



Liegnitzer, Hundsfeld or Lew? The question of authorship of popular Medieval fighting teachings

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Abstract – In numerous 15th and 16th century Fightbooks several sets of teachings appear alongside the glosses of Liechtenauer’s Epitome on armoured fighting and fighting on horseback (Harnischfechten and Rossfechten) often enough to be considered auctoritas on these subjects. However, their authorship from various witnesses are attributed to different authorial figures – Andreas Liegnitzer, Martin Hundsfeld, Jud Lew.

From 1452 until 1570, a number of diverse teachings are ascribed to them or faithfully reproduced without attribution: the most widely copied include the entitled Shortened sword for armoured hand and Shortened sword from the four guards, sword and buckler, dagger, wrestling and fighting on horseback. By a comparative analysis of existing witnesses, and by establishing the filiation tree of the related sources, we attempt to determine their original authorship. The analysis also yields additional conclusions regarding the influence of these authorial figures on other texts, proposes the filiation tree of the examined witnesses and presents the attempted study as a model for further research.

Keywords: Philology, Lineage, Fightbook, Manuscript, Tradition, Sword & Buckler, Dagger, Shortened Sword, Fighting in armour, Fighting on horseback, Wrestling

I. INTRODUCTION

In numerous 15th and 16th century Fightbooks, several sets of teachings appear alongside the glosses of Liechtenauer’s armoured fighting and fighting on horseback (Harnischfechten and Rossfechten) often enough to be considered auctoritas (sources of authority) on these subjects. However, their authorship is in various witnesses attributed to different authorial figures – Andreas Liegnitzer, Martin Hundsfeld, Jud Lew. At present time the literature of the subject lacks a comprehensive assessment of this discrepancy, as well as any critical study of these traditions.

The previous research dealing with the set of teachings of Shortened sword for the armoured hand¹ (Waldmann 2008 and 2013) mentioned the issue of attribution,

¹ See the “Description of corpus/method” section for details on references to witnesses or traditions.

showing that most of the analysed witnesses (Lew, Danzig, Speyer) confirm Hundsfeld's authorship for that text. Christian Tobler (2010:86–89) offers English translations for Shortened sword for the armoured hand, Holding down and standing up in armour and Shortened sword from the four guards, all based solely on Danzig's version, upon which he also bases the authorial attribution. Although he mentions almost all of the nine sets of teachings analysed in this paper, as well as points to some of the other compilations containing them, the subject is left without any further research².

Following the study of Martin Wierschin (1965), Hans-Peter Hils (1985) was the first one to use philological methods to study a broad corpus of Fightbooks, albeit focusing mostly on the transmission of the art originated by Johannes Liechtenauer. His work has been unchallenged since then, and even though a great deal of studies has been undertaken over the last half a century, they mostly dealt with less important corpuses³. Some of them have demonstrated the limitation of the philological tools for the studies of this type of technical literature, notably because images are in some cases more significant than the text itself (Welle 1993:27), and also because the written media is imperfect to transmit the motor skills – therefore the Fightbooks need to be studied in the context of the textualisation of an oral tradition as well (Müller 1992:251).

Nevertheless, applying philological methods shed some light on the lineage and circulation of Fightbooks. Comparing the textual evidences within a given set of teachings offers significant insights into the transmission of this pragmatic literacy⁴. In particular, it informed us on the trend to create the compendia or “compilations” around the Liechtenauer's glosses, which include additional smaller sets of teachings dedicated to one weapon or a type of combat. This relatively unified body of martial knowledge, still lacking fundamental research, evolved throughout the 15th and 16th centuries through copying, rewriting, reordering, but also by accumulation.

These complex processes need to be framed into the cultural and intellectual Medieval background of transmitting texts, where the concept of literary originality is defined through

² Tobler lists for Hundsfeld the armoured teachings on foot, on the ground and on horseback in Lew, Speyer, Kal, Goliath and Czynner and for Liegnitzer the armoured teachings on foot and the unarmoured (?) teachings on buckler, wrestling, dagger in Ringeck, Lew, Speyer, Kal, Goliath, Wilhalm, Czynner and Egenolff. He lists the attributions and briefly describes the contents. Earlier in his book (p.7), while discussing potential links between Danzig and Lew, he also puts forward the hypothesis of a yet undetermined common source.

³ Except notably the catalogue of German Fight- and Wrestling books achieved by Rainer Leng (2008), which is a reference offering great scholarship encompassing most of the corpus, though not exhaustive and notably debatable regarding some choices on the subject of authorial attributions (see Welle 2009:37-49). For example, in case of the issues directly connected to our studies, Leng's section for Andre Liegnitzer lists only three sets of teachings in two manuscripts (p.62-63: Goliath and Falkner, the latter we consider discriminatory), while there is no section for Martin Hundsfeld at all.

⁴ As defined by the Special Research Unit 231 (Sonderforschungsbereich 231, University of Münster 1986-1999).

auctoritas, paraphrase and imitation (Copland 1991:76). In addition, it is also necessary to consider the specificities of the transmission of the technical knowledge which cannot be neutral, as highlighted by Liliane Pérez and Catherine Verna (2009)⁵. This heterogeneous corpus, with the links between images and texts, offers various difficulties when it comes to study their filiations, up to the point where Heidemarie Bodemer (2008:65) advises – maybe too precautiously – to consider each witness as a unicum.

Towards establishing the authorship of the teachings, we performed the detailed comparative analysis of eight out of nine existing fighting instructions ascribed to either Lew, Hundsfeld or Liegnitzer⁶. The corpus of teachings examined in this article lends itself extremely well to this approach, because it offers a strong and relatively stable philological tradition, being copied widely almost verbatim for over a century over German speaking areas, and consists solely of the textual material without any accompanying illustrations, thereby voiding many of the above mentioned difficulties.

At the same time, this restricted investigation has several limitations. To ensure the validity of proposed *stemma codicum*, it will be necessary to confront our hypothesis with the remaining texts compiled in the witnesses treated in a similar manner. We also deliberately chose not to undertake the prosopographic research on the authorial figures, in particular not following the leads of their possible connections as suggested by Paulus Kal's list of masters (Liechtenauer's *gesellschaft*), considered as fictive by Thomas Stangier (2009:83); see also Jan-Dirk Müller (1994:358-362) and Christian Tobler (2010:7–8).

The final limitation is inherent to every philological research. Without entering the debate on the different trends and schools in this field, it is sufficient to say, that every text edition, every establishment of *stemma codicum* implies subjective editorial choices and therefore is potentially disputable⁷. In this paper we do not aim to present the critical editions, nor a complete study of the lineage within the large body referred to as the Liechtenauer's tradition. Therefore every *stemma* and *postulata* drawn should be considered working hypothesis and their validity subject to further research.

II. DESCRIPTION OF THE CORPUS / METHOD

We investigated every manuscript or print compendia (witnesses), containing the selected texts. The teachings are referred to with an English translation of a selection of representative terms, since they have no given title and their authorial attribution is

⁵ For a broader status questionis in English, see Cordoba (2014).

⁶ We analysed eight of them and retained five for the purpose of this article. See “Description of the corpus/method” below and the table 6 in the Appendix where all the nine set of teachings are referenced.

⁷ As put by Bernard Cerquiglini (1989:112): “every text edition is a theory”, issued out of a grouping of manuscripts where the historian plays a primary role. Every new discovery or new manuscript can therefore modify these theories.

problematic⁸. The witnesses are referred to by the name of the suspected compiler, the printer or, if anonymous, by the city of the conservation institution⁹. Except for the two edited manuscripts (Hagedorn 2008; Bergner, Giessauf 2006), we used publicly available transcriptions¹⁰ and completed the missing ones ourselves.

Each text is considered as an independent tradition (from the philological point of view). That is a working postulate that allows us to highlight the specificities of each lineage and to analyse the issue of the problematic authorship. For several cases we used the supporting evidence from another text to strengthen the hypothesis. Identifying and assessing the completeness of the teachings was an intermediary step that led to preliminary conclusions. Due to the spatial limitations, the collations are not included, but the most compelling similarities and differences are outlined in the case studies, including: a brief content description, a selection of the results of the comparative analyses, the arising postulates, the stemma codicum and a table in the Appendix.

We've left out the comparative analyses of four out of the nine sets of teachings. The Dagger and the Wrestling are contained in very few sources, and do not bring any additional information beyond what is discussed. On horseback with the lance and with the sword also only serves as a confirmation of the following cases, and is marginally more interesting due to the clear attribution to Hundsfield in Goliath and Kal, and perhaps missing or changed verses in Lew. Lastly, On horseback with knightly weapon was not analysed for the purposes of this article, since it does not exhibit any authorship issues, and is only present in a single branch related to Jud Lew's manuscript. It is possible though that it might bring more clarity to this part of the stemma, signifying another area of further research.

It is worth noting, that all the teachings examined in this article seem to have been copied without any significant changes from their inception onwards. Regardless of the attribution, the changes are minuscule, and are more often to be considered scribal errors rather than the adaptation or the evolution of the recorded fighting techniques in time, contrary to the ever-changing glosses of Liechtenauer's longsword teachings.

This attribute makes them particularly suitable for traditional comparative analysis, and makes it much easier to establish both the stemma of the individual sets of teachings,

⁸ See table 6 for bibliographical details and the transcriptions of the rubrics chosen for this purpose (out of the first witness - Danzig - which contains all of the examined texts).

⁹ By doing so, we avoid unnecessary confusion of adding siglas or complex reference system. The reader is invited to consult the table 6 for bibliographical reference to the manuscript or print.

¹⁰ We would like to acknowledge the transcriptions done by Dierk Hagedorn, Beatrix Koll, Monika Maziarz, Carsten Lorbeer, Julia Lorbeer, Andreas Meier, Marita Wiedner, Johann Heim, and the various authors of the transcriptions available on the collations published on Wiktenauer.com (Michael Chidester), without which our work would have been much harder. We would also like to extend our thanks to Kevin Maurer, and Mike Cartier for supplying us with the access to the draft version of Rostock manuscript transcripts. See bibliography.

and the general stemma. At the same time, it is very clear that at some point it is highly likely there must have existed one or a set of earlier manuscript(s) (referred to as “proto-manuscript” hereafter), from which all the following versions were later copied. The similarities between the various independent variants could have been in no way the result of the transmission of oral tradition.

1. Case study 1 – Pieces with the buckler

Pieces with the buckler are present in eleven manuscripts: Danzig, Glasgow, Lew, Kal, Ringeck, Pauernfeyndt, Czynner, Egenolff, Wilhalm, Sollinger, and Meyer. Table 1 shows the selected differences between these manuscripts based on the textual analysis.

This set of teachings is attributed to Andreas Liegnitzer in both Danzig and Glasgow, and remains anonymous in other sources. It consists of six sword and buckler pieces, of which one is missing in Kal, and three in Lew and Wilhalm.

At the beginning, it is relatively obvious that Wilhalm’s sword and buckler is a verbatim copy of Lew, and in other case studies we will see that Lew itself is a copy of another, now missing, manuscript.

The misreading of “Schilhaw” into “Schilhav” in Pauernfeyndt, and “schild” into “ghiltz”, as well as the missing phrase “als mit halben schwert”, are later copied in Egenolff and Sollinger. Egenolff also changes “ghiltz” to “gsichts”, and “achsel” to “seitten”, which suggests that Sollinger was most likely based directly on Pauernfeyndt. Sollinger also contains a few minor omissions which were not included in the table.

The most complete version seems to be the one in Glasgow, with Ringeck and Czynner close second, lacking only the attribution. However, we can assume that only the author of Glasgow had the direct access to the proto-manuscript, since there already is a suspicion that Ringeck is a copy of an earlier treatise¹¹, and Czynner will later come up as the copy of the original Jud Lew manuscript.

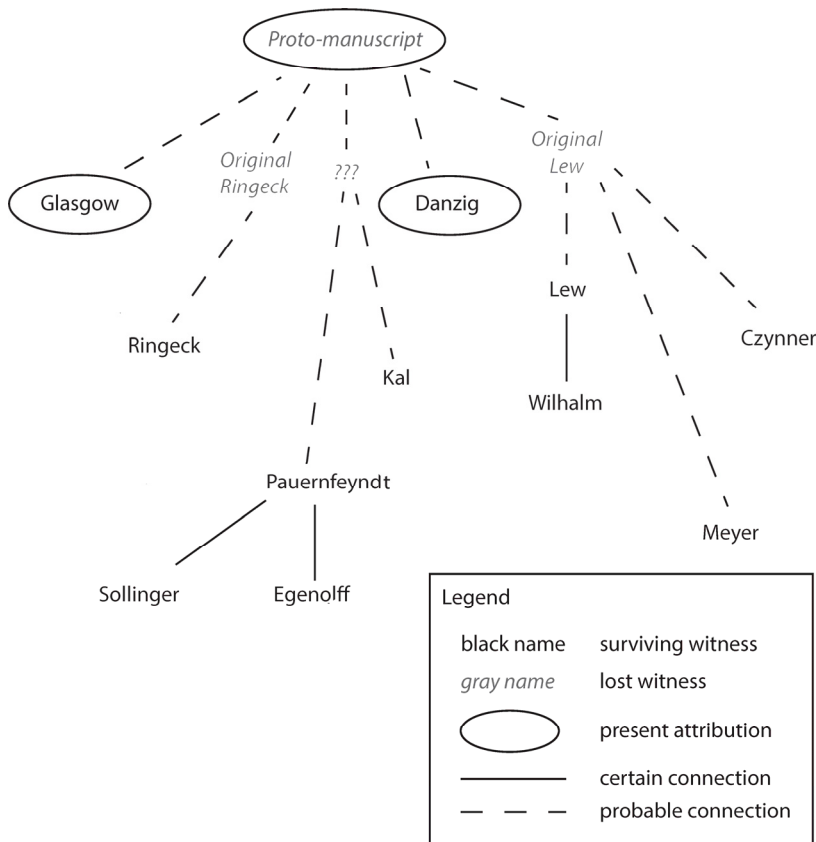
Danzig contains a few omissions, which perhaps do not change the meaning of the text, but exclude a few important details. However, it is highly probable that its author had the access to the original proto-manuscript as well, and the omissions are the results of his interpretation or carelessness.

Meyer contains several omissions: “aus dem oberhaw”, “aus unterhaw”, “zu dem leib”, and like all 16th century sources it changes the “als mit halben schwert” phrase, however

¹¹ The dating proposed by Wierschin (1965:83) for the first part of the fifteenth century is postponed by the recent analysis of the paper watermark to the first part of the sixteenth century (Hoffmann 2010). This information can imply that the Dresden manuscript is a compendium including one specific gloss authored by Siegmund ain Ringeck (Amring, Emring, Schining) whose original dating is unknown. On the one hand the Dresden manuscript can be a copy of the original produced as early as 1438-1460 for the reign of Albrecht III (based on dedication to a Bavarian duke Albrecht, see Tobler 2010); on the other hand, it can be the original, since there’s a duke Albrecht IV who reigned from 1465 until 1508.

in his case into the unique “vnd wind von unten auf gegen im”, most likely its author’s own addition. But the text is pretty generic, and only from the other teachings in this treatise we can establish it as a copy of the original Jud Lew’s manuscript.

Kal is an interesting case, since he also omits the “als mit halben schwert”, converting it to the unique “als du wol weist”, but he also changes “schild” to “ghiltz”, bringing him more in the line of Pauernfeyndt. Due to the missing piece, it is clear however, that he could not have been the Pauernfeyndt’s source for this set of teachings. It is possible that in this case he did not have a direct access to the proto-manuscript, but was using a copy of the text, also constituting the base of Pauernfeyndt’s edition.



Stemma codicum 1: Pieces with the buckler

2. Case study 2 – Pieces with the dagger

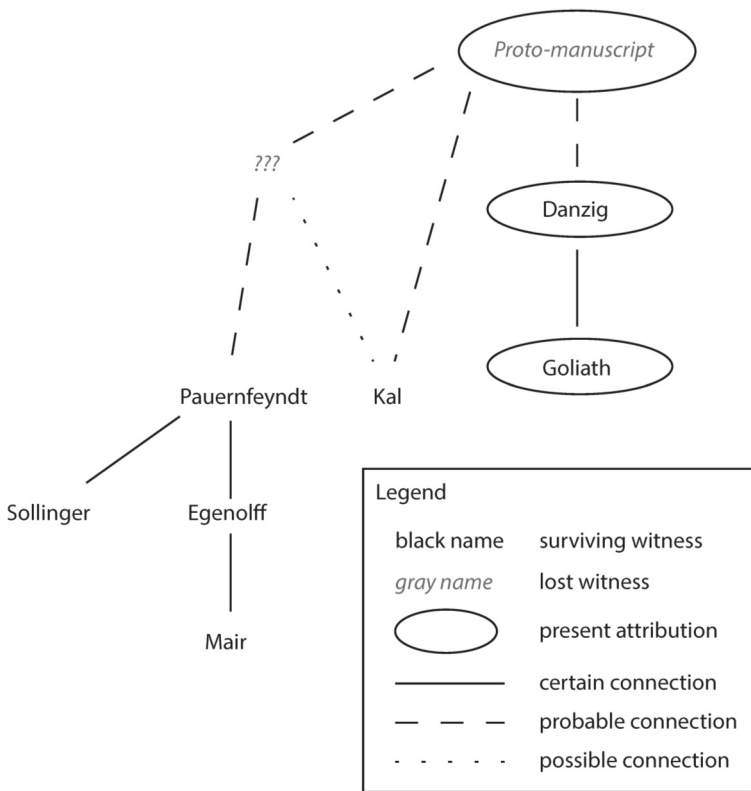
Pieces with the dagger are included in nine manuscripts: Danzig, Goliath, Kal, Pauernfeyndt, Egenolff, Sollinger and all three versions of Mair. For the analysis only the Dresden Ms C94 was chosen. Table 2 shows the selected differences between these manuscripts based on the textual analysis.

This tradition is attributed to Andreas Liegnitzer or Lintzinger in the Danzig group, and remains anonymous in all other sources. It consists of eight dagger pieces at the most, but only Kal, Danzig and Goliath include all of them. The remaining sources all miss the last piece.

Establishing the part of the stemma for the 16th century sources is relatively straightforward, even without knowing the publication dates. Pauernfeyndt prints the fourth piece twice, and the first case is missing the verse “*vnd truck mit deiner linke<e>n handt vnderfich*”. This mistake was most likely the reason for printing it again on the following page, this time within its entirety. However, all other sources contain the copy of the first version, without the verse. Similarly, he changes the text in several other places, including the removal of the phrase “wurf taus es oder sibene”, which he most likely did not understand, and exchanged with a simple “*wurf in*”, possibly changing the meaning.

Both Egenolff and Mair contain another change, “*vach*” into “*empfach*”. Even though it is a very minor change, the fact that both manuscripts contain it, it raises a high probability of Mair copying Egenolff. At the same time Sollinger seems like a verbatim copy of Pauernfeyndt, absent the repeated fourth technique, suggesting the direct relation.

When it comes to the 15th century sources, the situation is less clear. Goliath is clearly the copy of Danzig with a few minor mistakes and rewording. It is evident by the mistake in the fifth piece, where the direction is changed from “*von unden auf von deiner tencken seytn*” to “*von oben nider*”, most likely the copy of from the preceding verse. Both Kal and Pauernfeyndt contain the correct version of this piece. They also share one difference with Danzig – pulling “*vntersich*” versus “*hintersich*”. This minor change might point to Danzig, Kal and Pauernfeyndt sharing the same source, or its copy, since we clearly established in the buckler case, that Kal could not have been Pauernfeyndt’s source.



Stemma codicum 2: Pieces with the dagger

3. Case study 3 – Shortened sword from the four guards

Shortened sword from the four guards was included in ten manuscripts: Danzig, Goliath, Kal, Glasgow, Speyer, Rostock, Czynner, Lew, Wilhalm, and Mair. Table 3 shows the selected differences between them based on the textual analysis.

The teachings are attributed to Martein Hundtfeltz in Danzig, Hunczfeld in Kal, and various variants of Lew in Speyer, Meyer, Czynner, Lew and Wilhalm. Goliath, Glasgow and Mair leave them without attribution. They contain about 47 pieces of fighting in armour with a long sword held with the left hand by the middle of the blade. More importantly, they also show four guards of fighting in armour, all of which are identical to the ones presented by Johannes Liechtenauer, however with the order of guards number 2 and 3 exchanged.

Out of all the manuscripts, only the Glasgow version seems to be complete, including both the piece from the “obern hut” at the very end, present also in Danzig in the middle of the text, and both variants of “stichstu einem zu dem gesicht aus der

obern/vnntern hut”, which Danzig blends into one. Speyer, Rostock, Lew and Mair are missing the “obern hut” piece, Wilhalm an additional one, Czynner two more, while Kal and Goliath seem to end in the middle, with Goliath missing a few other pieces as well.

Perhaps the most interesting, and the most telling, is the inclusion by the author of the original Lew manuscript part of Liechtenauer’s *Epitome for Kampffechten* (duel to the bitter end): “Wer ab sinnet / fechten zu fus beginnet [...]”. While the analysis of this part is beyond the scope of this article, suffice it to say that Lew’s version differs significantly from the original, which can be found not only in Liechtenauer’s teachings present in the manuscripts outside of Lew’s copies, but also in the Meyer manuscript itself – albeit scrambled on the last pages¹². The omission of the “widerzuck das gesigt im an” in Lew and Wilhalm again strengthens their relationship, and is the direct evidence that the surviving Lew is likely only a copy of the original.

The original Lew most likely contained a few mistakes of its own that later propagated to all the copies. For example the “setz im an als vor” became “setz im an hals vor”, and later “setz im an hals”, to be deteriorated to the meaningless “mit dem shus hals an gesetzt” in Wilhalm, which is missing a few other words in this piece. The same can be the change from “wiltu einen aus dem kraiss zü füren an seinen danck” into much less sensible “wilstu einem ubersein danck im dein Kreiss umbfüren”. Other examples include omitting the part of the “auf die arm püg der vor gesatzten hant oder in die knyepüg des vodern fueß” which becomes the meaningless “auff die arm Bug des fordern fuss” and its later variations.

The case can also be made for the existence of the interim manuscript between the original Lew and the surviving Lew, which became the base for Czynner. In this manuscript some structural changes were introduced – the “Dunderslege”, “Niderwerffen”, “Ein verporgern stuck” and a few other section titles were added, and “Einbruch wider die ansetzung” was removed. Interestingly, this branch would contain the “heb das schwert” omitted in both Speyer and Meyer, which could point to the existence of yet another manuscript or to the coincidental omission on the part of both scribes.

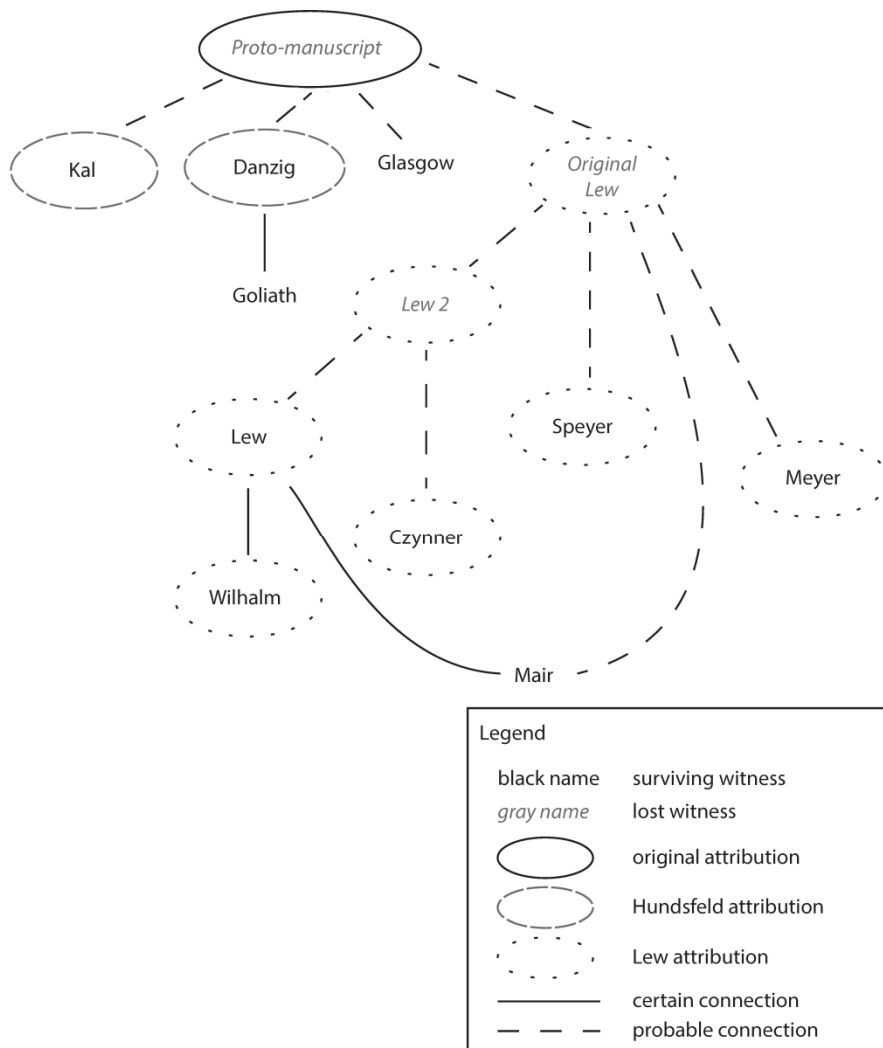
Mair seems to be mostly based on Lew, sharing his mistake of turning “ob er die hant hat” into “ob er die hanthab”, but also contains a few additions from Meyer, like the “Einbruch wider die ansetzung” section title and “in die hut”, suggesting that the author must have had access to more than one copy of Lew.

¹² Liechtenauer’s verses partially or entirely precede Shortened sword from the four guards in Lew, Czynner, Wilhalm, Speyer and Meyer. All these witnesses are part of the same branch of the stemmata. It’s worth noticing that in these cases no glosses are compiled, implying that the following set of teaching serves as the explanation of the verses instead. Comparing glosses with our text we can also find that they share not only the terminology but also a large part of the pieces. (Jaquet 2013:194–195).

Danzig most certainly stands as the root of its own small branch with Goliath copying all of his mistakes, notably the blending of two pieces together, or “mit der hanthab vber sein vorgesetzt hanthab”, which phrase had also several variations in other manuscripts, with the most frequent – and most likely correct – being “mit der hanthab über sein vorgesetzte hant”; and “sein lincke seiten [...] an der rechten seiten” which in most other manuscripts is presented as “an die rechten seiten [...] an die lincken seiten”. The only exception here is Kal, who curiously starts with Danzig’s version, but then moves to the other version in mid-sentence, resulting in the “ann die rechten seiten [...] an die rechten seitten [...] ann der tenckenn seytenn”.

Kal, as with all his content, is very careless, contains a lot of mistakes and omissions, and in this case is being woefully incomplete. However, he must have also had access to the original proto-manuscript or its copy, since he shares variants between Danzig and Lew.

Glasgow, even though the most complete, has a few mistakes of its own, including the nonsensical version of the “krais” phrase.



Stemma codicum 3: Shortened sword from the four guards

4. Case study 4 – Holding down and standing up in armour

Holding down and standing up in armour can be found in nine manuscripts: Danzig, Goliath, Kal, Speyer, Rostock, Czynner, Lew, Wilhalm, and Mair. Table 4 shows the selected differences between them based on the textual analysis.

The attribution for this set of teachings is mostly derived from the Shortened sword from the four guards, since it is always presented right afterwards. Only Danzig gives the direct attribution to Hundtfeltz. The teachings contain about 25 pieces for fighting on the ground, either as the attacker (“Unterhalten”), or the defendant (“Aufstehen”).

Danzig, Czynner, Lew and Meyer seem to contain all the pieces. Wilhalm and Mair are missing one right before the “Aufstehen” section, Speyer is missing one, Kal two, and Goliath about half of all, as if the work on the manuscript stopped before the remaining part was copied or as if the author decided to forego the rest altogether.

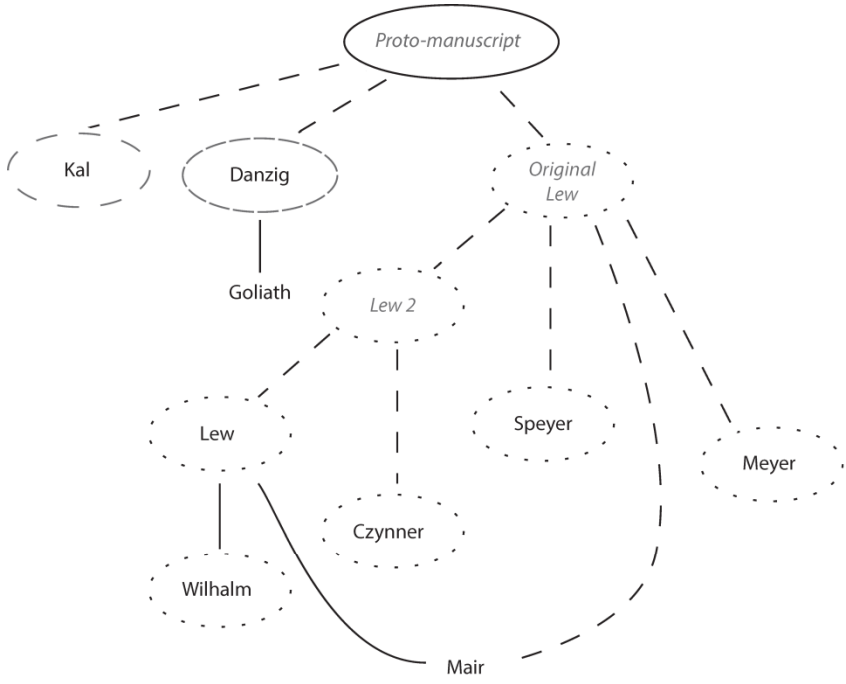
Apart from this, Goliath again proves to be the copy of Danzig with a few mistakes, and omissions. The missing piece before the “Aufstehen” section is coincidental, other differences show clearly that neither Wilhalm nor Mair could have been based on Goliath. Wilhalm is also most likely the copy of Lew with its own share of mistakes.

Meyer and Speyer seem to be more similar to Kal and Danzig’s versions, with the exception of Speyer being less complete. At the same time they both share the same differences such as “auf dein brust” becoming “auf sein brust”, and “vnder dem knie” becoming “hinder dem knie” or the introduction of the title of “Aufstehen” section, all of which propagate to the later copies. This suggests that they are both the copies of the original Lew manuscript. There are two minor discrepancies, like missing the words “hant” in “mit der lincken hant” or “degen” in “mit dem degen”, but these seem to be rather the mistakes of the Speyer’s scribe.

Czynner’s and Mair’s positions in the stemma is a bit harder to pinpoint. The hypothesis of the existence of the interim manuscript between the surviving and the original Lew seems to be confirmed by the changes shared by Czynner, Lew and Wilhalm, notably “vmb fach” becoming “vmb such” or “dein linck vchsen” – “sein linck vchsen”, corrected only by Wilhalm. It is, however, weak supportive evidence.

Similarly, Mair does contain the “zu seinem” mistake that Lew commits, which would again suggest Lew as the base manuscript, but he also corrects the “vmb fach” and “dein linck vchsen”, adds “dolch” in the “mit dem degen” phrase, and on top of it has the “arbeit” part in the “mit der lincken arbeit mit dem dolchen”, which is only present in Speyer. Therefore it is possible, that the “zu seinem” is a simple mistake that Mair made when he copied the original Lew manuscript. An alternative hypothesis, that he had access to at least two Lew’s manuscripts is also possible.

Kal, obviously separate from the two, judging by the fact that he shares the modifications present in either Danzig or Lew, and contains its own mistakes and omissions, can often help to decide which version is closer to the original. However, as in the previous case, it is highly likely, that he had an access to the original manuscript, or its distinct copy.



Legend	
black name	surviving witness
<i>gray name</i>	lost witness
	original attribution
	Hundsfeld attribution
	implied Hundsfeld attribution
	implied Lew attribution
	certain connection
	probable connection

Stemma codicum 4: Holding down and standing up in armour

5. Case study 5 – Shortened sword for armoured hand

Shortened sword for armoured hand is present in eight manuscripts: Danzig, Goliath, Speyer, Meyer, Czynner, Lew, Wilhalm, and Mair. Table 5 shows the selected differences between these manuscripts based on the textual analysis.

Unlike the other cases, this one consists essentially of only two competing sources – Danzig and Lew – and establishing the text of the original version is at times impossible. For the same reason it is hard to come up with clear and strong evidence regarding the attribution. It was however chosen because it adds an interesting nuance to the Lew's side of the stemma.

These teachings are attributed to Andreas Liegnitzer or Lintzinger in Danzig and Goliath, and to Hundsfelder or Hunzvelz in the rest of the manuscripts. Only Mair, as is his custom, leaves it without any attribution. Speyer's version ends before the section dealing with "Mortslag", and is missing one other piece, Goliath is also incomplete, and Wilhalm is missing one counter against the "Ansetzen". The text is complete in other manuscripts.

The teachings contain about 45 pieces for fighting in armour using long sword held with the left hand by the middle of the blade. They are divided into several sections including the three pieces with their counters, six "Reissen" and "Mortslege".

As with other cases, Goliath seems to be a straightforward copy of Danzig with a few omissions, mistakes and a single addition of an alternative, simple counter to the fifth "Reissen". Danzig stands on its own, perhaps only missing the repetition of "durch" in the "stich vnder durch durch sein swert", but this sentence seems to have been misread in other manuscripts as well, and can be easily attributed to a scribal error. Interestingly, while Meyer, Speyer and Lew do contain the repetition, Czynner does not. There are reasons, however, to believe, that generally Danzig's text is the closest to the original. The best example is perhaps the third "Reissen", and its counter, where "pey dem lincken arspacken" in Danzig becomes "in syn peyde ars backen" in Speyer (Meyer is unfortunately missing this line), and "in pey seynem arschpacken" in Lew, Czynner, Wilhalm and Mair, only to be proven incorrect by the mention of "pey dem lincken arsbacken" in the counter in all the manuscripts. Similarly, the "hinter seins links" was converted to "vber seins links" in Meyer, Czynner, Lew, Wilhalm and Mair (but not in Speyer) to which attests the stricken through "h" in Wilhalm, where the scribe probably thought that "hinter" is the most natural word to be used in this instance, and only after he started writing, he noticed that the text actually says something else.

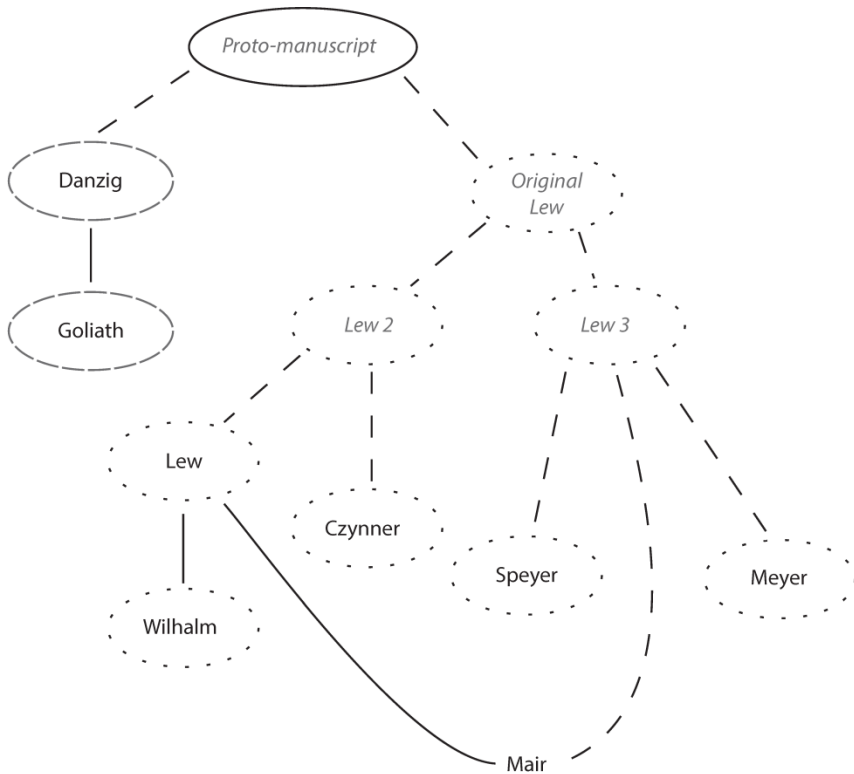
Another phrase that must have been easily misread in the original manuscript was "greyf froliche vnd pleyb nahent", which Danzig has as "greyf fährlich", Speyer as "pleyb sollichen vnd griff nohenn", and Meyer and Wilhalm as a variation of "bleib frohlich vnd greif nahendt". This inversion of "pleyb" and "greif" is intriguing, and with the "hauw von dir dan" (Speyer), or "hart von dir dan" (Meyer and Mair) addition, changing "hinter" for "vnter" in two places but not in case of "hinten vber sein shulter"

might suggest the possibility of Speyer and Meyer being based not directly on the original Jud Lew manuscript, but on yet another copy of the original.

Also, the progression of changes seems to confirm the existence of another manuscript between the original Lew, and the surviving Lew, upon which Czynner's work was based. Danzig's "als du ym aber inwendig zu seinem gesicht stechen" becomes "als du ym aber zu seinem gesicht stechen" in Speyer, Meyer and Czynner, and finally changes to "als du Im zu gesicht stechen" in Lew, Wilhalm and Mair, and similarly with "vorigen", becoming "vorgenanten" or "mit deiner recht hand" – "mit seiner recht hand" in Lew. However, the two most compelling examples are the fourth "Mortslag" with its counter, where the Danzig's and Meyer's "knyepüg" becomes "kinpack" in Czynner and Lew, and remains as such even in Mair; and the very last piece, where "wider" becomes "vber", but in the end is corrected by Mair.

Again, it is evident that Mair must have had access to at least two manuscripts, and even though the surviving Lew seems to have been the base of his copy, he sometimes cross-checked it with the other manuscript, and tried to correct some mistakes – although with mixed success.

It is with some reluctance that we propose the introduction of these as yet unconfirmed copies of Lew. While there exists a very remote possibility of scribes similarly misreading the original text, the number and the types of mistakes seem to go beyond a simple coincidence.



Legend	
black name	surviving witness
gray name	lost witness
	original attribution
	Liegnitzer attribution
	Hundsfeld attribution
	certain connection
	probable connection

Stemma codicum 5: Shortened sword for armoured hand

III. CONCLUSIONS

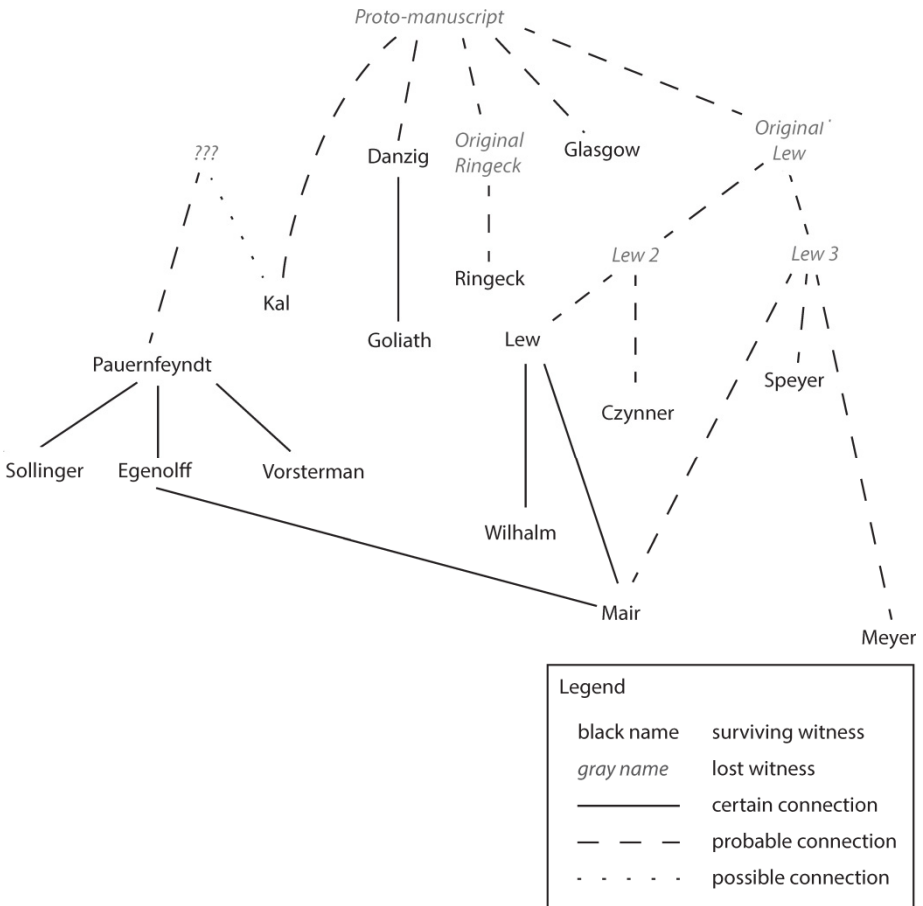
There can be no doubt that the examined teachings originated from a single manuscript, and were not transposed from an oral tradition. While we do not want to speculate how various masters gained access to the proto-manuscript at roughly the same time, we consider the implications of this statement significant, and hope that future research will shine more light on this issue.

From the analysis and proposed stemmata it is clear, that the Liegnitzer/Hundsfield attribution is confirmed by at least three independent sources – Glasgow, Kal, Danzig – while Hundsfield/Lew can be reliably traced back to a single, now missing, manuscript, most likely authored or commissioned by Jud Lew. Therefore, until some new evidence emerges, it seems only prudent to consider the Liegnitzer/Hundsfield attribution as the one made in the original proto-manuscript from which all other manuscripts were copied.

At the same time, the fact of copying these techniques verbatim for over a century is disconcerting. Compared to most certainly alive and changing lore of the unarmoured longsword combat, the fact of duplicating sometimes obvious errors and mistakes might point to the limited use that these teachings enjoyed even shortly after conception – the sole exception being Goliath's additions to Liegnitzer's Wrestling. Similarly, more research is needed in this area.

Additionally, we attempted to compile a stemma containing all the witnesses. With the exception of Mair nothing seems to indicate that any of the compilers obtained the whole of analysed material from more than a single predecessor, even if only part of it was copied or the attribution was changed or omitted. This conclusion does not hold true for other teachings contained in the analysed compendia¹³, and it confirms the special place that Liegnitzer and Hundsfield occupy in the so-called Liechtenauer's tradition.

¹³ Two great examples are the pole weapons section shared in Goliath, Pauernfeyndt, Egenolff and Sollinger, or Martin Siber's longsword teachings present in Glasgow, Speyer and Meyer.



Stemma codicum 6: Compiled stemma of analysed traditions

Aside from the proto-manuscript, we suggest the existence of at least two, and quite possibly three unknown manuscripts containing material originated by Jud Lew, one of which seems to have been owned by Paulus Hector Mair at some point¹⁴. We also stipulate that there could have been another source, which Pauernfeyndt and possibly Kal based their versions of Pieces with the dagger and Pieces with the buckler. Further research is needed to verify these hypotheses.

¹⁴ About the collection of Paulus Hector Mair, including more than 1000 books, several arms and armours and works of art, see Mauer (2000). He did not however undertake further research for his Fightbook's collection, referring to Hils study for that matter (Hils 1985:197-201). We know at least that he owned Lew's version (Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. I.6.4^o.3) and Egenolff's book. Further research is needed to clarify that issue, but it appears clear that his productions were not only sourced out of the latter two witnesses.

Finally, we emphasise that it is not possible to ascertain the provenance of any tradition or set of teachings in any Fightbook on the basis of another tradition present therein. To fully understand the progress of transmission and accumulation of the martial knowledge it is vital to execute similarly thorough analyses for each tradition separately. Also, not all teachings were copied in their entirety: some were assimilated into other traditions – partially copied, re-ordered or modified – or have been transposed from text to image as examined by Welle (1993:50-89) for the Ott's wrestling case. Therefore similar or affiliated content can be found in seemingly unrelated manuscripts¹⁵, or even in sections dealing with completely different weapons¹⁶. These traces should also be examined and analysed. Only then we can hope to get a glimpse of the whole picture of the complicated network of relationships that ties the Fightbooks and their authorship together. Moreover, this approach would highlight the specificities and the richness of this corpus compared to other pragmatic literacy of the period for the study of technical knowledge transmission.

¹⁵ There is a great similarity between the fifth *Reisen* in the Shortened sword for the armoured hand and an illustrated set of three pieces in the *Gladiatoria* (Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, ms. germ. 16, fols. 22rv, 23r).

¹⁶ Two examples are: the relationship between long shield and baton pieces in the *Gladiatoria* (Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, ms. germ. 16, fols. 52r-54r) and Pieces with the buckler, and a number of unarmoured longsword teachings in *Pauernfeyndt* and his followers which borrow the content directly from the Shortened sword from the four guards or from Liechtenauer's glosses (see table 6).

Table 1: Pieces with the buckler

Ringeck's version is considered as archetype for this table. The foliation and transcription on the left column refers to the latter. The discriminatory lessons marked with {} are highlighted on the table with correspondence marked with the plus sign (“+”) (disregarding linguistic changes), absence marked with the minus sign (“-”) and variants are transcribed according to the versions. Grey cells indicate missing pieces.

	Ringeck	Danzig	Lew	Glasgow	Kal
Attribution	-	Lignitzer	-	Lignitzer	-
Number of pieces	6	6	3	6	5

Ringeck (archetype)	Danzig	Lew	Glasgow	Kal
[54r, erst stück] {dz gät zu vo<n> bāyden sýtten}	-	+	+	+
[54r, ander stuck]wenn er dir oben eyn haw ^o t {von siner rechten achseln}	-	+	+	von seiner rechtn seytenn
[55r, funfft stuck] vß dem {stürczhaw ^o }	+		+	+
[55r, funfft stuck] stich im inwendig sines schilts {zû de<m> lÿbe}	-		+	+
[55r, funfft stuck] stich im inwendig sines {schilts} zû de<m> lÿbe	+		+	gehiltz
[55v, sechst stuck] vnd wind gegen im {alß mitt dem halben schwert}	+		+	als dw wol waist

Wilhalm	Czynner	Meyer	Pauernfeindt	Egenolph	Sollinger
-	-	-	-	-	-
3	6	6	6	6	6

Wilhalm	Czynner	Meyer	Pauernfeindt	Egenolph	Sollinger
+	+	+	+	+	+
+	+	+	+	+	+
	+	+	schilhav	schilhaw ^o	schilthauw
	+	-	+	+	+
	+	+	ghiltz	gsichts	gehilz
	+	von unten aüf gegenn im	-	-	-

Table 2: Pieces with the dagger

Danzig's version is considered as archetype for this table. The foliation and transcription on the left column refers to the latter. The discriminatory lessons marked with {} are highlighted on the table with correspondence marked with the plus sign (“+”) (disregarding linguistic changes), absence marked with the minus sign (“-”) and variants are transcribed according to the versions. Grey cells indicate missing pieces.

	Danzig	Goliath	Kal	Pauernfeindt	Egenolph	Mair	Sollinger
Attribution	Lignitzer	Lintzinger	-	-	-	-	-
Number of pieces	8	8	8	7	7	7	7

Danzig (archetype)	Goliath	Kal	Pauernfeindt	Egenolph	Mair	Sollinger
[85r, erst stuck] So var mit deine<m> denck<e>n arm<en> {von vnden auff}	+	+	-	-	-	-
[85r, erst stuck] {vach} den stich in deinen arm<en>	+	+	ferfar	empfach	emfach	verfar
[85r, dritt stuck] setz ym {mit deine<m> degen} an	+	+	-	-	-	-
[85v, viert stuck]{ druck mit deiner dencken hant vndersich}	+	+	-	-	-	-
[85v, fünfft stuck] stich dw {von oben nÿder} gegen seine<n> stich	+	von vnden auff	von vnd<e>n auff	vnden auff	vnnden auff	von vnnden auff
[85v, fünfft stuck] greiff denn mit deiner dencken hant vnder deiner rechten hant In dein {degen} klingen	+	+	-	-	-	-
[85v, fünfft stuck] druck deinen arm<en> vast zw°samen	+	+	truck dein arm<en> vest czu seinen	truck dein arm vest zu seinen	truckh dein arm vest zu seinen	truckk deinem arm veest zu dem seinen
[85v, fünfft stuck] ruck yn vast hinder sich	+	druck in vast vndersich	ruck vndersich	ruck vndersich	rvck vndersich	rvck vnndersich
[85v, fünfft stuck] Das ist das {verschliessen}	+	+	verliesen	verliesen	verliesen	verliessen
[86r, sechst stuck] würf tauß es oder sibene	+	+	wirft in	wirff ihn	wirff in	wirff inn
[86r, acht stuck] mach den {sparren}	+	spannen				

Table 3: Shortened sword from the four guards

Danzig's version is considered as archetype for this table. The foliation and transcription on the left column refers to the latter. For absent variants in Danzig, first Lew's, then Speyer's, and finally Rostock's version would serve as archetype (foliation preceding). The discriminatory lessons marked with {} are highlighted on the table with correspondence marked with the plus sign (“+”) (disregarding linguistic changes), absence marked with the minus sign (“-”) and variants are transcribed according to the versions. Grey cells indicate missing pieces.

	Danzig	Goliath	Kal	Glasgow	Speyer	Meyer	Czynner	Lew	Wilhalm	Mair
Attribution	Hundtfeltz	-	Hunczfeld	-	Lüwen	Leben	Lewen	Lewen	Lwn	-
Number of pieces	48 (1 divided)	25	32	47	46	46	44	46	45	46
Liechtenauer's verses					preceding					

Danzig (archetype1)	Goliath	Kal	Glasgow	Speyer (archetype3)	Meyer (archetype4)	Czynner	Lew (archetype2)	Wilhalm	Mair
				[130r]{zueck das gesicht ym ann}	+	+	-	-	+
als	aiß	als	als	+	+	+	[54v, erst hut] setze Im an {hals} vor	+	+
-	-	-	-	-	-	+	[55r] {dunderlege}	+	+
[87v, ein anders] {oder in die knjēpüg}	+	+	material gap	-	-	-	-	-	-
	-	-	-	-	-	+	[55v] ein v<er>porgen stück	+	+
[87v] merck {einen aus dem kraiß zū füren an seinen danck}	+	wild dw ainem aus aus [sic] dem chrais vnder seinen danck farenn	auß eine<n> kraiß vber seine<n> kreyß vber sein danck	wiltu eynenn vber danck in dem kreiß vmb fürenn	wiltü einenn vber sin danck aus dein kreiss vmbfürenn	wyltu eynen uber seyn danckk in dem kreys umfyren	wiltu einen über sein danck Im kreiß vmb füren	wiltü ainen yber sain dannckh im kraiß vmbfiernn	wiltu Ainnen vber seinn dannckh Im Kraiß vmb fieren
[87v, ibid.] {heb daz swert} mit der hant vber sich	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
[87v, ibid.] {wisse} das ist güt vnd auch ver porgen	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-

Danzig (archetype1)	Goliath	Kal	Glasgow	Speyer (archetype3)	Meyer (archetype4)	Czynner	Lew (archetype2)	Wilhelm	Mair
-	-	+	+	+	+	+	[56v, die and<er> hut] Sticht er dir oben zu es sej zum gesicht oder wo es ist {das soltu weren} vnd setze Im den stich	+	+
[88r, ander hüt] setz ab zwischen deinen {zwaien} henden	zwaien	zwaien	zweyen	byden	beiden		baiden	baiden	baid
[88r, pruch] var vber mit der {hanthab} vber sein vor gesatzteu {hanthab}	+	hant/hant	hanthab/hant	hant/hant	[?]/-	+	hanthab/hant	hant/hant	hanthab/hant
[88r, prich das] stos Im das swert {hinder} ruck	+	vber	+	in den	in den	in den	in den	in den	in den
-	-	-	-	-	[60r, item felt er] vnd gelegt auf das knie {in die Hut}	-	-	-	+
[88v, vierd hüt] {vnd wil er denn zú dir mit slegen vnd mit dem knopf arbaitten so volg Im nach mit nach raisen vnd lass In nicht ab} kómen	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-

Danzig (archetype1)	Goliath	Kal	Glasgow	Speyer (archetype3)	Meyer (archetype4)	Czynner	Lew (archetype2)	Wilhelm	Mair
-	-	-	+	+	+	material gap	[59r, vierd hut] merck alles das du wilt ansetzen das setze an das gesicht oder an den trüssel oder an die lincken achsel oder vntten an die üchsen {vnd albeg vntter die rechten üchsen} vnd dring In also	+	+
[89r, an setzen] merck eben setzstu Im an an [sic] sein {lincke} seiten so tritt ab mit dem lincken fuess Oder setzstu Im an an [sic] der {rechten} seiten so tritt ab mit dem rechten fuess	L/R	R/R/L (corrected)	R/L	R/L	R/L	R/L	R/L	R/L	R/L
-	-	-	-	+	+	-	[60v] Ein pruch wider die ansetzung	-	+
vnd druck das swert mit dem knopf nider	vnd drückh daß schwert mit dem knopf nider	+	vnd dürlich das swerdt vñ durch den knopff nider	vnd druck dz swert vnd den knopff nyder	+		[60r] stich In über sein vorgesetzte hant {vnd durch das swert vnd truck den knopff nider} zu der erden vnd durch das swert / truck	od<er> wo daß sein daß prich truckh vnd den knopff	Vnd truck dz schwert truckh den knopf nider
[89v] ob er die {hant hat} vmb gewant auf der klingen	+	+	+	+	+	+	hanthab	handt hab	hanndthab

Danzig (archetype1)	Goliath	Kal	Glasgow	Speyer (archetype3)	Meyer (archetype4)	Czynner	Lew (archetype2)	Wilhalm	Mair
-			+	+	+	+	[61r] stich mit der rechten hant krefftigliche<n> {hinden zu}	+	+
[90v] leit Im den ort [...] oder vnder {sein} lincks vchsen			die						
-			+	+	+	+	[62r] Vnd felt er dir In dein swert {als vorgeschrieben stet} mit seiner lincken hant vor deiner lincken	+	+
Item wisse das alle ober<e>n auf an setzen [...] dring also fur dich mit sterck [the two pieces are contracted into one]			+	+	+	+	[62r] {Item wisß das alle ober ansetzu<n>g prechen [...] vnd setze Im an etc.}	+	+

Table 4: Holding down and standing up in armour

Danzig's version is considered as archetype for this table. The foliation and transcription on the left column refers to the latter. For absent variants in Danzig, Lew's version would serve as archetype (foliation preceding). The discriminatory lessons marked with {} are highlighted on the table with correspondence marked with the plus sign ("+") (disregarding linguistic changes), absence marked with the minus sign ("-") and variants are transcribed according to the versions. Grey cells indicate missing pieces.

	Danzig	Goliath	Kal	Speyer	Meyer	Czynner	Lew	Wilhalm	Mair
Attribution	Hundtfeltz	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Number of pieces	25	16	23	24	25	25	25	24	24

Danzig (archetype 1)	Goliath	Kal	Speyer	Meyer	Czynner	Lew (archetype 2)	Wilhalm	Mair
-	-	-	+	+	-	[64r] Vnd greiffe nach seinem degen vnd zeuch deinen {degen} nicht du habst In denn gewiß	+	+
-	-	-	+	+	+	[64r] Will er dir dann In dein degen fallen so stich Im zu der hant {vnd ruck nicht wider etc.}	+	+
[91r] halt deine pain fest {zû sa<m>men}	+	+	+	+	+	zu seinen	zu	zu seinnem
[91r] nÿm sein haubt vnder {dein} links vchsen	sein	+	+	+	sein	sein	+	+
[91r] vmb {vach} in mit dem hals	+	+	+	+	such	such	such	+
[91r] leg dich mit dem leib oben {vber} sein antiütz	+	vnter	vnter	vnter	vnter	vntter	vnder	vntern

Danzig (archetype 1)	Goliath	Kal	Speyer	Meyer	Czynner	Lew (archetype 2)	Wilhelm	Mair
[91v] arbeit mit der rechten {mit dem deggen}	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+
-	-	+	-	+	+	[65r] so falle mit deinem lincken knie In sein rechten arm vnd mit der lincken {hant} für sein hals	+	+
[91v] {arbeit mit der anderñ mit dem degen}	+	+	mit der andern arbeit mit dem degen	mit der lincken an der mitt dem degen	mit der lincken ander mit dem tegen	mit der lincken an der mit dem degen	mit dem linggen an degen	mit der lincken arbeit mit dem dolchen
[92r] {Item sein rechte hant auf dem ruck wol vber sich gedaucht}	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
-	-	-	+	+	+	[67r] Die aufsteen Im kampf	+	+
[92r] schlach mit dein° lincken hant an sein lincke oder mit der rechten {auf sein rechte}	+	+	auf sein rechte hant	auf sein rechte hant	auf sein rechte hant	auf sein rechte hant	an sein rechte	auf sein rechte hant
[92r] leg dein lincke hant auf {dein} prust	+	+	sin	sein	sein	sein	sein	die
[92v] begreif sein rechts pain {vnder} dem knye		+	hinder	hinter	hinter	hintter	hinder	hinder
[92v] begreif sein rechts pain vnder dem knye {...}		vndd wurff in nyder	vnd wurff yn	+	+	vnd würffe In	+	+

Danzig (archetype 1)	Goliath	Kal	Speyer	Meyer	Czynner	Lew (archetype 2)	Wilhelm	Mair
-		-	+	+	+	[69r] Wann es kottig oder {staubig} ist würffe Im das visir voller staubs	+	+
[93r] {vindestu ein gurtel die schneid auch auf}		+	-	-	-	-	-	-
-		+	+	+	+	[69v] vnde sich gar eben auf sein degen {das er dir damit nit schade}	+	+

Table 5: Shortened sword for armoured hand

Danzig's version is considered as archetype for this table. The foliation and transcription on the left column refers to the latter. For absent variants in Danzig, Speyer's version would serve as archetype (foliation preceding). The discriminatory lessons marked with {} are highlighted on the table with correspondence marked with the plus sign (“+”) (disregarding linguistic changes), absence marked with the minus sign (“-”) and variants are transcribed according to the versions. Grey cells indicate missing pieces.

	Danzig	Goliath	Speyer	Meyer	Czynner	Lew	Wilhalm	Mair
Attribution	Lignitzer	Lintzinger	Hundsfelder	Hunzvelz	Hundtfelder	Hundsfelder	Hundsfelder	-
Number of pieces	45	39	28	45	40	45	44	45

Danzig (archetype 1)	Goliath	Speyer (archetype 2)	Meyer	Czynner	Lew	Wilhalm	Mair
[73r] Doch kum vor piß rasch {greif färlich vnd pleib nahent}	+	pleyb sollichenn vnd griff nohenn	bleib fröhlich vnnd greif nahendt	+	+	pleib fröhlich und biß im nahend	+
[73r, erst stuck] spring mit dem rechten pain {hinder} sein links	+	+	vber	vber	uber	h vber	vber
[73r] So var mit der lincken hant von vnden auf zwischen seinen paiden arm<en> {vnd begreif yn pey seine<n> rechten arm<en>}	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
[73v, ein pruch] greiff {hinder} sein rechte hant an das pint		vnter	vnter	+	+	+	+
[73v, ander stuck] als du ym {aber} Inwendig zw seinem gesicht wöllest stechen		+	+	-		-	-

Danzig (archetype 1)	Goliath	Speyer (archetype 2)	Meyer	Czynner	Lew	Wilhelm	Mair
[73r] wind mit dem knopf von vnden auf {zwischen sein paide arm<en>} vnd wind mit deine<n> knopf von vnden auf vber sein lincke hant	+	zwischen	+	+	-	-	+
[74v, widerpruch] würf yn auf das [maul]	+	antlutz	anntlitz	antlitz	antlütz	antlitz	antlitz
[74v, vierd stuck] So {sich eben} auf sein swert	stich oben	gang oben	gehe eben	gang uben	gang eben	ganig oben	gangg eben
-	-	[138v] stos yn mit der clingenn in sin lincke site<n> {haulb von dir dan}	hart von dir dan	-	-	-	hart von dir danne
[75r, ander reyssen] spring mit deinem rechten pain {hinder} sein links	+	under	vnter	+	+	+	+
[75r, dritt reyßen] greiff in mit deiner rechten hant yn {pey seine<n>} lincken arspacken	+	sÿn peyde	- [the whole sentence]	seynem	seinem	sein	seinem
[75v, widerpruch] dich mit seiner rechten hant pey {dem} lincken arspacken hat	+	+	+	+	+	dein	+
[76r, sechst reissen] greiff mit {deiner} rechten hannt von vnden auf in sein rechte vchsen	+	+	+	+	seiner	seiner	seinner

Danzig (archetype 1)	Goliath	Speyer (archetype 2)	Meyer	Czynner	Lew	Wilhelm	Mair
-	-	[139r, fünfft reysen] So stich vn̄te<n> durch {durch} sin swert auff sin rechte sitenn	+	-	+	- [whole sentence missing]	-
[76v, aber ein stuck] würf In vber dein {diech}	+	rueck	+	+	+	rug	+
[76v, widerpruch] greif mit deiner lincken hant {hinden} vber sein schulter	+	+	+	-	-	-	+
[78v, dritt mortschlagk] als dw die {vorigen} zwen geprochen hast	+		+	+	vor- genanntten	- [whole sentence missing]	vor- genam- met
[78v, viert mortschlagk] slach in mit dem knopf an sein lincke {kn̄ep̄üg}	+		+	kynpack	kinpack	kinpackh	kinpacken
[79v, wider pruch] begreif dein swert {wider} pey der clingen			+	vber	uber	vber	+

Table 6: General table with authorial attribution and reference to the texts (incl. incipit).

Manuscripts/prints are listed chronologically. The texts titles are translated from the rubric and the incipit are transcribed from Danzig's version, except for the last one which is transcribed from Lew. The names of ascribed authors are transcribed from each ms/print and references to folia are added below. In the left column there is the name within square brackets used to refer to the witness in our paper, followed by the library reference.

For the three manuscripts attributed to Paulus Hector Mair, only one was taken in account for our study. Latin (Mair) and French (Vorsterman) translations are referenced in this table, but were not analysed, since our study focused on German texts. For the two prints, foliation was used instead of pagination. The siglum * (Pauernfeindt, Egenolff, Vorsterman, Sollinger) marks cases where some of the pieces within those sections influenced or were copied to a different set of teachings (see Jaquet 2013: 231-233 and 250-252). The same observations could be made on other sections compiled in Mair, Wilhalm, Czynner and Liechtenauer's Glosses, but this lies outside the scope of our paper.

Manuscript and print/Text	Shortened sword from the four guards Incipit: <i>Merck das ist die erst hüt Nym das swert in paid hend vnd schüt das krefftigleich vnd kum in den hangenden ort zw dem rechten ör </i>	Holding down and standing up in armour Incipit: <i>Merck wenn er felt so fall Im albeg zü der rechten seitten vnd mit dem rechten knyfe fall zwischen sein pain </i>	Dagger Incipit: <i>Merck wenn dir ein° zü sticht mit dem degen vnden zü dem leib vnd hat den degen gefast das die schein vorn<e> an der hant stet</i>	On horseback with the lance and with the sword Incipit: <i>Zü ross streiten lere von paiden seitten dar nach wisse den roß guten gewisse auch merck die seitten do du auf vortail</i>
[Danzig] Peter von Danzig (1452) Roma, Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana Codex 44.A.8	<i>Marteins Hundtfeltz</i> 87r-90v	<i>Marteins hundtfeltz</i> 90v-93r	<i>Martein Hundtfeltz</i> 94r-96v	<i>Martein huntfeltz</i> 97v-100r
[Lew] Jud Lew (ca. 1450) Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek Codex I.6.4°.3	<i>Meister lew</i> 54r-63v	Anonymous [Meister Lew] 64r-70r		Anonymous 123v-124r (blank pages following)
[Kal] Paulus Kal (1460-1480) Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum MS KK5126	<i>Maister marteins hunczfeld</i> 124v-125v	Anonymous [<i>marteins hunczfeld</i>] 125v-126r		<i>Maister Marteins hunczfeld</i> 126r-127v
[Speyer] Hans von Speyer (1491) Salzburg, Universitätsbibliothek MS M.I.29	<i>Meinster lülben</i> 130r-134v	Anonymous [<i>meinster lülben</i>] 134v-136v		
[Ringeck] Sigmund Schining ein Ringeck (1504-1519) Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek Manuscripti Dresden C487				

<p>Shortened sword for armoured hand Incipit: Item nym das swert mit der rechten hant pey dem pint vnd mit der lincken greif mitten in die klingen</p>	<p>Pieces with the buckler Incipit: Das erst stuck mit dem pucklär aus dem oberhaw Merck wenn dw den oberhaw treibst zw dem mann </p>	<p>Pieces with the dagger Incipit: Merck das erst stuck mit dem degen Sticht er dir von oben nyder zw deine<n> gesicht oder der prust</p>	<p>Wrestling Incipit : Item das erst ringen hat er dich pey den armen gefast vnd du in wider So tracht das dw mit deiner rechten lincken hant Inwendig</p>	<p>On horseback with knightly weapons Incipit: JAgen von der prust zu seiner rechten hant / Vmb ker mit dem Rosß Czeuch sein rechte hant mit dein<en> lincken /</p>
<p>Maister Andres genant der lignitzer 73r-79r</p>	<p>Andre lignitzer 80rv</p>	<p>Andre lignitzer 85r-86r</p>	<p>Andre lignitzer 81r-84v</p>	
<p>Meister mertein hundsfelder 70r-83v</p>	<p>Anonymous [mertein hundsfelder] 84rv</p>			<p>Juden den nant den lewen [Liechtenauer Glosa] 95r-123r</p>
	<p>Anonymous 127v</p>	<p>Anonymous 127v-128r</p>		
<p>Meinster mertein hundsfelder 137r-141r</p>				
	<p>Anonymous 54r-55v</p>			

Manuscript and print/Text	Shortened sword from the four guards Incipit: <i>Merck das ist die erst hüt Nym das swert in paid hend vnd schüt das krefftgleich vnd kum in den hangenden ort zw dem rechten ör </i>	Holding down and standing up in armour Incipit: <i>Merck wenn er felt so fall Im albeg zü der rechten seitten vnd mit dem rechten knyfe fall zwischen sein pain </i>	Dagger Incipit: <i>Merck wenn dir ein° zü sticht mit dem degen vnden zü dem leib vnd hat den degen gefast das die schein vorn<e> an der hant stet</i>	On horseback with the lance and with the sword Incipit: <i>Zü ross streiten lere von paiden seitten dar nach wisse den roß guten gewisse auch merck die seitten do du auf vortail</i>
[Glasgow] Anonymous (1508) Glasgow, Glasgow Museums MS E.1939.65.341	<i>Maister Merteins hünz feldes</i> 100v-104v		Anonymous 95v-97v	
[Goliath] Anonymous (1510-1520) Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska MS Germ. Quart. 2020	Anonymous 272r-277r	Anonymous 277r-281v	Anonymous [<i>Maister Anndreß Lintzing erß</i>] 95v-97v	Anonymous 192v-196r
[Pauernfeyndt] Andre Pauernfeindt, <i>Ergründung Ritterlicher Kunst des Fechterey</i> , Wien, Hieronymus Vietor, 1516	* (partial) Anonymous 13r, 19rv			
[Egenolff] Anonymous, <i>Der Alten Fechter anfengliche kunst</i> , Frankfuhr am Main, Christian Egenolff, 1530.	* (partial) Anonymous 10rv, 13rv	* (partial) Anonymous 12r		
[Czynner] Hans Czynner (1538) Graz, Universitätsbibliothek Karl-Franzens MS 963	<i>meyster Lewen</i> 74v-78v	Anonymous [<i>meyster Lewen</i>] 78v-81r		

<p>Shortened sword for armoured hand Incipit: Item nÿm das swert mit der rechten hant peÿ dem pint vnd mit der lincken greif mitten in die klingen</p>	<p>Pieces with the buckler Incipit: Das erst stuck mit dem pucklär aus dem oberhaw Merck wenn dw den oberhaw treibst zw dem mann </p>	<p>Pieces with the dagger Incipit: Merck das erst stuck mit dem degen Sticht er dir von oben nyder zw deine<n> gesicht oder der prust</p>	<p>Wrestling Incipit : Item das erst ringen hat er dich peÿ den armen gefast vnd du in wider So tracht das dw mit deiner rechten lincken hant Inwendig</p>	<p>On horseback with knightly weapons Incipit: JAgen von der prust zu seiner rechten hant / Vmb ker mit dem Rosß Czeuch sein rechte hant mit dein<en> lincken /</p>
	<p>Maister andre lignizer 105rv</p>			
<p>Maister anndre lintzingerß 252v-271r</p>		<p>Maister Anndreß Lintzing erß 98r-102v</p>	<p>Mayster Andres Lintzingerß 148v-157r</p>	
<p>* (partial) Anonymous 21r-25r</p>	<p>Anonymous 38rv</p>	<p>Anonymous 39r-40r</p>		
<p>* (partial) Anonymous 13v-16v</p>	<p>Anonymous 33v-34r</p>	<p>Anonymous 34r-37v</p>		
<p>Anonymous [meyster Lewen] 83r-87vr [Merteyn Hundtfelder mentioned 83r, possibly mixed up page order]</p>	<p>Anonymous [Merteyn Hundtfelder] 88r-89r</p>			

Manuscript and print/Text	Shortened sword from the four guards Incipit: Merck das ist die erst hüt Nym das swert in paid hend vnd schüt das krefftgleich vnd kum in den hangenden ort zw dem rechten ör	Holding down and standing up in armour Incipit: Merck wenn er felt so fall Im albeg zü der rechten seitten vnd mit dem rechten knyfe fall zwischen sein pain	Dagger Incipit: Merck wenn dir ein° zü sticht mit dem degen vnden zü dem leib vnd hat den degen gefast das die schein vorn<e> an der hant stet	On horseback with the lance and with the sword Incipit: Zü ross streiten lere von paiden seitten dar nach wisse den roß guten gewisse auch merck die seitten do du auf vortail
[Vorsterman] Anonymous, La noble science des loueurs Despee, Antwerp, Guillaume Vorsterman, 1538.	* (partial) Anonymous 10v, 17v	* (partial) Anonymous 15v		
Paulus Hector Mair (<1542) Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Codex 10825/10826	Anonymous Vol. 2 266r-270v latin: 275v-276v	Anonymous Vol. 2 271r-273v latin: 276v-277r		
[Mair] Paulus Hector Mair (<1542) Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek Manuscripti Dresden C93/C94	Anonymous C94 254r-262r	Anonymous C94 262r-266r		
Paulus Hector Mair (ca.1550) München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Cod. Icon. 393	Anonymous vol. 2 294v-299v	Anonymous vol. 2 300r-303r		
[Wilhelm] Jörg Wilhelm (1556) München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek CGM 3712	<i>Maister Lwn</i> 25r-28v	Anonymous [<i>Maister Lwn</i>] 28v-31r		

<p>Shortened sword for armoured hand Incipit: Item nym das swert mit der rechten hant pey dem pint vnd mit der lincken greif mitten in die klingen</p>	<p>Pieces with the buckler Incipit: Das erst stuck mit dem pucklär aus dem oberhaw Merck wenn dw den oberhaw treibst zw dem mann </p>	<p>Pieces with the dagger Incipit: Merck das erst stuck mit dem degen Sticht er dir von oben nyder zw deine<n> gesicht oder der prust</p>	<p>Wrestling Incipit : Item das erst ringen hat er dich pey den armen gefast vnd du in wider So tracht das dw mit deiner rechteen lincken hant Inwendig</p>	<p>On horseback with knightly weapons Incipit: JAgen von der prust zu seiner rechten hant / Vmb ker mit dem Rosß Czeuch sein rechte hant mit dein<en> lincken /</p>
<p>* (partial) Anonymous 20r-23v</p>	<p>Anonymous 36rv</p>	<p>Anonymous 35rv</p>		
<p>Anonymous Vol. 2 259r-265v latin: 274r-275v</p>		<p>Anonymous Vol. 1 225v-227r</p>		<p>Anonymous Vol. 2 319r-338r latin: 339r-343r</p>
<p>Anonymous C94 244r-254r</p>		<p>Anonymous C94 27v-28v</p>		<p>Anonymous C94 301r-327v</p>
<p>Anonymous vol. 2 287r-294v</p>		<p>Anonymous vol. 2 29r-31r</p>		<p>Anonymous vol. 2 207r-227v</p>
<p><i>Martin Hundsfelder</i> 31v-37r</p>	<p>Anonymous [Martin Hundsfelder] 37rv</p>			<p>Anonymous 43r-51v</p>

Manuscript and print/Text	Shortened sword from the four guards Incipit: <i>Merck das ist die erst hüt Nym das swert in paid hend vnd schüt das krefftgleich vnd kum in den hangenden ort zw dem rechten ör </i>	Holding down and standing up in armour Incipit: <i>Merck wenn er felt so fall Im albeg zü der rechten seitten vnd mit dem rechten knyfe fall zwischen sein pain </i>	Dagger Incipit: <i>Merck wenn dir ein° zü sticht mit dem degen vnden zü dem leib vnd hat den degen gefast das die schein vorn<e> an der hant stet</i>	On horseback with the lance and with the sword Incipit: <i>Zü ross streiten lere von paiden seitten dar nach wisse den roß guten gewisse auch merck die seitten do du auf vortail</i>
[Sollinger] David Lienhart Sollinger (1564) Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. 1.6.2°.2	* (partial) Anonymous 62r	* (partial) Anonymous 66r		
[Meyer] Joachim Meyer (1560-1570) Rostock, Universitätsbibliothek MS Varia 82	<i>Maister Lebenn</i> 58r-63v	Anonymous [<i>Maister Lebenn</i>] 63v-67r		

<p>Shortened sword for armoured hand Incipit: <i>Item nÿm das swert mit der rechten hant peÿ dem pint vnd mit der lincken greif mitten in die klingen</i></p>	<p>Pieces with the buckler Incipit: <i>Das erst stuck mit dem pucklär aus dem oberhaw Merck wenn dw den oberhaw treibst zw dem mann </i></p>	<p>Pieces with the dagger Incipit: <i>Merck das erst stuck mit dem degen Sticht er dir von oben nÿder zw deine<n> gesicht oder der prust</i></p>	<p>Wrestling Incipit : <i>Item das erst ringen hat er dich peÿ den armen gefast vnd du in wider So tracht das dw mit deiner rechten lincken hant Inwendig</i></p>	<p>On horseback with knightly weapons Incipit: <i>JAgen von der prust zu seiner rechten hant / Vmb ker mit dem Rosß Czeuch sein rechte hant mit dein<en> lincken /</i></p>
<p>*(partial) Anonymous 51v-53v</p>	<p>Anonymous 70v-71r</p>	<p>Anonymous 70rv</p>		
<p><i>Merteinn hunnfeltz</i> 67r-74v</p>	<p>Anonymous [Marteinn hunnfeltz] 96v-98r</p>			<p>Anonymous, [attribution to Johannes Liechtenauer at the end] 41r-58r, 75v</p>

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