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## Two late flying prints informing on the artist involved in the *Opera Nova* of Achille Marozzo and on the date of an original (lost) edition?

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At least two editions and six reprints of the work of Marozzo are known today (cf. Bibliography). The first edition of this masterpiece of the “Bolognese tradition” is the one of Modena in 1536. However, Gelli mentions in his bibliography a prior edition, “similar to the edition of Modena”, dated 1517 and kept in the R. Biblioteca Pisana.<sup>1</sup> This first edition, if it ever existed, was never found again – or at least never mentioned in publication other than by referring to Gelli.<sup>2</sup>

Since the monograms found in the 1536 edition cannot lead to the firm identification of the artist(s) involved in the xylographies, the discovery of two late 17<sup>th</sup> c. flying prints examined here might lead to the identification of the date of an unknown edition prior to the Modena 1536 edition and of the artist involved in the engravings.

### I. THE LATE FLYING PRINTS, THE MONOGRAM AND THE DATING

The two flying prints reproduce illustrations matching those from the 1536 edition of the *Opera Nova* of Achille Marozzo, in dimensions and details (Fig.1). The first (*dell'abbattimento di pugnale e cappa*) measures 120x121mm, with a printing surface of 111x108mm; the second (*vigesima prima presa*) measures 174x172mm, with a printing surface of 130x128mm. Both xylographies are printed on late 17<sup>th</sup>, possibly early 18<sup>th</sup> c. paper after examination of its quality (wire-lines and type of grain). It bears no other illustration, nor printed or manuscript text. When compared to the original xylographies, on the first flying print on the lower left register, the monogram “HsP” is added, and on the other at the same location, the date “1529” (see details, Fig. 1). The wood blocks used to produce those prints appear to be the originals, bearing use-wear marks in the different editions of the work throughout the 16<sup>th</sup> (Fig. 2) up to the early 18<sup>th</sup> c., as can be documented with the book of Giuseppe Colombani in 1711 (Fig. 3, see discussion below).

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\* We are indebted to Mr and Mrs Terminiello for their revisions and suggestions.

<sup>1</sup> His brief description: “Carte 181; di cui l'ultima non numerata. Le tavole sono simili a quelle dell'edizione modenese”. Gelli, *Bibliografia Generale della scherma*, p. 130.

<sup>2</sup> Opinion shared with Sodini, see her introduction in the anastatic reproduction of the 1568 edition, p. 18, note 24.

The added monogram of the artist and the date could have been marked on the back or the side of the original wood blocks. While potentially using these in the late 17<sup>th</sup> or early 18<sup>th</sup> c. to produce the flying prints, the patron might have asked the printer to reproduce the monogram on the print; or the printer chose to add the monogram and the date to the print. It is also possible that this information was known by the last owner of the wood blocks.

## II. ILLUSTRATING *OPERA NOVA* IN ITS DIFFERENT EDITIONS

Little research has been done on the involvement of the artists in the realisation of the first editions of Achille Marozzo,<sup>3</sup> while more is known about the artists of the new copper etchings of the second editions in 1569 and 1615.<sup>4</sup> The monograms on the twenty-four xylographies on eighty-two existing of the 1536 edition are inconsistent (*b.R.*, *.b.*, *b*, see occurrences on Fig. 1, 2 and 3). According to nineteenth century reference works of Nagler, followed by Benezit, the monogram *b.R* might be attributed to the Italian engraver Francesco Barratini, while Drugulin postulates an attribution to Giovanni Britto.<sup>5</sup> This can obviously be challenged, as noted by Sodini, who hypothesises a German origin (or influence at least) for those illustrations.<sup>6</sup>

On Fig. 2, the same plates in the four editions of the 16<sup>th</sup> c are displayed. The added monogram “HsP” and the added date “1529” are not present in the other editions. The woodcuts used for the late 17<sup>th</sup> c. flying prints appear to be the same as the originals, but consumed over time. Use-wear traces can be observed throughout the editions, up until 1711, where Giuseppe Colombani printed his small treatise on swordsmanship, using four of the original plates to illustrate his book (Fig. 3).<sup>7</sup> As in the flying prints, one can observe the use-wear trace, like the enlargement of lines due to use, the damage in the margins

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<sup>3</sup> See mainly Sodini, “introduction”, pp. 11-53, esp. 20-23. Nothing on the artists in the following: Gelli, *L'arte dell'armi*, pp. 76-85; Castle, *Schools and Masters*, pp. 34-45; Spotti, *A Fil Di Spada*, p. 142; Anglo, *The Martial Arts*, p. 135-137; Mondschein, “The Italian Schools of Fencing”.

<sup>4</sup> The Venetian printer Antonio Pinargenti worked with Giovan Battista Fontana, probably in collaboration with the brothers Giulio for the 26 new copper etchings for his edition. The same brothers were involved in the new etchings for the second edition of Camillo Aggrippa from the same printer. See Sodini, “introduction”, pp. 31-38.



<sup>5</sup> Benezit, *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres*, vol. 1, p. 720 and Nagler, *Die Monogrammisten, und diejenigen bekannten...*, p. 712 (n°1612) and pp. 876-877 (n°2040).

<sup>6</sup> “Osservando la molteplicità dei personaggi e delle loro espressioni, la foggia degli abiti e il tratto delle incisioni su legno dell’Opera Nova, si potrebbe anche ipotizzare che il loro autore fosse di origine tedesca, o quanto meno, influenzato da maestri ultramontani.” Sodini, “introduction”, p. 21.

<sup>7</sup> The author actually does not use the plates in his technical discourse, it appears to serve merely as illustration technically unrelated to the content of his small book. On the author, see the notice of Lasagni, *Dizionario biografico* and the commented transcription and translation published online by Terminiello, “L’Arte maestra”.

due to use and possibly transport or the worm holes bored into the wood (see examples on Fig. 4).

### III. HANS SEBALD BEHAM

The monogram on the flying print is the one of Hans Sebald Beham (1500-1550). He was a German engraver (*Formschneider*), trained under Albrecht Dürer and he opened his own workshop as a master engraver in Nurnberg in 1524.<sup>8</sup> He changed his monogram  (HsB, 1518-1530) to  (HsP, 1531-1550) when he moved from Nurnberg to Frankfurt am Main in 1532 (P reflects the Franconian pronunciation of “B”).<sup>9</sup> This change matches the date 1529 found on the flying print. He is mostly known for his peasant festival imagery, but produced more than 250 engravings, 18 etchings and 1500 woodcuts. If he was involved in the making of an earlier edition of the *Opera Nova* of Achille Marozzo as suggested by the addition of his monogram on the late 17<sup>th</sup> c. flying print remains an hypothesis demanding further research. However, this would prove to be a relevant endeavour. Firstly, it follows the opinion of Sodini who believes in a German origin of the illustrations, and secondly, the younger brother of Hans Sebald, Barthel, did travel from München to Italy from 1528 on, where he died in 1540.<sup>10</sup>

### IV. CONCLUSION

The reason why the added monogram and the date are to be found on the discovered flying print, kept today at the Museum of Martial Arts, Botticino, remains unclear. However, circumstantial evidence tends to prove that the wood blocks were still used in the early 18<sup>th</sup> c., and that they were indeed used to produce the flying prints. Moreover, the information implied regarding the date and the artist build an interesting scenario that may lead to the identification of an unknown edition prior to the Modena 1536 edition and of the artist involved in the xylographies. We therefore invite further research to be conducted to turn this potential scenario into a proper case study.

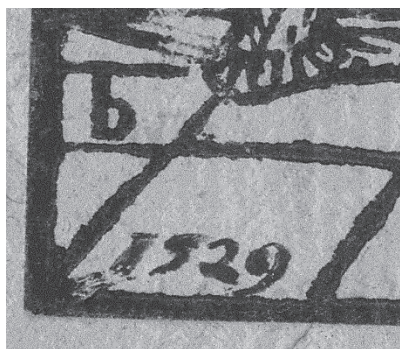
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<sup>8</sup> On the master, see Stewart, *Before Brügel*, pp. 15-34; Koreny, “Unbekannte Holzschnitte von Hans Sebald Beham”, pp. 207-214 and Zschelletzschky, *Die drei gottlosen Maler*.

<sup>9</sup> Pauli, *Hans Sebald Beham*, pp. 2-4. The discussion about the date and the hypothesis of Alfred Bauch (1897) is discussed in the references mentioned in the upper footnote.

<sup>10</sup> For Sodini’s opinion, see footnote 5. For Barthel Beham, see Zschelletzschky, *Die drei gottlosen Maler*.

Figure 1: Flying prints and detail of the added monogram and date



*Legend: Flying prints, undated (17th c.). Corresponding to the xylographies of the 1536 Modena p. 18 (Lib. II, cap. 58: dell'abbattimento di pugnale e cappa) and p. 131 (lib. V: vigesima prima presa). Kept at the Museum of Martial Arts, Botticino. Reproduced with permission, photo T. Suazo.*



Figure 2: Corresponding plates from the *Opera Nova* (different editions)

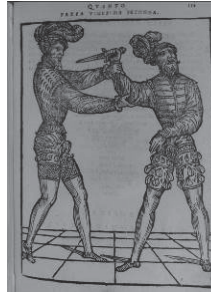
1536



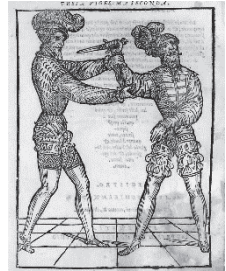
1550



undated



1568

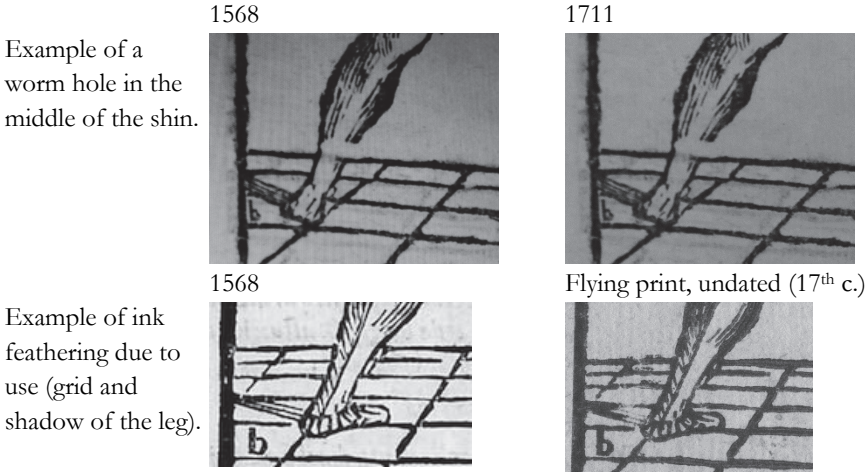


Legend: Achille Marozzo, *Opera Nova*, different editions (cf. Bibliography): p. 18 (Lib. II, cap. 58: dell'abbattimento di pugnale e cappa) and p. 131 (lib. V: vigesima prima presa). Kept at the Museum of Martial Arts, Botticino. Reproduced with permission, photo T. Suago.

Figure 3: 1536 plates reproduced in the 1711 *L'Arte maestra* by Colombani

Legend: The four illustrations of the Giuseppe Colombani, *L'Arte maestra*, 1711 (cf. Bibliography). Kept at the Kelvingrove Museum, Glasgow (R.L. Scott collection). Reproduced with permission, photo Glasgow Museums Resource Centre.

Figure 4: Example of use-wear trace on the wood blocks



Legend: Details of captions from Fig. 1-3, corresponding bibliographical information and credits apply.

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Achille Marozzo, *Il duello. Libro di scherma*, s.l. (Bologna or Modena), s.d. (1540) – reprint of Modena edition.

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**Jeffrey L. Forgeng, *The Art of  
Swordsmanship by Hans Lecküchner*  
(Armour and Weapons, 4),  
Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2015, 453p.  
ISBN 978-1-78327-028-6.  
Dimensions: 23.4 x 15.6 cm**

Reviewed by Daniel Jaquet, Max Planck Institute for  
History of Science (Berlin), [djaquet@mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de](mailto:djaquet@mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de)

Fourth volume of the new collection “Armour and Weapons” directed by Kelly DeVries, this translation of the Hans Lecküchner treatise on unarmoured combat with the *Langes Messer* (“Long knife”, translated by the author as “Falchion”) is another welcomed addition for reference work for Historical European Martial Arts studies. It follows a series of translations by the author, namely the translation of the anonymous *Liber de arte dimicatoria* (2003-2013) and Joachim Meyer, *Grundtliche Beschreibung...* (2006-2015), and several forthcoming titles. Currently the curator for Arms and Armours at the Worcester Art Museum and an Adjunct Professor at Worcester Polytechnic Institute, Jeffrey L. Forgeng is a great connoisseur of the Fight Book corpus and his contribution on the field of study is noteworthy<sup>1</sup>. He is one of the few undertaking the arduous task of translation of these technical texts, providing useful reference works for the practitioner and the scholar alike.

The volume offers an English translation (p. 1-432), preceded by a short introduction (p. ix-xxviii), and followed by a Glossary with a German-English word list (p. 433-443), two Appendixes (Dedicatory Letter to Philip the Upright, p. 444-445; Table of the structure of the treatise with concordance to other texts, p. 446) and a bibliography (p. 447-453). The translation is accompanied by all images from the manuscript referred to as M (München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 582), cropped to include only the pairs of fighters, in a rather small black and white format.

The introduction presents the author and its text (p. x-xii), places its work in the context of the other related bodies of technical literature (p. x-xii, xv-xviii, xx-xxi), identifying him as one of the “three chief authorities” of German Medieval art of fighting (p. ix, the two other being Johannes Liechtenauer and Master Ott). It also discusses the weapon (p. xii-

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<sup>1</sup> Apart from his translations, see his research paper Kiermayer, Alex, and Jeffrey Forgeng, “The Chivalric Art”: German Martial Arts Treatises of the Middle Ages and Renaissance’, in *The Cutting Edge: Studies in Ancient and Medieval Combat*, ed. by Barry Molloy (Stroud: Tempus, 2007), pp. 153–67 and Forgeng, Jeffrey, ‘Owning the Art: The German Fechtbuch Tradition’, in *The Noble Art of the Sword: Fashion and Fencing in Renaissance Europe 1520-1630*, ed. by Tobias Capwell (London: Paul Holberton Publishing, 2012), pp. 164–75.

xviii), the manuscript tradition (p. xvii-xix), and proposes several caveats for the interpretation of the text (p. xxi-xxv). This introductory part provides the reader with clear and straight to the point elements. It works as a survey, flying over different issues, most of the time well referenced with the secondary literature discussing those – but lacking the critical description of the different theses of the latter, probably for the sake of brevity<sup>2</sup>. Noteworthy, as in his other publication, the translator tends to attribute alternative titles to Fight Books – mainly for compendiums –, based on the history of their ownership, rather than on the problematic authorial attribution<sup>3</sup>.

The translation – without edition of the Middle High German text – is seeking to “present the fullest and clearest possible version of Lecküchner’s techniques as documented in the two principal medieval sources” (p. xxvii). The translator provide the reader with variants from H, “when these might prove of interest”, and with comparative samples to S<sup>4</sup>, “just enough to sketch out this third, intermediate redaction [...]” (p. xxvii). Such choices enhance the value of the translation, but also diminish the value of such an editorial work for academic research purpose, since most of the editorial additions is not systematically done – or exhaustively indicated in a proper apparatus. He also discusses the philological tradition, stating that neither M nor H are direct author’s productions and that the *urtext* on to M and H are probably based is today missing (p. xix). He comments as well on the copies or influences to later texts (up to 1679). A stemma codicum for a more clear visualisation or a more exhaustive table than the one on the appendix B (p. 446) would have been welcomed to support these complex connections and would have added value to the editorial work done. This is then neither a translation alone (of a unicum or a print, such as his previous translations), neither a critical edition, but somewhere in the middle<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup> For example, little is said on the theses of Jan-Dirk Müller article analysing the content and the production of these treatises. Several footnotes listing almost exhaustively reference material are to be found, but with no critical discussion about these.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. “Starrhemberg” for Rome, Biblioteca dell’Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, Cod. 44 A 8 or “Balder” for Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 78.2 Aug. 20. This is fine for compendia (e.g. also done by Rainer Welle for his 2014 edition of Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. I.6.4°.2, referenced as “von Baumann’s Fechtbuch”), however it is less for other compendia referenced by the translator to one of the contributor or compiler (see bibliography, for “Dobringer, Lew, Speyer, Ringeck”). Since there is no distinction between the two methods for attributing titles, this is resulting in adding more confusion than clarity.

<sup>4</sup> Hans von Speyer, 1491. Salzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.I.29. Identified as a complete copy (p. xix-xx, reference to S in footnote 37).

<sup>5</sup> There is no critical edition available. Grzerogz Zabinski, Russ Mitchell and Falko Fritz offered in an online self-published document a synoptical edition of M and H, as well as English translation of the two versions. See Zabinski, Russel and Fritz, *A Falchion / Langes Messer Fencing Treatise by Johannes Lecküchner* (1482), 2012 (online <[http://www.hammaborg.de/pdf/transkriptionen/leckuechner\\_cgm582/zabinski\\_mitchell\\_fritz\\_leckuechner.pdf](http://www.hammaborg.de/pdf/transkriptionen/leckuechner_cgm582/zabinski_mitchell_fritz_leckuechner.pdf)>, accessed 08 September 2015), 636p. This work is not referenced in the reviewed book.

The practitioner will enjoy this book for the accessibility to the original material carefully translated, referenced according to folia and to the numbered *stücke* (combat sequences), with the illustration in regard to the text. The scholar will enjoy this book for the quality of the translation provided by a trusted author, but might be disappointed by some of the author's editorial choices, e.g. for not including the edition of the original text or for being not systematic in the apparatus when comparing versions and offering concordances.





**Jaser, Christian and Israel, Uwe (eds.),  
Zweikämpfer. Fechtmeister – Kämpfen –  
Samurai [Duellists. Fencing masters -  
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(2014). 211 p.**

**Walter de Gruyter GmbH,  
ISSN: 0949-0345 · e-ISSN 2196-6869**

Reviewed by Ingo Petri, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (Berlin), [ingopetri@gmx.de](mailto:ingopetri@gmx.de)

Volume 19, issue 2 of the journal “Das Mittelalter. Perspektiven mediävistischer Forschung. Zeitschrift des Mediävistenverbandes” unites under its key topic “Duellists. Fencing masters - champions – Samurai” six articles from the fields of historical science, German philological medieval studies, Scandinavian studies, codicology and Japanese Studies. It is partly the outcome of the conference “Akteure des mittelalterlichen Zweikampfs zwischen Marginalisierung und Professionalisierung” [Actors of medieval duel between marginalisation and professionalization] in January 2012 in Dresden. All Articles are provided with an English summary, otherwise the book is, with the exception of Michael Wert’s English article, written in German.

The editors Christian Jaser and Uwe Israel provide an introduction to the topic and put the contributions of the book into this context (pp. 241-248). This is followed by a bibliography of selected publications on the topic (pp. 249-252). The major comprehensive publications of the last 130 years are presented while abstaining from publications of single sources.

In his article “Die Aufzeichnung des Nicht-Sagbaren. Annäherung an die kommunikative Funktion der Bilder in den Fechtbüchern des Hans Talhofer” [Recording the non-speakable. Approach to the communicative function of the pictures in the fighting books of Hans Talhofer] (pp. 253-301) Eric Burkart discusses the communication strategies of medieval fighting books and the purpose of integrated images. In a case study on the five 15<sup>th</sup> century manuscripts ascribed to Hans Talhofer the didactic use of images is examined, stating that images in Talhofer’s manuscripts fulfil the function of interpretative Glosses in other teachings in the tradition of Liechtenauer. Further he analyses what purpose the pictorial representations of the fencing master and his pupils serve and how their identification is made possible, being very critical about the representations of Talhofer, as identified in the research literature up to now and showing that the depictions in the manuscript Hs. XIX, 17-3 from Königseggwald are not the subsequent recording of a real judicial duel but an ideal image of “true fencing” after Talhofer’s teaching. Matthias Johannes Bauer’s article, “Einen Zedel fechter ich mich ruem/ Im



*Schwert und Messer ungestuem.* Fechtmeister als Protagonisten und als (fach-)literarisches Motiv in den deutschsprachigen Fechtlehren des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit” [*A Zedel fencer I boast to be/ In sword and knife impetuous.* Fencing masters as protagonists and as a (specialist) literary motif in the German-language fencing teachings of the Middle Ages and the early modern period] (pp. 302-325) investigates the group of fencing masters of the 14<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> century. He mainly addresses four questions: What terms are used to describe or distinguish between fencers in Early New High German sources? Is it possible to form groups or represent role models? To what extent are the fencers presented as contemporary or real figures and to what extent are they just a (specialist) literary motif, for example for certification or as evidence for authority? Could these literary motives be used for allegories of fencers? He mainly focuses on Talhofer and Kal, the former being only temporarily entrusted, the latter serving a long time at courts as “Schirmmeister” (stable master) and not as “Schirmmeister” (fencing master) as usually assumed. He concludes that fencing masters are fighting for reputation and are from a German philological point of view mainly a (specialist) literary motif respectively a topos.

Daniel Gehrt, “Turnier-, Fecht- und Ringbücher in den Bibliotheken der Ernestiner” [Tournament-, fencing- and wrestling books in the libraries of the Ernestinians] (p. 326-349) deals with the complicated ways of tradition of the tournament-, fencing- and wrestling treatises from the libraries of the Ernestinian dukes of Saxony. His main questions are which functional and symbolic meaning can be attributed to them, if they served as a practical guide in learning the knightly arts or if they had predominantly a representative function in the princely libraries and what motives were behind the documentation of own tournaments and the collecting of old fencing- and wrestling books. He shows that the books were acquired partly for the education of the princes but mostly served the representation of the dynasty and the memory of agonal achievements. At the end he gives a table of the handwritten tournament-, fencing- and wrestling books that were in the library in Gotha or that still are.

Sixt Wetzler analyses the different roles of the duellists in the Icelandic saga literature. In his article “Ehre, Schwert und das Recht. Zweikämpfe im alten Island” [Honor, sword and the law. Duels in Old Iceland] (pp. 350-379) he focuses on *hólmganga* and *glíma*, the specific Old Icelandic forms of duelling. He analyses the role of the personnel of the duel and of duelling as an access to social prestige. A secondary question is how seemingly non-ritualised forms of violence can be understood from the perspective of the duel’s underlying ideological principles. Wetzler concludes, that *hólmganga* and *glíma* had many differences but that they had in common that they offered a way to improve, to back up or to restore the social position. Their performance was integrated into the public life and was subject to the control of the community, they controlled and situated violence in everyday life. Even unregulated fights were influenced by thought patterns and behaviours that the ritualised duels were based on.

In his article “*Infamis etiam campio non esse potest.* Kämpfen in deutschen und italienischen Städten des Spätmittelalters zwischen Marginalität und Rechtspflege” [Champions in

German and Italian cities of the late Middle Ages between marginality and judicature] (pp. 380-406) Christian Jaser develops a new perspective on the role of medieval paid fighters (Lohnkämpfer). Opposite to their general stated lack of rights on the basis of account books and statutes of late medieval German and Italian cities he shows a change of their role towards a professional protagonist of legislation. He concludes that in German cities, the image of the travelling lawless champions is relativised by a fixed employment with stable monthly salary, in Italy the champion business appears as institutionalised with remuneration according to fixed tariffs, with regulated occupation of the duel and set requirements for the fighters. In the Italian duel literature of the late Middle Ages the champions are even redefined to lawyers. However, the champion was always in suspicion not to fight with full dedication for financial reasons or for self-protection.

Michael Wert traces the origins of the Japanese art of fencing at the transition from the medieval to the early modern period with special focus of the meaning of the “Military Mirror of Kai” for the self-image of the samurai and the development of different fencing styles. In the article ““The Military Mirror of Kai”: Swordsmanship and a Medieval Text in Early Modern Japan” (pp. 407-419) he shows that swordsmanship emerged as a new field of knowledge in early modern Japan in a time of relative peace while during the violent periods of Japanese history the sword was not the primary weapon of the samurai. The focus is on the “Military Mirror of Kai” a mix of fact and fiction and was widely read by samurai of the early modern period, becoming a foundational text for early modern warriors. The “Military Mirror” was the oldest widely available text in the early modern period that described famous swordsmen and their styles. The anecdotes about them are brief, but they influenced the many origin stories retold by many swordsmen who trace their history into the mythical medieval past.

The volume concludes with twenty reviews of current publications from different fields of Medieval Studies, which, however, are not related to the topic of the volume discussed (pp. 420-452).

In their introduction to the volume, the editors state that the articles approach the phenomenon “duellists” in an interdisciplinary dialogue (p. 247). This is probably due to an attempt to present the volume in a better light, as well as the declaration the issue would illuminate the topic from a protagonist-centred perspective (p. 243). Strictly speaking, only Wetzler and Jaser really write about duellists. Bauer and Wert write about fencing masters and Burkart and Gehrt about the function of written sources. At least the latter would be hard to do in a protagonist-centred perspective. However, “duellists” suits as a more general umbrella term, since the written sources are mainly about duels and since fencing masters teach mainly duelling. Also, the interdisciplinary dialogue could be questioned. Only Burkart uses insights of another article of the present volume in his contribution (p. 256, note 7), but obviously without knowing the article completely. Other texts differ from one another (for example the differing information about the manuscript Leeds, Royal Armouries, MS. I.33 in the introduction and the articles of Burkart, Bauer, Gehrt and Wetzler or the information about the office of Paulus Kal in the articles of

Burkart and Bauer). The present volume is therefore better described as a multi-disciplinary anthology.

But these issues do not diminish the good overall impression of the volume at all. It only is a pity that for some Italian and Latin quotations, no translation is given.

Actually, the Volume is not at all in need to be presented in a better light because the contributions contain enough scientific potential on their own. All articles are well-structured scientific papers that provide a proper introduction into their subject, follow a stringent methodology, and clearly present their source material. Beyond that they present precisely traceable results, in some cases (self-) consciously contradictory with previous research. Precisely because of the thematic diversity of the contributions the volume is highly interesting and I'm sure that it presents some new foundations and new ideas for future research into historical European and Asian martial arts.