ARS ENSIS Lovagi Kör és Kardvívó Iskola Egyesület

Free Scholler THESIS

INTERPRETATION OF FIORE DE'I LIBERI'S SPEAR PLAYS

Written by:

Jakub Dobi

Free Scholler candidate

ADATLAP

Szakdolgozat éve	készítésének	2015-2016				
Jelölt neve		Dobi Jakub				
Külső konzulens:	Neve:	Francesco Perciballi				
	Beosztása:	HEMA Choreographer, Actor				
	Munkahelye:	VARGO Film				
	Munkahely címe:	Via Casilina Sud 74, Frosinone, 03100, Italy				
Belső konzulens:	Neve:	Joeli Takala				
	Beosztása:	HEMA Instructor				
	Munkahelye:	To the state of th				
	Munkahely címe:					
Szakdolgozatot ellenőriztem, beadható, nem adható be:						
dátum		külső konzulens				
uatuiii		v Kuisu kuiizuieiis				

belső konzulens

DIPLOMAMUNKA BÍRÁLATI LAP

Szerző (jelölt): Dobi Jakub

A diplomamunka címe: Interpretation of Fiore de'i Liberi's Spear Plays

A bíráló neve, munkahelye, foglalkozása: Kerese Máté FKI ÉBKvK III. KER HTP Beo.

1.	Témaválasztás: (max. 5 pont)	adott pontszám	5
2.	A dolgozat szerkezete, stílusa: (max 8 pont)	adott pontszám	5
3.	Szakirodalom feldolgozása: (max. 10 pont)	adott pontszám	7
4.	A téma kidolgozásának színvonala: (max. 20 pont)	adott pontszám	18
5.	A dolgozat gyakorlati vonatkozása: (max. 7 pont)	adott pontszám	7
	Összpontszám:	pontszám 42	

A bíráló általános véleménye a dolgozatról:

Az író egy Magyarországon kevéssé kutatott részét választotta Fiore de'Liberi vívókönyvének, így a lándzsáról írt értekezése az egyesület számára hiánypótlónak tekinthető. A dolgozat angol nyelven íródott, stílusa élvezhető, fogalmazása könnyen értelmezhető, közérthető. Képanyaggal jól dokumentált, a fotók mind esztétikai, mind szakmaivívástechnikai szempontból értékelhetőek, használhatóak.

A szerző a fellelhető kis mennyiségű forrásmunkát megfelelően használta fel a dolgozatban, azonban hiányolom a különféle felhasznált irodalmak lábjegyzetelését a törzsszövegben. Ezek hiányában nehezen választhatóak el az író saját, önálló gondolatai a másoktól átvett információktól. Ugyanígy hiányolom (bár megemlítésre kerül, hogy a Morgan verzió szövegezését veszi alapul) a vívókönyvből kiemelt idézetek pontos forrásmegjelölését lábjegyzetek formájában. A szerző leírása szerint a vívókönyvi idézetek angol fordításának származási helye a "Wiktenauer" honlap, ám ezeket konzulense korrigálta. Szerencsésnek tartottam volna valamilyen módon jelezni a dolgozatban, hogy az idézett szövegek mely része került újrafordításra, korrigálásra (kiemeléssel, vagy lábjegyzeteléssel).

A dolgozat ugyanakkor kiváló alapot képez a későbbi kutatások számára. A tradícióhoz kapcsolódó német nyelvű vívókönyvekkel való összevetést és az összehasonlítás jövőbeni lehetőségeit tartom különösen hasznosnak. A munka kiindulópontja lehet egy későbbi, az egyesület speciális fegyvernemein oktatott lándzsa tananyagnak is.

Külön példaértékűnek tartom az angol nyelv használatát (melyet megfelelő tapasztalatok hiányában csak egy magyar nyelvű bírálattal tudok honorálni), mely lehetővé teszi hogy a szélesebb HEMA közösség is megismerhesse azt a színvonalat, melyet az egyesület és a benne tanuló Free Schollerek képviselnek.

Dátum 2016. június 8.	
	Kerese Máté
	híráló

Table of Contents

1.	Introduction	3
	1.1. Goals of this thesis	3
	1.2. Sources	3
2.	The weapon	5
3.	Process of Research	6
4.	Material	7
	4.1. Introduction	7
	4.2. Guards on the right	8
	4.2.1. Tutta Porta di Ferro (Full Iron Gate)	8
	4.2.2. Meza Porta di Ferro (Half Iron Gate)	10
	4.2.3. Posta de Fenestra Dextra (Window on the Right)	12
	4.2.4. Play on the Right	14
	4.2.5. Counter to Play on the Right	16
	4.3. Guards on the left	18
	4.3.1. Dente di Zenghiar (Boar's Tusk)	18
	4.3.2. Vera Crose (True Cross)	20
	4.3.3. Posta Fenestra Sinistra (Window on the Left)	22
	4.3.4. Play on the Left	24
5.	Duel Tactics of Fiore's Spear	26
	5.1. Overall Goal	26
	5.2. How to hold the spear	26
	5.3. On defending	29
	5.3.1. Objectives	29
	5.3.2. Beat, not bind	30
	5.4. On attacking	32
	5.4.1. First thrust	32
	5.4.2. Possible attacks	32
	5.4.3. How to thrust	33
	5.4.4. Asymmetricity	33
	5.5. Movement towards abrazzare	35
	5.5.1. The hypothesis	35
	5.5.2. In Fiore's words:	35

	5.5.3. Daggers	. 35
	5.5.4. Implications to and from the rest of Fiore Furlano's works	. 36
	5.6. In summary	. 37
6.	Contextualization	. 38
	6.1. When and How	. 38
	6.2. Supplementary material by Fiore	. 39
	6.3. Examining related sources	. 40
	6.4. Areas of further research	. 41
7.	Summary	. 43
Bil	oliography	. 44
	ecial thanks	
Le	gal disclaimer	. 47

1. Introduction

1.1. Goals of this thesis

This study is an overview of the spear fencing material(s) from Fiore Furlano de'i

Liberi de Cividale d'Austria, (henceforth referred to as Fiore Furlano, Fiore de'i Liberi, or just

Fiore) fencing master from the late 14th- early 15th century Northern Italy. I will show my

findings based on research of Fiore's works from the early 15th century, and sources related to

these manuscripts. This thesis work serves more as an attempt to show more than what is

obvious at first sight, than an introduction for beginners of HEMA. Thus, concepts from

Fiore's extensive material will be referenced, and expected prior knowledge will be

mentioned, but all one would need to get acquainted with the material itself will also be

provided therein.

Looking at the actual extent of material provided on the spear in Fiore de'i Liberi's

works justifies the question: "What else is there?" This study will attempt to answer that

question. The assumption being, that a weapon used universally throughout time, regardless

of region, one that Fiore himself praises, is important enough to warrant more information.

This study will also refer to common knowledge of the HEMA community, and will

make comparisons to the favoured weapon thereof: the longsword.

My hope is that by the end of this study, the reader will receive a detailed vision of

Fiore's spear fencing material, both from a technical and tactical side. Moreover, I will argue

that this particular way of using the spear cannot be viewed out of the context of other

weapons, and will provide my own thoughts on the context.

1.2. Sources

In this study we will look at all four widely available (on the internet) manuscripts

authored by Fiore Furlano. They will serve as what I will refer to as primary sources. These

are:

Florius de arte luctandi: (MS LATIN 11269) (spear material found at: 6r-8r)

Written in Latin prose.

Translation made around 1420.

Coloured

3

Flos Duellatorum (Pisani-Dossi MS) (15r-16r; 34r)

Completed on 10th of February 1409.

Written in Italian verse.

Fior di Battaglia (MS Ludwig XV 13) (39r-40r)

 $\hbox{``Getty''- Held in the Getty museum.}\\$

Made for a diplomatic trip to Ferrara, 1404.

Written in detailed Italian prose.

Fior di Battaglia (MS M.383) (8r-9v)

"Morgan"- In the Morgan Library.

Written in Italian prose.

Made before 1404.

2. The weapon

Here I will introduce the implement used in Fiore's spear plays as simple enough to justify the simplicity of the material itself. I will compare it to the sword for ease of understanding within the HEMA community, and because this comparison sheds light on points to be made later.

The spear is not likely to need a full description, as it has been used throughout recorded history, in some forms even up until the beginning of World War 1.

The truism: "A spear is just a sharpened stick" contains a good basis for understanding how one would go about using it. The fencer has a wooden pole, the ends of which are the only reliably lethal parts. Plural "ends", since in the case of Fiore's weapon we can have a metal spike, or at least cap on the end opposite to the spearhead, called the pedal. The

spearhead can be just a spike, but more probably it is a metallic leaf shape with two blades, enabling limited cutting actions as well. It can be equipped with a crossbar at the base of the spearhead (making it a boar-spear, or hunting spear), but we don't see it used in the treatises. I believe in the case of the spear Fiore started from the assumption that the pupil has the very simplest of implements.

The material itself does use nomenclature similar to the well-studied longsword material, and in the HEMA community it is probable, that one would pick up the spear after studying longsword. However, for such people a few key points have to be kept in mind. The spear has its centre of mass roughly halfway up the shaft. It also does not feature a prominent blade, or even a hand protection. It would be about 2 metres long, based on studying images in the manuscripts. It is quite featureless, giving it little tools for controlling other weapons, which, as argued later, makes it very dangerous to fence with. These attributes contribute to a much simpler material, which still revolves around the well-established, complex system of Fiore Furlano, and therefore has to be studied within the context of other weapons, as argued later.



Fig. 2.1: Spear and javelins. Source: Wikipedia

3. Process of Research

Thankfully Fiore Furlano's manuscripts have been transcribed and translated in many versions already, saving me a lot of grunt work in relation to this thesis' subject. I mainly used Michael Chidester's translation of the Morgan manuscript with my consultant, Francesco Perciballi's small corrections.

Wiktenauer, the online HEMA wiki proved an invaluable asset in this case, not for taking what is written there on face value, but to organise and direct my research into related topics. It helped with contextualising resources by date and location. It also includes quite reliable translations of primary and related sources.

Naturally, the primary sources wield the most meaning when coming to conclusions. I researched writings and videos of other interpretations on the Fiore's spear, sadly most didn't go too much in depth, justified by the brevity of the section in Fiore's works.

Related sources, like Philippo di Vadi and the "Die Blumes des Kampfes" manuscript group served as a way to double check patterns I noticed and ideas I had in relation to the core material. They provided insight into the context and thoughts I had thereon.

Alongside the theoretical research, I also engaged in extensive practice with implements as similar to a spear as possible. I practiced stance transitions and thrusts from various positions, and did paired practice of the play included in the material, from all stances.

In this study I make points about the differences and changing context of duels in armour. I do not have first-hand experience with armoured combat; hence I can only extrapolate from written sources and the descriptions of those who do.

To test my theories against uncooperative opponents I joined a group in Kouvola, Finland, which held padded weapon fighting trainings. Most of their weapons were under a realistic weight, but the polearm they provided me with was unwieldy enough to simulate a proper spear's inertia. It was also soft enough on both ends to thrust and hit with relative safety. I had the luck to be able to test the material not only against other similar implements, but weapons of varying lengths and combinations.



Fig.3.1: The padded weapon

4. Material

4.1. Introduction

"Aqui comenza l'arte de nobile arma chiamada lanza, principio de bataglia a cavallo e a pe' è sua usanza. Chi la guarda cum so bello penone e polito de grande punta doventa smarido. E la fa grande punte e pricolose forte. E cum una sola pò dare la morte. E si lo primo colpo el suo debito ella fava Azza spada e daga de impazo tute le cavava."

"Here begins the art of the noble weapon called spear; in the beginning of battle, on horse and on foot, is its use. And whoever watches it with its dashing pennant should be frightened with great dread. And it makes great thrusts which are dangerously strong, and with a single one it can give death. And if in the first blow it makes its due, then pole axe, sword, and dagger will all be upset."

In this chapter I will describe what actual material Fiore Furlano shows for the spear. Not making any assumptions, or speculation, just pointing out important factors for points to be made later.

The structure of the spear material is similar throughout all four sources. We are first shown three guards on the right and a play, followed by three guards on the left and the previous play, inverted. The student- opponent always stabs from their right. The guards on the left are not always shown, and a counter to the play on the right is included in three sources.

I will include the text of the Morgan codex, as it is the most descriptive, and detailed. I will use images from the Getty, and Pisani Dossi, as they are the clearest, accompanied by photos we took with my brother and father. The original text transcribed will be shown on the left and the translation by Michael Chidester, with Francesco Perciballi's corrections, on the right.

The following are plays of spear against spear.

4.2. Guards on the right

Note that all guards on the right use the left foot forward, and the right hand is higher up on the spear's shaft. They also all face directly forward, towards the opponent.

4.2.1. Tutta Porta di Ferro (Full Iron Gate)

"Nuy semo tri magistri in guardia cum nostre lanze e convegnemo pigliare aquello della spada. E io non son lo primo che in tuta porta di ferro son posto per rebatter la lanza dello zugadore tosto zoè, che passarò cum lo pe' drito ala traversa fora de strada, e atraversando la sua lanza rebaterò in parte stancha. Sì che llo passare e llo rebatere se fa in uno passo cum lo ferire. Aquesta cosa che non se pò fal(i)re."

"We are three Masters in guard with our lances, and we conform to the grips of the sword. And I am the first, and I am set in the Full Iron Gate to beat the lance of the player quickly, that is, that I will step with my right foot out of the way to the (left) side, and crossing his lance I will beat it to the left side such that the step and the beat are made in a single pass with the wounding. This is a thing that cannot fail."

The first guard in the spear versus spear material:

Forward facing stance;

Left leg forward;

Right hand higher up on shaft;

Spear held around the middle, possibly close to the spearhead;

Spear held close, resting on shoulder/chest pointing upwards, slightly back.

This stance is ideal for a preventative parry; that is one that stops the attack before it has time to fully develop. The play from here can be done by stepping inwards with the right foot, as well as outwards.

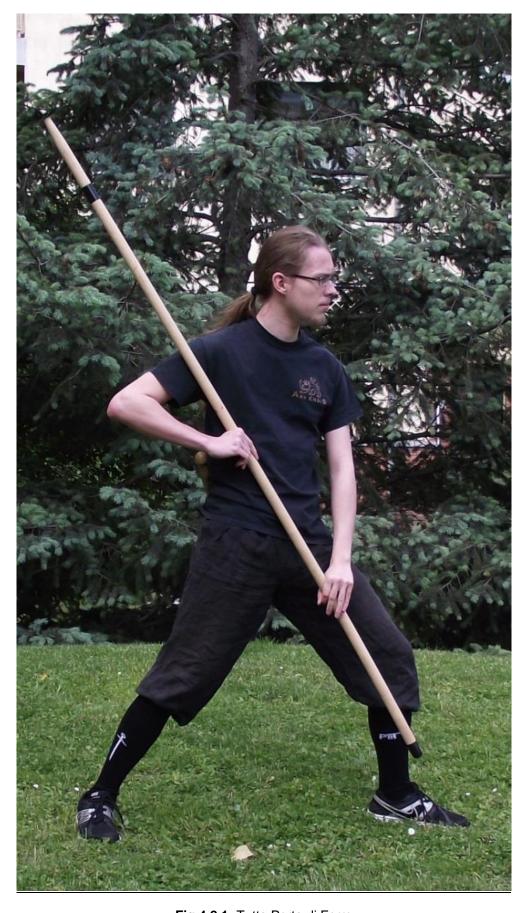


Fig.4.2.1: Tutta Porta di Ferro

4.2.2. Meza Porta di Ferro (Half Iron Gate)

"In meza porta di ferro io me ho posto cum curta lanza, lo rebater e llo ferire è sempre mia usanza. E vegna chi vole cum longa lanza o stanga, che rebaterò cum passo, lo ferire non mi mancha. Che tute le guardie che stano fora de strada cum curta lanza e curta spada, sono soficienti a 'spetare ogni arma manuale longa. E aquelle della parte drita covrano e cum coverta passano e meteno punta. E lle guardie de parte sinistra covrano o rebateno e di colpi fierano e non pò metere acosì ben punta."

"I have set myself in the Middle Iron Gate with short lance, and to beat and to strike is always my way. Come whoever wishes with long lance or staff and I will beat with a step and I won't miss to wound. And all the guards that stay off to the side with short lance and short sword are sufficient to await any long hand-held weapon; those of the right side cover, and with the cover step and thrust with the point. And the guards of the left side cover or beat and then strike with blows, but cannot thrust very well with the point."

The second guard.

Deep, forward facing stance;

Left leg forward;

Right hand higher up on shaft;

Spear held around the middle of shaft;

Spear held across and over the front leg, pointing towards the ground.

This guard is ideal for stepping outwards off the line, and swiping across one's body with the shaft. The play on the right is done with a big outwards step and beating away of the incoming attack.

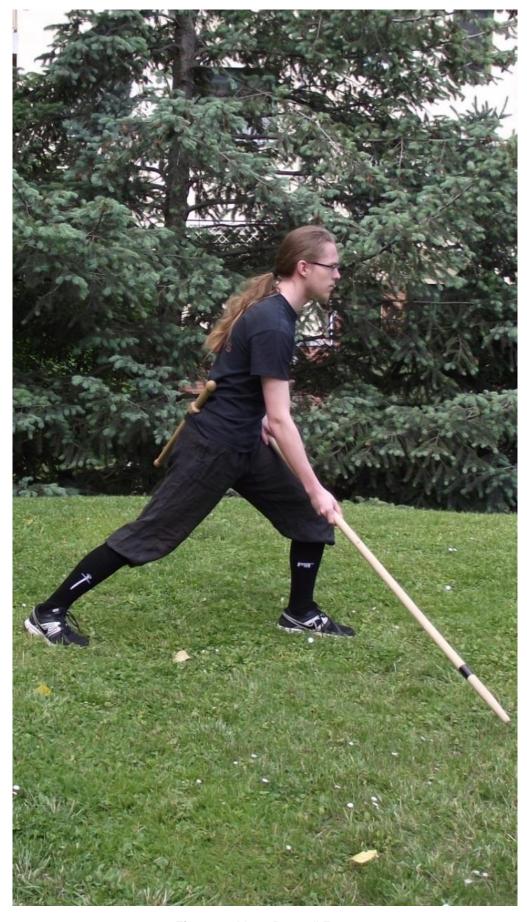


Fig.4.2.2: Meza Porta di Ferro

4.2.3. Posta de Fenestra Dextra (Window on the Right)

"Io son in la nobele posta de fenestra dextra che in rebatere e ferire sempre io son presta. E de lanza longa me curo pocho. Ancora cum la spada e' aspetaria la longa lanza stando in questa guarda che ogni punta rebate e sì la intarda. E llo scambiar de punta io posso fare. E llo rebatere a terra non se pò falar. In lo zogo che n'è dredo volemo finire"

"I am the noble Stance of the Right Window; I am always quick to beat and to wound, and of long lances I care little. I would also await a long lance with a sword by standing in this guard, which beats and retards every thrust. I could also make the exchange of thrusts, or beat them to the ground (which cannot fail). In the play hereafter I want to finish."

The third guard.

Forward facing stance, slightly sideways to enemy;

Left leg forward;

Right hand higher up on shaft;

Spear held on lower half, with crossed arms, on the right;

Spear held at head height, pointing at enemy.

This posta is ideal for an exchange of thrusts due to its point threatening the opponent. It is also the best for power generation for a hewing attack, due to the crossed arms and wound up posture. The following play can be done either stepping inwards, exchanging the thrust, or outwards, beating the incoming spear downwards with great force.



Fig.4.2.3: Fenestra Dextra

4.2.4. Play on the Right

Thrust at face.

"In questo zogo finisseno li tre guardie che denanci son zoè tuta porta di ferro e porta di ferro la mezana e posta di fenestra dextra la soprana, in questo zogo elle finisseno li zoghi e la loro arte. Como io fiero a costui in lo volto per lor parte..." "The three guards which came before should finish in this play—that is, the Full Iron Gate and the Middle Iron Gate and the Stance of the Right High Window. In this play they finish the plays of their art. And I strike this man in the face on their behalf…"

Step forward with right leg, either outwards, off the middle line, or inwards, across it; Swipe horizontally across your body with spear shaft; Beat aside incoming thrust, either with beat (rebattare) to spear, or change of thrusts;

This play has a couple of points of variation, but the outcome and goal is singular: Displace the incoming thrust off- line; position your body past the opponent's spear's point, and place your weapon in line for a thrust. You may achieve this by stepping across the line, stopping the attack in its early stage -either with a beat or an exchange of thrusts- or stepping outwards, beating the incoming -and surely following- thrust as far off line as possible.

This outcome does not require a defined attacker and defender. It is entirely possible, that both sides attack at the same time in hopes of winning the centre line.



Fig.4.2.4: Play on the right

4.2.5. Counter to Play on the Right

"...Aquesto è lo contrario deli tri magistri de la lanza che finisseno in questo zogo e 'l modo voglio dire. Quando gli magistry credeno la mia lanza fora de lor persona cazare io dò volta ala mia lanza e ferischo cum lo pedale che à. E acosì ò bon ferro in lo pedale ch'ala punta. Gli zoghi de quisti magistri pocho me monta."

"...This is the counter to the three Masters of the spear that would finish in this play and in the way that was said. When the Masters believe my spear to be away from harming their persons, I give a turn to my lance and strike with its butt, since it has as good iron in the butt as in the point. The plays of these Masters bother me little."

Once you feel you spear being pushed off line:

Step outwards with left leg;

Turn spear around opponent's spear, pushing horizontally outwards;

Hit to face with butt end- pedal.

The advised safe option for the loser of the centre line is for them to move past the opponent's point, and shortening the distance so they can use the pedal. It is important to push the spear that threatens us to the side, and not vertically in any direction.

This action can be easily countered symmetrically; however this option is not included in the source material, and is my own added conclusion.



Fig.4.2.5: Counter on the Right

4.3. Guards on the left

Note that all guards on the left use the right foot forward, and the left hand is higher up on the spear's shaft. They also all face away from the opponent with volta stabile. It is also probable that they see most use when the opponent comes closer than they did in the case of the right side stances.

4.3.1. Dente di Zenghiar (Boar's Tusk)

"Nuy semo tre guardie di parte riversa e io son la prima in dente di zenghiar. Aquelle guardie che sono de parte drita fanno aquello che fazemo della riversa. Nuy passamo fora de strada innanci acresendo lo pe' ch'è denanci como ditto fora de strada. E de nostre punte de parte riversa fazemo derada. E tute de parte dritta e riversa convegnemo in punta rebatendo finire, che altra offesa cum la lanza non ne po' seguire."

"We are three guards of the left side and I am the first, in the Boar's Tusk. Those guards that are on the right side do the same as we do on the left side: we step out of the way, first advancing the foot which is behind (as was said, out of the way), and with our thrusts on the right side we make a bargain. And to finish the beat, both the right side and the left converge in a thrust so that other offenses with the spear cannot follow."

The fourth guard.

Away facing stance, with volta stabile;

Right leg towards enemy;

Left hand higher up on shaft;

Spear held around middle, pointing upwards;

Spear held close to body.

This stance is ideal for inviting a thrust, and subsequently closing the distance, effectively deceiving the opponent to extend them into a thrust. The play is done with either stepping outwards with the left foot, or depending on distance management- backwards with the right.

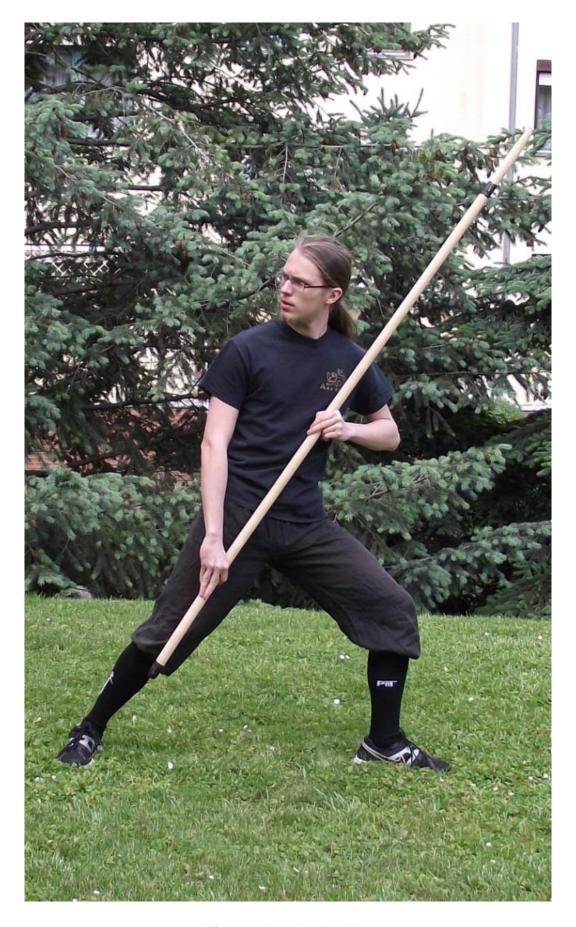


Fig.4.3.1: Denti di Zenghiar

4.3.2. Vera Crose (True Cross)

"Io in posta de vera crose io aspeto tu m'è troppo appresso zoga netto. Lo pe' dritto che m'è denanci indredo lo tornerò, e la tua lanza rebaterò fora de strada in verso man dritta. La mia punta non falirà, la tua serà falita."

"I wait in the Stance of the True Cross, for you are too close for my play. I return backward the right foot which is in front, and I will beat your spear out of the way toward the right-hand side. My thrust will not fail: yours will be the failure."

The fifth guard.

Away facing stance, with volta stabile;

Right leg towards enemy;

Left hand higher up on shaft;

Spear held around middle, pointing away from enemy, towards the ground;

Spear held close to hip.

This stance is ideal for power generation to beat away an incoming attack, due to the fact that the beat originates at the hip, and the master does a full 180 degree turn to execute the play. The play from here is done by stepping backwards with the right foot, and turning the body and spear to face the opponent.



Fig.4.3.2: Vera Crose

4.3.3. Posta Fenestra Sinistra (Window on the Left)

"In posta fenestra sinistra io son aparechiado se non ti fiero cum punta tu hai bon mercado. La punta tegnerò erta e lli brazi bassi porterò cum lo pe' ch'è dredo cum quello io passarò fora de strada a man riversa. La punta te meterò in lo volto senza nesuna defesa. El zogo che m'è dredo noy tre magistri aquello possemo noy fare, una volta lo pr(o)vi non lo voray più provare."

"I appear in the Stance of the Left Window; if I don't strike you with the point, you will have a good deal. I will hold the point high and I will carry my arms low, and I will step out of the way to the left-hand side with the foot that is behind. Then I will thrust the point in your face without any possible defense. We three Masters can all make the play which is after me; once you try it, you will not want to taste any more."

The sixth, and last guard of the spear material.

Away facing stance, with volta stabile;

Right leg towards enemy;

Left hand higher up on shaft;

Spear resting low, on shoulder, pointing towards enemy;

Arms crossed.

This stance serves a similar purpose as its counterpart on the right side. The master also points out its offensive capabilities, due to the point on line. The play, and attack from here is done by stepping outwards off line. Hewing attacks are still an option.



Fig.4.3.3: Fenestra Sinistra

"Lo zogo dela lanza aqui finisse che io lo fazo della parte riversa, de lor zoghi me impazo. Aqueste tre guardie che sono denanci fano pensir, de lanza longa o curta de non la falir che le sono guardie de sì grande difesa che in uno vuago le fanno defesa e ofesa. E llo contrario de questa punta aquello bene si pò fare. Quando cum quello ferire la punta se rompe lo pedale se de' voltare. Dello zogo dela lanza bene pò aquesto bastare."

"The play of the spear finishes here and I make it from the left side; I am besotted with their plays. These three guards which were previously make me think that they will not fail against long spear or shortened, for they are guards of great protection (in that in one jaunt they make both defense and offense). And the counter to this thrust can be done well. When the thrust is broken with that strike, the butt should be turned [forward]. This may be enough of the play of the lance.".

Step backwards with front(right) leg, or outwards with rear(left) leg;

Swipe horizontally across your body with spear shaft;

Beat aside or change the incoming thrust;

Thrust to face.

The counter is done similarly to the one on the right.

Similarly to the play on the right, this play has the objective of closing the distance in a way that puts the master in an advantageous position to finish the duel with a thrust. Previously at the description of the Meza Porta Fiore mentions the left sided stances beat better than the ones on the right. This adds the possibility of ending this play by hitting the opponent with the spear's blade.

The counter is done similarly, provided the attacker also has the left hand higher on their weapon.



Fig.4.3.4: Play on the Left

5. Duel Tactics of Fiore's Spear

Herein I will attempt to present a whole picture of the actual process of spear fencing, according to Fiore Furlano. I see the material as a collection of tactical aspects, all of which are equally important. They are also largely interconnected, and pose a challenge, as to what to start with. I will attempt to follow master Fiore's flow of information.

5.1. Overall Goal

Fiore Furlano points out in the beginning of his material that the spear is to be used in the beginning of combat. This shows us a scenario where other weapons might follow after the spear. It makes sense, since it is the longest weapon he deals with, and it requires a considerably larger fencing distance; measure is key. It is also apparent, that Fiore does not want to stay in spear distance, as detailed later.

However, his material does detail spear-on-spear combat, and prepares the pupil for such a confrontation, and the possibility of ending combat at this stage. He also praises the threat posed by the strong thrust of the weapon. His material greatly details one thing: displacing the opponents thrust.

This shows a single main goal when dealing with a spear: When facing a spear, one has to put themselves in a position where the opponents point is off line, and they themselves are past the point, essentially rendering the opponent's spear point useless.

This way of approaching fencing distance and attack works, unless countered by the turn of the shaft and attack with the other, metal encased end. This is, however, very difficult to do in the miniscule amount of time the spear actually takes to make contact once pushed to thrust. Another difficulty is that the counter can be just as easily countered symmetrically, effectively ending the phase of spear fencing in the melee, and forcing both sides to move on to shorter weapons, or abrazzare.

5.2. How to hold the spear

From the fact, that all the stances depicted in the source material use hand positions of considerable variation, we can deduce a few key points.

The first thing that becomes apparent is that the "top" hand, the one higher on the shaft changes depending on the side -left or right- of the stance. The top hand, at least in the case of the stances shown by the master, is always the one that corresponds to the side: Right side stances use the right hand and vice versa.

This means that if one wishes to switch the side of their stance, they also might need to switch the position of at least one of their hands. Which one, depends on the next point of consideration:



Fig.5.2/1: Average position of hands

At least the lower hand has to be at most an arm's length up the shaft. This means that the spear can be held pointing outwards in front of the spearman only if it fits under their armpit, otherwise it will get caught on their side (making changing sides impossible while keeping the weapon pointing in line at the same time.). In fact, from testing movement with the weapon, I would recommend putting one hand about a forearm's length from the "pedal", or the metal capped butt end. About the other hand:

Fiore mentions on many occasions that the spear is held short, to deceive the opponent. The spear is also way more controllable when your hands are far apart, which is important for accurate thrusts, and dominating the centre line. This puts the top hand's ideal location around the middle, or slightly above the middle of the weapon for stances and

defence. However, for the sake of offensive actions, it has to be gripping the weapon loosely, so it can slide, thus adjusting the distance and reach.

These points add up to the conclusion that the grip on the spear should be flexible and light for the most part, with an authoritative, stable position for thrusting and the contact moment of defence.





Fig.5.2/2: The spear is held lower down in order to avoid it getting caught on one's chest.



Fig.5.2/3: The top hand may slide down to extend reach.

5.3. On defending

It is important to note that defence and offence blend together, and it is unclear whether the stances are purely reactive, or if the play is the result of both spearmen attempting to take control of the centre line. Fiore himself states that the defence in the play is good because it offers offence at the same time.

5.3.1. Objectives

The plays on both sides are about first making the incoming thrust harmless, and the opponent helpless against our counter-thrust. They do, however, have different way of achieving this, depending mostly on the side of the initial stance, and the opponent's stance and hands.

On the right side, we are facing our opponent, stance fully turned towards the threat. Here our tactic can be to stop the attack before it fully develops, stepping "ala traversa". Tutta Porta, and possibly Mezza Porta are efficient at this, as we can easily move our whole body and spear in the desired direction, making for fast reactions. Fenestra is better at the other way we can go from here, stepping outside, turning inwards. Here our tactic is to evade the thrust, and by creating a slightly asymmetrical situation, binding the opponents spear in a way that is advantageous to us.

On the left side, however, we are turned away from the opponent in "volta stabile". Our mass rests on the leg that is farther from the opponent. We are ready to give ground, but we are also ready to create great force by just turning our body. Here one of our tactics is a retreat, simply stepping away from the opponent, following the mass on our farther leg. This is useful when we are holding our spear too extended to be able to thrust if we were to move any closer to our adversary. It also might work if we notice our opponent charging in too vehemently and leaving us no space to thrust. The other thing we can do, is stepping with our left (farther) leg off the line. This way we create the asymmetrical and advantageous bind I already described. Furlano also points out, almost as a side note that the guards on the left do not thrust well, but are used to beat away incoming attacks and "colpi", hit the opponent.

Here it is essential to point out the method with which one should beat away, or exchange the incoming thrust. The smart spearman will recognize that the human body is taller than it is wide, and will strive to displace incoming points to the side, never in panic pulling their shaft up, or pushing down. Vertical displacement only slightly alters the final destination of the thrust, but it is hopeless to defend such a fast action in this direction. It is also paramount to move away from the initial target position of the incoming attack.

A conflict of interest arises in one's own movements when they wish to swipe acrossin front of their own body, at the same time trying to keep their point in line for a thrust. The
conflict lies in the simple fact that an effective displacement requires a somewhat vertical
weapon. This results in a movement culture that is very much about pivoting around our lead
leg- making "tutta volta", and only bringing our point in line at the ends of movement, when
we assume a stance, and when we defend ourselves with it. We also find ourselves making the
spear's centre of mass orbit around ours, keeping the spear quite close to our body.

5.3.2. Beat, not bind

Of The various displacements found in other parts of Fiore's material two are recommended by the master to use against incoming thrusts. These are "rebattare" and "scambia di punta", with the omission of "incrossada" and "rompera di punta".

Rebattare in this case is most of the displacements, in which Fiore beats the incoming spear aside. Usually It is the only viable option, considering the lack of a crossguard, or any defensive attachment on the spear, which would allow for tighter control of the opponents weapon. The master mentions beating towards the ground, when describing options from the Right Window. This is a result of that particular stance defending with a wide step outwards,

and the particularly short, wound up grip on the spear. It is not, however, described as rompera di punta, as it is in the longsword material.

The Right Window also offers an opportunity for exchanging the incoming thrust (scambia), which I would also attribute to the sizeable length of the spear above the top hand in this particular stance. It allows for the opponents weapon to slide along it, while being displaced.

A point of concern I immediately faced when trying out the material, is the position of the point of contact in relation to the hand. Furthermore, the question of bind versus beat arose. The material has no written comment on the matter, therefore my speculation follows:

The lack of a crossguard deceived my longsword fencer mentality when trying to displace my partner's thrust. My fingers immediately received the weight of the opponent's momentum as their spear slid along mine down to my hand. There also is also no definite answer in the source materials. From manuscript to manuscript, the point of contact changes from above the hand, to between the two hands, to on the top hand. One answer could have been armoured gloves, but the sources do not take a definite stance on whether armour is a requirement for Fiore's fencing. Therefore, returning to the earlier point; about the displacements being beats (rebattare), and not binds (incrossada), I believe the safe assumption is that all displacements need a considerable application of force to send the incoming weapon bouncing off ours, and keeping our fingers away from the danger of breaking. The second option is to receive the opponent's attack between the hands (holding the spear wide). The third option is the exchange of thrusts detailed previously. Usually, however, the point is less about feeling and controlling the opponent's spear, and more about displacing it enough to allow for a counter thrust.

It is also notable that Fiore's stances with the spear also offer good protection if the thrust were to come towards lower body parts. One can always lower the displacement, or as in the case of Full Iron Gate, or Boar's Tusk one can swipe across the lower body with the pedal side of the weapon.

5.4. On attacking

5.4.1. First thrust

As Fiore points out in the first paragraph of the spear material, making the first thrust can put even greatly more sophisticated weapons in peril. He also makes it understood that only one thrust can be all one needs to kill their opponent.

He does not offer an ideal stance to thrust from, only showing the pupil doing it from a high, right side stance. It does not, in fact, offer good force generation, and oddly enough depending on hand position, does not even prime the counter to the displacement of the initial attack. Fiore does point out when one of his stances, like the Window, offers good thrusts, but most of the stances he shows don't even have the point in line for an attack. Then again, thrusting with a spear is the most intuitive thing one can do. The question might be less about how, and more about when.

A spear can be brought to bear with astonishing frequency, pushing it forward and pulling it back takes very little time compared to distance. This is one of the reasons it is very dangerous to stay within this distance. Two spears can easily pass next to each other resulting in both combatants receiving a thrust. The first thrust is about dominating the centre line, and either killing the opponent outright, or putting ourselves in a better position for what follows.

Therefore the time for the first thrust is, quite simply, right before dashing in from spear distance. It either ends with us pushing the spear deep into the opponent, assuring they can't wound us back, or performing the counter to their displacement and ending up in a distance too short for spear. Retreating out of distance can be an option, but considering the lack of control options for the spear, one would still be in considerable danger from a following thrust by the wounded opponent.

Against other, shorter weapons we find ourselves in an inherent advantage of distance. Here the initial thrust becomes a question of thrusting fast, relentlessly disallowing the opponent to close the distance to us, or being prepared to use the pedal (metal cap) and our own side-weapons.

5.4.2. Possible attacks

The most obvious attack performable with the spear is the thrust. However it is obvious from Fiore's descriptions, and the fact that even he treats it as interchangeable with a

staff, that hitting actions are an option. The immense momentum behind the parries done from the guards shown can either deflect an incoming attack, or in the same movement hit the opponent in the head. Thrusting is the most preferable first action, it makes little sense to swing at a person awaiting us with a spear due to the longer time needed and shorter reach we could have. Striking with the pedal is also an option, but is very contextual.

5.4.3. How to thrust

Fiore Furlano doesn't detail the thrust, probably assuming the simplicity of it warrants no explanation. However I believe a number of important points lead up to a simple conclusion that is worth mentioning. My impressions based on trial follow:

Two points of interest contribute to preparing an effective thrust, both mentioned earlier. They are: Holding the spear wide, and keeping it short. They create proper distance management and distance deception while providing enough power generation for the thrust.

The top hand, quite high up on the weapon, grips it lightly, and will act as the direction controlling hand. We can grip tight, and perform short, strong trusts, or loosen the grip, and gain distance, as the weapon slides in the top hand. The bottom hand provides most of the power, and has no other objective but to push the spear forward.

Fiore emphasizes distance deception by keeping the spear short. It is immediately apparent, that a spear should not be held far in front of the user, as it offers no flexibility in the thrust distance. Keeping the spear point as close as possible comforts the opponent into closing the distance. However the spear needs minimal time to extend into a thrust, which is also more powerful this way, as it originates at the spear fencer's centre of mass.

The student also steps with all thrusts, which does not seem necessary, but after further consideration, it synchronises the legs with the position of the hands, and primes the counterplay shown in the material.

5.4.4. Asymmetricity

A fairly complicated conclusion that can be deduced from all points mentioned above is that the side from which the thrust originates, and conversely, the side from which it is defended is very significant, as is the position of the hands, and mismatch can create situations for which Fiore's material does not prepare the reader.

As long as the attacker's top hand corresponds to the side from which the defender parries (symmetrical), the counter can be managed (the position of the legs might force an advance instead of a full step). If not, the counter would force crossed arms, an uncomfortable stance, and loss of time. Alternatively, an attack on the same side might be possible, but inventing techniques is outside the scope of this thesis.

This also means for the defender that parrying asymmetrically is desirable, as it shuts the attacker out of the centre line almost completely. However, considering the fact both fencers gain by attacking first, perhaps symmetrical fencing is desired by both.

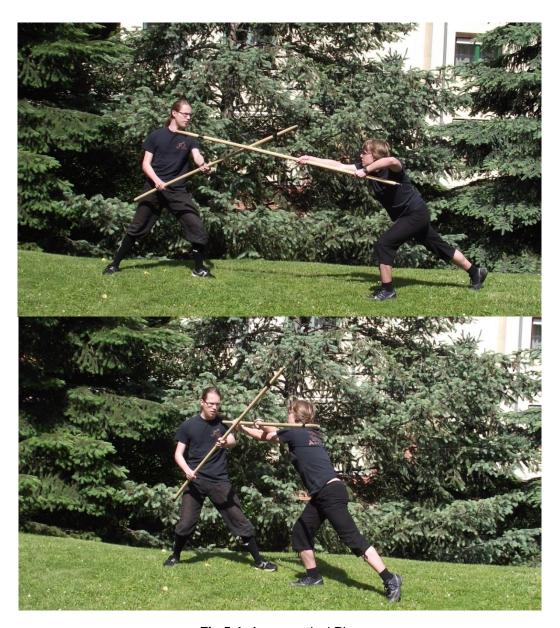


Fig.5.4: Asymmetrical Play

5.5. Movement towards abrazzare

5.5.1. The hypothesis

While studying the spear material of Fiore Furlano I came to one defining conclusion, which is not explicitly stated by the master, but is quite obvious to me after thorough inspection of the works. Fiore uses the spear briefly, to close the distance to the opponent, and move on to weapons in which he can exercise more control, like dagger combat, or wrestling. In fact, spear distance is arguably the most dangerous to fence in, due to the lack of control options with and against such a weapon. I am convinced Fiore himself preferred closing the distance from here. I have hinted at this point previously, however here I will present the evidence and logic behind the claim.

5.5.2. In Fiore's words:

Fiore states that the spear is used in the beginning of combat, hinting at a continuation of combat after the use of spear. The technical knowledge presented also moves towards shorter distances without considering an opportunity for staying in spear distance.

5.5.3. Daggers

The first hint I noticed about the manuscripts that got me thinking about the possibility of the spear working in the context of shorter weapons are the daggers drawn on the belts of the spearmen in the material. In fact, after thorough comparison, no other section in Fiore's works has fencers depicted with other weapons than what the section is about, none have sidearms added. And this is universal among all four manuscripts. The daggers are not always visible, however, but appear consistently enough exclusively in the spear sections. This shows that the daggers shown are important to understanding spear fencing, but the historical context made pointing it out with text obsolete.

Fiore also depicts how to wield a spear/staff and a dagger at the same time, parrying the opponents spear with his, and attacking with the dagger. In fact, I believe the spear fencing material as a whole is as much about getting past the spear's distance, as it is about actually using the spear.





Fig.5.5: The spear is discarded for a dagger.

5.5.4. Implications to and from the rest of Fiore Furlano's works

My impression is that Fiore, as expressed through the kinds of techniques he uses, prefers to exercise control in all sections of his martial art style. This is evident in his swordplay also, which features an equal portion of "giocco largo" and "giocco stretto" plays, which in turn make use of his extensive wrestling knowledge, upon which all of his other sections are based.

The spear, however, offers very limited control capabilities. Used against someone with a shorter weapon, the control is exercised through distance management. But Fiore seems to universally move towards body contact and physical pins.

Against a spear, the focus is mostly on getting past the tremendous reach of the weapon, and less on the tool we use to achieve this.

5.6. In summary

In the beginning of combat, equipped with a spear facing a similarly equipped opponent, according to Master Fiore, our duel would follow the following steps:

Taking initiative is key, it is advisable to thrust first at the opponent, stepping into spear distance this way.

The opponent is forced to defend, at the same time attempting to get past the measure of spears, either finishing the fight with a counter thrust, or at the very least displacing the incoming attack.

Provided the attacker is still alive, there is no other way to move to safety having their thrust pushed off target, but further inwards. The butt end of the spear, or other means of control are used to move past the opponent's point, and deal a debilitating blow.

From here, depending on the success of the counter it is a matter of finishing off the opponent. Alternatively both combatants draw shorter weapons (e.g. daggers) or wrestle.

6. Contextualization

6.1. When and How

The next and last main question that remains after inspecting how a bout on spears would work is in regards to the conditions in which the bout would happen. Period duel customs is a topic for another thesis work way larger in scope, and in lack of translated contemporary sources, I can only take "common knowledge", and Fiore's writings as a basis. However I believe a simple case can be made for the spear's place in such duels, in context of other weapons. After examining further sources, I firmly believe the spear was regarded as something not enough for a duellist to solely fight with, but was an advantage that had to be matched if one wished to use it.

We know from Fiore dei Liberi himself, that he preferred armoured duel combat, what he called "in the barriers" (in sbara) and advised his students to restrict themselves to it too. He did, however present his art as a possibly lethal one, and apparently used it to walk away from duels with sharp swords unscathed on five occasions.

We can also read him recounting his students, e.g. condottieres, fight duels with various weapons with honour. His recollection mentions spear on horseback, but not on foot. Therefore I see two options in which two men stand against each other with spears, in the barriers:

The straightforward option, as Fiore himself says," in the beginning of combat is the spear's use". The two combatants enter the duelling ground on foot carrying a spear, most probably equipped with at least one other weapon, be it a sword (shown used along the spear in related sources, like the Wolfenbüttel sketchbook) or a dagger (illustrated in the manuscripts). The questions that arise concern the poleaxe. If given the option, one might surely opt for the more versatile poleaxe, which Fiore himself devotes more pages to. This counterpoint can be further counterpointed with the possibility of the lack of arms and armour, be it for financial or cultural reasons (duel to the death, which we know, Fiore wishes to prepare us for; or simple bravado). It can also be personal preference, the spear being drawn significantly longer than the poleaxe.

The less obvious option is the possibility of both combatants falling or getting off their horses after initially entering the duel mounted, carrying a spear/lance. In this scenario the obvious first weapon at hand is put to use. However, the master does not describe such a

possibility with text or picture. Furthermore, the mounted plays do not show any weapons carried other than the ones in use. This may not be a significant point, or it might support the idea that once forced off the horse, such a duel would end. However, Fiore does show the same play of the spear against a mounted opponent, which means this either happened in duel, or in other context (battle).

The question of armour remains: how does it affect the use of the spear? Fiore states within his poleaxe material, that the hardened point of that weapon penetrates armour. No such note exists in relation to the spear, and it would be quite unrealistic to expect is to go through a breastplate. This makes the spear less of a threat, but still a significant danger. In the context of spear as a beginning weapon, it makes closing the distance less of a challenge, and also justifies other weapons being readily available. As is the case with most other weapons shown by the master, it can be used with and without armour, according to him.

6.2. Supplementary material by Fiore

In the Pisani Dossi, and the Latin Florius de arte Luctandi Fiore includes methods of approaching a spearman using daggers, staves and clubs. The principle seems consistent: get past the point of the spear, using whatever implement you have in the left hand, wound with the dagger. The way the spearman should counter such approaches is also discussed. Having the shaft of the spear still in the hand one can block dagger thrusts by raising it into the attack.

Another use of the spear shown by the master is against a mounted, lance wielding opponent. Again, the principle is the same: Thrust! If displaced, use the pedal. The stance is named Boar's Tusk, however it is different from the stance shown in the spear material, rather looking exactly like the Boar's Tusk in the sword section. The same stance is advised for awaiting shorter weapons and thrown attacks.

Relating to the above mentioned question of armour, the Pisani Dossi also includes ways of displacing the spear using one's vambraces. Here it isn't an issue, or might even be an objective, to displace downwards, onto one's breastplate. All in all, in this case the objective is to avoid getting thrust in a gap in your armour.

6.3. Examining related sources

Caution is to be advised, when exploring similar material, dealing with the same weapon, or the same plays, from Fiore's students or contemporaries. It provides clues about the material at hand, but exactly because of a different context, might be dealing with a completely different form of fighting. Alternatively it might have been imperfectly copied (or a difference of opinion might exist).

Such is the case when examining Philippo di Vadi's "De Arte Gladiatoria Dimicandi" which includes a half-complete copy of Fiore's spear material. It can be safely assumed that Vadi had access to master Fiore's teachings by reading his works as he lived slightly later. He even expresses the same views on the target audience of this art, down to a very peculiar similarity in wording. However, for instance, his Meza Porta di Ferro (Half Iron Gate) has the legs switched. In fact, the same stance in the sword material also has the legs switched. From a practical standpoint these variations are not bad, as in they are not completely impractical. The Meza Porta with the right foot forward (more like a Denti di Zenghiar in longsword) offers better opportunities for thrusting, too.

However the intent with which Fiore introduced the stance is somewhat lost, as it does not offer good enough options for displacement of incoming thrusts. Vadi's treatise also does not feature daggers or any other sidearm drawn on spearmen. This might be indicative of a difference in mentality. Where Fiore sees an obstacle to overcome, Vadi sees an opportunity to fence in a way that ends the duel at the stage of spears.

Another set of source material related to Fiore's work in content is the four manuscripts: Cod.5278; Eyb Kriegsbuch (MS B.26); Bũech von fechter Vnnd Ringstückhen zũ Ross vnnd Fuoß (Cod.10799); and Wolfenbüttel Sketchbook (Cod.Guelf.78.2 Aug.2°), grouped together and commonly known as "Die Blume des Kampfes", a literal translation to German of Fiore's "Fior di Battaglia"- "The Flower of Battle". These are believed to be a continuation of the same martial arts tradition Fiore was a master of due to the significantly similar structure and technical overlap. They are dated from around Fiore's time to the early 17^{th} century. It is important to note that Fiore never states he invented what he shares in his works, but that he wishes to be remembered as a master of this particular art.

None of these German treatises have text to accompany the spear material. The spear material included ranges from very similar to that of Fiore, to somewhat more detailed but textually not explained use of the spear in fully armoured duels along with other weapons. The most interesting iteration on Fiore's work appears as swords are being shown grabbed along with the spear. This means they are more readily available, and that daggers might not be a necessity. In some cases the sword is held in the off hand, used to deflect spear thrusts as Fiore would use a staff or a club. In the case of the Wolfenbüttel Sketchbook, the spear is shown used along a sword in fully armoured combat, and more techniques are shown that render the spear non-threatening. In the Cod.10799, illustrated with relatively high quality watercolour images, the same difference in the Meza Porta appears as in the case of Vadi.

The pattern of spearmen being illustrated with daggers and other side-weapons continues loosely. What can be quite surely stated is that the spear is being shown in the context of other weapons and in complex, armoured bouts. I believe it opens the very wide question of how duels and tournaments looked like in the Europe of the Renaissance. What place did the spear, and in fact, every other weapon have in the process of such bouts?

6.4. Areas of further research

The most on-hand direction of further understanding would be comparative research. To discover and analyse contemporary martial arts traditions that perhaps had different objectives and context, would shed more light on the objectives and context of the tradition Fiore himself represented. Primarily European sources are interesting in this regard, but to get a full picture neighbouring culture groups might also provide insight. In this case the limit of knowledge is nowhere in sight.

A similarly interesting direction of research is the rules and customs of duels in renaissance Italy and Europe in general. If one could get detailed insight into the process of the fights Fiore calls "in sbara", or how the duels of his students happened from weapon to weapon, we could place the spear, and all other weapons discussed within the manuscripts into proper context. There is one source that has caught my eye, which unfortunately has no English translation, and is quite lengthy. It is a work by one 15th century Italian jurist Paride del Pozzo- De re militari et de duello. It reportedly describes contemporary military and duel laws and customs. Parts of it were adopted by Achille Marozzo in his fifth book- Opera Nova, in 1536 (the parts in question also have no translation).

Furthermore, the very nebulous and difficult question remains concerning the objective of learning martial arts in Fiore's time. Was fighting duels in controlled situations its own thing, or was it a peacetime application of battlefield skills? How does this material apply to all different kinds of combat? Philippo di Vadi states his teaching is useful "in all warlike situations" from battles to riots. However, the spear material included seems to have limited applicability in formations, it seems like an exclusively single combat oriented material.

Researching the above points in depth would make one not only fully aware of how to duel with a spear, but in possession of all knowledge needed to conduct a duel reminiscent of renaissance Europe.

7. Summary

Fiore Furlano, and the tradition of European martial arts that he represented does not provide us with a lot of technical material concerning the spear. They certainly do not give a full picture of how a spear duel could look like. It is clear, however, that the practitioners of this art knew of a lot of aspects of spear duels and duels in general, that they treated as obvious, and only hinted at with depictions or descriptive notes, or not at all.

The simplicity of the spear material is justified by the weapon itself being a plain implement that does not offer too much variation in defence or offence. It is further justified by the intuitive use of the weapon. It consists of three stances on each side, and one play, which can be done on either side. The objective of Fiore's art in this case is to get past the point of the spear -no matter what implement we are using- and wound in the process. The play has one counter which gets both combatants too close to continue using their spears effectively. The position of the hands and method of defence needed practical research, but ultimately offers a simple flow of motion. However, I found enough proof to claim that the spear is supposed to be treated in the context of other weapons.

The daggers depicted exclusively at the spear plays, the tendency to move past the point and into shorter distances, and the fact that the spear is possibly too dangerous a weapon to stay in it's ideal distance, hints, if not proves, that the ultimate objective of the material within the spear section is to teach the fencer to close the distance from the phase of spears in a way that puts them in an advantage at the distance of shorter weapons. This concept of the spear being used in combined weapon duels is also depicted in later sources related to those authored by Fiore in structure and content.

The secondary sources, those that resemble Fiore's work show the spear sections similarly, but often with striking differences. Some offer more, others less information, and it is unsure whether it's personal preference, or change of context throughout the following centuries. Based on Fiore's self-description it is also unsure whether Fiore is a definite authority above the other sources.

These findings open the question of how exactly such duels functioned, what weapons and armour did the participants have access to in what time and place reference. The spear's status in such bouts is also an interesting direction of further research. In essence, the use of the spear would vary greatly depending on context.

Bibliography

FURLANO, FIORE: Fior di Battaglia ("The Flower of Battle", B1.370.A MS M. 0383), Northern Italy, before 1404.

The Morgan Library and Museum:

http://ica.themorgan.org/manuscript/page/1/77302 (last visited 15.05.2016)

FURLANO, FIORE: Fior di Battaglia ("The Flower of Battle", MS Ludwig XV 13), Northern Italy, ca.1404.

The J. Paul Getty Museum:

http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/1443/unknown-fiore-furlan-dei-liberi-dapremariacco-il-fior-di-battaglia-italian-about-1410/ (last visited 15.05.2016)

FURLANO, FIORE: *Flos Duellatorum* ("The Flower of Battle", Pisani Dossi MS) Southern Italy, 10th February 1409.

(Pisani Dossi Collection) Wiktenauer:

http://wiktenauer.com/wiki/Flos_Duellatorum_(Pisani_Dossi_MS) (last visited 15.05.2016)

FURLANO, FIORE: Florius de Arte Luctandi ("The Flower of Battle", MS Latin 11269), ca. 1420.

Bibliothèque nationale de France:

http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8514426f/f1.image.r=11269.langFR (last visited 15.05.2016)

DI VADI, PHILIPPO: *De Arte Gladiatoria Dimicandi (MS Vitt.Em.1324)*, Urbino, Italy, ca. 1482.

(Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma) Wiktenauer:

http://wiktenauer.com/wiki/De Arte Gladiatoria Dimicandi (MS Vitt.Em.1324) (last visited 15.05.2016)

(UNKNOWN): Cod.5278, South Germany, ca.1420.

(Österreichische Nationalbibliothek) Wiktenauer:

http://wiktenauer.com/wiki/Die_Blume_des_Kampfes_(Cod.5278) (last visited 15.05.2016)

(UNKNOWN): Wolfenbüttel Sketchbook (Cod. Guelf. 78.2 Aug. 2°), Germany, ca. 1465.

Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel:

http://dbs.hab.de/mss/?list=ms&id=78-2-aug-2f&lang=en (last visited 15.05.2016)

VON EYB, LUDWIG VI: Eyb Kriegsbuch (MS B.26), Germany, ca. 1500.

(Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg) Wiktenauer:

http://wiktenauer.com/wiki/Eyb_Kriegsbuch_(MS_B.26) (last visited 15.05.2016)

(UNKNOWN): Bũech von fechter Vnnd Ringstückhen zũ Ross vnnd Fuoβ (Cod.10799), Germany, ca.1623.

(Österreichische Nationalbibliothek) Wiktenauer:

http://wiktenauer.com/wiki/B%C5%A9ech_von_fechter_Vnnd_Ringst%C3%BCckhen_z%C 5%A9_Ross_vnnd_Fuo%C3%9F_(Cod.10799) (last visited 15.05.2016)

WIKTENAUER: Fiore de'i Liberi http://wiktenauer.com/wiki/Fiore_de%27i_Liberi (last visited 15.05.2016)

RAVIGNAT, MATHIEU: *The The Spear, the King of Weapons, A Practical Analysis of the Spear in Fiore dei Liberi's Flos Dellatorum and Fillipo Vadi's Ars Gladiatoria.* 2006 HROARR http://www.hroarr.com/manuals/fiore/omsg_lanza.pdf (last visited 15.05.2016)

EASTON, MATT: Winged spears, boar spears, partisans, spetum and similar pole weapons, 2014

YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IjqwZrEnJTU (last visited 15.05.2016)

EASTON, MATT: Cutting in combat with medieval spears – HEMA, 2015

YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fAgCS2Bsz_k (last visited 15.05.2016)

DUPUIS, OLIVIER: Acta Periodica Duellatorum- A fifteenth-century fencing tournament in Strasburg, 2013

http://actaperiodica.org/apd2013.htm (last visited 15.05.2016)

DUPUIS, OLIVIER: Acta Periodica Duellatorum- Organization and Regulation of Fencing in the Realm of France in the Renaissance, 2014

http://actaperiodica.org/apd2014.htm (last visited 15.05.2016)

Special thanks

Joeli Takala, for being my inside consultant.

Francesco Perciballi, for being my outside consultant and help with translations.

Máté Kerese, for being my thesis judge.

Michael Chidester, for his work on Wiktenauer and translations.

My brother Jan, and my father Sándor for helping me photograph the material.

Attila Törcsvári, for pointing me in the direction of further researchable material.

The boffering group in Kouvola, Finland, for giving me opportunity to train with them.

Legal disclaimer

This work is not to be used for any commercial purposes.

The translations within are Michael Chidester's work and are under a Creative Commons licence.

The scans of period sources are the property of their respective museums and are Public Domain. They can be viewed in the printed version of this work.

The photos of real people in this work are my own property, and the people in them agreed to be photographed and published.