

Acta Periodica Duellatorum

E-ISSN: 2064-0404

daniel.jaquet@hist.unibe.ch

Universität Bern

Suiza

Roelofsen, Mathijs

La Noble Science des Joueurs d'Espée: Fight Book and Commercial Product

Acta Periodica Duellatorum, vol. 8, núm. 1, 2020, pp. 73-88

Universität Bern

Bern, Suiza

Available in: <https://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=663972805005>

- How to cite
- Complete issue
- More information about this article
- Journal's homepage in redalyc.org

redalyc.org

Scientific Information System

Network of Scientific Journals from Latin America, the Caribbean, Spain and Portugal

Non-profit academic project, developed under the open access initiative

La Noble Science des Joueurs d'Espée: Fight Book and Commercial Product

Mathijs Roelofsen,
University of Bern,
mathroelofsen@gmail.com

Abstract – *La Noble Science des Joueurs d'Espée* (originally *La Noble Science des Ioueurs Despee*) is a fight book printed in 1538 by Willem Vorsterman, a local printer in Antwerp. Printed in several exemplars, the book is the French translation of a German fencing treatise written by Andre Paurnefindt, which itself was first published in Vienna in 1516. The study of Vorsterman's edition shows several errors were made in recreating Paurnefindt's work, including inversions of image and text, which have the potential to alter the transmission of the text's martial knowledge. This raises the question of Vorsterman's commercial intentions when editing and printing this fight book, especially regarding the flourishing printing business in sixteenth-century Flanders. This paper aims to describe the differences in construction between Vorsterman and Paurnefindt's treatises in the context of both printing and martial cultures in Antwerp and the surrounding region.

Keywords – *La Noble Science des Joueurs d'Espée*, fight books, Antwerp, print, Willem Vorsterman, Andre Paurnefindt.

'Icy commenche ung très beau livret, contenant la chevalereuse science des joueurs d'espée.'

I. INTRODUCTION

La Noble Science des Joueurs d'Espée (abridged as *La Noble Science* in this article), a Middle-French fight book printed by Willem Vorsterman in Antwerp in 1538, is an example of the numerous re-uses of Andre Paurnefindt's fighting treatise, *Ergründung Ritterlicher Kunst der Fechterei* (abridged here as *Ergründung*), itself first printed in Vienna in 1516.¹ Some re-uses of the *Ergründung* have already been studied by Matthias Johannes Bauer, who has reconstructed the relationship between the prints of Christian Egenolff (a printer from

I want to take the opportunity to thank Olivier Dupuis and Jeroen Sikkema for their help in identifying some of the prints of *La Noble Science des Joueurs d'Espée*.

¹ This fight book has been reprinted and commented by Bauer, *Paurnefindts Fechtbuch aus dem Jahr 1516*; see also Bauer, 'Economising Early Prints on Fight Books by Multiple Using Movable Half Page Woodcuts. Insights into the layout work on the illustrations of Andre Paurnefindt's Fight Book of 1516 published by Hieronymus Victor', pp. 99-112.



Frankfurt) and the treatise of Paurnfeindt.² Even if the four editions of Egenolff's work feature printing errors, changes, and misuses of technical terms, these publications were popular among the Frankfurt practitioners of the art of fencing.³ Thus, Bauer concludes that Egenolff saw, in re-using Paurnfeindt's work, a commercial opportunity from which he could profit. *La Noble Science* seems to follow the same pattern as Egenolff's treatise, as Vorsterman translated and printed his own version of Paurnfeindt's book. The following article considers the modifications made by Vorsterman in his translation of the original text and what the purpose of the book was in regard to the local printing and martial contexts.

II. THE PRINTS OF *LA NOBLE SCIENCE DES JOUEURS D'ESPÉE*

Five prints of *La Noble Science* have been identified: London, British Library (General Reference Collection C.97.b.32); Oxford, Bodleian Library (MS. Douce E 247); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Rothschild 291); Rotterdam, Maritiem Museum (WAE 2 C 24); and Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek (HN-236). The prints from London, Paris, and Rotterdam are cited in the Nijhoff-Kronenberg bibliography of Dutch printers,⁴ and the Rotterdam and Wolfenbüttel exemplars are also mentioned in the USTC catalogue.⁵ One of the prints mentioned in the latter (preserved in Leuven's Katholieke Universiteit), however, is in fact a collection of photographs from the British Library's copy; these photographs were ordered by Archibald Corble.⁶ The treatises in Paris, London, and Oxford were also the subject of an article by Willy Braekman, although this article suffered from problems with authorial identification.⁷ Indeed, although *La Noble Science* has been identified as a translation of Andre Paurnfeindt's *Ergründung* since at least 1923 – when it was mentioned in the aforementioned Nijhoff-Kronenberg catalogue – Willy Braekman has argued, based on a comparison of image and text, that *La Noble Science* is instead a translation of Christian Egenolff's *Der allen Fechtergründliche Kunst*. Braekman's argument is somewhat problematic: he states that he did not locate or see a print of the *Ergründung*, and that he was thus unable to analyse the pictorial and organisational resemblances between Vorsterman's and Paurnfeindt's prints. Even if the xylographies in the Antwerp print were newly carved, they are undoubtedly similar to those of the 1516

² Bauer, 'Der Allten Fechter gründliche Kunst' – Das Frankfurter oder Egenolffsche Fechtbuch.

³ Ibid., pp. 83-5.

⁴ Kronenberg, *Nederlandse Bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540*, pp. 671-2.

⁵ See <https://www.ustc.ac.uk/editions/55870> (last consulted on 02/07/2020).

⁶ I wish to thank the archivists from the Katholieke Universiteit, who gave me details on those photographs.

⁷ Braekman, 'Het oudstevechtboekuit de Nederlanden: *La Noble Science des ioueursdespée* (1538)', p. 53.

Ergründung. Furthermore, the organisation of the text in *La Noble Science* and the *Ergründung* is remarkably similar, contrary to the missing parts and textual additions in Egenolff's prints.

One of the prints, preserved in Paris, is a little booklet with a paginal dimension of 20 x 14.8 cm. As with the other prints, it is composed of nine quires *in-quarto*, each one made of four folia. *La Noble Science* claims to teach the reader how to fight (*jouer*) with two-handed swords, *braquemares*, *courtes espees de suyssez*, *la demy lance*, *hallebardes*, *guysarmes*, daggers, and shields. The treatise also broadens the range of taught weapons, with the formulas *et aultres semblables* or *et aultres* ('and other similar' and 'and other') used in sections on the two-handed sword, single-handed swords and staff weapons.



Figure 1: Iconography associated with the first techniques, *La Noble Science des Joueurs d'Espée*, fol. 1^o, (Rotschild 291, Bibliothèque Nationale de France).

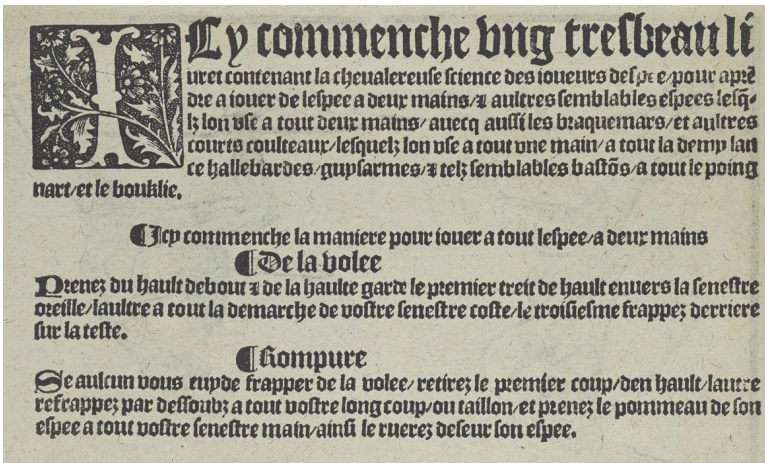


Figure 2: Prologue and first techniques, *La Noble Science des Joueurs d'Espée*, fol. 2r,
 (Rotschild 291, Bibliothèque Nationale de France).

II.1. Construction and comparison of the prints

To understand Willem Vorsterman's influence in creating his own edition of the print, we need to establish the exact construction of the treatise and observe the differences between *La Noble Science* and the *Ergründung*. Indeed, the main differences are the omission of Liechtenauer's verses, the twelve lessons for the novice fencer, the introduction, and the conclusion.⁸ *La Noble Science* also has a divergent iconographical organisation and several plates are either exchanged or omitted. Paurneindt introduces his treatise with a short biographical paragraph, followed by an indication as to what kind of audience this treatise is aimed at; then come the twelve lessons – short pieces of advice to the novice fencer. Each subsequent section (two-handed sword, shortened sword⁹, *messer*, staff, dagger, and shield) begins with a short paragraph, except for shortened sword, which has a longer introduction. In his conclusion Paurneindt dedicates his treatise to his students. On the other hand, *La Noble Science* begins with a brief section on the two-handed sword, with only a paragraph for introduction.¹⁰ Even if the didactic goal is still announced

⁸ For an introduction on Liechtenauer, see Anglo, *The Martial Arts of Renaissance Europe*, and Müller, 'Bild – Vers – ProsaKommentar am Beispiel von Fechtbüchern. Probleme der Verschriftlichung einer schriftlosen Praxis'.

⁹ The folia E4 to F3 describe the way to fence by handling the two-handed sword with one hand on the blade, described in this article as 'shortened sword'.

¹⁰ 'Icy commencheung très beau livret contenant la chevalereuse science des joueurs d'espée et aultres semblables espées, lesquelz l'on use a tout deux mains ; avecq aussi les braquemars et aultres courts coulteaux, lesquelz l'on use a tout une main, a tout la demy lance, haliebardes, gnyssarmes et telz semblables bastons, a tout le poingnart et le bouklié, folio A1.

(*apprendre a iouer*), any form of contextualisation or auctorial reference is missing. The translator did, however, keep the original name of each weapon.

In order to understand the differences in the physical construction between *La Noble Science* and the *Ergründung* I have established a series of comparison tables which indicate the beginnings of each section and use the iconography notation system established by Bauer.¹¹ Andre Pauerfeindt's treatise includes thirty-four woodcuts, of which twenty-one are composed of two half woodcuts (creating a full picture when assembled). Bauer's notation is based on the first appearance of a half or full woodcut in the print and its position on the page (for example "1lx1r" for *1 left x 1 right*). As the same system was used in Vorsterman's prints, I use Bauer's method to help in the comparison between Vorsterman's work and Paurnfeindt's treatise. To develop my arguments, I used a numeration system for the folia based on the quires' signature marks (A, B, C, etc.) and the folio number in each quire (for example A1 = first folio in the quire). Each row of the table is dedicated to a folio, the text generally being on the folio's recto and the images on its verso (see for example tables 4.1 and 4.2); each page of text is linked with the preceding folio's image (for example, iconography 1lx1r on A1 verso is connected to A2 recto *Icy commenche*).

The only difference in the manuscript's assembly observed between Vorsterman's prints lies between the one conserved in the British Library and all of the others. Indeed, the British Library version presents a major inversion between folia B1 and B4 (Table 1), which can be explained by a binding error in the bifolio. The signature mark and the inversion between text and iconography are the signs of this error. Apart from this binding error, all versions are similar.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Rothschild 291; Rotterdam, Maritiem Museum, WAE 2 C 24; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, HN-236.				London, British Library, C.97.b.32.		
Folio	§ title (recto)	Image (verso)	Signature mark	§ title (recto)	Image (verso)	Signature mark
B1	Poingner	5	B	8	Poingner	
B2	Pendant le point sur le poulx	3l x 4r		Pendant le point sur le poulx	3l x 4r	
B3	De deseur	7l x 3r		De deseur	7l x 3r	
B4	Triangle	8		5	Triangle	B
C1	De entre	9l x 3r	C	De entre	9l x 3r	C

Table 1: Construction comparison between London, British Library (C.97.b.32) and the other prints

Several major structural errors appear when comparing Vorsterman's and Paurnfeindt's prints. These errors are to be found in the exchange of image and text in the Antwerpese

¹¹ Bauer, 'Economising Early Prints on Fight Books', pp. 99-112.

prints' construction. Concerning the plate exchanges, they appear for the major part in the two-handed sword section, except for one appearing – along with the image omissions – in the *messer* part (Tables 4.1 and 4.2). For example, folia A4 to B3 present an iconographical and textual exchange, without breaking the text-image connection (Table 2, and with textual details in Table 5). In quire C, only the text has been inverted, causing mismatches with the image (Table 3). The exchanges in the two-handed sword part are enigmatic, as they happen every time with an interval of one bifolio between the exchanged plates (for an example see Table 2). One might argue that this is a binding error, but more than likely it is not as the error is systematic in all of the analysed prints of *La Noble Science*.

The error and omissions in the plates between folia G2 and G4 are also intriguing, but seem to be something other than copying or construction errors made by the translator or the printer. Text and image in the *Ergründung* effectively show a man with a *messer* fencing against a man with a two-handed sword (H1, *Wan dir ainer begegenet mit ainem schwert [...]*). *La Noble Science* translates the text correctly (G2, *Si aulcunvous rencontre avec une espee a deux mains*) while showing two men with a *messer* in the iconography. Thus, the image has been “revised” to fit with the other images displaying fighters with *messern*. The text is also correctly translated (if we do not count the titles) in the following folia, but two images are missing. This might be explained by the regularity of the print's construction, as adding two plates would have broken the scheme of nine quires *in quarto*. To avoid the problem of adding two new folia, Vorsterman may have preferred to strip the two images from his version.

Differences between the two editions are not only visible in the prints' constructions, but also in the translations of the titles: for example, the title *Schleudern* (B1) becomes *Tranier du long coup* (A4, see Table 2). The technical vocabulary has also been altered, as *eisrenporten* becomes *serrure de fer*. Some technical terms are translated in more general terms: for example, *sprechfenster* in the *Ergründung* becomes *la croix* (a general term for the sword's hilts) in *La Noble Science*. The translation *sprechfenster – croix* occurs four times, but *croix* is also used on one occasion to translate the guard named *phylflug*. This shows a simplification of a technical term into a more common one, probably for comprehension purposes.

II.2. Printing and Martial Contexts of *La Noble Science des Joueurs d'Espée*

II.2.1. Printing Context

How expensive is the printing process involved in the construction of *La Noble Science*? Printing was a costly process and only a few cities were big enough to concentrate the resources demanded by such an industry.¹² In the case of Antwerp, it had the necessary

¹² Kammerer, Müller, 'Le choix du vernaculaire: de la nécessité commerciale à l'ambition programmatique', pp. 107-8.

financial resources and sufficient market opportunities for exportation, and could also produce woodcuts at relatively low cost.¹³ Between 1495 and 1520, the city was also a major transit place for goods from Central Europe and Southern Germany.¹⁴ Antwerp was, furthermore, renowned for the global reach of its print shops from 1520 onward. It was not uncommon for those in other countries to order prints from Antwerp for one's local market.¹⁵

Export was necessary for a printer to make his press flourish; the local literary elite was not big enough to absorb all of the local book production. To access new markets the printers had to use vernacular language to let anyone with enough money buy and read a book in a more standardised language.¹⁶ This evolution of written language is one of the fundamental elements that the printing press brought into the book culture after 1480. Making the language more comprehensible was a necessity, as regionalism could hinder the understanding of the text. The text was then organised into short paragraphs and less compact writing, and the images supported the comprehension of the content, for those who did not have a perfect skill level of reading. In this way, the book slowly became a product of "mass consumption".¹⁷ In terms of page organisation and language, *La Noble Science* is in accordance with its time. The typography is typical of the one developed by Henri de Lettersnider, which is close to the gothic *scripta* and met with great success in sixteenth-century Antwerp.¹⁸

Willem Vorsterman's career is a prime example of Antwerp's dynamism. He was – between 1505 and 1543 – one of the city's most prolific printers, and was involved with more than 400 editions. Vorsterman is also known for using woodcuts in his books, for example in Bibles that were illustrated by Jan Swart and Lucas van Leyden, printed in 1528 and 1529 respectively.¹⁹ Vorsterman was also known, as stated by Myra J. Heerspink Scholz, for his "habit of choosing best-selling titles of other printers for pirate editions of his own"²⁰; one example is Vorsterman's edition of *Van heer frederick van Jenuen in Lombaerdien* (Of Sir Frederick of Genua in Lombardy, printed in 1531), a translation of a comical story previously written in German and Italian which had proved very popular in Northern Europe. Scholz also mentions Vorsterman's strategy to accentuate the story's

¹³ Pettegree, Walsby, 'Introduction', pp. xviii-xix.

¹⁴ Voet, 'Antwerp, the Metropolis and its History', pp. 21-2.

¹⁵ Pettegree, Walsby, 'Introduction', pp. xiii-xiv.

¹⁶ Kammerer, Müller, 'Le choix du vernaculaire: de la nécessité commerciale à l'ambition programmatique', pp. 108-10.

¹⁷ Idem.

¹⁸ Sabbe, 'La typographie anversoise au XVIe siècle', p. 58.

¹⁹ Vervliet, Hendrik D. L. (ed.), 'Het Nieuw Testament. Antwerpen, Willem Vorsterman, 20 sept. 1529', p. 32.

²⁰ Heerspink Scholz, Myra J., *A Merchant's Wife on Knight's Adventure*, p. 81.

comical aspect on the print's cover, and catch the customer's eye, by displaying a common woman in full armour.²¹

La Noble Science has been described by Maurice Sabbe as a technical book on par with another of Vosterman's prints: the *Tractat de la noble art de l'eguille* (Treatise of the noble art of sewing)²², which was also translated for an English-speaking audience.²³ This could be an indication that Vorsterman considered printing a fight book to follow the same process as producing another work of technical literature; he was also used to printing books that describe technical gestures, such as his 1532 treatise on surgery.²⁴

The identity of the translator of *La Noble Science* is unknown. Their identity could be an important factor regarding the relationship between the treatise and an actual martial practice; the translator, for example, could have been a fencing guild member who had translated the text for the use of his comrades and gave it to Willem Vorsterman for printing. Another hypothesis is that the treatise was translated by a professional translator, hired by Vorsterman. These hypotheses, however, are hard to prove, as anonymous translations were not uncommon during this period. It was also a collective enterprise and most translators produced only one work in their lives. As for the social condition of translators, it was not rare for young scholars to try and gain some money by translating texts alongside their main occupation.²⁵

One should also consider the possibility that *La Noble Science* was a product for exportation. Even if there is no known sponsor for *La Noble Science*, it is still possible to link the exemplar preserved in Wolfenbüttel to a possible owner: Hans Jakob Reyhing, a burger from Augsburg who wrote a note on the cover page on 15 August 1547 as well as his name at the beginning and the end of the treatise.²⁶ Reyhing also indicates his place of domicile, Lille. This could be an indication of the treatise's circulation in the north of the French-speaking area. This would not be a surprise, as Antwerp was an important centre of printing and trade. Willem Vorsterman is also known for printing works in Dutch, French, Latin, English, Spanish, and Danish, all of which could be exported (for example, Danish bibles for Christian Pedersen in Lund).²⁷ Another example is present in the aforementioned book about needlework, which was printed both in Dutch and English. During the first decades of the sixteenth century, Antwerp also printed books for

²¹ Ibid., pp. 2-4.

²² Sabbe, 'La typographie anversoise au XVIe siècle', p. 58.

²³ Printed under the name *Neawetreatys as concernynge the excellency of the nedleworcke*, see Nijhoff, Kronenberg, *Nederlandse Bibliographie*, vol. 2, p. 976.

²⁴ Petrus Sylvius, *Tfundament der medicinen ende chirurgien*, see Nijhoff, Kronenberg, *Nederlandse Bibliographie*, vol. 2, p. 976.

²⁵ Uetani, 'La naissance d'un métier : traducteur', pp. 38-53.

²⁶ Blendinger, 'Meuting', in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 17, 1994, pp. 275-7.

²⁷ Rouzet, Anne, 'Vorsterman', p. 239.

exportation, as both booksellers and publishers (especially from the Netherlands) sent their works to the city for printing.²⁸

II.2.2. Martial Context

The question of a specific martial tradition in the Low Countries during the sixteenth century has been discussed by Bert Gevaert and Reinier van Noort, albeit without a definitive conclusion about the use of fight books in the common practice of the fighting guilds.²⁹ While archers' guilds looked to Saint Sebastian and Saint George as their patron, fencers' guilds in the Low Countries were dedicated to Saint Michael.

The Antwerp Guild of Saint Michael was founded in 1488. The case of the Bruges' guild is interesting, as it has already been thoroughly studied and is described in city records as a school (*schole*) practicing the two-handed sword; the case of Tournai, also cited by Gevaert and van Noort, mentions a group of *joueurs de l'espée à deux mains* who wanted to participate in a fencing event in Bruges in July 1430. The importance of fencing guilds in conflicts, however, decreased at the end of the fifteenth century, as their members were not as efficient as professional mercenaries; their military involvement was, furthermore, potentially dangerous for the prince, as the burghers were more inclined to ask for more privileges in exchange for their military service. Their role became merely 'ornamental', and the highlight of the guilds' activities became the internal tournaments.³⁰

Could *La Noble Science* be linked to a guild's activities? The term *joueurs de l'espée à deux mains* can, without a doubt, be connected to the title of the treatise – *La Noble Science des Joueurs d'Espée* – and its purpose – *aprendre a jouer de l'espée a deux mains*. But because of the lack of a dedication to a person or a group, we can suppose that the treatise was more aimed at the general book market; the names used by the treatise for the different weapons it prescribes to teach could be common terms for the time. It is not impossible, however, that fencers bought the treatise. The translation of Paurnefeindt's work appears as if it was a good commercial opportunity to make a product available to a large audience that included fencers and fencing guilds.

Gevaert and van Noort claim that the production of *La Noble Science* is a sign of the Liechtenauer tradition's presence in the Low Countries.³¹ The absence of Liechtenauer's verses and the modification of the original material, however, make it difficult to identify a real influence. In addition to this, it is important to note that the function of the treatise as a practical manual for actual training is not attested.

²⁸ Pettegree, Walsby, 'Introduction', p. xiv.

²⁹ Gevaert, van Noort, 'Evolution of Martial Tradition in the Low Countries: Fencing Guilds and Treatises', pp. 367-405.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 377-83.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 393-403

III. CONCLUSION

As a fight book, *La Noble Science* is the product of a heavy editing process with numerous modifications in the placement of plates and text. These processes created a new object – a commercial product – closer in its nature to other prints or technical treatises produced for the print market. The favourable printing context in the city of Antwerp and the presence of fencing guilds in the region may have created good conditions for the diffusion of a fight book, regardless of its quality. The fact that one of the prints reached the city of Lille further shows that some of the exemplars may have been distributed in northern France, although we do not know how this may have occurred. *La Noble Science's* real commercial success is still unknown, but it is possible that it had a similar level of success as Egenolff's version of Paurneindt's work, which itself saw several editions and was popular in the city of Frankfurt. More research on the place of fight books in sixteenth-century print markets could create new insights into the commercial successes of these products and on the spread of the specific kind of technical knowledge that is fencing.

IV. BLIOGRAPHY

IV.1. Primary sources

Bauer, Matthias Johannes, *Paurneindts Fechtbuch aus dem Jahr 1516*, [s. l.]: Verband für Moderne Schwerkunst in Bayern, 2014

Willem Vorsterman, *La Noble Science des Ioueurs Despee*, 1538 (London, British Library, C.97.b.32; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Douce E 247; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Rothschild 291; Rotterdam, Maritiem Museum, WAE 2 C 24; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, HN-236)

IV.2. Secondary sources

Anglo, Sydney, *The Martial Arts of Renaissance Europe* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2000)

Bauer, Matthias Johannes, 'Economising Early Prints on Fight Books by Multiple Using Movable Half Page Woodcuts. Insights into the layout work on the illustrations of Andre Paurneindt's Fight Book of 1516 published by Hieronymus Vietor', *Acta Periodica Duellatorum*, 4/2 (2016): 99-112

Blendinger, Friedrich, 'Meuting', in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 17, 1994, pp. 275-77, online at <<https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd12896894X.html>>, last consulted on 28.03.2019.

Braekman, Willy L., 'Hetoudstevechtboeckuit de Nederlanden: *La Noble Science des ioueurs despee* (1538)', in *E Codicibus Impressique. Opstellen over het boek in de Lage Landen voor Elly Cockx-Indestege*, vol. 2 (Leuven: Peeters, 2004), pp. 49-65

- Gevaert, Bert, van Noort, Reinier, 'Evolution of Martial Tradition in the Low Countries: Fencing Guilds and Treatises', in *Late Medieval and Early Modern Fight Books. Transmission and Tradition of Martial Arts in Europe (14th-17th Centuries)* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 376-409
- Heerspink Scholz, Myra J., *A Merchant's Wife on Knight's Adventure. Permutations of a Medieval Tale in German, Dutch, and English Chapbooks around 1500* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999)
- Kammerer, Elsa, Müller, Jan-Dirk, 'Le choix du vernaculaire: de la nécessité commerciale à l'ambition programmatique', in *Imprimeurs et libraires de la Renaissance. Le travail de la langue. Sprachpolitik der Drucker, Verleger und Buchhändler der Renaissance*, ed. by Elsa kammerer and Jan-Dirk müller (Genève: Droz, 2015), pp. 107-23
- Müller, Jan-Dirk, 'Bild – Vers – Prosakommentar am Beispiel von Fechtbüchern. Probleme der Verschriftlichung einer schriftlosen Praxis', in *Pragmatische Schriftlichkeit im Mittelalter. Erscheinungsformen und Entwicklungsstufen*, ed. by Hagen Keller, Klaus Grubmüller and Nikolaus Staubach (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1992), pp. 251-282.
- Nijhoff, Wouter, Kronenberg, M. E., *Nederlandse Bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540* (s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1923)
- Pettegree, Andrew, Walsby, Malcolm, 'Introduction', in *Netherlandish Books. Books Published in the Low Countries and Dutch Books Printed Abroad before 1601* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. vii-xxiv
- Rouzet, Anne, 'Vorsterman', in *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs des XV^e et XV^e siècles dans les limites de la Belgique actuelle* (Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1975), pp. 239-240
- Sabbe, Maurice, 'La typographie anversoise au XVI^e siècle', in *Histoire du livre et de l'imprimerie en Belgique. Des origines à nos jours*, vol. 3 (Bruxelles: Musée du Livre, 1924-1925), pp. 9-63
- Uetani, Toshinori, 'La naissance d'un métier: traducteur. Jalons chronologiques', in *Gens du livre & gens des lettres à la Renaissance*, ed. by Christine Bénévent, Isabelle Diu and Chiara Lastraioli (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 34-61
- Vervliet, Hendrik D. L. (ed.), 'Het Nieuw Testament. Antwerpen, Willem Vorsterman, 20 sept. 1529', *Post-Incunabula and their publishers in the Low Countries* (den Haag: Nijhoff, 1978), p. 32
- Voet, Leon, 'Antwerp, the Metropolis and its History', in *Antwerp. Story of a Metropolis. 16th-17th century* (Gent: Martial & Snoeck, 1993), pp. 13-31

V. APPENDIX

The following tables were produced using Matthias Johannes Bauer's system for his analysis of the *Ergründung's* iconographies (see II.1). The differences between *La Noble Science* and the *Ergründung* have been highlighted (text in bold).

Table 2: Inversions (with preserved image-text links), quires A4 to B3.							
<i>La Noble Science des Joueurs d'Espée</i>				<i>Ergründung Ritterlicher Kunst der Fechterei</i>			
Folio	§ nb	§ title (<i>recto</i>)	Image (<i>verso</i>)	Folio	§ nb	§ title (<i>recto</i>)	Image (<i>verso</i>)
A4			1l x 6r	B1	1	Von 4 Plessen	3l x 4r
					2	Vier Pless prechen	
	1	Tranier du long coup			3	SCHLEUDERN	
	2	Rompure			4	PRUCH	
	3	Passer dessoubz			5	Durch schissen	
	4	Rompure			6	PRUCH	
B1			5	B2	1	Eysren Porten	5
	1	Poingner			2	Vom Tag	
	2	Rompure			3	PRUCH	
	3	Demourer			4	Uberschiessen	
	4	Rompure			5	PRUCH	
B2			3l x 4r	B3	1	Von verseczen	1l x 6r
					2	DAS ander	
	1	Pendant le point			3	Hangentordt	
	2	Rompure			4	PRUCH	
	3	Contrerompure			5	Wider Pruch	
B3			7l x 3r	B4	1	Vier gleger allain	7l x 3r
	1	De deseur			2	Ubergreifen	
	2	Rompure			3	PRUCH	
	3	Tireroultre			4	Pleyben	
	4	Rompure			5	PRUCH	

Table 3: Inversions (with broken iconography-text links), quires B4 to C4

<i>La Noble Science des Joueurs d'Espée</i>				<i>Ergründung Ritterlicher Kunst der Fechterei</i>			
Folio	§ nb	§ title (<i>recto</i>)	Image (<i>verso</i>)	Folio	§ nb	§ title (<i>recto</i>)	Iconogr. (<i>verso</i>)
B4			8	C1	1	Von Uberlaufen	8
	1	Triangle			2	TRIANGEL	
	2	Rompure			3	PRUCH	
					4	Von absezzen	
					5	Von durchlaufen	
	3	Piece			6	STUCK	
C1			9l x 3r	C2	1	Von durch wexl	9l x 3r
					2	Von czucken	
	1	De entre			3	KAMPSTUCK	
	2	Rompure			4	PRUCH	
	3	Lever criox à croix			5	STUCK	
C2			10	C3	1	Von Nachraisen	10
		Piece			2	PRUCH	
					3	Von abschneiden	
		Ung aultre			4	STUCK	
C3			2l x 3r	C4	1	VOM SCHILHAU	2l x 3r
					2	Von Czucken	
	1	Piece de bataille			3	Von Anpinden	
	2	Rompure			4	PRUCH	
	3	Piece			5	Auszreissen	
C4			1l x 6r	D1	1	VOM SCHADTELHAU	12
					2	VON durch lauffen	
	1	Quant aulcun			3	Von sprechfenster	
	2	Rompure			4	Ain Stuck	
	3	Piece			5	Ain anders	

Table 4.1 : General comparison table

<i>La Noble Science des Joueurs d'Espée</i>			<i>Ergründung Ritterlicher Kunst der Fechterei</i>		
Folio	§ title (<i>recto</i>)	Image (<i>verso</i>)	Folio	§ title (<i>recto</i>)	Image (<i>verso</i>)
A1	La noble Science	1l x 1r	A2	[Twelf lessons]	1l x 1r
A2	Icy commenche	2l x 2r	A3	Das erst capitel	2l x 2r
A3	De croiser ou frapper	3l x 3r	A4	Text	3l x 3r
A4	Tranier du long coup	1l x 6r	B1	Von 4 Plessen	3l x 4r
B1	Poingner	5	B2	Eyseren porten	5
B2	Pendant le point	3l x 4r	B3	Von vorsezen	1l x 6r
B3	De deseur	7l x 3r	B4	Vier gleger allain	7l x 3r
B4	Triangle	8	C1	Von Uberlaufen	8
C1	De entre	9l x 3r	C2	Von durch wexl	9l x 3r
C2	Piece	10	C3	Von Nachraisen	10
C3	Piece de bataille	2l x 3r	C4	VOM SCHILHAU	2l x 3r
C4	Quant aucun	1l x 6r	D1	VOM SCHADTELHAU	12
D1	Piece eneleuant	13	D2	Von Hengen	13
D2	Prendre lespee	12	D3	ITEM	1l x 6r
D3	Piece	5	D4	STUCK ym austreichen	5
D4	Ung aultre	7l x 4r	E1	Ain anders	3l x 2r

Table 4.2 : General comparison table

<i>La Noble Science des Joueurs d'Espée</i>			<i>Ergründung Ritterlicher Kunst der Fechterei</i>		
Folio	§ title (<i>recto</i>)	Image (<i>verso</i>)	Folio	§ title (<i>recto</i>)	Image (<i>verso</i>)
E1	Pieche de bataille	9l x 1r	E2	Neben Hut	9l x 1r
E2	Ung aultre	3l x 2r	E3	Ain Anders	7l x 4r
E3	Garde du coste	2l x 6r	E4	KAMPF stuck	-
			F1	AUSz czug des KurzenSwert	2l x 6r
E4	Cy sensuit la maniere	7l x 4r	F2	DYE ERST LER	7l x 4r
F1	la seconde instruction	3l x 1r	F3	DIE ANDER LER	3l x 1r
F2	La quatrieme instruction	22	F4	DYE VIERT LER	22
F3	Courir dedens ou entrer	23l x 23r	G1	EIN LAUFFEN	23l x 23r
F4	La maniere pour aprendre	24l x 24r	G2	DAS ANDER CAPITEL	24l x 24r
G1	Piece	25l x 25r	G3	STUCK	25l x 25r
G2	Piece	23l x 23r	G4	STUCK	1l x 23r
G3	Si aulcun vous rencontre	-	H1	STUCK	23l x 25r
Two missing iconographies			H2	SCHLUSSEL	28l x 28r
G4	Ung autre	29	H3	MIT Verlossen henden	29
H1	Entrer	30	H4	EINLAUFFEN	30
H2	Eslire de la volee	31	I1	FLUGEL Lesen	31
H3	La maniere pour iouer	32	I2	DAS drit capitel	32
H4	Pieche	33	I3	STUCK	33
I1	Mectezvous a tout	34	I4	STUCK	34
I2	Pieche	-	K1	STUCK	-
I3	la secondepieche	-	K2	Fechten im tolich	-
I4	La tierce Pieche	-	K3	VECHTEN Im Pucklier	-
			K4	Mit solichem auszczug	-

**Table 5 : Textual comparison between *La Noble Science* and the *Ergründung*
(quires B1 and B2)**

<i>La Noble Science des Joueurs d'Espée</i>			<i>Ergründung Ritterlicher Kunst der Fechterei</i>		
Quire	§	Text	Quire	§	Text
B1			B2	1	Eyseren Porten [...]
	1	<p>Poingner</p> <p>Le poigner povez aussi prendre hors le hault debout. Prenez a tout vostre main droicte deseur vostre croix l'alumelle, que vous dois gisent sur le plat. Et si aulcun frappe après vous, frappez contre luy par force tellement, que par force luy efforcez son espée et luy tirez vostre plat a son oreille droicte, et haulsez en hault votre coup.</p>		2	<p>Vom Tag</p> <p>Leger dich in die eisrenporten mit gschenkten henden. Schlecht dir ainor von dach, nym sein strach vom tag mit kurzzer schneidt und tritym nach mit langer schneid.</p>
	2	<p>Rompure</p> <p>Quant aulcun vous poignist, offrez luy l'allee et tirez le court coup au loing vers vous,ou rompez par deseur en volant ou par droict frappez.</p>		3	<p>PRUCH</p> <p>Treib den feler auffyn, so er leidt in der eisrenporten so verfert er umb sunst und plest sich.</p>
B3			B4	1	Vier gleger allain [...].
	1	<p>De deseur</p> <p>Longez vous de la longue pointe a tout les mains croissiez en la serrure de fer. Si aulcun vous frappe de deseur, prenez son coup d'en hault a tout le court taillon et marchez après lui avecq le long coup.</p>		2	<p>Ubergreifen</p> <p>Über grei<ffe>n magstu auch nemen ausz dem hohenort. Greiff mit deiner rechten handt über dein kreucz in die kling, dass dein finger in der flech stendt. Schlecht dir ainer zu, schlach gegen ym mit der sterck das tu mit not sein schwertuber dringst und zuck ym dein flech an sein recht or und verfar hoch in dein versaczung.</p>
	2	<p>Rompure</p> <p>Chassez par deseur sur luy quant il est en la serrure de fer, et il se bouge pour riens et le descouvre.</p>		3	<p>PRUCH</p> <p>Wan dir ainer ubergreift peudt ym den strach und verzuck kurzcz streich lang nach, oder prichs mit dem feler oder kronhaw [...].</p>