

Six Weeks to Prepare for Combat: Instruction and Practices from the Fight Books at the End of the Middle Ages, a Note on Ritualised Single Combats

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This contribution is following the first axis of the argumentation of the conference *Shaping Bodies for Battle*.¹ Several historians of medieval warfare complained about the lack of sources to delineate the training of men for battle,² as opposed to later periods, where a dedicated body of literature is available for the study of the soldiers' training.³ However, in the specific context of late medieval ritualised single combat, including the various phenomena labelled as "judicial combat",

* I am thankful to Ariella Elema for her comments and corrections, and to Jens-Peter Kleinau for his research and collaboration on the texts of the appendices.

1 Underlying questions were formulated as follows: Which practices were used to make bodies fit for battle? What bodily techniques were taught and trained? What was seen as a fighter's ideal bodily appearance? How did fighters physically experience the shaping of their bodies?

2 For example, CONTAMINE, 2003, p. 364; KEEN, 1984, p. 238. See the recent contributions to this question in the very late 15th c. and early 16th c. in DERUELLE/GAINOT, 2013.

3 For a study of technical literature on the training of the soldier, see LAWRENCE, 2009.

some relevant information can be analysed to address the questions related to the preparation for battle, not only in narrative, but also in technical sources. These types of combat were indeed considered as “battle” (a dedicated form of warfare) in the late Medieval mind-set,⁴ as they dealt with serious matters (*Ernst*) contrary to other forms of ritualised combat in a more playful fashion (*Schimpf*),⁵ such as knightly games (tournaments, pas d’armes, jousts, etc.), or urban feasts including competitive sporting praxes (fencing schools, wrestling matches, mock battles, etc.). However, as argued in this contribution, all of those types of combats need to be studied together as part of the same phenomenon, diffracted by cultural habitus and societal contexts.

Therefore, I propose a study of selected instructions for the preparation for “judicial” combat found in the heterogeneous corpus of the Fight Books in the late Middle Ages,⁶ which discuss not only knightly or princely single combats, but also those of the lower social strata. Moreover, I shall highlight three examples of those single combats for commoners out of a selected corpus of narrative, normative and pictorial documents in different geographical locations in the 15th c., in order to illustrate the instruction for combat found in the Fight Books. Both the relation of those fights and the technical content of the Fight Books also provide information about the fighting itself, which is less interesting for the purpose of this contribution. As a concluding point, the mutilation of the fighters as one common feature of the narration of the cases chosen can be highlighted in order to address issues concerning the representation of ritualised violence and about bodies in battle relevant for other interests in this volume.

4 For example, judicial combats are considered as such in the treatises of John of Legnano (1320-1383), Honorat Bovet (1340-1410), and Paris de Puteo (1410-1493). For a general discussion of these authors, see CAVINA, 2005, pp. 41-106.

5 For a comparison of those two types of circumstances in the perspective of ritualised combat, see JAQUET, 2016b and JASER/ISRAEL, 2014.

6 See the contribution of E. Burkart in this volume, as well as JAQUET, 2016a; BOFFA, 2014 and ANGLO, 2000.

Fighting for the truth, the proof of his cause or his honour

A widely accepted scholarly trend points out that the judicial duel or trial by battle tended to subside during the 15th c. to be replaced by the later duel of honour.⁷ Recent works demonstrating that these forms of ritualised combat did indeed evolve, but with less rupture than was earlier believed have refined this postulate.⁸ The point has been made that both temporal and spiritual powers attempted to limit the trial by combat as a lawful way of resolving conflicts, alongside the prohibition of the ordeal from the end of the 12th c. onward.⁹ However, the aristocracy who still claimed to be entitled to resolve conflicts through ritualised combat as part of their hereditary and status privileges raised strong opposing voices.¹⁰ The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries witnessed repeated prohibitions or limitations as authorities attempted to constrain those types of combat to very specific cases.¹¹ The practice of hiring a champion to settle legal grudges also appeared to decrease.¹² The late fourteenth century combats of Carrouges versus Le Gris¹³ or Estravayer versus Grandson¹⁴ are believed to be among the “last” trials by combat for the aristocracy and, if the often quoted passage of Olivier de la Marche¹⁵ is to be trusted, would have fallen into disgrace by the

7 NOTTARP, 1956; MOREL, 1984.

8 CAVINA, 2003 and 2005; ISRAEL, 2008; HILTMAN/ISRAEL, 2007; ISRAEL/ORTALLI, 2009; NEUMANN, 2010; ELEMA, 2012; LUDWIG et al. (eds.), 2012.

9 MCAULEY, 2006, pp. 473-513.

10 STANGIER, 2009, pp. 75 and 78.

11 See the discussion about those circumventions in HILTMAN/ISRAEL, 2007, pp. 65-84 and TELLIER, 2012, pp. 107-121.

12 See the discussion about the historiography in JASER, 2014, pp. 380-406. See also ISRAEL, 2008, pp. 121-147.

13 GUENÉE, 1995, pp. 331-343 and PARAVICINI, 2016, pp. 23-84.

14 BERGUERAND, 2008.

15 [...] *car peu de gens vivans ont veu l'exécution de gaigne de bataille, et a plus de soixante et dix an que, soubz ceste maison de Bourgongne, ne fut telle œuvre exécutée entre deux nobles hommes. Et moy qui ay demouré en ceste noble maison près de soixante ans, je ne veis de ma vie gaigne de bataille.* Ed. PROST, 1878, p. 20. To be noted that this quote is only valid for aristocracy (entre deux nobles hommes). La Marche witnessed at least

end of the fifteenth century. However, “judicial combat” was still found in the 15th c. as a procedure codified in various customary laws, as an object of discourse in the heralds’ compendia¹⁶ and a direct application of the martial gesture in technical literature.

This apparent paradox is due to the problematic definition of those types of combat and the focus of scholarly research on the high strata of society. Indeed, the involvement of high aristocracy in the “old” trial by combat was exceptional during the fifteenth century,¹⁷ even if it was still an object of discourse and provocation among princes.¹⁸ Various customary laws had codified procedures for judicial single combat (lat: *duellum*, mfr: *gage de bataille*, mhd: *kampf*) for all social strata since the 13th c. (but mostly in the 14th c.),¹⁹ mainly dealing with legal matters and procedures before the combat itself. These *consuetudines* also led to specialised *Kampfrecht*, especially in franchised cities during the second half of the 14th c., throughout the 15th c. and up to the middle of the 16th c.,²⁰ where details of the ritual before and during the combat

one judicial combat between commoners (Plouvier and Coquel, discussed below).

- 16 As defined by HILTMANN, 2011. See also his article with U. Israel on the specific correlation between those types of combat and his corpus of sources (HILTMANN/ISRAEL, 2007, pp. 65-84).
- 17 For example the case of the Earl of Ormond versus the Prior of Kilmayne in London in 1446 or Hector de Flavy versus Maillotin de Bours in Sedan in 1430 (see ELEMA, 2012, p. 161, note 79 and p. 312). See also the examples in the Holy Empire quoted from the dissertation of POSCHKO in JEZLER, 2014, p. 188.
- 18 See examples in VONES, 1996, pp. 321-332.
- 19 The best known examples among legal historian are Eike von Repgow, *Sachsenspiegel* (ed. ECKHARDT, 1972, Landgericht I, 63), or the *Rechtsbuch Kaiser Ludwig von Bayern*, 1346 (ed. VOLKERT, 2010). For the French kingdom, Philippe de Beaumanoir, *Coutume du Beauvaisis*. Also found as specialised treatises in the Italian peninsula, such as the anonymous *Summula de Pugna* or Roffredus of Benevento, *Summa de pugna*. This is however not exhaustive and there is no reference study on those consuetudines for the judicial combat taking in account all those geographical areas. For the Holy Roman Empire, see NEUMANN, 2010; for the French kingdom, see TELLIEZ, 2011 and CARBASSE, 1975, pp. 385-403; for Italy, see CAVINA, 2003.
- 20 See example quoted in FORTNER, 2007, pp. 10-22. For a more comprehensive discussion of the *Kampfrecht* in the South Germany, see LEISER, 1986, pp. 5-17. However, this phenomenon is not limited to the

itself were codified, including weaponry, clothing, the role and function of the different actors involved, etc. These single combats were settled by judicial courts, according to customary law and were fought on foot with long shields and either a wooden mace or a sword.²¹ For example, the custom of Zwickau mid-14th c., drawing from material out of the *Sachsenspiegel*, advises that “All knights, valets (*knecht*) and merchants shall fight with a sword”, while “Peasants shall fight with a wooden mace”.²²

Iconographical sequences depict such judicial single combats with the associated technical repertoire in several Fight Books of the 15th c.²³ For the purpose of this article, I shall focus on those attributed to Hans Talhoffer and Paulus Kal, two 15th c. fencing masters (*Schirm-, Fechtmeister*).²⁴ The preparation for judicial combat appears to have been part of their professional trade, according to the content of some of their written productions dedicated to the low and high aristocracy of the South Rhinelands.²⁵ Of particular interest are several passages

Holy Roman Empire, but stems to the kingdoms of England, France, Spain and many cities in the northern Italian peninsula.

- 21 In England and parts of France, another kind of weapon seems to have been customary: the *baculus cornutus*. See ELEMA, 2012, p. 249.
- 22 *Alle rittere, knechte und kauflüte sullen vechten mit dem swerte. / Alle gebüre sullen vechten mit kolben.* Zwickauer Rechtbuch 1348-1358, ed. PLANITZ, 1941, vol. II, 26, 6-8.
- 23 To be found in Fight Books attributed to Peter Falkner (Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, KK5012), Jorg Wilhalm (Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod.I.6.2°.3 and Cod.I.6.2°.2; München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 3711 and 3712), Paulus Hector Mair (Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Hs Dresd. C93/94; München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Icon.393 1/2; Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Wien, Cod. 10825/10826) and in anonymous compendia (Paris, Musée National du Moyen Âge, Cl. 23842; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 78.2 Aug. 2°). For a focus on the judicial combat between man and woman, I am preparing an article on the matter for the journal “Le Moyen Âge” (forthcoming).
- 24 T. Stangier presents them as rivals, although there is no evidence that they were ever in contact. See STANGIER, 2009, pp. 79-93. For Talhoffer, see the historiographical review in BURKART, 2014, pp. 253-301. For Kal, see for instance WELLE, 1993, pp. 240-255.
- 25 For a discussion of the dedicatees, see STANGIER, 2009, pp. 79-93 and BURKART, 2014, pp. 253-301.

compiled in some of their compendia,²⁶ edited in appendix (1, A-C) and discussed below. Both masters dealt with knightly judicial combat (in armour on foot), judicial combat for commoners or burghers (including combat for a man against a woman). I shall concentrate on the second category of combat, which distinguishes between two technical repertoires: one involving a shield and sword – Swabian custom, the other a shield and mace – Franconian custom (see Fig. 1).²⁷

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- 26 References in appendix. Apart for those quoted, a large manuscript tradition is attributed to the authors, for description see LENG, 2008, 38.3 (Talhofter) and 38.5 (Kal). There is however one manuscript misattributed to Talhofter (38.3.7, which is in fact a copy of Kal) and the list of the copies is not exhaustive.
- 27 For a short and incomplete description of both customs, see FORTNER, 2007, pp. 19-22. See also some references in STANGIER, 2009, p. 75.

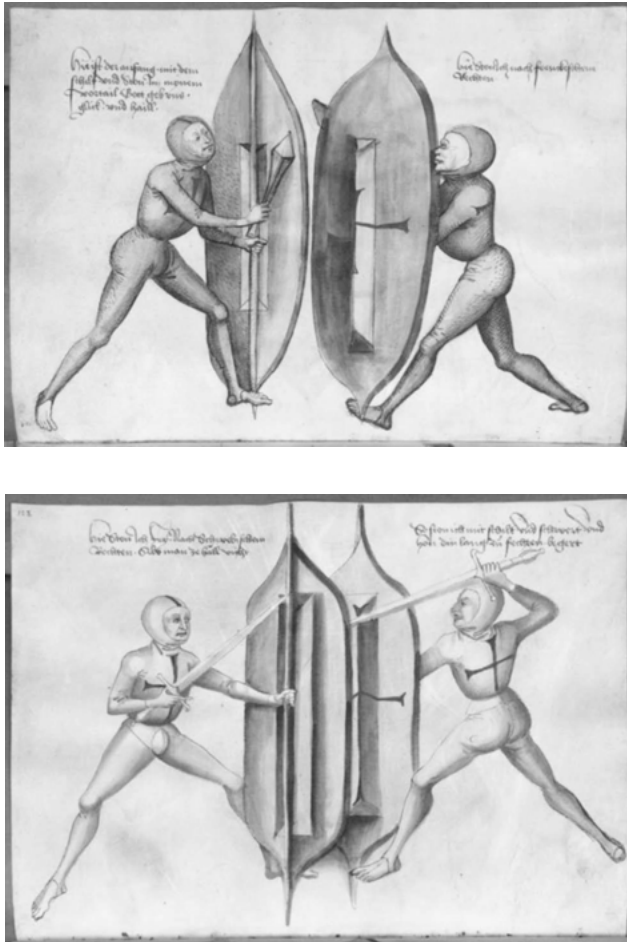


Figure 1: Franconian and Swabian customs

Legend: Hie ston Ich nach frenckeschem Rechten / Hie Ston Ich fry
Nach Schwebischen Rechten. München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek,
Cod. Icon. 394a, ff. 53r and 65v.

The training of clients for “judicial” combat as a specific kind of trade for fencing masters

Both masters were well versed in the institutional underpinnings of those types of combat. Hans Talhoffer underlines that they still occurred within cities according to customary laws, although the *Decretals*²⁸ forbade those combats and emperors, princes and lords frowned upon them (A1). Stating that such endeavours are affairs of honour (*mütwill*),²⁹ he then lists the “legal” reasons to undertake such single combats: murder, treason, heresy, acts of betrayal towards one’s lord, betrayal of one’s given word when captured, fraud and the abuse of a women (A2). As Jezler noted, these causes are comparable to those forbidden and punished by contemporaneous tournament societies, as a means to maintain the noble ethos through social regulation.³⁰ This fact also highlights the similarity between the different forms of ritualised combat, of both serious and more playful varieties, touching upon different social strata.

Hans Talhoffer has several detailed insights for his client regarding the procedures of the ritual, before the combat (A3-A5) – including how to act in cases which may lead to the cancellation of the fight (A6-A7) – and at the start of the combat (A8-A9, A15-A16). Several of those procedures are also depicted in different versions of the Fight Books.³¹

As a professional in this field, Paulus Kal also compiled a list of items to be clarified with the court (including the judge, *urtailler*) by the master or his client in preparation for the combat (C1-26). This list is

28 Those are the Decretals of Raymond of Peñafort. After Pope Innocent III and the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 prohibited clerics from attending or taking part in judicial duels, (*Constitutiones quarti Lateranensis una cum commentariis glossatorum*, ed. GARCIA, 1981, C.18), Pope Gregory IX issued Peñafort’s Decretals in 1234 (IBID., X 3.50.9).

29 See the discussion of this matter in JAQUET, 2016b.

30 JEZLER, 2014, p. 189, ref. to pp. 66f.

31 Several iconographical cycles depicting the rituals before, during and after the combat, usually in the sections dedicated to the armoured combat on foot with swords and unarmoured combat on foot with judicial shield and sword or mace. For a description of the different versions of the works attributed to Hans Talhoffer, see BURKART, 2014, pp. 253-301.

reminiscent of the so-called *Questions*, which Geoffroy Charny addressed to his peers, the knights of the Order of the Star, one century earlier and which were related to procedural questions concerning the law of arms and practice in tourneying or jousting.³² In Charny's case, the researcher would love to have the matching answers, but the analysis of such questions allows one at least to outline several praxeological elements by deductive analysis.

In terms of Kal's questions, the different actors and their roles during the combat can be deduced (C1) as follows: the adviser (*warnar*, C2-3) interacts with court officials on behalf of the combatant; the listener (*lûsner*, C5, 8) is an assessor at court witnessing the combat; and the grid-warden (*grieswartl* C8-10) is the second of the combatant, allowed within the barriers and equipped with a staff. The combatant has the right to call his grid-warden to "pull the staff", so that the fighting is interrupted and each party can go to their rest-place (C7/C18). There is a respective example in the *Kampfrecht* of the city of Gelnhausen from 1360, where the combatant can call for the staffs three times.³³ Other details of relevance are, for example, how many maces the combatant can have (C13), what happens when he loses them inside or outside the circle, who is allowed to hand them back to him and when they are allowed to do so (C14-16). The conditions of defeat also require examination in detail (C17, 18, 24). For example, what is considered stepping out of or being pushed outside of the circle: "is it a hand, the body, a foot, the mace or the shield"? (C17). Final questions address issues about the crowd attending the fight, what regulation is there about the need to remain silent during the fight (C25) and what are the precautions taken to isolate the combatant from the crowd (C26)? Again, this is very similar to the regulations for tournaments or chivalric games, including single combat, which all attempt to regulate the reaction of the attending crowd.³⁴

32 See KAUPER/KENNEDY, 1996.

33 *So bit er fragen, wie dicke er den stangen begeren solle, so wird erteilt: dry stunt, diewyle sie sich nit begrifen haben, wan aber sie sich begryfen, so mag er ir keiner me begeren.* Hessisches Urkundenbuch, ed. HIRZEL, 1894. Credit for this finding goes to Jens-Peter Kleinau who published a blog article about it in 2013.

34 JEZLER, 2014, pp. 57-72. For a comparison between different rulesets, see RÜHL, 2001, pp. 193-208.

Concerning specialised weaponry and clothing, Kal and Talhoffer provide relevant information not only in the iconographic sequences depicting fighting techniques, but also in the text. Kal suggests inquiring about this subject before the fight (C19, C20). The Talhoffer compendium of 1459 comprises detailed (technical?) depictions of the clothing itself (107r), the maces (106v) and five different shields (104r-105v) with short written comments. Talhoffer also describes how the combatant should enter the barriers, with details on the clothing (A16) and the gesture performed for different parts of the rituals taking place prior to the fight.³⁵ Complementary details describing these outfits (discussed below) can be found in narratives and some normative texts of customary law.³⁶

Physical training, diet of the combatant and the need for secrecy

According to Talhoffer, when the complaint has been lodged at the court in the appropriate manner (A3), “six weeks will be granted for his training days, and also four more days before his judgement, so that they can fight according to the custom of the land and the law” (A4). The training period of six weeks and the hiring of fencing masters are also found in customary law, for example in Münster-maifeld in 1372.³⁷

35 Some of those rituals are also described in heraldic compendia. See ISRAEL/HILTMANN, 2007, pp. 65-84. Also of interest for anthropological studies of those rituals, outlined in the perspective of an historian, is OSCEMA, 2011, pp. 142-161.

36 For example in 1446: *Alß dem scheffen ingeben yst, wie die zu dem kamp geschickt und gestalt sin sullen sin, hat der schieffe gewisset, sie sullen haben zum ersten eyen graen fyltrocke, kogeln, hossen und schue; an eym ander zwen glych schilde, iglicher ein holczen kyckel und eyn hanthabe und sullen in wynden under dem kyne, zwen holtzen kepel glich eln lang, dryecket hynden yen knop, und zwen henen degen glich eyner halben eln lang in eym fure and den spitzen gehert und die hencken by den uff die rechten sytten zu der hant um.* Landschreibereichnung der Obergrafschaft (Landgericht Katzenelnbogen), DEMANDT, 1953, vol. 3, p. 2294. I thank Christine Reinle for having pointed out this source to me.

37 *halden sal vnvirderfflich ses wochen und dry tage, und yeme eynen meister gewinnen, der en kempen lere, und sal en halden, und daz alles dun der*

According to Talhoffer, both parties are bound by custom and the court not to break peace during this period under penalty of banishment (A4).

In the first compendium attributed to the master (1448), on the versos of the folios showing the technical sequence of the fighting gestures, an iconographical cycle illustrates the entire process of preparation for a judicial duel, from the hiring of the master outside of the city walls, to the preparation of the fighter up until the combat. This included such distractions as eating, listening to music, bathing, hunting, and time spent with his relatives, but also ritualised processes such as shaving, praying and anointing (App. 2).³⁸ One of the illustrations in the cycle depicts two physical exercises, which may have been part of the training: stone and javelin throwing. These exercises are also found in another of his Fight Books, dedicated to Luitold von Königsegg. It contains general rhymed advices given to one who cares about the “knightly values”: he should “train during peace time by throwing stones and javelins, dancing and jumping, fencing and wrestling, mock jousting and tourneying and courting beautiful ladies”.³⁹ The same book provides very rare information on physical training and diet in the context of preparations for a judicial combat:

“He should especially get up early every day and hear a mass, then go back to his house, eat a loaf of St-John bread⁴⁰ and train for two hours. He shall not eat too much greasy food. After noon, he shall train two hours and at nightfall, before he lies down to sleep, he shall eat a slice of rye bread soaked in water. This makes for good breathing and a strong heart.” (B2).

greue uff sine kost selber, ob der ghene der kuste nit enhat, der kemplich wirt angesprochen. Quoted in NEUMANN, 2010, p. 90, note 414. Other quotes regarding the hiring of fencing masters (*Bretons*) according to Norman customs in COULIN, 1906, p. 87. For English cases, see RUSSELL, 1984, pp. 76-78.

38 See also STANGIER, 2009, p. 74.

39 [...] vnd gedenck nach ritterschafft / mit freiden ueben / stein werffen vnd stang schueben / tanzten vnd springen / fechten vnd rjngen / stechen vnd turnieren / schönen frawen hofieren. Ed. SCHULZE, 2010, p. 23 (revised by the author).

40 Bread baked for the feast of St John (December 27). St John’s wine and bread are common feature of medieval recipes (for St John blessed a poisonous glass of wine to render it harmless).

The master also underscores that he will evaluate his client to establish “whether he is weak or strong, choleric or gentle-minded, whether or not he has good breathing, and if he would work heartily” (A13). He should also know “how his top heats up if someone would quarrel or fight” (A14). On a side note, similar but more detailed advice based on humour theory and related to martial training is depicted in the fight book of Pietro Monte, written in the last decade of the 15th c., but published post-mortem in 1509.⁴¹

Talhoffer also notes that the client shall recognise the master as being trustworthy by the following qualities: pious, sober, righteous and protective, and his ability in the art of combat – “broadening the arsenal of techniques and knowledge about the art” (A12). Securing his trade, he warns against untrustworthy rivals, such as other fencing masters before him (and after him...).⁴² He also insists on the need for secrecy: “Yet the combatant and the master shall guard that they let no man see them or the arsenal with which they work. And they both shall guard their doings from much of society; and say little of the fighting, so that no notice is made thereof.” (A13)

This is, of course, crucial to the training for a judicial combat, but this kind of face-to-face instruction and need for secrecy is also emphasised by Fiore dei Liberi in other contexts. In his treatise from the very beginning of the 15th c., this master lists his students (among them knights) and explains that he trained them for deeds of arms (and for more serious matters). He then states that he has been “well paid” and that “he always taught this art in secrecy”.⁴³ The monetary value of

41 For an introduction to this text, see FORGENG, 2014, pp. 107-114. The master also wrote a treatise on the “distinction of men”, with long development on the physiological attributes related to physical exercise. See FONTAINE, 1991, p. 46.

42 A12. This kind of warning is found for example in the first witness of the *Zedel* of Liechtenauer at the end of the 14th c.; *Als man noch manche leychmeistere vindet dy do sprechen / das sy selber newe kunst vinden vnd irdenken vnd meynen das sich dy kunst des fechtens von tage czu tage besser vnd mere*. Ed. ZABINSKI, 2010, p. 130 (revised by the author).

43 [...] *di questi e d'altri i quali io fior ò magistradi io son molto contento perché io son stado ben remunerato e ò aibudo l'onore e l'armore di miei scolari e di parenti loro digo anchora che questa arte io l'ò monstrado sempre oculatamente si che non glie sta presente alchuno*. Fiore de'i Liberi, *Flos Duellatorum*, 1409. RUBBOLI/CESARI, 2003, p. 25.

those secret teachings was also regulated in urban context within fencing guilds.⁴⁴

Gouge the eye out: St William's miracle

Two of these judicial combats between commoners are described in chronicles of the 15th c. One in Valenciennes (duchy of Hainault) in 1455 opposed Jacotin Plouvier, a burger of the town and Mahiot Coquel, a tailor from Tournai; another in London in 1456 opposed James Fisher, a tailor and fisherman, with Thomas Whitehorne, a man with no known profession and with reputation for robbery.⁴⁵ Both deadly combats are related in very crude terms and the chroniclers all made clear that they disliked this type of “improper” single combats.⁴⁶ The chroniclers give interesting details regarding the clothing and the weapons, supplementing information found in Fight Books and normative texts. For example, the combatants, whose hair and nails were cut, wore a tightly fitted garment made of leather⁴⁷, covered in grease “so that they could

44 For example in the Statutes of the Fencing Masters of Bruges in 1456: *Ende als van den verboorghene consten, te wetene ghewaepent te cechtene met haecsen end andersins, dat elc meester ende provoost boven dien van elcken leerlinghe zal moghen nemen dies hem ghebueren zoude moghen*. GALAS, 2011, p. 148. For a recent study on fencings guilds in the Lowlands, see GEVAERT/VAN NOORT, 2016, pp. 221-242.

45 Both case are studied in ELEMA, 2012, esp. pp. 1-5, 68, 135f., 234-237, 247-253, 266, 307-309, 313f., 318, 324-326. The sources for the first duel are *Chronique* de Mathieu d'Escouchy (DU FRESNE DE BEAUCOURT, 1863, vol. 2, p. 297-305); *Mémoire* d'Olivier de la Marche (PETITOT, 1825, vol. 2, p. 213-218); *Chronique* de Georges de Chastellain (KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, 1864, vol. 3, p. 41-49); for the second one: *Gregory's Chronicle of London* (ed. GAIRDNER, 1876, pp. 199-202). For the first case, see also CAUCHIÉS, 1999, pp. 655-668 and LECUPPRE-DESIJARDIN, 2016, pp. 181-197.

46 For example: [...] *tenoit en la bataille [...] plus honte que honneur* [...]. Olivier de la Marche, ed. PETITOT, 1825, p. 407; or the London chronicler: *hyt ys to schamfulle to reherse alle the condyscyons of thys foule conflycte*. Ed. GAIRDNER, 1876, p. 200.

47 [...] *moste be clothyd alle in whyte schepys leter, bothe body, hedde, leggy, fete, face, handys, and alle*. *IBID.*, p. 200. *Ilz avoient les testes raises, les piedz nuz, et les ongles coppez des mains et des piedz; et au regard du corps, des jambes et des bras, ilz estoient vestuz de cuyr bouilly,*

not grapple each other” and their hands were covered with ashes “so that they could handle their shield and mace”.⁴⁸ The maces are all described as made of hardwood (medlar for d’Escouchy – *mellier bien routeilleux* and de la Marche – *mesplier*; newly cut ash for Gregory – *grene hasche*).⁴⁹ None of the chronicles are illustrated during the 15th c. (some illustration are found in the 16th c.),⁵⁰ but the manuscript of a 15th c. chronicle from Brabant⁵¹ illustrates a different duel, from 1236, depicting contemporaneous fashions for tightly fitted garments and maces (see fig. 2).

cousu estroitement sur leurs personnes. Olivier de la Marche, ed. PETITOT, 1825, p. 404.

- 48 [...] *deux bassins plains de gresse, dont les habillemens ... furent oingtz et engressez, affin que l'ung d'eulx ne peust prendre prinse sur l'autre*. [...] *deux bassins de cendres, pour oster la gresse de leurs mains, afin qu'ilz puissent mieulx tenir leurs escuz et leurs bastons*. IBID. p. 405.
- 49 The more detailed description is given in the Gregory's chronicle: “[...] and that they should have in their hands 2 maces of freshly cut ash, with bark being upon it, of 3 feet in length, and at the end ought to be a cudgel of the same[wood], provided that the addition adds any length at all.” ([...] *grene hasche, the barke beynge a pon of iij fote in lenghthe and at the ende a bat of the same govyn owte as longe as the more gevythe any gretenys*). Gregory's chronicle, ed. GAIRDNER, 1876, p. 200. I thank Daria Izdebska for her help in translating that excerpt. This appears to be specific kind of mace, not to be compared with the ones used in France or Germany. See RUSSELL, 1983, pp. 432-442.
- 50 One illustration of the Coquel and Plouvier found in a 16th c. manuscript by A. Elema (Douai, Bibliotheque municipale MS 1183, ff. 188v-189r). Also to be noted that Paulus Hector Mair, compiler of a large anthology of the art of fighting in the middle of the 16th c. did also include illustrations of such fights, as well as copies of *Kampfrechten* and precise drawings of the shields, see note 61.
- 51 The redaction of this chronicle and the realisation of this manuscript constitute a complex case. The attribution to Jan van Boendale (Jan de Klerk) is dubious and one possible source for the relation of the duel is the chronicler Lodewijck van Vethem. The text has been edited by WILLEMS, 1837, pp. 26-32. I am grateful to Sergio Boffa for providing me with this information. He is currently preparing an article about this case.



Figure 2: Judicial combat

Legend: Jan van Boendale, *Brabantsche Yeesten*, 1450-1480. Bruxelles, Bibliothèque royale, Ms IV 684, fol. 68.

The fight follows the same pattern in all these cases. Both combatants exchange a few blows and the fight proceeds to grappling and ends on the ground. All the written accounts describe very crude moves, including biting, scratching, breaking limbs and eye gouging. In the Whytehorne-Fisher case, one of the combatants bit the other in the private parts before the other bit the first man's nose and gouged his eye.⁵² In the Plouvier-Coquel case, when both men wrestled on the ground, one gouged out both his opponent's eyes, and crushed his stomach with his knees while strangling him to death.⁵³ These

52 [...] and bote hym by the membrys [...] and toke that fals peler by the nose with hys tethe and put hys thombe in hys yee. Gregory's Chronicle, ed. GAIRDNER, 1876, p. 200.

53 [...] car de ses mains et ongles lui creva les deux yeux de la teste et fist saillir dehors. Aveux clui estant sur son estomach a genoux lui creva le cœur et l'estrangla de ses mains puis le jetta hors desdictes lices. Escouchy, ed. DU FRESNE DE BEAUCOURT, 1863, p. 297. See also for the eye gouging: [...] Sy alla bouter son pousse de l'autre main en ses yeux et

unchivalrous gestures are mentioned in the Fight Books' repertoire, but are usually – when described or referred to – labelled as “forbidden” or “secret”. In connection to these, various regulations of the fencing competitions (*fechtschulen*) list these prohibited fighting techniques in the late 15th and 16th c.⁵⁴ As the statutes of the fencing guild of Bruges demonstrate,⁵⁵ those gestures were taught. One can also assume that they were part of the client's training in preparation for judicial combat. As a side note in the Plouvier-Coquel case, the master attributed to Mahienot Coquel is named “Hans” in the *Chronique* of Chastellain.⁵⁶ Of course, without other evidence, this is unlikely to be Hans Talhoffer.

Finally, one interesting common feature of the written descriptions of these combats is the eye gouging. A series of stained glass panels in the Saint William window of York Minster also illustrate this gesture (See fig. 3.).⁵⁷ This is related to one of the miracles in the *Vita* of Saint William of York (?-1154, canonised by Honorius III in 1227), here depicted as an early 15th c. judicial combat.⁵⁸ In this miracle, Ralph, falsely accused of breaking the king's peace, has to fight in a judicial combat. His eye is gouged out by his mightier opponent Besing. The sentence of the court is the loss of the other eye. The blind victim recovers his sight while visiting the tomb of Saint William. In addition to the *Vita*, the fact that all narrative accounts studied here include eye

y commença à fouiller dedens jusqu'au parfont tellement qu'il lui tirat les yeux hors jusques à pendre sur les joues. Chastellain, ed. KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, 1864, p. 48. An additional manuscript of the *chronique* of Chastellain describes at length in very crude details the end of the combat (London, British Library, Additional Ms 54156, ed. DELCLOS, 1991, pp. 325-327).

54 For examples of those techniques and discussion of the connexion between Fight Books and fencing schools, see JAQUET, 2013.

55 See note 44.

56 *Or ont eu ces deux gens-icy par longue espace leurs maistres emprès eux, qui leur ont appris leurs envayes et deffenses, et tout ce en quoy il les espèrèrent à sauver, et avoit Mahienot empès lui un nommé Hans, le meilleur qu'on savoit en nul pays, [...] Chastellain, ed. KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, 1864, p. 44.* I thank Loïs Forster to have shared this passage with me.

57 FRENCH, 1999, pp. 70-73. Credit for this finding goes to A. Elema who mentions it in a note in her dissertation, see ELEMA, 2012, p. 255, n. 67.

58 *Miracula* 37, See NORTON, 2006, pp. 169-181 and 198-200.

gouging may point towards a topos for judicial combat.⁵⁹ However, this remains a postulate to be investigated by further studies, outside of the scope of this contribution.



Figure 3: The eye gouging

Legend: Stained glass panel of Saint William, detail. York Minster, 1414

Conclusion

This contribution highlights some of the benefits of further investigation of this type of judicial single combat for commoners in order to address issues related to the training of combatants as well as bodies in battle. As outlined by the different cases mentioned, these praxes occurred across the Western Europe at the end of the Middle Ages.⁶⁰ Further research may reveal that these were still practiced in the 16th c.⁶¹ and certainly were not limited to the geographical boundaries

59 See the discussion about castration in combination with blinding as a Norman punishment in ELEMA, 2012, pp. 152-155.

60 The different examples in this contribution occurred in England, France, Germany, and the Low Countries.

61 In the context of the redaction of the Fight Books, the specialised sections about judicial combat and those about armoured combat on foot were still compiled up to 1570 (see JAQUET/WALCZACK, 2014). The Fight Books of Paulus Hector Mair (three versions between 1540-1550) would prove

of this contribution. These understudied single combats are indeed part of a greater phenomenon of ritualised combat, regulated by various norms and cultural habitus, most of the latter being tacit or implicit. The various forms of chivalric games – as models or ideals – also affect other types of sporting, competitive or ludic praxes involving all strata of the society, from the rural, to urban, and even to courtly contexts. The need to revise historiographical misconceptions about the apparent dichotomy between serious and playful context on one hand, and the vague definition of the different types of single combats (including judicial combats) on the other has been stated and calls for further research and case studies.⁶²

By cross-analysing different types of sources, such as narrative descriptions, normative or legal sources and technical literature, the historian gains access to relevant information about the training (time spent, type of teaching, actors, even monetary value of the teachings), the rituals and material culture associated with these combats (procedures, gestures, weaponry, clothing) as well as actual details of the fighting itself. In the context of the studies of Historical European Martial Arts – and its main source: the Fight Books –, this type of investigation sheds new light on one of the many contexts of application of the martial gesture. If studied with a praxeological perspective, including comparison with other types of single combat in Western Europe at the end of the Middle Ages, it also sheds new light on the whys and wherefores about ritualised praxes of violence.

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interesting, since they also contain various *Kampfrechte* and sections dedicated to judicial combats (see note 50).

62 See for example JASER, 2016, pp. 221-242 and JAQUET, 2016b.

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Appendix 1. Edition of sources

(For references and transcription norms, see “Acknowledgment” at the end of the Appendix)

A. About the kampf

Hans Talhoffer, “Von dem kempfen”, in Hans Talhoffer

compendium (*Alte Armatur und Ringkunst*), 1459. Kobenhavn, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 290 2°, ff. 8r-10v.

A1. [8r] hie vint man geschriben von dem kempfen

Item wie daz nun sy daz die die decretaleß kempff verbieten, So hat doch die gewonhait herbracht von kaisern und künigen fürsten und hern noch gestatten und kempfen laussen, und darzu glichen schierm gebent, und besunder und umb ettliche sachen und artikeln, alß her nach geschriben staht. Item zu dem ersten maul daz Im nymant gern sin Eer laut abschniden^(a) mit wortten ainem der sin genoß ist Er wolte Er hebat mit im kempfen wie wol er doch nit recht wol von Im kem ob er wölte und darumb so ist kämpfen ain mütwill

A2. Item der sachen und ardickeken sind siblen Darumb man noch pfligt zu kempfen:

Item daz erst ist mortt

Daz ander verrätterniß

Das dritt ketzerÿ

Daz vierd wöher an sinem herrn trulos wirt

Daz fünfft umb fanknuß in striten oder sunß

Daz sechst umb valsch

Daz sibent da ainer junckfrowen oder frowen benotzot

A3. Item spricht ain man den andern kempfflich an, der sol komen für gericht und sol durch sinen fürsprechen sin sach für legen, darumb er in denn an kagt und sol den man nennen mit dem touff namen und zu namen. So ist recht, daz er in für gericht lad und in dry stund beclag uff dryen gericht nach ain ander kumpt er denn nit und verantwurt sich nach nymant von sinen wegen, so mag er sich fürbaß nit mer verantwurten, [8v] er bewyse dann Ehefte nott als recht sy, so sol man in verurteilen alß fer in daz sin bott innerhalb landes begriffen hant. Je dar nach, alß die ansprach ist gegangen, darnach sol daz urtail ouch gan.

A4. Item der da kempfflich angesprochen wirt uff den dryen gerichtⁿ und er ainost zû der antwort kumpt und legnot darumb man in an gesprochen hat und spricht er sy des also unschuldig und der sag uff in daz nit war sy und daz wöll er widerumb mit kempfen behertenⁿ und uff in daz wysen alß denn recht sy un dem land darinn eß sy und forttert dar über mit urtheril seinen lertag, so werdent im sechß wochen ertailt zu sinem lertag und vier tag von dem gericht werdent im auch ertailt, daruff sie kempfen sullenⁿ alß in dem land gewonhait und recht ist. Item versprechent sich zwen man willkürlich gen einander ain kampfeⁿ vor gericht, den git an auch sechs wochen lertag und sol in frid bannen baiden, und wolcher under den den frid brech, uber den richtet man on den kampff alß recht ist.

A5. wie ainer dem anderen mit recht uß^(b) gan mag

Item ist daz ein man kempfflich angesprochen wiert von ainem der nit alß güt ist alß er, dem mag er mit recht uß gan ob er wil oder ob ain man echtloß gesagt würde oder worden wer, dem mag man ouch des kampfes absin. Item spricht aber der edler den mindern an zu kempfen, so mag der den minderⁿ nit wol absin.

A6. [9r] Item wie aber zwen mann nit mit ainander mügent kempfenⁿ und wolcher wil under den zweyen dem andern wol uß gan mag

Item wenn zween mann gesinnt sind biß uff die fünffte sipp oder näher die mügent durch recht nit mit ein ander kempfen und des müssen sibem mannⁿ schwern die vatter und mütter halb mäge sind.

A7. Item wie aber ainer dem anderⁿ kampfes absin mag mit solichem gelimpf alß hie geschriben stät

Item ob ain lamer man oder einer der böse ougen hett und kampfes an gesprochen wirt der mag sich der auch wol behellffen und dem gesunden ußgan, eß sy denn daz wyse lüt daz gelich nach der personⁿ machen und daz müssen wyß lüt uff ir eid tun und daz also glich machen. Es mag auch der lam oder mit den bosen ougen wol ainen an ir statt gewinnen der für iro ainen kempfe.

A8. Item wenn also die sechß wochen uß sind und der letst tag komen ist den in der richter beschaiden haut daruff kempfen sullen, so sullen sie beide für den richter komen mit solichem ertzögen und in solich acht alß die gewonheit und das recht lert in dem lande dar inn sie kempfen sullen oder nach dem alß sie mit ainander gewillkürt habent. Item etc.

A9. Item so soll da der cleger schweren daz er der sach darumb er dem ainen man zugesprochen haut schuldig sy und denn so sol man in ainen ring machen und grieß wartten und urttail geben [9v] nach wyser luta raut und nach des landeß gewonhait. Und wer uff den tag in den ring nit kumpt den urttailt man sigeloß in irre denn Ehafte nott die sol er bewysen alß recht ist –

A10. Hie staut wie man sich halten sol wenn die kempfer in dem ring komen sind uff die stund und uff die zit so man pheindiglich kempfen sol Wenn die kempfer also in den ring komen sind So sol der richter von stund an alle stür und ler vestecklich verbieten by lyb und gût und sol nicht gestatten daz man einem für den andern nicht zulege und sel inß beiden machen so er imer gelichest mag ungenerde.

A11. Das ist was recht wer ob der kempfer ainer uss dem ring fluch oder getriben wurd

Item wolcher kempfer uss dem ring kumpt Ee denn der kampf ain ende haut Er werde daruß geschlagen von dem andern oder fluche daruß oder wie er daruß käme oder aber ob er der sache vergicht darumb man in denn mit recht an gesprochen haut, den sol man sigeloß urttailen. Oder wolcher den andern erschlecht und ertötet der haut gesiget. Dem sol man aber richten alß des landes gewonhait und recht ist darumb sie dem mit ainander gekempffet hand.

A12. [10r] Nun merck uff dissen punten der ist notturfftlich zû uerstend Item des ersten so soltu den maister wol erkennen der dich lerren wil dz sin kunst recht und gewer sy und dz er frum sy und dich nit veruntruwe und dich nit verkürtz in der lerr und wiß die gwer zû zerbraitten da mit er kempfen wil. Och sol er den maister nit uff nemen er schwer im dann sin frumen zwerbent und sin schaden zwendent deß glich sol er dem maister wider umb sweren sin kunst nit witter zleren.

A13. Hie merck uff den maister

Item der maister der ain understat zu leren, der sol wißen daß er den man wol erken, den er lerren wil, ob er sie schwach oder starck, und ob er gäch zornig sy oder senftmütig, och ob er gütten auttem hab oder nit, och ob er arbaitten müg in die in die harr; und wenn du inn wol erkunet haust in der lerr, un wz arbeit er uermag dar nach müstu in lerren dz im nütz ist gen sinnen vind. Och sol der kempffer und der maister sich hütten dz sie niemand zu sehen laussend und in sunder sie gwer da mit

sy arbaittent und sich baid hütten vor vil geselschafft und von dem vechtenen wenig sagen dz kain abmercken da von kom.

A14. von kuntschafft

wie der kempffer und der maister kuntschafft möchte hon zu rem widertail, wz sin wesen wer, ob er sy starck oder swach, ob er och sy gechzornig oder nit, und wie sin touff nam hieß, ob man wölt dar uß bracticiern oder rechnenen. Es ist och nottürfftig zu wissen wz maister in lerr dz man sich darnach müg richten.

A15. wenn er nun gelert ist und in den schrancken sol gon

So sol er zu dem ersten bichten, dar nach sol im ain priester ain meß lesen von unßer frowenen und von sant Jörgen, und der priester sol im segnenen sant Johannis myneen und dem kempfer geben. Dar nach sol der maister in ernstlich versüchenen [10v] und inn under richten dar uff er bliben sol, und sol in uff kein ding haissen acht hon dann uff sin vind, und den ernstlich an schowen.

A16. Merck uff dz infüren

Item wenn der man kompt in den schrancken so sol er machen mit dem rechten fuß ain krütz und mit der hand ains an die brust und sol fürsich gon im namenen des vatters und suns und des hailigen gaists. Dann sind in die grießwarttenen nemen und sind inn füren gegen der sunnenen umbhe. So sol dann der kempfer die fürsten und herrenen bittenen und die^(c) umb den kraiß stand dz sy im wölle helffen got bitten dz er Im sig wölle geben gegen sinem vind und alz er war und recht hab.

A17. Dar nach sol man in setzen in den sessel

Wenn er nun gesessen ist so soll man im fürspannenen ain tuch und sin bar hinder im an den schrancken und sine gwer sind wol gehenckt sin und gericht nach nottürfft

A18. Die grieß wartten oder täpffer

Der maister und die grieß wartten sollend mercken uff den richter oder uff den, der den kampff an lauffen wirt. Wann der rüfft zu dem ersten mal, so sol er den man haisen uff ston un dz tuch von im ziehen, und wann man rüfft zu dem dritten mál so sol er in haissen hin gon und in got enpfelhen.

A19. Von dem nach richter

Item der kempffer sel wartten das im nützit an dem lib über den ring oder schrancken uß gang dann wz dar über kem: so stat der nach richter an dem schrancken der hott imß ab mit recht ob er angerüft wirt.

a. ab added in superscript. - b. corrected in superscript above a non legible word. - c. inserted in superscript

B. Prologue to the Königsegg treatise

Hans Talhoffer, Prologue, in [Königsegg treatise], 1446-1459.

Königseggwald, Gräfliches Schloss, Hs. XIX 17-3, fol. 1r.

B1. [1r] Item Es ist zû wissent des ersten wen ain byder man zeschaffen haut das Im geschriben wûrt zû dem ernst oder er aim schribt so sol er gedencken das er stelle nach aim maister der in zû dem kampfß versorgen^a kend^a vnd sol Im den maister haissen geloben das er Im trwlich sein kunst mittail Vnd sein haimlichait nit sag vnd auch nit wider in sy das er die kunst niemant wissen lauß die er In leren

B2. Item Es sol auch der Junckher sich hûtten das er nit vill gehaimß mit den lûtten hab das sein haimlichait niemen erfar vnd das im nit werd vergeben vnd besunder so sol er alltag frû vff stân vnd hõren ain meß vnd dar nach hain gån vnd sol essen ain schnÿtte santj Johans brott vnd sich arbaitten zwû stund in der ler vnd nit vil faists dings essen Vnd nach mittag aber zwû stund Vnd zenacht so er schlauffen wil gån so sol er essen ain Ruggj schnÿtte brot vß ainem kaltten wasser das macht Im gûtten autem vnd wit vmb das hertz

B3. Item wer den das der sôltte für sich gån So sol erschriben In ain stat die Im den dar zû gefelt vmb in lauß vnd vmb glichen schirm vnd wen Im das zû geseÿt wûrt so sol er begern das man Im ain frÿeß gelaitt geb für sich selb vnd alle dÿ die mit Im dar koment

B4. Item Es sol auch der schirm maister den Junckher niemen der da kempffen will vnd sol In fûren ain haimlich stat als in ain kûrchen vnd sol in haissen nyder [knien]^b vnd got bitten das er Im verlich ain gluckhafft stund vnd^c Im verlich sÿg das er seinem feind angesÿg

B5. [Vnd ain gut herez vnd starck fewst hab das ist auch fast gut dar zu]^d

a. i corrected with e. - b. barely legible because of a fold in the parchment. - c. barely legible because of a fold in the parchment. - d. variant in the later copies Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, KK5342, fol. 1r and Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod.I.6.2°.1, fol. 2r.

**C. Advices for the master accompanying his client to the *kampf*.
Anonymous, s.t., in Paulus Kal compendium (*Allerley Kempf zur
Rosz vnd Fuesz jn vnnd on harnisch*), ca. 1480. Wien,
Kunsthistorisches Museum, KK5126, ff. 128v-129r.**

C1. [128v] Tout zw dem erstn sol im sein fursprech wandel dingenn vnd alle recht die ein chempfer von rechtz wegenn habenn sol es sey warner lûsner grieswartl vnd was ein chempfer habenn sol.

C2. Item wenn er sein warn benennt so sol er fragenn wie er warnenn sol das er recht thu vnnd nicht vnrecht.

C3. Item er sol auch fragenn ob er vnd der warner wol zw dem chempfer gen müge dy weyl er an seiner rue siczt vnnd mit in ir notturfft redenn.

C4. Item er sol aber fragenn ob er ein sig gewinne oder verlorn ob er vnnd sein warner wol zw im gen mügen vnd ir noturfft wol mit ym redenn also so er wider an sein rue chumbt ym chrais.

C5. Item wenn er denn grieswertel oder lusner genannt so sol er in fragenn wie er lûsen Sol das er recht thue vnnd nicht vnrecht.

C6. Item er sol auch fragenn wie er mit der stângenn thun sol das er recht thue.

C7. Item er sol auch fragenn ob ir ainer der stangenn begert wie er die vntterstossenn sol das er recht thue vnnd nicht vnrecht.

C8. Item er sol auch fragenn was die grieswertel oder lusner hornn oder sehenn wie sy das furbringen das sy recht thunn vnnd nicht vnrecht.

C9. Item er sol auch fragenn was die grieswartl ein mütiglich sagenn als die das gesehenn oder gehort habenn ob es icht billichenn do bey beleyb.

C10. Item er sol auch fragenn ob die griswertel mit ein ander nicht stössig sein vnd nit vber ains mochten wern zw sagenn was dann dy vrtailer gesehenn oder gehort hietten ob es nit billichenn do peleybe das weybe leyb vnd das die auch dar vmb sagenn sullenn.

C11. Er sol auch fragenn es sey grieswertl oder vrtailer wie sy darvmben sagenn sullenn das sy recht thunn das man das ausfunndig^(a) mach.

C12. Es sol auch denn chempfer fragen wellicher ein anchlager sey ob er icht billichen die wal vnnd die vorfart hab zu dem chrais zw siczenn mit seinem stull wo er wil.

C13. Er so auch denn chempfer fragenn wie manigen cholben er habenn sul vnd was er habenn sol zw dem champf.

C14. Er sol auch fragenn ob er ein cholbenn verwürff der aus dem chrais chemb was recht werr.

C15. Er sol auch fragenn ob er ein cholbenn verwürff der im chrais be lib ob im der nicht, billichenn zw staten wider chem ob er sein begert.

C16. Item er sol fragenn ob sein grieswärtl ycht billichenn ein cholbenn bey im habenn sull oder eins begert das er im denn mocht zw pringenn das das [sic] er Recht dar ann tat vnnd nicht vnnrecht.

C17. Er sol fragn was aus dem chrais chem es wer an hennden am leyb an ann [sic] fuessenn ain schilt ann cholbenn was darvmb Recht sey.

C18. Er sol fragenn wie manige stanngenn er begerenn sul vnd wie oft er den Sig domit verlorn hab^(b).

C19. [129r] Er sol fragenn ob man sy nicht billichen beschauenn sul ob sy nichtz vngleichs oder vnpillichs bey in hettenn.

C20. Er sol auch fragen ob man die schilt vnnd anndern Zeug nicht billichenn beschauen sull^(c).

C21. Er sol fragn wie oft er sein zue habm sull vnnd wie lanng.

C22. Er sol fragenn wie er auf stenn sull zw dem champf.

C23. Er sol fragenn ob icht pillichenn beleyb panalenn puntten vnd artikelen als die vor mit recht ertaylt sein wordenn vnd in dem puech geschribenn stenn.

C24. Er sol fragen welcher des chambs der nyderlig wie man zw dem selbm richten sol er sol fragenn wer richtenn sull.

C25. Er sol fragn ob yemand steurt oder lernnit mit wortten oder mit werckenn was darvmb recht sey vnnd ob man das icht billichenn verpiett vnd wie man das verpietenn sull.

C26. Ob auf lauff hinder dem ring geschehe ob das denn chempfernn kain schadn pringen sold^(d).

a. “i” with two points above. - b. Four last words reported below the line on the right hand side. - c. Last word reported below the line on the right hand side. - d. Last word reported below the line on the right hand side.

Acknowledgement and transcription norms

The transcriptions are based on the following works: A) BACHMANN, s.d., online; B) SCHULZE, 2010, p. 22; C) LORBEER/LORBEER/MEIER, 2006, pp. 91-92. All transcriptions in this appendix have been revised by the author and the following norms have been applied: Resolution of the abbreviation by underscoring; <u> and <v> / <i> and <j> / <ß> were reproduced as in the original; the diphthongs /uo/, /ue/, /ae/, /oe/, were marked superscript vowels with the special characters <u̥>, <u̇>, <ö̇>, <ä̇>; the uppercase and lowercase were respected.

Appendix 2. Pictorial representation of the training days

Iconographical cycle of the training days, in Hans Talhoffer, compendium, 1448. Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Hs Chart. A558.

