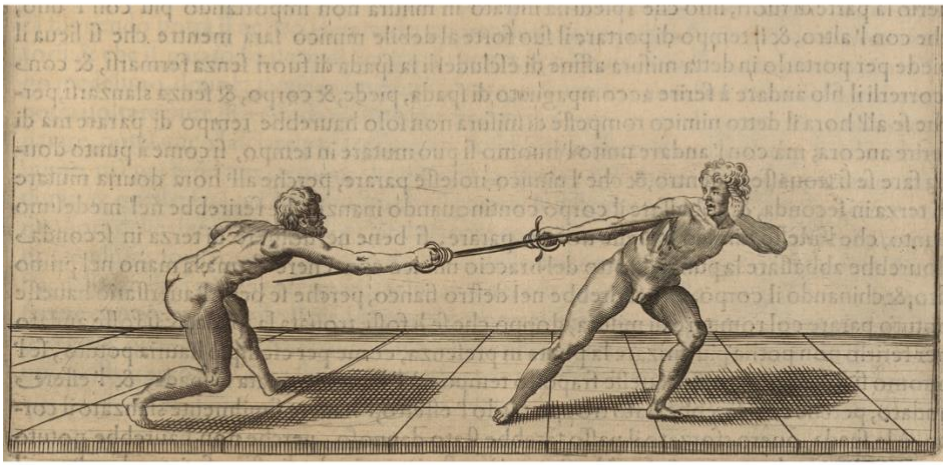
[13] Compare, for example, fol. 121^{r} in HM to the equivalent plate 124 in *DlS*, where in HM the engaging fencer is so close to his opponent that his point is almost at the elbow.

on the same page, rather than across two pages. Fig. 2 further illustrates the comparison between the three texts, as well as Add MS 17533.[14]

[14] London, Add MS 17533.







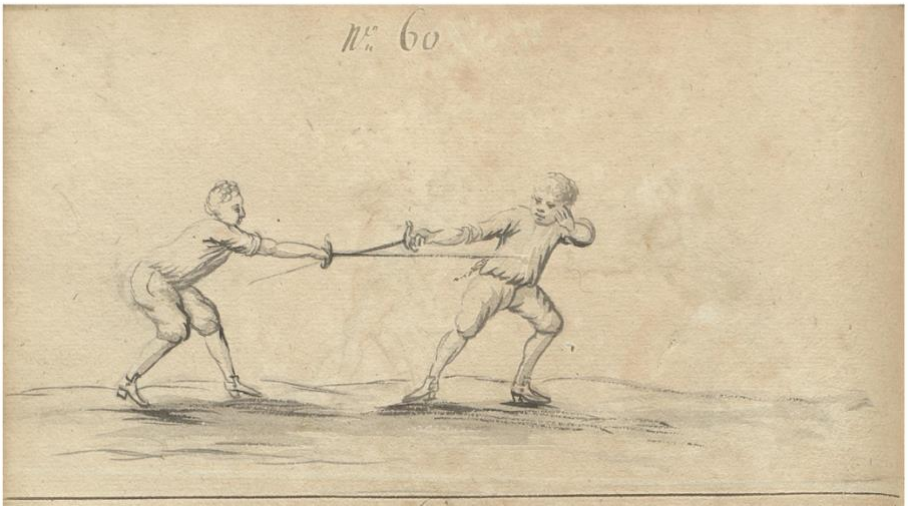


Fig. 2 Top Left: The Hague, KB, National Library of the Netherlands KW 73 J 38, fol. 120r

Top Right: Royal Danish Library, GKS 1868 kvart: Salvator Fabris, Scientia et Practica del'Arme di Salvator Fabri Padovano (1601), fols 27v–28r.

Middle: Fabris, De lo Schermo, plate 123 (KU Leuven Libraries Special Collections, R4B86)

Bottom: From the British Library Collection: Add MS 17533, plate 60.

Based on this brief comparison, where the illustrations in the Copenhagen manuscript differ from the plates in Fabris's printed book, the The Hague manuscript consistently mirrors the Copenhagen manuscript. Therefore, it is very unlikely that the The Hague manuscript was a copy of Fabris's printed book. However, through this comparison it is not possible to further assess whether the The Hague manuscript was copied off the Copenhagen manuscript or presents a different edition of Fabris's treatise. While the former is perhaps more likely, in the latter case it is possible that the *Caminiren* presented in it is an earlier version, perhaps from before Fabris's addition of Rules Five and Six.

While various German translations of Fabris's *De lo Schermo* are known to exist (in addition to the translation by Johann Joachim Hynitzsch), as they are only direct translations, they will not be considered here.[15]

An alternative description of Fabris's six Rules is given in a text found in two separate manuscripts, Mscr.Dresd.C.13 and British Library Add MS 17533.[16] The treatises found in these two manuscripts are most likely copies of an original written by Heinrich von und zum Velde, who was said to be a direct student of Fabris, and of Fabris's successor, *Signor* Herman.[17] While the two copies are somewhat differently divided into lessons, their contents are very similar.[18] First, the six Rules are illustrated through series of lessons. After this, two more chapters follow that describe the principles of *Caminiren* in general, and outline the advantages of *Caminiren* over firm-footed fencing. The former of these two chapters first presents, and then expands upon, Fabris's chapter on the same topic. The latter of these chapters mostly presents the same content as Fabris's chapter

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[15] Hynitzsch, *Scienza e pratica d'arme*; and, for example, Fabri, *Italiänische Fechtkunst*.

[16] Dresden, Mscr.Dres.C.13; London Add MS 17533. Note that Diederich Porath published a Swedish translation of the main treatise found in Add MS 17533 in 1693. However, this only covers fencing firm-footed, and leaves out the *Caminiren*. Porath, *Palæstra Svecana*.

[17] Van Noort and Schäfer, 'An analysis and comparison of'; Van Noort and Schäfer, *Proper Description of Thrust-Fencing*.

[18] See Van Noort and Schäfer's *Proper Description of Thrust-Fencing* for a further comparison of these two manuscripts. Interestingly, C.13 contains a dedication signed by fencing master Johann Georg Pascha and is dated 26 June 1671. In this dedication, Pascha mentions having received the lessons of von und zum Velde contained in the book from a friend, but that he added lessons of his own to make the work complete. However, as the analysis by Van Noort and Schäfer shows, Pascha did not make any significant additions (or other changes) to the part of the work describing the *Caminiren*. Van Noort and Schäfer, *Proper Description of Thrust-Fencing*.

discussing this advantage (though in Fabris's work the chapter on the advantage of the *Caminiren* is presented first).

As the contents of C.13 and Add MS 17533 do not differ significantly, in the following we will compare Fabris's *Caminiren* with the *Caminiren* in manuscript C.13. Comparing the lessons given in C.13 for each of the six Rules to the plates and lessons presented by Fabris, we see that while Fabris first describes the Rule in general, and this description is lacking from C.13, the 88 lessons through which Rule One is presented in C.13 cover a wider range of eventualities than the general description and lessons presented by Fabris.[19] Comparing Rule Two, lessons 517 and 518 in C.13 agree well with Fabris's first three plates (117–19). Lessons 519 and 520 present the same information as Fabris's fourth plate (120), and lesson 521 matches plate 121. Finally, lessons 526 and 527 match plates 122 and 123.[20] Lessons 522 to 524 address two possible actions by the opponent that Fabris discusses in his general description of Rule Two but does not address in his subsequent lessons. Note that lesson 523 presents a variation on the action given in lesson 522 that Fabris does not consider. For Rules Three and Four, we again see that the 27 and 31 lessons, respectively, cover similar situations, but with a wider range of eventualities than discussed by Fabris. However, here we should note the that for Rule Four, C.13 discusses the entering step with the left foot and to the outside first, while Fabris starts with the entering step with the right foot and to the inside.[21] Furthermore, while Fabris instructs hitting in *quarta* when using this rule against an opponent standing in *secunda*, C.13 instead teaches a hit in *secunda* (after approaching in half-*quarta*), as, C.13 argues, attacking in *quarta* (while pushing aside the opponent's blade) might leave you vulnerable to a disengage by the opponent.[22] The 21 lessons through which C.13 describes Rule Five again present a larger number of eventualities than covered by Fabris.

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[19] Here, as pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, it is interesting to note the parallel between C.13 lessons 512 to 516, on how to proceed against an opponent who constantly circles with their blade, and Fabris's fourth Rule for proceeding with sword and dagger, on how to proceed against an opponent who does not keep their sword still.

[20] Here, it is also interesting to note that while C.13 does not include illustrations, 17533 does. 17533 plate 60 (on fol. 50^{v}) corresponds to *DlS* plate 123. Comparing these two plates, and keeping in mind the differences between *DlS* plate 123 and the equivalent illustrations in CM and HM discussed above, we note that 17533 shows this plate from the same side as *DlS*. Furthermore, 17533 shows both fencers (but especially the attacking fencer) in a somewhat more upright position, while the attack is made to a lower target (to the flank instead of the shoulder) and with an extended arm. However, the text describing this attack (Ch. 8, lesson 27 on fol. 29^{v} in 17533, or lesson 526 on fol. 188^{r} in C.13) instructs that the attack must be made in *quarta*, without extending your right arm, and up to your opponent's right shoulder with your point raised.

[21] In CM, Fabris also shows the entry to the outside before the inside. In HM, the entry to the inside is shown before the outside.
Here, it is also interesting to note that C.13 includes a series of lessons using the same tactical principle as Rule Four in its section on fencing firm-footed (see lessons 50–57).

[22] See C.13 lesson 567 on fols 194^{v}–195^{r} vs. *DlS* plate 138 and 139. Note that Hynitzsch, in his German translation of *De lo Schermo*, does not make any note of this, and has the reader attacking in *quarta*.

Furthermore, they first handle the approach on the inside, while Fabris's *De lo Schermo* starts with the approach on the outside.[23] Finally, C.13's 24 lessons on Rule Six again cover the same teachings as Fabris's plates, and also outline additional eventualities.

Thus, while C.13 (and Add MS 17533) for the most part describe six Rules for *Caminiren* that are carried out the same as those given by Fabris in his *De lo Schermo*, with only few minor differences in how the six Rules are taught, the description itself is different as the relatively long general descriptions for each Rule that Fabris gives are left out, and the Rules are instead described mostly through short lessons. However, C.13 gives a larger number of lessons per Rule, and thus covers a wider range of possibilities more explicitly. As such, the version of *Caminiren* found in C.13, written by Heinrich von und zum Velde based on the instruction he received from Fabris and *Signor* Herman, should be seen as supplementary to the six Rules described in Fabris's *De lo Schermo*. If we accept (as hypothesised by Van Noort) that von und zum Velde studied with Fabris and *Signor* Herman after Fabris returned to Padua (and thus near the end of Fabris's life), the (minor) changes observed between *De lo Schermo* and C.13 may then represent a further development of the *Caminiren* by Fabris himself, by *Signor* Herman, or by the two of them working together.[24]

HANS WILHELM SCHÖFFER'S FOUR RULES

A different version of *Caminiren* is found in the writings of Hans Wilhelm Schöffer, who, as noted by Van Noort and based on Hynitzsch, was a direct student of Salvator Fabris.[25] Comparing the different sources that Van Noort identified as books written by, or based on the teachings of, Schöffer, and in particular their sections on *Caminiren*, we see that they mostly contain the same headings, with similar numbers of lessons for each heading (and subheading).[26] However, Schöffer did not explicitly divide his *Caminiren* into separate Rules until he prepared his *Fechtbuch* for print; i.e. his *Caminiren* is only explicitly divided into four separate Rules in his *Gründtliche und eigentliche Beschreibung*, and in 4° Ms. math. 2 (a manuscript copy of this printed book).[27] Furthermore, not all editions of Schöffer's work contain (what would become) his fourth Rule.

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[23] In starting with the inside, C.13 mirrors CM. Also note that lesson 587 in C.13 explicitly states that the approach against an upper guard should always be done in *quarta*, whether on the outside or on the inside.

[24] Van Noort, 'Compiling a fencing legacy'.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid. Key works by Schöffer for the present discussion are: Kassel, 4° Ms. math. 38 and its transcription Klein, *Fecht- Lektionen nach Hans Wilhelm Schöffer*; Berlin, Ms. germ. qu. 1190; Berlin, Ms. germ. qu. 1191; Bamberg, MS Var.7; Helsinki, Nat. Lib. MS E.ö. V.36; Schöffer von Dietz, *Gründtliche und eigentlichte Beschreibung*; and Kassel, 4° Ms. math. 2. Note that Ms. germ. qu. 1191 deals with the use of rapier and dagger, and is therefore not included further in this discussion.

[27] Schöffer von Dietz, *Gründtliche und eigentlichte Beschreibung*; Kassel, 4° Ms. math. 2.

An additional difference between Schöffer's *Caminiren*, and the *Caminiren* of Fabris is that in presenting his four Rules, Schöffer never explicitly described the principles behind each Rule, instead only presenting them through numbered lessons that give examples of their application (much like C.13). Comparing the various editions of his work, the number of lessons used per Rule vary, though not by much.

Schöffer's Four Rules of the *Caminiren*, as given in his published edition, are:

1. How to injure your opponent without standing still;
2. Proceeding with a straight *tertia*;
3. Proceeding without guard (*senza la guardia*);
4. Proceeding by the fourth rule.[28]

Both Schöffer's and Fabris's Rules are referred to together in the fencing section in the Uniwersytet Wrocławski manuscript Mil. IV 30.[29] While this was not written by Schöffer himself, it was written by one of his students, potentially as a set of class notes. The section dedicated to *Caminiren* (found on fols 29^{v} and 30^{r}) is very summary.[30] However, it does present the general advantages of *Caminiren* over firm-footed fencing (similar to the advantages given by Fabris), outline Fabris's six Rules, and then also lists the four Rules of Hans Wilhelm Schäffer [sic]:

1. 'In der Runde' ('In a circle').
2. 'In der geraden *Linie*' ('In a straight line').
3. 'In *senza guardia*' ('Going without guard').
4. 'In hoher *tertia*' ('In a high *tertia*').[31]

To cover his first Rule, Schöffer uses between 36 and 75 lessons.[32] The basic form of the *Caminiren* in accordance with Schöffer's first Rule is described similarly in the first lesson of each of these works. It is done by approaching your opponent by circling to their right side (i.e., on their outside), while your blade circles to your left (and below), thus bringing your blade to the outside line as well. Then, when you have come into measure, you disengage to their inside, ensuring your strong is on their weak, and thrust *quarta* on the inside to their chest, passing straight in at your opponent with your left foot. Comparing the different editions, the description of this rule is mostly consistent with only minor

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[28] Note that in earlier editions of Schöffer's treatise, the first Rule is sometimes referred to as 'Caminiren in die Runde' ('Proceeding in a circle'), and the second Rule is sometimes called 'Caminiren mit langer Klingen' ('Proceeding with a long [i.e., extended] blade').

[29] Wrocław, Mil. IV 30.

[30] Ibid., fols 29^{v} and 30^{r}.

[31] Ibid., fol. 30^{r}.

[32] Specifically, 75 lessons in 4° Ms. math. 38; 56 lessons in Ms. germ. qu. 1190, MS Var.7, and Nat. Lib. MS E.ö. V.36; and 36 lessons in *Gründtliche und eigentliche Beschreibung*.

differences in how the action is described.[33] Subsequent lessons then deal with how to react to the counter-actions of your opponent, and other adaptations of the Rule, such as how you can use your left hand to defend yourself while performing this *Caminiren*, and how to cover yourself well with your blade, for example when performing this Rule against someone who holds the point of their sword relatively high.

Schöffer's second Rule is outlined in 94 to 101 lessons across the different editions.[34] In this Rule (as described in its first lesson), you approach your opponent on the outside, with your blade held in an extended *tertia*, and then thrust the *tertia* at them over their blade on the outside. The same Rule but done on the inside line is then illustrated in a later lesson, and is performed essentially the same, except that you approach your opponent on the inside line, and then thrust there in *quarta*.[35] While there is some variability between different versions of Schöffer's lessons for these rules, these differences are mostly in the choice of words, while the actions described in the different editions are essentially the same. However, such textual differences are interesting as they do demonstrate how Schöffer refined the descriptions of his lessons. Here, it should be noted that the largest deviations are again found in 4° Ms. math. 38 (likely the earliest version of Schöffer's treatise), while differences between the (subsequent) editions are even smaller.[36]

Schöffer then uses 33 to 37 lessons to describe his third Rule.[37] In this Rule, as described in his *Gründtliche und eigentliche Beschreibung*, you approach your opponent with your point

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[33] For example, in lesson one of 4° Ms. math. 38, Schöffer instructs the reader to attack when you see the *tempo*, while in lesson 526 of MS Var.7, he tells the reader to attack when they think they are in the right measure. Then, in lesson 622 of *Gründtliche und eigentliche Beschreibung*, he adds 'und er dir keine blöβ aüsserhalb uber seinem rechten Arm gibt' ('and [the opponent] does not give you an opening on the outside over their right arm'). In all cases, though, the attack is made by disengaging narrowly under the opponent's blade, to the inside line, and attacking there in *quarta*. Kassel, Ms. math 38, fol. 40r; Bamberg, MS Var.7, fol. 227r; Schöffer von Dietz, *Gründtliche und eigentlichte Beschreibung*, p. 384.

[34] Specifically, 101 lessons in 4° Ms. math. 38 and *Gründtliche und eigentliche Beschreibung*; 98 lessons in Ms. germ. qu. 1190 and MS Var.7; and 94 lessons in Nat. Lib. MS E.ö. V.36l.

[35] Cf. Lesson 669: '*Ein ander Stück*' ('Another piece'). Schöffer von Dietz, *Gründtliche und eigentliche Beschreibung*, p. 433.

[36] As discussed by Van Noort, 4° Ms. math. 38 is dated to 1590–1610 by the holding library, and refers to Schöffer as a *Freyfechter*, who learned the presented fencing lessons in Italy 'vom Salvatore, und / andern berümbten fechtern' ('from Salvatore and other famous fencers'). The title pages of Ms. germ. qu. 1190 and 1191 (dated to 1611–19) refer to Schöffer as a 'gewester Forfechter deß Signor Salvator' ('former *Vorfechter* of Signor Salvator in Padua'), while MS Var.7 and Nat. Lib. MS E.ö. V.36, which are very similar in content and also dated to 1611–19, do not have title pages. Finally, his *Gründtliche und Eigentliche Beschreibung* was dated 1620, and thus the latest edition known. Van Noort, 'Compiling a fencing legacy'; Kassel, 4° Ms. math. 38, fol. 1r; Berlin, Ms. germ. qu. 1190, fol. 1r; Berlin, Ms. germ. qu. 1191, fol. 1r; Bamberg, MS Var.7; Helsinki, Nat. Lib. MS E.ö. V.36; Schöffer von Dietz, *Gründtliche und eigentliche Beschreibung*.

[37] Specifically, 33 lessons in 4° Ms. math. 38 and *Gründtliche und eigentliche Beschreibung*; 36 lessons in Ms. germ. qu. 1190 and MS Var.7; and 37 lessons in Nat. Lib. MS E.ö. V.36.

low, refusing your blade, and stepping straight at the point of their blade. Then, you swiftly raise your blade into an engagement in *tertia* on the outside (with or without touching the blade of your opponent), and continue your attack there, hitting in *secunda*.[38] The Rule is also described on the inside line, in which case you hit in *quarta*.[39] When considering different versions of Schöffer's *Fechtbuch*, it is notable that in the oldest version (4° Ms. math. 38), Schöffer instructs the engagement on the outside in *quarta* (rather than *tertia)*, followed by a hit in *secunda*. Here, he (implicitly) instructs not making blade contact in the engagement.[40] In the version presented in MS Var.7, Schöffer still describes the engagement in *quarta*, but also notes that doing so with blade contact is just as viable as without blade contact.[41] These differences show how Schöffer changed his tactical thinking, in particular regarding blade contact in the engagement, which is perhaps one of the more notable tactical changes in fencing taking place during the seventeenth century.

Finally, Schöffer's fourth Rule is not found in all copies of his *Fechtbuch*. However, as his *Caminiren* is typically found at the end of the various manuscripts, the omission of Rule four may be due to lack of space or missing pages. When the fourth Rule is included, it is described through only 13 to 18 lessons.[42] In this Rule, you set yourself in what the text describes as a high *tertia*, and which in the accompanying plate is shown to be a *tertia* with the blade held pointing upwards and somewhat forward with the hilt somewhat lower than your face. Then, you approach on the outside line, and when you think you are in measure, you engage your opponent's blade there while shortening your arm. If your opponent does not react, pass forth and hit in *secunda* over their right arm.

If we consider the fourth Rule as presented in the MS E.ö. V.36 manuscript (as well as manuscript Ms. germ. qu. 1190), interestingly, the plate showing the starting position shows the fencer standing in a *tertia* with their arm extended up and forward (and their blade in the same line), such that their hand and hilt are higher than their head. Then, in the following engagement the arm is still fully extended, contrary to the description and plate given in Schöffer's *Gründtliche und Eigentliche Beschreibung*.[43]

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[38] Schöffer von Dietz, *Gründtliche und eigentliche Beschreibung*.

[39] Cf. Lesson 763: '*Ein ander Stück*' ('Another piece'). Schöffer von Dietz, *Gründtliche und eigentliche Beschreibung*.

[40] Kassel, 4° Ms. math. 38.

[41] Bamberg, MS Var.7.

[42] Specifically, 14 lessons in Ms. germ. qu. 1190, 13 lessons in Nat. Lib. MS E.ö. V.36, and 18 lessons in *Gründtliche und eigentliche Beschreibung*, while Rule Four is missing from 4° Ms. math. 38 and MS Var.7.

[43] Helsinki, Nat. Lib. MS E.ö. V.36; Berlin, Ms. germ. qu. 1190; Schöffer von Dietz, *Gründtliche und eigentlichte Beschreibung*.

COMPARING SCHÖFFER'S FOUR RULES TO THE SIX RULES OF FABRIS

When comparing Schöffer's four Rules to the six Rules given by Fabris, Schöffer's second Rule follows the same principles as Fabris's first Rule, while Schöffer's fourth Rule matches Fabris's Rule Two. However, comparisons between Schöffer's first and third Rules and the Rules of Fabris are less obvious, and none of the six Rules of Fabris appears equivalent to Schöffer's first Rule.[44] Schöffer's third Rule does appear similar to the third Rule of Fabris, and this similarity is further emphasised in Mil. IV 30, where these Rules are presented under comparable names.[45] In their respective third Rules, both Fabris and Schöffer instruct their reader to engage the opponent's sword only as they step into the measure. There are, however, some differences in how the Rule is carried out. Firstly, Fabris notes that the initial approach should be made on the outside line. Schöffer instructs similarly in 4° Ms. math. 38, but in later editions (such as MS Var.7 and the *Gründtliche und eigentliche Beschreibung*) tells the reader to walk straight at the opponent's point.[46] Furthermore, while both *De lo Schermo* and C.13 explicitly state that you should not touch your opponent's blade in the (initial) engagement, in most editions of his work Schöffer states you can do this with or without touching their blade, 'dann wann du ihm gegen seine klinge gehest / so ist seine klinge so wohl stringiret / als wann du ihm an seine Klinge gehest' ('when you touch their blade, their blade is engaged just as well as when you [only] go near their blade').[47] The notable exception to this is again 4° Ms. math. 38, suggesting that Schöffer made these changes to this Rule as his insights and tactical preferences shifted with time.

Schöffer's fourth Rule, as presented in his *Gründtliche und Eigentliche Beschreibung*, is comparable to Fabris's second Rule, especially when taking into account the plates accompanying Schöffer's description.[48] However, there are notable differences even in just the initial description of this Rule. For example, while Fabris emphasises bringing your body and sword forward gradually and in unity as you approach your opponent, this is entirely lacking from Schöffer's verbal description of this Rule, and in Schöffer's *Gründtliche und Eigentliche Beschreibung* this union of body and sword coming forward is only shown in the plates.[49] However, when considering these plates in more detail, there

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[44] While some tactical similarity between Schöffer's first Rule and Fabris's fifth could, perhaps, be argued, Schöffer's clear focus in his Rule on stepping in a circle is not seen in Fabris's fifth Rule.

[45] Wroclaw, Mil. IV 30.

[46] Lessons 680 in MS Var.7 and 759 in *Gründtliche und eigentlichte Beschreibung*. Interestingly, the instruction to walk straight at the opponent's point somewhat mirrors a similar instruction in Fabris's Rule Four. Bamberg, MS Var.7; Schöffer von Dietz, *Gründtliche und eigentlichte Beschreibung*; Fabris, *De lo Schermo*.

[47] Cf. lesson 759 in Schöffer von Dietz, *Gründtliche und eigentliche Beschreibung*, p. 473.

[48] In particular plate 317 (showing the initial posture) and plate 318 (showing the subsequent approach). Schöffer von Dietz, *Gründtliche und eigentlichte Beschreibung*.

[49] Fabris, *De lo Schermo*; Schöffer von Dietz, *Gründtliche und eigentlichte Beschreibung*.

are some key differences as well. In *De lo Schermo* plate 117, Fabris shows the initial posture with the arm held bent, such that the hilt of the sword is held next to the face; in plate 317, Schöffer instead shows this posture with the hilt held forward of the head, most likely in front of the (right) shoulder. When comparing Fabris's plate 118 with Schöffer's plate 318, we see that Schöffer still shows the hilt held further forward than Fabris, but the difference between these two plates is much smaller. However, when we consider earlier editions of Schöffer's fourth Rule, deviations from Fabris's Rule Two are larger and more obvious.[50] Most notably, in the plates showing the initial advantage, Schöffer's earlier editions show the fencer performing the *Caminiren* standing up straight, with his arm extended diagonally upwards, and his hilt well above (and in front of) his head.[51] Then, in the subsequent plate, Schöffer's fencer is still standing quite straight, though somewhat forward balanced, and has his arm extended straight forward horizontally while angling his blade up somewhat from his wrist, quite different from how Fabris shows this position.[52] The relatively significant changes in these plates between Schöffer's earlier manuscripts and his final, published version of his Rule Four, where he shows these postures much more similarly to how they are shown and described by Fabris, suggest that Schöffer may perhaps have used access to a copy of Fabris's work to improve his own Rule Four in accordance with Fabris's second Rule.

Overall, when comparing Schöffer's Rules Two to Four to Fabris's Rules One to Three, Schöffer's treatise gives the impression of providing somewhat less refined versions of the concepts and ideas presented by Fabris in *De lo Schermo*. This very interesting combination of similarities and differences in these two versions of the *Caminiren* may have resulted in two different ways. Firstly, as discussed by Van Noort, Schöffer most likely studied at Fabris's *salle* in Padua before 1598 when Fabris left for Bremen.[53] While there, Schöffer may have learned an earlier (or otherwise different) version of Fabris's *Caminiren*, which he later codified and presented in the lessons in his various manuscripts, before settling on the four Rules he published in 1620. This would then indicate that Fabris continued to develop and refine his *Caminiren*, leading to his six Rules as codified and published in *De lo Schermo* in 1606, leaving out the *Caminiren* in a circle that Schöffer still included as his first Rule.[54] Alternatively, Schöffer may have changed Fabris's Rules himself, modifying the descriptions and order of the first four Rules to his own preference, while leaving out Fabris's Rules Five and Six. However, considering the overall

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[50] Berlin, Ms. germ. qu. 1190, lesson 729; Helsinki, Nat. Lib. MS E.ö. V.36, lesson 724.

[51] Fabris, *De lo Schermo*, plate 117; Berlin, Ms. germ. qu. 1190, plate 414; Helsinki, Nat. Lib. MS E.ö. V.36, plate 414.

[52] Fabris, *De lo Schermo*, plate 118; Berlin, Ms. germ. qu. 1190, plate 415; Helsinki, Nat. Lib. MS E.ö. V.36, plate 415.

[53] Van Noort, 'Compiling a fencing legacy'.

[54] Here, a closer comparison between *De lo Schermo* and *Scientia et Practica del'Arme* could show whether Fabris made any further refinements to his *Caminiren* between 1601 and 1606. Fabris, *De lo Schermo*; Copenhagen, GKS 1868 kvart.

extent of Schöffer's written works, a choice to remove material seems less likely. Thus, the former theory, that the differences between Fabris's and Schöffer's Rules represent a development in Fabris's *Caminiren* between when Schöffer studied at his *salle* and when Fabris wrote his own fencing book may be considered the most likely explanation for these differences.

Other differences are also seen in how the Rules are presented. For example, comparing Schöffer's second Rule to Fabris's first, we see that while Fabris discusses how to perform the rule on the outside and on the inside at the same time (in the text accompanying his plates 109 and 110), Schöffer instead first gives a number of lessons showing how to perform this rule on the outside before presenting lessons showing how to perform it on the inside.[55] In this, Schöffer is more similar to C.13, suggesting that this change may be related to cultural preferences in how material is taught and presented, though alternatively this could also reflect a further development in how Fabris and/or *Signor* Herman decided to teach the material.[56]

Thus, it is also of interest to make a direct comparison between the lessons given in C.13 and the lessons given by Schöffer for equivalent Rules. C.13 demonstrates its first Rule through 88 lessons, while Schöffer, in his *Gründtliche und eigentliche Beschreibung*, uses 101 lessons for his Rule Two. While indeed a number of these lessons are the same or very similar with regards to the techniques described, the descriptions are different (i.e., the lessons were not copied directly), and do show technical differences as well.[57] Furthermore, there are also lessons in either work that are not found in the other. Likewise, C.13 includes only 12 lessons for its second Rule, while Schöffer has 18 lessons for his Rule Four. Again, when comparing these lessons, there is a significant overlap in the actions in these lessons, but there are also variances.[58]

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[55] Fabris, *De lo Schermo*; Schöffer von Dietz, *Gründtliche und eigentlichte Beschreibung*.

[56] Dresden, Mscr.Dres.C.13.

[57] While a full comparison is outside of the scope of this paper, compare for example C.13 lessons 429 and 430 vs. *Gründtliche und eigentliche Beschreibung* lessons 658 and 659; C.13 lessons 482 and 485 vs. *Gründtliche und eigentliche Beschreibung* lessons 722 and 723; C.13 lessons 512 to 516 vs. *Gründtliche und eigentliche Beschreibung* lessons 720 and 721 and 717–19; or the lessons against a *secunda* in C.13 (468–77) vs. the lessons against a high *secunda* in *Gründtliche und eigentliche Beschreibung* (742–52). While these lessons show great similarity, they are described differently, and there are also technical differences in how they are executed. Dresden, Mscr.Dres.C.13; Schöffer von Dietz, *Gründtliche und eigentlichte Beschreibung*.

[58] For example, and perhaps most notably, in the first lesson for this Rule, C.13 (lesson 517) finishes with an attack in *tertia*, while Schöffer's *Gründtliche und eigentliche Beschreibung* (lesson 792) instructs attacking in *secunda*. Dresden, Mscr.Dres.C.13; Schöffer von Dietz, *Gründtliche und eigentlichte Beschreibung*.

SEBASTIAN HEUSLER'S *CAMINIREN*

Hynitzsch names Sebastian Heusler, who published a number of fencing treatises (or different editions of the same treatise), as a student of Schöffer's.[59] Indeed, his works include the *Caminiren*, but present only three Rules for it (through 151 lessons), that are largely the same as the first three Rules of Schöffer.[60]

To demonstrate his first Rule, Heusler uses 72 lessons, which is considerably more than the 36 Schöffer presented in his *Gründtliche und eigentliche Beschreibung* and in three of the manuscripts inspected (MS Var.7, MS E.ö. V.36, and Ms. germ. qu. 1190, which all have 56 lessons for the first Rule), but is similar to the 75 lessons Schöffer included in his oldest manuscript, 4° Ms. math. 38.[61] This means that if Heusler's discussion of the *Caminiren* were a copy of a work by Schöffer, and if we assume that he did not develop and add a large number of lessons of his own, then, of the known versions of Schöffer's treatise, only the 4° Ms. math. 38 would be a candidate original for Heusler's work. However, a closer comparison of, as an example, the first lesson of the third Rule (Heusler's lessons 141 and 142), shows that Heusler did not directly copy any version of Schöffer's *Caminiren* that is currently available for study. Heusler has the reader perform this lesson in *quarta* (this is stated in the second part of lesson 142), which is comparable to Schöffer's execution of this lesson in 4° Ms. math. 38. However, Heusler then states that when performing this lesson, if you engage your opponent with blade contact it is engaged just as well as without, which Schöffer does not state in 4° Ms. math. 38 but does note explicitly in later editions (such as MS Var.7 and MS E.ö. V.36). However, these later editions have a much smaller number of lessons for the first Rule. If we further consider the published edition of Schöffer's treatise, here he does note that this lesson can be performed equally well with or without blade contact, but he has the reader do so in *tertia* rather than *quarta*.

This quick comparison shows that the *Caminiren* as presented by Heusler has strong similarities to Schöffer's descriptions, suggesting that Heusler may have had access to an edition of Schöffer's treatise, and confirming a strong link between the two. However, the differences observed indicate that Heusler did not directly copy any known version of Schöffer's treatise. Instead, he may have had access to a now unknown version of Schöffer, potentially dated between 4° Ms. math. 38 and MS Var.7 (and certainly older than the edition Schöffer published), or he may have copied an older edition of Schöffer's

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[59] Hynitzsch, *Scienza e pratica d'arme*.

[60] In this discussion, we use the transliteration of Heusler's treatise by Peter Klatte, which is based on the 1617 edition. Heusler's three Rules are titled 'Das Caminiren in die Rundte' ('The *Caminiren* in a circle'), 'Das Caminiren mit langer Kling' ('The *Caminiren* with extended blade'), and 'Das Caminiren senza la Guardia' ('The *Caminiren* without guard') and are presented over 72, 68, and 11 lessons, respectively. Klatte, *Transliteration des Neu Künstlich Fechtbuch*, pp. 117–67; Heusler, *Neu Kunstlich Fechtbuch*.

[61] Heusler, *Neu Kunstlich Fechtbuch*; Schöffer von Dietz, *Gründtliche und eigentlichte Beschreibung*; Bamberg, MS Var.7; Helsinki, Nat. Lib. MS E.ö. V.36; Berlin, Ms. germ. qu. 1190; Kassel, 4° Ms. math. 38.

treatise (potentially one similar to 4° Ms. math. 38) while making edits of his own. Alternatively, Heusler may have written out these lessons that he learned from Schöffer from memory. However, this comparison does confirm that Schöffer kept developing his teachings on the *Caminiren* between different editions of his treatise. It also shows how Schöffer made such changes to his teachings some time after Heusler studied with him, but before he published his treatise in 1620, while Heusler continued working with, and ended up publishing, an older version of Schöffer's *Caminiren*.

THE NOBLE ACADEMY AT SORØ

As noted by Van Noort, there is a clear connection between the fencing lineage of Salvator Fabris and the noble academy at Sorø.[62] Firstly, this academy was founded by Fabris's foremost patron, Christian IV of Denmark. Secondly, in 1624 Hans Wilhelm Schöffer was appointed to the position of fencing master at this academy, as which he likely stayed until his death before 1646.[63] As a result, there are a number of manuscripts and books on fencing that are connected to the academy at Sorø and are also connected to the lineage of Fabris (through Schöffer). Here we will briefly consider those writings connected to Sorø that mention *Caminiren* (in addition to the Mil. IV 30 that was already discussed above).

The *Pallas Armata* was published in London in 1639, with the author's name not given.[64] A Danish translation of the *Pallas Armata* was later published in Copenhagen in 1646, with the author identified only by his initials, G. A..[65] Sørensen presents a convincing argument that the author of both these works was most likely the Danish nobleman Gabriel Knudsen Akeleye.[66] Some differences are found between the two texts, in particular in their introductory material. Here, the Danish text directly refers to 'Hans Wilhelm Schöpffer' [sic], former fencing master at the noble academy at Sorø, and to Schöffer's treatise as the basis for the current work.[67] While the Danish translation does not include any mentions of *Caminiren*, the foreword of the *Pallas Armata* names 'Caminering' ('*Camineren*') as 'a thing very useful', showing that its author was aware of the *Caminiren*, and this likely through the instructions of Hans Wilhelm Schöffer, but chose to omit this when he wrote his own treatise.[68]

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[62] Van Noort, 'Compiling a fencing legacy'.
[63] Sørensen, 'A Look Behind the Scenes'.
[64] G. A., *Pallas Armata*.
[65] G. A., *Den Ridderlige oc Adelige Fecht-Konstis*.
[66] Sørensen, 'A Look Behind the Scenes'.
[67] G. A., *Den Ridderlige oc Adelige Fecht-Konstis*.
[68] '*Entertain therefore, gentle Reader, these first fruits of mine endeavors, with as good and noble a mind as I wrote it with a desire to benefit thee, and to advance thy skill, which if thou dost thou shalt oblige me further, and give me great encouragement to enlarge it with Emblems, and the art of* Caminering*, a thing very useful, namely how to assault an enemy far off with a Rapier. Farewell, and peruse this with health and joy.*' G. A., *Pallas Armata*, fol. A2ʳ.

In addition, there are two interesting manuscripts on fencing that were written by students at the academy at Sorø. First, the *Fægtebog* of Mogens Krabbe is a Danish manuscript that appears to contain notes written down based on lessons received.[69] Unfortunately, the accessibility of the manuscript is limited, as the handwriting is often difficult to read on the scans available. While some terms often connected to the *Caminiren* (such as *Senza la Guardia*) are found in the manuscript, it does not appear to contain any direct mentions of *Caminiren*. Second, Cod. Guelf. 264.23 Extrav. contains a number of fencing rules and lessons that were taught to the author in Sorø by a fencing master named Hans Wilhelm.[70] Whether this was indeed Hans Wilhelm Schöffer, however, is dubious as the manuscript is dated 1657, well after Schöffer had died. However, it is possible for the manuscript to have been written (or dated) some time after the author left the academy. In the manuscript, *Caminiren* is only mentioned briefly, and while the lessons contain a description of approaching your opponent *Senza la Guardia* (in lessons 47 and its counter, 48), there is no indication that this is done through *Caminiren*.[71]

THE KREUSSLERS AND OTHERS

While Hynitzsch names Wilhelm Kreussler as a student of Fabris, there is no other indication that Wilhelm Kreussler did indeed study fencing under Fabris. Furthermore, though the Kreusslers formed a long-lasting and infamous fencing lineage, no works were written in this lineage (that are now known) until Weischner wrote his treatise in 1731.[72] In this work, which was later published in 1764 and 1765 (in progressively edited forms), Weischner does mention and define the *Caminiren*, but he does not teach it.[73] Clearly, the Kreusslers, if they were indeed students in Fabris's lineage, did not think highly of the

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[69] Copenhagen, NKS 79 oktav.

[70] Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 264.23 Extrav..

[71] '30. Wan man *Pie fermo* fechtet ist beßer den rechten fues erst und den lincken also in verfolgen et. aber in *cameniren* und der andren dergleichen *Lectionen* kan ich auch erst den lincken dann den rechten wieder den lincken und so forthan.' ('30. When you fence firm-footed, it is better to move the right foot first and follow with the left. But in *Caminiren* and other, similar lessons I can also first move the left, then the right, the left again, and so on.') Wolfenbüttel Cod. Guelf. 264.23 Extrav., fol. 11r.

[72] Weimar, Sig. Fol 351c.

[73] Weischner, *Uebungen auf dem Fürstl*; Weischner, *Die Ritterliche Geschicklichkeit im Fechten*.
The most extensive description is found in the 1731 edition: 'Proceeding is a type of footwork, where you step forward with your left foot, instead of with your right. You only confuse yourself with this manner of fencing, because it is something unusual, and in practice has little or no use. Otherwise, the lessons can be done just as with firm-footed fencing, except that you step forward with your back foot. I consider it purely a means of confusion, by which the lords fencing masters can detain their disciples for a long time.' Van Noort, Schäfer, and Zimmermann, *Carl Friedrich Weischner's Fencing Exercises*, p. 135.
Note that in the 1731 edition, Weischner then tells the reader that if they want instruction in this, they should read Signor Fabris's work, or that of Johann Andreas Schmidt for an abbreviated version. Weimar, Sig. Fol 351c.

Caminiren. However, while Hynitzsch claims that Wilhelm Kreussler was a student of Fabris and Weischner was clearly aware of the existence of Fabris, Weischner does not support the connection between Kreussler and Fabris in any way, casting some doubt on this claim by Hynitzsch.

Joachim Köppe was a fencing enthusiast (but not a fencing master) who wrote and published his own treatise on fencing based on the teachings of Fabris, but (as he wanted to very clearly state to his reader) not directly copying Fabris's book.[74] In his work, Köppe does mention the *Caminiren* at several points. However, he does not write much about it because (as he informs the reader) he intended to write another treatise on fencing focused on the *Caminiren* in particular. In this intention, he is mirrored by Johannes Georgius Bruchius, who plagiarised some of Köppe's work in his own treatise in 1671.[75]

A relatively late description of *Caminiren* was published by Johann Andreas Schmidt in his treatise first published in Nuremberg in 1713.[76] As discussed by Van Noort, while claims that Schmidt may have received instructions from Bruchius are uncertain, he likely did have access to Bruchius's treatise, as well as other works such as Fabris's *De lo Schermo*, as his own writings at times show strong similarities to those works.[77] Most notably for this discussion, in Part Five of his treatise, Schmidt presents a rearranged version (in German) of Fabris's *Caminiren*. Like Fabris, Schmidt chooses to start this Part of his work by describing what *Caminiren* is, and then discusses the advantages of *Caminiren* over fencing firm-footed before proceeding to describing the required union of feet, body, and blade. Schmidt then describes each of Fabris's Rules relatively concisely, and tells the reader how to counteract possible reactions by the opponent. In these descriptions, he essentially mirrors the general descriptions of each Rule as given by Fabris. After that, Schmidt gives 'special observations' for each Rule, in which he essentially summarises the various lessons that Fabris presented for each Rule.

Thus, Schmidt's description of the *Caminiren* is mostly a summary of Fabris's description, based on Fabris's *De lo Schermo*. While (minor) differences may be found on close inspection, there are no structural differences between Schmidt's description and *De lo Schermo* that could indicate that Schmidt received instruction in this elsewhere or that he changed these Rules, for example to accommodate for evolutions in fencing tactics and

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[74] Köppe, *Newer Discurs*.
[75] Bruchius, *Scherm- ofte Wapen-Konste*.
[76] Schmidt, *Leib-beschirmende*. Note that Schmidt's treatise was republished several times (under different titles) in the following decades.
[77] Van Noort, *Johann Andreas Schmidt's*.

the weapon used. As such, Schmidt's treatise does not show any signs of evolution from *De lo Schermo*.[78]

One final mention should go to German fencing master Jéann Daniel L'Ange, who published a treatise on fencing in 1664, which contained a brief chapter on *Caminiren*.[79] In this chapter, L'Ange notes that he learned the *Caminiren* in Italy, but also states that he thinks it may have been invented by a Spaniard 'dieweil es einem gar *gravi*tätisch und *redemonda*tisch vorkombt' ('as it appears solemn and vainglorious'). In the very concise description that follows, he states that you do not stand still but 'vorwerts oder auff die seyte / auch wohl zurück gehet […] biß man seinen Mann zuverletzen blösse findet' '(walk forwards or to the side, and also backwards … until you find an opening to injure your opponent'). He adds that 'in diesem gehen aber muß man allzeit des Feindes schwäche *engagiren*, […] und so man alsdan den Feind zu erreichen vermeint / den stoß fortsetzen / es sey in der *tertia*, *quarta* oder *secunda*' ('in this walking, you must always engage your enemy's weak … and then put forth a thrust, in *tertia*, *quarta*, or *secunda*, when you think you can reach your enemy').[80] Based on this very short description (and the associated plate 59), L'Ange may have been describing Fabris's Rule One. However, any connection to Fabris or his school is uncertain, especially when taking into consideration L'Ange's suggestion that the *Caminiren* may have been invented by a Spaniard. If L'Ange did indeed study with Fabris (or Fabris's successor), considering the period in which L'Ange was active, this must have been after Fabris's return to Padua in 1609.[81]

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[78] While Schmidt's book was clearly a source of inspiration to Danish fencing master von Wintzleben, who published a treatise on fencing in Copenhagen in 1756, von Wintzleben only mentioned *Caminiren* twice:
('*Mensura Falsa*, denne *Lection* kand *formeres*, naar hans *Contrapart* haver den Maade paa sig, at han efter giorde Stød, giør et Spring tilbage, eller og, naar han bliver *attaqueret*, ej vil holde Fod, men betiener sig stedse af en *Retirade*; Da er det i denne Adelige Kunst brugeligt, og tilladt, at i Steden for at *avancere* ind imod sin Fiende med den høyre Fod, da at bruge den venstre først, hvilket af en Deel bliver kaldet, at *passere*, og af nogle at *caminere*, hvorefter Stødet bliver fuldbragt, og træffer gierne, naar man ikkun i *Attaquen* fører kaarde-Spidsen i den rette Linie.' ('False measure. this can be done when your opponent has the habit that after a thrust is made, they make a jump back, or else when they do not want to stand still when they are attacked, but always make use of a retreat. Then, in this noble art, it is useful and allowed that instead of advancing towards your enemy with your right foot, you use your left first, which is called passing by some, and *Caminiren* by others. After this, completing the thrust, you hit surely by simply directing the point of your sword in the right line in the attack.')
'17. CAMMINEREN. Er snart det samme som *Passeren*, undtagen at man kand giøre dette, naar man agter at angribe sin Fiende, og støde efter ham, da det bruges i Steden for at *avancere*.' ('17. Proceeding. This is almost the same as passing, except that you can do this when you intend to assault your enemy and thrust at them, when it is used instead of advancing.') von Wintzleben, *Den adelige Fegte-Kunst*, pp. 32–33, 47.
[79] This treatise was republished in 1708, after Jéann Daniel's death, by his son Charle L'Ange. L'Ange, *Deutliche und gründliche Erklärung*.
[80] L'Ange, *Deutliche und gründliche Erklärung*, Cap. XXXI.
[81] Van Noort, *Lessons on the Thrust*; Van Noort, 'Compiling a fencing legacy'.

CONCLUSIONS: OBSERVATIONS OF EVOLUTION SEEN IN A FENCING LINEAGE

In this paper, we have studied and compared the written fencing lineage of Paduan fencing master Salvator Fabris to try and identify direct examples of evolution in the fencing instructed. In this analysis, we chose this lineage as it is one of a very small number of European martial arts lineages that can be documented with any certainty. Furthermore, we focused on the *Caminiren* (or 'proceeding with resolution'), as this presents a relatively limited set of teachings that is said to have been invented by Salvator Fabris himself, and, in addition, is not found outside Fabris's lineage.

We identified two distinct versions of the *Caminiren*. In *De lo Schermo*, published in 1606, Salvator Fabris presented six Rules, which are essentially six different manners in which to apply and carry out the principles of *Caminiren*.[82] Earlier editions of this treatise are found in two different manuscripts, which show some variations in the technical execution, especially of the fifth Rule.[83] Fabris's six Rules are then also found in a treatise found in (at least) two different manuscripts, the original edition of which was most likely written by Heinrich von und zum Velde, who was a direct student of Fabris and of Fabris's successor, *Signor* Herman.[84]

A second version of *Caminiren* is presented by Hans Wilhelm Schöffer in various editions of his fencing treatise, which was finally published in 1620. This *Caminiren* is presented through only four Rules, where Rule Two matches Fabris's Rule One, Rule Three is very similar to Fabris's Rule Three, and Rule Four (which is not found in all versions of this *Caminiren*) is analogous with Fabris's Rule Two. The description of Schöffer's *Caminiren* is seen to vary between different editions of his work, and another version of these Rules is also found in the treatise of Sebastian Heusler, who was said to be a student of Schöffer.

In his analysis of Fabris's fencing lineage, Van Noort hypothesised that Schöffer most likely studied at Fabris's school early in Fabris's career and before Fabris left Padua (i.e., before 1598), as Schöffer called himself a *Freyfechter* on the title page of 4° Ms. math. 38, and a former *Vorfechter* of Signor Salvator on the title pages of Ms. germ. qu. 1190 and 1191.[85] Considering this, the four Rules of *Caminiren* presented by Schöffer could best be seen as a less developed (or less refined) version of the *Caminiren* Fabris eventually published as his six Rules. However, other explanations are possible and cannot be excluded. For example, the instruction in *Caminiren* that Schöffer received may have been incomplete or altered on purpose. Furthermore, Schöffer may have taken what instruction he did receive in the *Caminiren* and then further developed it to his own

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[82] Fabris, *De lo Schermo*.
[83] Copenhagen, GKS 1868 kvart; The Hague, MS KB 73 J 38.
[84] London, Add MS 17533; Dresden, Mscr.Dres.C.13.
[85] Van Noort, 'Compiling a fencing legacy'.

preferences. Signs of such development are clearly seen when comparing the different editions of Schöffer's treatise, as seen in various manuscripts written before he published in *Gründtliche und eigentliche Beschreibung* in 1620. Here we see not only the number of lessons for each Rule change (notably being reduced), but we also see changes in how the Rules are carried out, indicating ongoing refinement. Based on the somewhat cursory analysis presented here, the three Rules of *Caminiren* published by Heusler (analogous with the first three Rules of Schöffer) are most similar to the earlier known versions of Schöffer's treatise, both in how techniques are carried out and in the numbers of lessons, suggesting that if Heusler indeed learned his *Caminiren* from Schöffer, he may have done so relatively early, perhaps between 1600 and 1610. Finally, it is interesting to note that while Schöffer was likely aware of the Fabris's eventual publication of *Caminiren* by six Rules, he chose not to expand or significantly edit his own four Rules to include Fabris's additional Rules.

We have noted some technical differences in the execution of Fabris's six Rules as presented in the The Hague and Copenhagen manuscripts compared to the published edition of *De lo Schermo*, in particular in the fifth Rule as presented in the Copenhagen manuscript (as the The Hague manuscript only included the first four Rules). While the six Rules for *Caminiren* presented in Add MS 17533 and Mscr.Dresd.C.13 are the same as the six Rules of Fabris's *De lo Schermo*, they are presented quite differently, only as lessons giving specific eventualities rather than in general terms. Furthermore, at least one technical difference was identified in how the Rules are performed, and though this difference was relatively minor, it was defended explicitly as an improvement over the earlier version. Such technical differences further show how a fencing lineage evolves with changing insights. However, while the changes in *De lo Schermo* compared to the earlier manuscripts must have been made by Fabris himself, it is not possible to ascertain who made the changes seen in the later versions presented in C.13 and MS 17533. They may have been introduced by Salvator Fabris himself, by his successor *Signor* Herman, or by the author of the original manuscript (i.e., Heinrich von und zum Velde). The more significant change in how each Rule is presented (from a general description followed by a small number of lessons to a large number of lessons not preceded by a general description), may have been a personal preference or may reflect cultural differences and preferences in how material is instructed. Such cultural differences could explain why Schöffer and Heusler both chose to mostly present large selections of lessons without significant general descriptions of fencing principles and techniques, though we must note that they were criticised over this choice by Hynitzsch.

In conclusion, based on an analysis of a corpus of fencing treatises within a single lineage, we have identified two different versions of the *Caminiren*, or proceeding with resolution. Within these two different versions, we have identified evolution in how the Rules are described and carried out within descriptions by the same master (Schöffer), as well as between subsequent descriptions by different masters (Fabris to C.13, as well as Schöffer to Heusler). Furthermore, based on the hypothesis that Schöffer was a relatively early

student of Fabris, the six Rules of *Caminiren* published by Fabris may represent a further development and refinement by Fabris, from an earlier conception of only four Rules.

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