

The art of fighting under glass: Review of museum exhibitions displaying fight books, 1968-2017

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Abstract – A growing body of research on fight books and historical European martial arts has appeared in academic circles over the last fifteen years. It has also broken through the doors of patrimonial institutions. From curiosities in exhibitions about knighthood, to dedicated temporary exhibitions about historical European martial arts, the fight books have received more and more attention from museum professionals. This article attempts to present an exhaustive list of fight books displayed in museum exhibitions over the last fifty years. It then proposes a critical view about how and why they were displayed from the perspective of the curators, based on a review of the exhibition catalogues.

Keywords – Museum, fight book, exhibition, fencing.

Fight books have received a lot of attention lately in academic discourse, and a renewed interest is shown for ancient martial practices through their study. This trend is sitting on the shoulder of giants, since proper academic interest manifested itself as early as the 19th c., and not only arising out of antiquarians' or fencers' circles. The same development can be witnessed in patrimonial institutions. Early interest was first shown in libraries holding several of these curious manuscripts about the art of combat, such as the K.K. Ambras collection, the Oettingen-Wallerstein collection, or the ducal library of Gotha¹. Johann Carl Heinrich Dreyer already studied the manuscript of Hans Talhoffer in 1754, and two facsimiles were produced for display by Nathanael Schlichtegroll in 1820,

¹ The K.K. Ambras collection (now kept in Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum) already received detailed descriptions about fight books in 1855 (Sacken, *Die k.k. Ambraser-Sammlung*, pp. 242-4). The notes on the fight books of the Oettingen Wallerstein collection (now kept in Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek) are less detailed (Loeffelholz, *Oettingen-Wallersteinsche Sammlung*). The collection kept in Gotha (several of the fight books of this collection now kept in München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek) was studied by Jacobs and Ukert, *Beitrag zur ältern Litteratur oder Merkwürdigkeiten*, in 1838.

predating the printed editions at the end of the 19th c. by Gustav Hergsell². However, it is only recently that the display of fight books in museums (permanent and temporary exhibitions) really took off, bringing the HEMA studies to a broader audience. Most of the institutions holding a collection of printed fight books dedicated a temporary exhibition about the art of fencing (cf. Appendix: TE1-5, 9); some others, holding a few, built sections of exhibitions on the topic (TE8, 13, PE1-8). A few institutions keeping no fight book in their collection put together small or large temporary exhibitions displaying fight books on loan (TE2, 6, 7, 10-12, 14). This article discusses this recent trend, based on the study of exhibition catalogues and the visits by the author of most of these. A list of the exhibitions, with the fight books displayed, is to be found in the appendices. Taken into account were only public exhibitions with published catalogues.

While different kinds of illustrations from different iconographical sources (documents or monuments) are used for the representation of the art of fighting in the context of museum exhibitions, only the fight books³ are here taken into consideration. Indeed, tournament books, military books, drill manuals, duelling literature, narrative literature, sculptures or paintings are the usual suspects for curators or sponsors when it comes to representing ancient martial practices. The line drawn between literary genres is sometimes thin. Moreover, some of the artists (painters, engravers) produced works representing pairs of fighting men across literary genres⁴. The analysis of the groups of objects displayed to represent the art of fighting in a museum setting would provide relevant data for the debate about literary genres⁵. This discussion lies outside of the scope of this article, but would definitely be useful to undertake.

I. FROM THE BACINET TO THE FENCING MASK

Some of these fight books were displayed as exceptional objects within exhibitions dealing with knightly culture, or even as curiosities, since they were (or still are?) objects for which there is a lack of understanding. Other books were displayed as group of

² All references quoted in Welle, “Talhoffer”. More information about the production of the facsimiles (kept in München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cod. icon. 394 and 395) to be found in the article of Hils, “Die Handschriften des oberdeutschen Fechtmeisters Hans Talhoffer”.

³ According to the definition used in Jaquet, Verelst and Dawson, *Late Medieval and early Modern Fight Books*, p. 9.

⁴ As shown by the article of Kirchoff in this volume (pp. 3-45), or among other examples, the case study of Master E.S. by Krause and Kaindel, “Das Grosse Kartenspiel des Meister E.S.”. See also the contribution of Anglo in TE9, for a broader approach on the topic.

⁵ Pardoel (*Fencing: a bibliography*, 2005), following Thimm’s work (*A complete bibliography*, 1896), includes both duelling books and fight books in his bibliography. Boffa (*Les manuels de combat*) considers the Freydal (tournament book of Maximilian the 1st) and a poem based on Vegetius’ work as fight books when they are not according to the definition used in this article.

objects witnessing the development and standardisation of antagonistic physical activities, which one could dare call proto-sports as early as the end of the Middle Ages. Other embodied knowledge such as dancing received similar treatment, as shown by the exhibition “Bewegtes Leben” (moving life, see TE6), which questioned the early modern development of technical literature about embodied knowledge via a comparative perspective. Lastly, later fight books were also the focus of more sport-oriented exhibition, looking into the roots of Olympic fencing.

The range of contexts of application of the art of combat represented in the fight books is indeed very broad, from knightly games, through different forms of competition addressed to lower social strata, to deadly duels. However, they mostly deal with single opposition forms, where personal martial technique is at stake. Despite the general idea, these books do not deal with the military use of drill for soldiers, nor are they about how a knight fought in a battle. The drill manuals form an existing genre, appearing in the early 17th century⁶. Very few documents, mostly narrative literature, will directly address how a knight fought in the context of a battle, under chaotic circumstances, against multiple opponents and with asymmetric weaponry. This observation, of course, challenges categorisations of the use or purpose of fight books. This issue is under debate in scholarly publications, and has not yet reached a consensus⁷. On a side note, that is for the best, since the fight books’ corpus is heterogeneous *per se*. Therefore, it cannot be reduced to a single context of use, and certainly not associated by default with “warfare” techniques.

One must add the fact that the discourse about the art of combat is always polarised between serious and “ludic” dimensions (Ge: *Schimpf und Ernst*; It: *per la vita e per la cortesia*; Fr: *à plaisance ou à outrance*). Some fight books are illustrated with bloody, deadly techniques, while others depict other kinds of practices with training weapons. There is, however, no dichotomy between the two dimensions; they represent the two sides of the same coin. This issue as well is debated in academic publications⁸, and usually forms a cradle for various misconceptions. That is exactly where museum exhibitions can play a relevant role in revising biased ideas.

Therefore, the choices made by curators while displaying fight books are highly interesting, since they shape public opinion by offering a platform for the communication or interpretation of scientific discourse. Typical displays evoke the art of fighting, mostly in connection with martial cultures. They usually associate arms and armour, or object related to fighting practices, with the fight book (Fig.1).

⁶ Lawrence, *The Complete Soldier*.

⁷ Jaquet, Verelst and Dawson, *Late Medieval and early Modern Fight Books*. See also the contribution of Forngeng in the catalogue TE9, which specifically addressed this issue.

⁸ The best review so far has been done by Jaser, “Ernst und Schimpf”.

Fig.1: Display about the art of fencing, with the fight book of Gérard Thibault d'Amers (1630). Chicago, Art Institute of Chicago, reproduced with permission.

Fight books are usually either lost in a myriad of different books representing fighting (TE1-2, 5-7, 10-12), or serve as items connecting objects (TE8, 13, PE1-8). Only exhibitions about the art of fighting (TE3, 4, 9, 14) actually explored the complex dimensions of these specialised documents and their various contexts of use. Some of the latter focused on late medieval forms of combat, on early modern duelling, or on the rise of sport-oriented fencing until the development of the Olympic movement. It is worth noting that displaying fight books as individual objects is worth doing, especially when displayed as a group of objects, or as single objects to be compared with one another. Indeed, in such cases (TE3, 4, 13, 14), the viewer can grasp the variety of formats, ranging from pocket books to very large dedication manuscripts or prints. This distinction is not always properly appreciated by the scholar or the HEMA practitioner of the 21st c., since the sources are usually viewed on the screen of a computer. That is another benefit of museum displays, where the materiality of the objects is under the spotlight.

II. QUANTITATIVE OBSERVATIONS ABOUT FIGHT BOOK DISPLAYS

Chart 1 presents the number of fight books displayed in temporary exhibitions over the years (both manuscripts and prints). The fight books displayed in permanent exhibitions, represented by seven books (not included in Chart 1), are listed in the appendices.

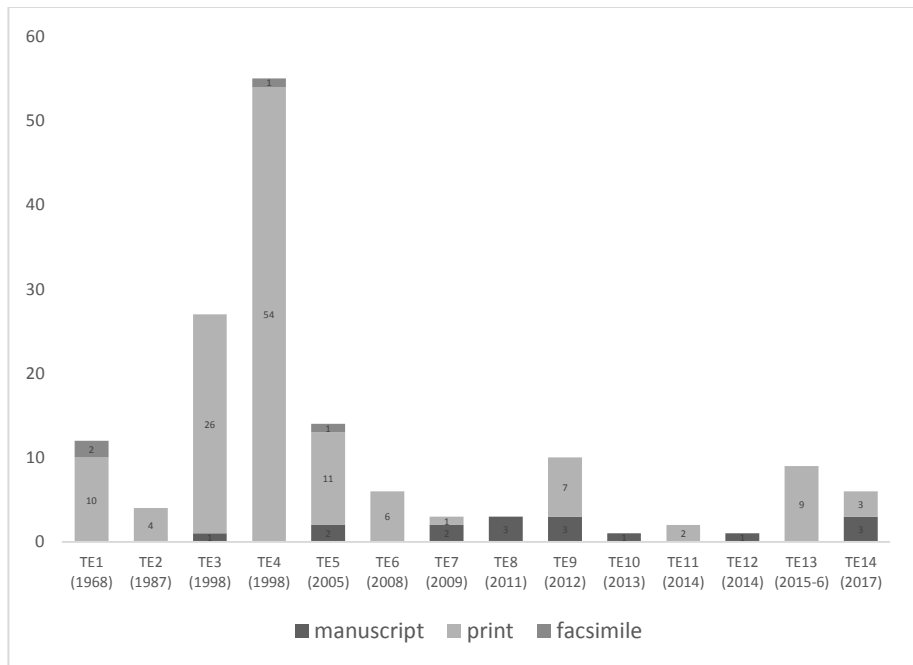


Chart 1: Number of fight books displayed in temporary exhibitions (1968-2017)

The earliest exhibition dates from 1968 (TE1). The largest exhibition so far was *En Garde!* (TE4) in 1998, with 55 books displayed. The average length of temporary exhibitions is 4 months (the shortest being 2 months; the longest 15 months). The most exhibited manuscript is *Fiore dei Liberi*, [*Fior di battaglia*], ca. 1410 (Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms Ludwig XV13), which has been displayed in 15 temporary exhibitions either at the Malibu or the Los Angeles J. Paul Getty Museum, between 1986 and 2015 (PE1). The most exhibited print is Gérard Thibault D'Anvers, *Académie de l'espée* (Leyden, Bonaventura & Abraham Elzeviers, 1628 (1630)), different copies of which were displayed in seven temporary exhibitions (TE1, 3-6, 11, 13) and in one permanent exhibition (PE8). The number of exhibitions increased since 2010. It is likely that more exhibitions of the sort are going to appear in the years to come. The recent exhibitions encompass the broad museum trend of quality over quantity. Indeed, only exhibitions before about 2000 displayed a very large number of books.

Rare are the books displayed in permanent exhibitions, mainly for curatorial reasons (documents do not like permanent exposition to light). In the case of Paris (PE2), the Cluny 23842 manuscript is presented in the arms and armour' room as an example of chivalric games, in connection with objects displayed in the room. It was a 2010 acquisition and was a highlight of the 2011 exhibition focused on swords (TE8). It is since then in the permanent exhibition, where its pages are regularly turned and a digital display allows the visitor to leaf through the book⁹. The same curatorial precaution is taken for prints as well, although with larger intervals of time. The pages of the Gérard Thibault fight book are turned every 6 months in the Art Institute of Chicago (PE8), and the exhibit also features a digital display.

Another solution for museum professionals to evoke fight books without having to display them, are panel displays with reproduction or video material displays. Recently, the Royal Armouries (Leeds) included a panel display in their Self Defence gallery, which also exhibits a print (PE6). These panels present the fight books corpus, highlighting their own collection¹⁰. Another example is the Musée de l'Armée of Paris, which included in their permanent exhibition a video material produced for a temporary exhibition (TE11). The video shows animated characters from Ridolfo Capoferro da Cagli, *Gran simulacro dell'arte e dell'uso della scherma* (Siena, 1610).

III. THE MUSEUM, THE BOOK AND THE FENCER.

Different kinds of institution showed interest in displaying fight books, often in collaboration with experts from the communities of practitioners or the world of collectors. Of course, museums with strong focus on arms and armours or on sports represent the majority of institutions displaying fight books (permanent or temporary exhibitions). That is, however, not exclusive of other type of institutions, including libraries and more regional museums.

A large number of contributions, which build the knowledge that we have on fight books, come not necessarily from academia, nor from patrimonial institution, but from fencers themselves. Fencers authored late 19th century bibliographies as well as major works, often, though, with institutional collaboration. It is still true today. For example, the recent re-edition of the Thimm bibliography, was produced by the fencer Henk Pardoel, with support from various sources, including the International Fencing Federation (FIE)¹¹. Scholars and museum professionals do however often criticise such works, for

⁹ Observation of the author, and communication with the curator in 2012.

¹⁰ The panels evoke works from Fiore dei Liberi, Hans Talhoffer, Paulus Kal and Jörg Wilhalm, and highlight their own collection (manuscript: Leeds, RA, I.33 / print: works from Camillo Agrippa, Achille Marozzo, Giacomo di Grassi, George Silver, and Gérard Thibault d'Anvers).

¹¹ Pardoel, *Fencing: a Bibliography* and Thimm, *A complete bibliography of fencing & dueling*.

their imperfection, lack of scholarly standards, or simply because they come from “antiquarians”, or from “practitioners”. Nonetheless, some of these works, although not perfect, do represent major breakthroughs, or at least relevant milestones for HEMA studies.

The same observation is true for smaller initiatives of fight book displays in different contexts, usually in collaboration with institutions. This can be shown by two examples. The first one is from a group of fencers, The Hallebardiers from Bruges¹². In collaboration with the Museum of Folk Life (Volkskundemuseum, Musea Brugge), they organised an exhibition (10.2014-04.2015) including four fight books¹³ and a public demonstration of ancient fencing¹⁴. The second example comes from a private collector, Roberto Gotti. He has often displayed his large collection of fight books and weapons at martial arts events, conferences or receptions¹⁵. His endeavours led to the recent opening (2016) of the Museum of Martial Arts (Museo di arti marziali) in Botticino, near Brescia¹⁶. A permanent exhibition displays fight books, arms and armour as well as objects related to the art of combat, next to a weapons’ hall where fencers can practice.

These initiatives show how important the display of objects in conjunction with a live demonstration of movements is for the public (interpretation of embodied knowledge

¹² A fencing group, whose historical roots date back in 1521 (Brugse Koninklijke Hoofdgilde van Sint Michiel)

¹³ Andre Paurneindt, *Ergründung ritterlicher Kunst der Fechterey*, Vienna, Hieronymus Vietor, 1516 [Par 2020.01]; Joachim Meyer, *Gründtliche Beschreibung, der freyen Rütterlichen und Adelichen Kunst des Fechtens*, Strasburg, Thiebolt Berger, 1570 [Par 1761.01]; Hieromime (Girolamo) Cavalcabo, *Neues künstliches Fechtbuch*, Leipzig, Henning Grosse, 1611 [Par 569.01]; and Gérard Thibault D’Anvers, *Académie de l’espée*, Leyden, Bonaventura & Abraham Elzeviers, 1628 (1630) [Par 2598.01].

¹⁴ The venue and the demonstrations were shot by the photographer Max Pinckers, and information is available on the website of the tourism office of Brugge as a dossier “Pershossier Snapshot 10: de Hallebardiers”, online: <<https://www.visitbruges.be/persmap-snapshot-10>> (accessed 20.12.2017).

¹⁵ While many of these displays were only for a short period and not always open to the public, the last one in Florence (Palazzo Vecchio) led to a publication, see Gotti, Rizzante and Jaquet, eds, *Masquerade*. Six fight books were displayed for this one, including: Michele Micheli, *Trattato in lode della nobile, e cavalleresca arte de la scberma*, Florence, [Stamperia Granducale], 1798. [Par 1767.01]; Alexandre Brémond Picard, *Traité en raccourci sur l’art des armes*, Turin, Ignace Soffietti, 1782. [Par 453.01]; Paolo Bertelli, *Trattato di scberma ossia modo di maneggiare la spada e la sciabola*, Bologna, Ulisse Ramponi, 1800. [Par 328.01]; Michele Gambogi, *Trattato sulla scberma*, Milan, Ranieri Fanfani, 1837. [Par 1005.01]; Alberto Marchionni, *Trattato di scberma sopra un nuovo sistema di ginoco misto di scuola italiana e francese*, Florence, Federigo Bencini, 1847. [Par 1641.01]; Cesare Alberto Blengini di Son Groto, *Trattato teorico-pratico di spada e sciabola*, Bologna, Fava e Garagni, 1864. [Par 376.01]; François Jules Dérué, *Nouvelle méthode d’escrime à cheval*, Paris, A. Lahure, 1885. [Par 788.01].

¹⁶ Various press articles relate the opening of the museum. A website of the museum is in the making.

out of the books). Many of the temporary exhibitions listed offered a demonstration of ancient fencing as well. The exhibition in Chemnitz (TE 14), for example, featured demonstrations at the opening, the closing, and regularly during the exhibition. Moreover, one room in the exhibition included a screen for the display of the interpretation of techniques out of the fight books. While for the scholar it is debatable whether such displays of gestures performed by modern-day interpreters might actually be close to the embodied knowledge put in writing¹⁷, it is clear that it is an asset for the museum and its visitors. Public outreach is essential for the dissemination of HEMA studies, and museum exhibitions are the best medium for such endeavours.

IV. BIBLIOGRAPHY

All primary sources are listed in the appendices, as well as the different exhibition catalogues in appendices. Below are included only the secondary literature quoted in the article.

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¹⁷ Burkart, 'Limits of Understanding in the Study of Lost Martial Arts'.

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V. ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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VI. APPENDICES

Some exhibition featured reproduction of fight books (either a facsimile, or photographic reproduction of the manuscript, or illustration taken from editions or secondary literature). These are hereafter mentioned as "facsimile", a list of which to be found at the end of VI.3.

Only the fight books produced before 1800 were included here (except for some facsimiles of older works published after 1800). They are listed chronologically with author and shortened titles, and referred to using shelf marks of the institution for manuscripts, and printing place and publishing house for prints. For ease of reference, I included the numbers of the largest catalogues available, that is KdiH (Leng, *Katalog der deutschsprachigen illustrierten Handschriften des Mittelalters*, 38) for manuscripts, and Par

¹⁸ Several exhibition not included in this article have already been mentioned to me. Without published exhibition catalogues, I did not include them.

(Pardoel, *Fencing: A bibliography*) for prints. The exhibitions where they were displayed are indicated in a separate column.

VI.1. Temporary exhibitions

	Temporary exhibition title (catalogue and institution)	Date	Number of books
TE1	Das Fechten in der Kunst (ed. coll. authors, Basel: Schweizerisches Turn- und Sportmuseum, 1968). Basel, Schweizerisches Turn- und Sportmuseum	10.1968- 11.1968	10 prints (incl. 2 facsimile)
TE2	500 Jahre Fechtmeister in Deutschland. Ältester privilegierter Berufsstand (ed. Huhle, Henner and Brunck, Helma, Frankfurt am Main: Historisches Museum, 1987). Frankfurt am Main: Historisches Museum	08.1987- 11.1987	4 prints
TE3	The Academy of the Sword: illustrated fencing books 1500-1800 (ed. LaRocca, Donald J., New-York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998). New-York, Metropolitan Museum	06.1998- 09.1999	1 manuscript, 26 prints
TE4	En garde! : schermen verbeeld : schermboeken uit de Corble-collectie, wapens en attributen (ed. Coppens, Chris and Schwartz Chris, Leuven: Presses Universitaires, 1998). Zemst, Sportmuseum Vlaanderen [Sportimonium]	10.1998- 12.1998	55 prints (incl. 1 facsimile)
TE5	A fil di spada. Il duello dale origini... agli ori olimpici (ed. Spotti, Alda, Roma: Colombo, 2005). Roma, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale	05.2005- 07.2005	2 manuscripts, 12 prints (incl. 1 facsimile)
TE6	Bewegtes Leben. Körpertechniken in der Frühen Neuzeit (ed. Mallinckordt, Rebekka von, Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Bibliothek, 2008), pp. 340-51. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek	06.2008- 11.2008	6 prints
TE7	Ritterwelten im Spätmittelalter (ed. Niehoff, Franz, Landshut: Museen der Stadt Landshut, 2009). Landshut, Museum der Stadt Landshut	06.2009- 09.2009	2 manuscripts, 1 print
TE8	L'épée: Usages, mythes et symboles (ed. Huynh, Michel, Paris: RMN, 2011). Paris, Musée National du Moyen Âge	04.2011- 09.2011	3 manuscripts
TE9	The Noble Art of the Sword: Fashion and Fencing in Renaissance Europe 1520-1630 (ed. Capwell, Tobias, London: Paul Holberton, 2012). London, Wallace collection	05.2012- 09.2012	3 manuscripts, 7 prints
TE10	Ritter! Traum und Wirklichkeit (ed. Haag, Sabine, Wien: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 2013). Innsbruck, Schloss Ambras	06.2013- 09.2013	1 manuscript

	Temporary exhibition title (catalogue and institution)	Date	Number of books
TE11	Mousquetaires! (ed. Renaudeau, Olivier, Paris: Gallimard, 2014). Paris, Musée de l'Armée	04.2014-09.2014	2 prints
TE12	Ritterturnier. Geschichte einer Festkultur (ed. Peter, Jezler, Niederhäuser, Peter, and Jezler, Elke, Luzern: Quaternion, 2014). Schaffhausen, Museum zu Allerheiligen Schaffhausen	05.2014-09.2014	1 manuscript
TE13	Das Schwert: Gestalt und Gedanke (ed. Grotkamp-Schepers, Barbara, Immel, Isabell, Johnsson, Peter, and Wetzler, Sixt, Solingen: Deutsches Klingensmuseum, 2015), pp. 158-163. Solingen, Deutsches Klingensmuseum	09.2015-02.2016	9 prints
TE14	Kunst dye dich zyret. Fechten als Mittel persönlicher und institutioneller Repräsentation (ed. Fiedler, Uwe, and Wilkens, Thore, Chemnitz: Sandstein, 2017). Chemnitz, Schlossberg Museum	07.2017-11.2017	3 manuscripts, 3 prints

VI.2. Permanent exhibition

	Permanent exhibition	Date	Fight books
PE1	Los Angeles (and Malibu), J. Paul Getty Museum, Getty Center (15 temporary exhibitions at the centre, list online)	1986-2015	Fiore dei Liberi, [<i>Fior di battaglia</i>], ca. 1410 (Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms Ludwig XV13).
PE2	Paris, Musée National du Moyen Âge	2011-current	Anonymous, [fight book], 1480-1500 (Paris, Musée National du Moyen Âge, Cl. 23842 / olim Donaueschingen, Fürstliche Fürstenbergische Hofbibliothek, Cod. 862). [KdiHM 2.3/6.2]
PE3	Vordinborg, Danmarks Borgcenter (Danish Castle Centre)	2014-2015	Hans Talhoffer, [<i>Alte Armatur und Ringkunst</i>], 1459 (København, Det Kongelige Bibliothek, Thott 290 2°). [KdiHM 3.4]
PE4	Solingen, Deutsches Klingensmuseum	2015-current	Sebastian Heussler, <i>Künstliches abprobrites und nutzliches Fecht-Buch</i> , Nürnberg, Paulus Fursten, 1615 [Par 1253.01]
PE5	Glasgow, Kelvingrove museum	2006-2011	Frederico Ghisliero, <i>Regole di molti cavagliereschi essercitii</i> , Parma, Erasmo Viotto, 1587.
PE6	Leeds, Royal Armouries (Self-Defence Gallery)	2016-current	Domenico Angelo [Maletovi Termamondo] (Henry Charles William Angelo), <i>The School of Fencing</i> , London, W. Henry, 1787.
PE7	Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Schatzkammer (Vitrine V)	2016-current	Paulus Hector Mair, [fight book], 1550 (Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, C93/94). [KdiHM 8.3]

	Permanent exhibition	Date	Fight books
PE8	Chicago, Art Institute, Arms and Armor gallery	2017-current	Gérard Thibault D'Anvers, <i>Académie de l'espée</i> , Leyden, Bonaventura & Abraham Elzeviers, 1628 (1630) [Par 2598.01]

VI.3. Fight books displayed

Listed in chronological order.

Fight books	Reference	Exhibition
Anonymous, <i>Liber de Arte Dimicatoria</i> [Tower Fechtbuch], ca. 1305 (Leeds, Royal Armouries, I.33).	KdiHM 9.8	TE9
Anonymous, <i>Florius de arte luctandi</i> , 1420-1430 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Lat. 11269).		TE8
Hans Talhoffer, [fight book], 1446-1459 (Königseggwald, Gräfliche Bibliothek, XIX 17.3).	KdiHM 3.5	TE7
Anonymous, [<i>codex Wallerstein, or von Baumann</i>], 1450/70 (Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, I.6.4°.2).	KdiHM 9.1	TE14
Peter von Danzig, [fight book], 1452 (Roma, Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana.44 A 8).	KdiHM 9.9	TE5
Anonymous, <i>Le Jeu de la Hache</i> , [1465-80] (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Fr. 1996).		TE8
Anonymous, [fight book], 1480-1500 (Paris, Musée National du Moyen Âge, Cl. 23842 / olim Donaueschingen, Fürstliche Fürstenbergische Hofbibliothek, Cod. 862).	KdiHM 2.3/6.2	TE8, PE2
Peter Falkner, [fight book], 1480-1500 (Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, KK 5012).	KdiHM 1.5/4.2/6.3	TE10
Filippo Vadi, <i>Liber de Arte gladiatoria dimicandi</i> , 1482-1487 (Roma Biblioteca Nazionale, 1342).		TE5
Johannes Lecküchner, <i>Kunst des Messerfechtens</i> 1482 (München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 582).	KdiHM 6.1	TE7, 15
Hans Talhoffer, [fight book], 1500-1550 (New York, Metropolitan Museum, 26.236).		TE3
Hans Wurm, [Ringerbuch], ca. 1500 (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, 1693).	KdiHM 10.c	TE7
Anonymous, [fight book], 1508 (Glasgow, R. L. Scott Collection, E.1939.65.341).	KdiHM 1.2	TE9
Anonymous, [Solothurner Fechtbuch], ca. 1510 (Solothurn, Zentralbibliothek, S 554).	KdiHM 3.7	TE12
D. Antonio Manciolino, <i>Opera Nova</i> , Venice, Nicolo d'Aristotile detto Zoppino, 1531.	Par 1623.01	TE5
Gregor Erhart, [fight book], 1533 (Glasgow, R. L. Scott Collection, E.1939.65.354).	KdiHM 9.5	TE9
Achille Marozzo, <i>Opera nova</i> , Modena, D. Antonii Bergolae, 1536.	Par 1654.01	TE1, 3, 4, 9, 13

Fight books	Reference	Exhibition
Fabian von Auerswald, <i>Die Ringer-Kunst</i> , Wittenberg, Hans Lufft, 1539.	Par 168.01	TE1, 14
Camillo Agrippa, <i>Trattato di scienza d'arme</i> , Milan, Heredes Antonij Bladij, 1553.	Par 17.01	TE4, 5, 6, 9, 13
Camillo Palladini, <i>Discorso sopra l'arte della scherma</i> , [Bologna], n.n., 1555-60.	Par 1972.01	TE9
Hans Talhoffer, [<i>Fechtbuch</i>], 1555-1560 (Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, I.6.2°.1).	KdiHM 3.1	TE14
Anonymous, <i>Die Ritterliche/Mannliche Kunst und Handarbeyt Fechtens/und Kempfens</i> , Frankfurt am Main, Christian Egenolff, 1558. ¹⁹	Par 2920.01	TE2, 4, 13
Camillo Agrippa, <i>Trattato di scienza d'arme</i> , Venice, Antonio Pinargenti, 1568.	Par 16.01	TE3, 5
Achille Marozzo, <i>Arte dell'armi</i> , Venice, Antonio Pinargenti, 1568 [1569].	Par 1675.01	TE3, 4, 5
Giacomo di Grassi, <i>Ragione di adoprar sicuramente l'arme</i> , Venice, Giordano Ziletti, 1570.	Par 1146.01	TE3, 4, 9
Joachim Meyer, <i>Gründtliche Beschreibung, der freyen Ritterlichen und Adelichen Kunst des Fechtens</i> , Strasburg, Thiebolt Berger, 1570.	Par 1761.01	TE1, 2, 3, 4, 15
Henry de Saint Didier, <i>Traité contenant les secrets du premier livre sur l'espée seule, mère de toutes armes</i> , Paris, Jean Mettayer et Matthurin Challenge, 1573.	Par 2311.01	TE4, 13
Angelo Viggiani (Vizani Dal Montone), <i>Lo schermo</i> , Venice, Giorgio Angelieri, 1575.	Par 2728.01	TE3, 9
Jerónimo Sanchez de Carranza, [<i>Filosofia de las armas y de su destreza, y de la agresion y defension christiana</i> , Sanlucar de Barrameda, casa del autor, 1582.	Par 533.01	TE4
Angelo Viggiani (Vizani Dal Montone), <i>Lo schermo</i> , Bologna, Gio. Rossi, 1588.	Par 2729.01	TE5
Anonymous, [<i>Fechtbuch</i>], 1591 (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August-Bibliothek, Guelf. 83.4 Aug. 8°).	KdiHM 9.13	TE1
Giacomo di Grassi, <i>His true arte of defence</i> , London, John Jaggard, 1594.	Par 1147.01	TE4
Vincenzo Saviolo, <i>His practise, in two bookes; the first intreating of the Use of the Rapier and Dagger, the second of honour and honourable quarrels</i> , London, John Wolfe, 1595.	Par 2344.01	TE4, 9
George Silver, <i>Brefe instructions upon my paradoxes of defence for the handyng of all manner of weapons</i> , London, [Edward Blount], 1599.	Par 2446.01	TE4, 9

¹⁹ There are four editions of this fight book known to date, see Bauer, *Der Alten Fechter gründtliche Kunst*. The exhibitions cited displayed the fourth ed. (1558). The first ed. was displayed in the following exhibition (1989): *Feste und Feiern im Mittelalter. Eine Ausstellung von Handschriften und Frühdrucken in der Universitätsbibliothek Paderborn*, ed. by Ernst Bremer and Hans-Hugo Steinhoff (Padeborn: Universitätsbibliothek, 1989), p. 12. The latter is not included in the list.

Fight books	Reference	Exhibition
Luis Pacheco de Narváez, <i>Libro de las grandezas de la espada</i> , Madrid, [Juan Iñiguez de Lequerica], 1600.	Par 1892.01	TE3, 4
Marco Docciolini, <i>Trattato in materia di scherma</i> , Florence, Michelangelo Sermatelli, 1601.	Par 808.01	TE5
Nicolletto V. Giganti, <i>Scola overò teatro nel quale sono rappresentate diverse maniere, e modi di parare, e di ferire di spada sola, e di spada e pugnale</i> , Venice, Giovanni Antonio et G. di Franceschi, 1606.	Par 1100.01	TE4, 13
Salvatore Fabris, <i>De lo schermo ovvero scienza d'arme</i> , Copenhagen, Henrico Waltkirch, 1606.	Par 893.01	TE3, 4
Salvatore Fabris, <i>Italiänische Fechtkunst</i> , Leiden, Isack Elzevier, 1606.	Par 897.01	TE4, 6
Ridolfo Capoferro da Cagli, <i>Gran simulacro dell'arte e dell'uso della scherma</i> , Siena, Salvstro Marchetti & Camillo Turi, 1610. NB: 2 versions, one coloured (Roma Biblioteca Nazionale, I.3.I.bis.3).	Par 510.01	TE3, 4, 5, 11, 13
Hyeronimo Cavalcabo, <i>Neues künstliches Fechtbuch</i> , Leipzig, Henning Grosse, 1611.	Par 569.01	TE4
Jacob Sutor, <i>New künstliches Fechtbuch</i> , Frankfurt am Main, Wilhelm Hoffmans, 1612.	Par 2537.01	TE2, 4
Sebastian Heussler, <i>Künstliches abprobrites und nutzliches Fecht-Buch</i> , Nürnberg, Balthasar Caymoxen, 1665 [Par 1257.01]	Par 1253.01	TE3, 4, PE4
Bonaventura Pistofilo, <i>Oplomachia</i> , Sienna, Hercole Gori, 1621.	Par 2081.01	TE5
Nicoletto V. Giganti, <i>Neue Fechtkunst</i> , Frankfurt am Main, Hartmann Palthenius, 1622.	Par 1104.01	TE3, 14
Gérard Thibault D'Anvers, <i>Académie de l'espée</i> , Leyden, Bonaventura & Abraham Elzeviers, 1628 (1630).	Par 2598.01	TE1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 11, 14, PE8
Francesco Ferdinando Alfieri, <i>La scherma</i> , Padova, Sebastiano Sardi, 1640.	Par 53.01	TE3, 5
Charles Besnard, <i>Le maistre d'armes libéral, traittant de la théorie de l'art et exercise de l'espée seule, ou fleuret</i> , Rennes, Julien Herbert, 1653.	Par 344.01	TE4
Francesco Ferdinando Alfieri, <i>L'Arte di ben maneggiare la spade</i> , Padova, Sebastiano Sardi, 1653.	Par 57.01	TE13
Alessandro Senese, <i>Il vero maneggio di spade</i> , Bologna, Vittorio Benacci, 1660.	Par 2426.01	TE4, 13
Jean Daniel l'Ange, <i>Deutliche und gründliche Erklärung der Adelichen und Ritterlichen freyen Fecht- Kunst</i> , Heidelberg, Adrian Weingarten, 1664.	Par 109.01	TE3, 4
Johann Georg Paschen, <i>Kurtze jedoch deutliche Beschreibung, handlend vom Fechten auf den Stoß und Hieb</i> , Halle in Sachsen, Mechior Oelschlegel, 1664.	Par 2003.01	TE3
Johann Georg Pascha (Paschen), <i>Vollständige Fecht-, Ring-, und Voltigier-Kunst</i> , Halle in Sachsen, Melchior Oelschlegel, 1666	Par 2003.01	TE1

Fight books	Reference	Exhibition
Giuseppe Morsicato Pallavicini, <i>La scherma illustrate</i> , Milan, Sperling & Kupfer, 1670.	Par 1973.01	TE4
Philbert de la Touche, <i>Les vrays principes de l'espée seule</i> , Paris, François Muguet, 1670.	Par 2644.01	TE4
Johannes-Georgius Bruchius, <i>Grondige beschryvinge van de edele ende ridderlijcke scherm ofte wapenkunste</i> , Leyden, Abraham Verhoef, 1671.	Par 464.01	TE4
Nicolaes Petter, <i>Klare onderricthinge der voortreffelijkes worstel-kunst</i> , Amsterdam, W. van Lamsveldt, 1674.	Par 2045.01	TE4
Francisco Antonio de Ettenhard y Abarca, <i>Compendio de los fundamentos de la verdadera destreza, y filosofia de las armas</i> , Madrid, Antonio de Zafra, 1675.	Par 883.01	TE3, 4
Miguel Pérez de Mendoza y Quixada, <i>Resumen de la verdadera destreza de las armas</i> , Madrid, Antonio de Zafra, 1675.	Par 1720.01	TE4
Jean Baptiste Le Perche du Coudray, <i>L'exercice des armes</i> , Paris, Ve. de F. Chereau, 1676.	Par 2030.01	TE3, 4
Anonymous, <i>The Art of Defence in which the several sorts of Gurards, Passes, Encloses, and Disarms &c are represented by proper figures</i> , [London], [n.n.], [1690-1700].		TE4
André Wernesson de Liancour, <i>Le maistre d'armes</i> , Amsterdam, Daniel de la Feuille, 1692.	Par 1502.01	TE3, 4, 6
Bondi (di Mazo), <i>La spade maestra</i> , Venice, Domenico Lovisa à Rialto, 1696.	Par 413.01	TE3, 4
Jean Labat (L'Abbat), <i>L'art en fait d'armes: ou De l'épée seule, avec les attitudes</i> , Toulouse, Jean Boude, 1696.	Par 1417.01	TE3
Henry Blackwell, <i>The English fencing-master</i> , London, J. Downing in Bartholomew-Close, 1702.	Par 367.01	TE3, 4
Francisco Lorenz de Rada, <i>Nobleza de la espada</i> , Madrid, Joseph Rodriguez Escobar, 1705.	Par 1559.01	TE3
Francisco Lorenz de Rada, <i>Nobleza de la espada</i> , Madrid, Joseph Rodriguez Escobar, 1705.	Par 1558.01	TE4
Pedro de Solera, <i>Titulo de maestro de la filosofia, y destreza de las armas</i> , Madrid, casa del autor, 1710.	Par 2483.01	TE4
William Bart Hope, <i>The compleat fencing master</i> , London, W. Taylor, 1710.	Par 1282.01	TE4
Johann Andreas Schmidt, <i>Leib-beschirmende und Feinden trotz-bietende Fecht-Kunst</i> , Nürnberg, Johann Christoph Weigel, 1713.	Par 2365.01	TE3, 4
William Bart Hope, <i>New method of fencing</i> , Edinburgh, James Watson, 1714.	Par 1284.01	TE3
Alexander Doyle, <i>Neu altmodische ritterliche Fecht- und Schirm-Kunst</i> , Nürnberg, Paul Lochnern, 1715.	Par 816.01	TE4

Fight books	Reference	Exhibition
Jean Jamin de Beaupré, <i>Die allerleichteste neue Eeiss, den Adel in der Fechkunst zu unterweisen Fechkunst</i> , Ingolstadt, Thomas Grass, 1721.	Par 280.01	TE4
Thomas Parkyns, <i>Progymnasmata. The Inn-Play; or Cornish-Hugg Wrestler</i> , Westminsterhall, Humph. Wainwright, 1727.	-	TE4
Donald McBane, <i>The expert swordman's companion</i> , Glasgow, James Duncan, 1728.	Par 1696.01	TE4
Jean Labat (L'Abbat), <i>The art of fencing: or the use of the small sword</i> , Dublin, James Hoey, 1734.	Par 1419.01	TE4
Anthon Friedrich Kahn, <i>Anfangsgriinde der Fechkunst</i> , Göttingen, Johann Christoph Ludolf Schultzen, 1738.	Par 1351.01	TE3, 4, 6
Pierre Jacques François Girard, <i>Traité de la perfection sur fait des armes</i> , La Haye, Pierre de Hondt, 1740.	Par 1113.01	TE4
Juan Nicolás de Perinat, <i>Arte d'esgrimir florete y sable</i> , Cadiz, Real Academia de Caballeros Guardias-Marinas, 1758.	Par 2034.01	TE4
Guillaume Danet, <i>L'art des armes</i> , Paris, Hérisant Jombert, 1767.	Par 757.01	TE3, 4
[Le Sieur] Batier, <i>La théorie pratique de l'escrime, pour la pointe seule, avec des remarques instructives pour l'assaut</i> , Paris, [Veuve Claude Simon et fils], 1772.	Par 237.01	TE4
J. Olivier, <i>Fencing familiarised: or a New Treatise on the Art of Small Sword</i> , London, John Bell, 1780.	Par 1946.01	TE4
Nicolas Demeuse, <i>Nouveau traité de l'art des armes</i> , Liège, François Joseph Desoer, 1786.	-	TE4
Domenico Angelo [Maletovi Termamondo] (Henry Charles William Angelo), <i>The School of Fencing</i> , London, W. Henry, 1787.	Par 117.01	TE1, 4, 5, PE 6
Domenico Angelo [Malevolti Tremamondo], <i>The School of Fencing</i> , London, R. & J. Dodsley, 1787.	Par 118.01	TE3, PE6
Johann Adolf Roux, <i>Gründliche und vollständige Anweisung in der deutschen Fechkunst</i> , Jena, Wolfgang Stahl, 1798	Par 2273.01	TE1, 2

Facsimile (edition)		
Fiore dei Liberi, <i>Flos Duellatorum</i> , 1409.	ed. Novati, Francesco (Bergamo: Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, 1902).	TE5
Hans Talhoffer, <i>Gothaer Codex aus dem Jahr 1443</i> .	ed. Gustav Hergsell, (Prague: Selbstverlag, 1889).	TE1, 4
Albrecht Dürer, [drawings], 1512 (London, British Library, Sloane MS No.5229,).	reproduced from the article of Friedrich Dömhöffer	TE1