

# HISTORICAL EUROPEAN MARTIAL ARTS: AN INTERNATIONAL OVERVIEW



Dr. Daniel Jaquet, Dr. Audrey Tuillon Demésy, Dr. Iason-Eleftherios Tzouriadis

Report for the International Centre of Martial Arts for  
Youth Development and Engagement under the auspices of UNESCO



Ministry of Culture, Sports  
and Tourism



Korea Sports Promotion Foundation



United Nations  
Educational, Scientific and  
Cultural Organization

International Centre of Martial Arts  
for Youth Development and Engagement  
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Printed in the Republic of Korea

Published by

ICM, 27339 5F, Eutteum-ro 21, Chungju-si, Chungcheongbuk-do, Republic of Korea

Executive Publisher **Sihyun Kim**

Editor-in-Chief **Won Choi**

Editorial Staff **Sungsik Cho, Kanghyeok Lee**

Design and Printing **Seoul Selection**

The views expressed in the report are those of the authors and do not represent the views of the editors, UNESCO, ICM, and the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, and Korea Sports Promotion Foundation.

ISBN 979-11-965532-5-8

# Table of Contents

Table of Contents 3

Foreword 5

Preamble 6

Introduction 7

## **Chapter 1. Elements for the definition of the HEMA movement 9**

I. Overview of the source material 10

I.1 Participative resources 11

I.2 Bibliographies and scientific resources 12

I.3 Other types of primary sources related to fighting practices 13

II. The history of European martial arts revivals 14

II.1. Early European martial arts revivals 15

II.2 The late nineteenth century revival 15

III. The rise of HEMA as a movement 16

III.1 HEMA pioneers 16

III.2 HEMA networks and the HEMAC organisation 16

III.3 Regional, national and international umbrella organisations 17

## **Chapter 2. HEMA as a practice 18**

I. Combat sport 18

II. Cultural activities 20

III. Scientific activities 21

IV. Alternative leisure activities 22

## **Chapter 3. HEMA today 24**

I. Survey and methods 24

II. Survey Analysis 25

II.1 General information 25

II.2 The organisations 27

II.3 HEMA in everyday life	30
II.4 The practitioners	33
II.5 HEMA practices	34
III. Case study on the French practitioners	40
III.1 General presentation	40
III.2 The practitioners	41
III.3 Martial and sporting past	41
III.4 Introduction to HEMA community	41
III.5 Main transformations of HEMA	42

## **Conclusion** 43

## **Appendices** 45

### Appendix 1: Bibliography 45

Cited bibliography 45

Cited webography 47

Bibliography of primary sources 1305-1630 49

### Appendix 2: Existing HEMA definitions 55

### Appendix 3: HEMA in museums 59

I. Temporary exhibitions 59

II. Permanent exhibition 60

III. Fight books displayed 60

### Appendix 4: Survey data 64

I. Selected data from the HEMA survey 2013 64

II. Additional investigation to present an international overview and total number of practitioners 65

III. International survey for HEMA organisations 2019 67

## Foreword

The International Centre of Martial Arts for Youth Development and Engagement under the auspices of UNESCO (ICM) was established in 2015 under a signed agreement between the government of Korea and UNESCO, beginning operations in 2017. The objective of ICM is to stimulate research and academic activities on martial arts, encourage international cooperation, and disseminate the positive value of martial arts, with the ultimate goal to promote youth development and engagement.

As part of the objective, ICM aims to develop as a global powerhouse that can provide a vast range of information on and an in-depth knowledge of martial arts. It is therefore important to study all different types of martial arts and related disciplines throughout the world. Over the past few years, ICM has embarked on the initiative by collecting and compiling data and statistics of martial arts in several Asian countries. Building on the previous year's achievement, ICM is further willing to expand its research horizons covering other regions which have been relatively underestimated as a cradle of martial arts. Exploring and utilising the value of diverse martial arts for the good of the youth will be pivotal to fulfilling ICM's missions and commitment.

ICM noted that there is an increasing influence of historical European martial arts (HEMA) practitioners and researchers trying to promote and institutionalise HEMA inspired by different media, including historical documents and artifacts. Their movement based on the interpretation of pre-existing "connections" to the past distinguishes HEMA from other martial arts and combat sports spread by word of mouth. With such distinctive features and characteristics, it also challenges the preconception that Asia is the birthplace of all martial arts.

Considering the rapidly growing interest in and recognition of HEMA, this report delving into the contemporary status of HEMA will mark a significant milestone in our journey to become the global hub of martial arts. Along with its attention to the development of HEMA, ICM will make persistent efforts to broaden its perspectives as an international organisation and enhance its capabilities to make strong, lasting contributions to youth development and engagement.

ICM

## Preamble

This report has been written on a mandate by the International Centre of Martial Arts for Youth Development and Engagement under the auspices of UNESCO (ICM) in 2019. The team of experts represents different disciplinary and professional backgrounds. They are also active practitioners of Historical European Martial Arts and have positions in various HEMA organisations and are members of the Society for Historical European Martial Arts Studies (SHEMAS). The report is based on an international survey specially conducted for this purpose, as well as on secondary literature and information provided by individuals and organisations related to the HEMA movement. Information is referenced in appendices or as footnotes. The underlined terms refer to a webography in Appendix 1. The author-date references in brackets refer to a bibliography in Appendix 1.

Dr. Daniel Jaquet is a scholar (Researcher in Medieval History at the University of Bern, Department of History) and a museum professional (Head of Scientific Research and Pedagogical Activities in the State Museum of the Castle of Morges). He is a founding member and honorary president of the International Federation for Historical European Martial Arts, a founding member and current president of the Society for Historical European Martial Arts Studies, and a member of the commission for Instructor Certification for the Swiss Federation for Historical European Martial Arts (SWISS HEMA). He is also the editor of the journal *Acta Periodica Duellatorum*, a peer-reviewed scientific journal dedicated to Martial Arts Studies.

Dr. Audrey Tuailon Demésy is a scholar (Researcher in Sociology at the University of Franche Comté, Department of Sport Science). She has been a technical advisor for the French Federation of Historical European Martial Arts (FFAMHE).

Dr. Iason-Eleftherios Tzouridis is a scholar (currently unaffiliated, previously at the University of Leeds) and a museum professional (assistant curator for the Worshipful Company of Gold and Silver Wyre Drawers). He is a scientific advisor for the Hellenic Federation of Historical European Martial Arts. Both Daniel Jaquet and Iason-Eleftherios Tzouridis curated museum exhibitions dedicated to HEMA.

## Introduction

Fighters dressed as knights, or equipped with fencing protective gear, or even with high-tech exoskeletons, bashing each other with steel longswords, can nowadays be seen in historical festivals, re-enactment events, sports events, museums, and academic conferences, or even on air in UFC-like arenas ([Knight Fight](#)). What differentiates the practices with a medieval longsword replica of a re-enactor, of a team of fighters attending a tournament at the [Battle of the Nations](#), a MMA fighter dressed as a knight, and of a practitioner of Historical European Martial Arts?

Martial arts and combat sports are nowadays considered “global”. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, several countries in Europe, Asia and North America acknowledged the development of institutionalised combat sports organisations. Different sport organisations were created before the World Wars, many of them still in existence today. Since the 1970s, with the growth of film genres focusing on martial arts, martial arts from Asia (especially China) reached global awareness. In the last decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, both the film and gaming industries, relayed by Internet and mass media, amplified and diversified this globalisation, shaping public opinion.

Today, this globalisation has led to major re-inventions and new forms of acculturation of martial arts. The martial arts or combat sports practitioners themselves have often a very different idea of their practice than the one portrayed and spread by mass media. These practices and their various representations in public opinion are questioned by matters of cultural identities and history.

The development of Historical European Martial Arts (HEMA) has its roots in the 1990s when the widespread idea that Asia was the cradle of all global martial arts started being challenged. This movement started as an isolated underground cultural practice, and developed into a global movement which is starting to seek institutional recognition (from sporting, cultural, and academic organisations). One of the main characteristics that spread this movement outside Europe is the novelty both of its practices and of their connection to the past, based on the study and interpretation of re-discovered historical documents known as fight books (see chapter 1).

Institutionalised (and non-institutionalised) martial arts and combat sports often claim that their practice is deeply connected to a forgotten past through uninterrupted traditions (usually expressed by oral transmission). European martial arts are presented as the opposite: interrupted traditions of practice which were then re-discovered through the interpretation of historical documents. Because of this process, they are often characterised as either “accurate” or “amateur” martial arts. The former is partially justified because they appear to represent the “scientific” reconstruction of documented lost practices. The latter is due to two factors: firstly the lack of “masters” held up as recipients of uninterrupted oral transmission of martial arts traditions, and secondly because there is currently little institutional

recognition of these practices, as they are mostly led by non-governed bodies. The supposed interruption of traditions and traditional oral transmission is often dated in the first third of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, due to the World Wars and the spread of modern combat sports (notably fencing and wrestling).

This report aims to present the HEMA movement as accurately and objectively as possible, by delineating the plurality of approaches by practitioners organised in local, national, or international organisations. The first chapter presents the main corpus of primary sources for the study of HEMA, the different waves of revival attempts of European martial arts throughout history; and a short history of the HEMA movement. The second chapter delineates the main different approaches and directions which can be observed between communities of practitioners. The last chapter attempts a worldwide overview of the communities, based on a recent survey as well as earlier attempts to monitor modern HEMA (both within the communities of practitioners and by academic contributions). The appendices contain documentations for the report, a bibliography of primary sources, as well as a list of museum exhibitions dedicated to fight books.

## Chapter 1. Elements for the definition of the HEMA movement

Historical European Martial Arts is an international movement of martial arts practitioners interpreting documentation of the past related to European martial arts. As a label, HEMA is used to separate itself from modern sports emerging from traditional practices (such as fencing, wrestling, boxing) or from sports or cultural organisations promoting traditional combat sports as distinctive of their other major counterparts (such as alpine wrestling, Portuguese Jogo de pau, French Savate and others).

The core element of HEMA's identity is its relationship to a written corpus concerning a variety of martial arts traditions which are supposedly extinct. The written accounts of European martial arts used as main primary sources for HEMA communities are the fight books, a subgenre of technical literature appearing from the late Middle Ages onwards. These primary sources cover a variety of martial arts disciplines, ranging from wrestling to armed combat with different weapons, with or without armour, on foot or on horseback (Jaquet 2018). Knowledge about martial arts is usually transmitted orally in a face-to-face (body-to-body) situation by demonstration, imitation, and correction. Written media is therefore limited when it comes to actually transmitting martial embodied knowledge, and may have served different purposes in their original context (promotion, memorial device, personal notes, etc.). Therefore, they are not to be considered "manuals" in the modern sense of the term.

HEMA practitioners attempt to reconstruct these lost (presumably interrupted) martial arts traditions. They are therefore reinventing them, based on the study of historical documentation. The goals, methods, and practices of HEMA communities differ from those of others attempting to revive the past, such as re-enactment communities (who aim to experience the past in costumes). However, by definition, HEMA could be classified as living history and is part of a wave of revivals throughout European history (see subchapter 2).

Living history often demonstrates reactivations of the past in the present, from a bodily practices perspective (Tuailon Demésy 2014). The aim of these practitioners is to re-create and bring to life practices belonging to a past period. Some do so for leisure, others attempt to turn these practices into professional (remunerated) activities. Likewise, HEMA attempts to experience and reconstruct martial arts techniques from the past, but in modern settings. Historical re-enactment, on the other hand, attempts to physically embody characters from the past, usually in public and in costume.<sup>1</sup> Various other living reenactment activities are carried out in multiple institutional contexts, such as in archaeological parks, museums or education facilities. All of the above can be labelled as living history practices, but

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1. The authors are well aware of the differences within reenactment communities worldwide. A common denominator nonetheless is that reenactment of objects is based on a process that starts from primary sources, but does not necessarily follow a scientific process (Tuailon Demésy 2013).

they do not follow the same methods and practices.

The manufacture of objects is a common feature amongst living history activities. The use of these recreated objects (for example swords for test-cutting in the context of HEMA) is an essential feature for experiencing and rediscovering forgotten or lost technical gestures.

There is currently no definitive reference for a definition of HEMA practices, but rather a plurality of definitions, produced either by HEMA organisations, scientific researchers, or influential individuals within HEMA communities. In the context of this report, we do not wish to develop a specific definition, but are instead relying on several of those produced, because the movement is still in its early years (see Appendix II). Our goal is to provide the reader with critically presented elements of definitions.

## I. Overview of the source material

Fight books are a subgenre of technical literature. They put to paper martial arts techniques, methods and systems, using text, image, or a combination of the two. They appeared in Europe in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, but other continents also have fight book traditions, even if most are produced later (or earlier in the case of China). According to the latest scientific research, the larger corpora were produced in Europe. This may be biased, however, because it is in Europe where research (scientific or by independent researchers) regarding fight books has developed the most.<sup>2</sup>

Moreover, there are diverse definitions of fight books, as well as alternative terminology (fencing manual, fencing treatises, historical fencing lessons, etc.). Additionally, if the concept of the fight book is understood as any media attempting to standardise martial embodied knowledge, then fight books are still being produced today, and include modern audio-visual material in addition to previous media (text, image, or a combination of the two).

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2. Ongoing research. Few serious references about global history of martial arts are available. One attempt in the form of an encyclopedia has been released 10 years ago, but it is extremely biased (Green and Svinth, eds 2010). For China, see in Chinese Ma Mingda (2000), and in English Peter Lorge (2012). An international conference in 2017 brought together research produced in different networks and subjects (Fight Books in Comparative Perspective, Solingen 2017). Proceedings forthcoming (Acta Periodica Duellatorum 2020).



Detail of the first fight book. Anonymous, *Liber de arte dimicatoria*, 1305 (Royal Armouries, Leeds, Fecht 01).

There is currently no scientific study available which manages to cover the corpus as a whole. Studies are usually limited to a specific time period, geographical space or language. Therefore, we cannot establish a definite number of fight books. Also, overall numbers are often inaccurate, since these books were often copied, rewritten or re-edited over time. Moreover, there is documented evidence of many books that are currently lost, though several have been tracked down and rediscovered in the last twenty years. Notably, many of these endeavours were conducted not by academics, but by HEMA practitioners and researchers, as well as by collectors. In the information age, with the massive potential discoveries available online, combined with the current trend of library digitisation, many previously forgotten or ignored documents have been made easily accessible to the public and are just waiting to be rediscovered.

## 1.1 Participative resources

Several attempts at listing the corpus available for study and interpretation have been carried out. In the late 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, the way to gather and exchange data in the HEMA communities was done either by mailing lists or forums. Sadly, most of this data is no longer easily available. Also, because the host pages are participative structures (wiki-like), they are transient and always evolving and therefore impossible to cite or reference with the same precision as published works (whether physically or digitally with Digital Object Identifier). In a number of occasions HEMA club owners or individuals started wiki-like platforms, dedicated websites, databases, or online libraries to list and gather information about fight book corpora. Later, larger HEMA organisations such as national federations also

produced or are producing several comparable attempts.<sup>3</sup> Some, however, have stood the test of time, and have become a point of reference for HEMA communities:

#### Wiktenauer

This website comes from a private initiative from the USA, started in 2009 with sponsorship from [HEMA Alliance](#)). This wiki platform lists known European fight books from the 14<sup>th</sup> c. to the early 18<sup>th</sup> c. (with the addition of one source dating from Antiquity). It hosts images or provides links to reproductions online, as well as a selection of secondary literature regarding each source. It also often provides transcriptions and English translations. Its director, Michael Chidester, relies on contributions from the communities of practitioners to produce and provide information, but the whole website is edited by the director and his team. It is currently the most used online resource by HEMA practitioners and researchers. It lists over 200 fight books and related sources (153 manuscripts and 69 books).

#### Treatise database (Martial Arts Reconstruction)

This database comes from a private initiative from Hungary (Schola Artis Gladii et Armorum, [SAGA](#)), and started in 2010. It gathers bibliographical information about fight books and their locations, with URLs. It also includes extra-European fight books (i.e. Arabic sources, currently 5). It currently lists 3021 fight books and related primary sources.

#### AEMMA and ARMA online libraries

These databases come from private initiatives from Canada ([AEMMA](#), Academy of European Medieval Martial Arts) and United States ([ARMA](#), Association for Renaissance Martial Arts, formerly HACA 1992-2001). These are the oldest specialised online libraries for HEMA practitioners (started in 1998) but are open only for registered users. The AEMMA library references over 300 fight books and related content. It was last updated in 2017. The ARMA library gives open access to 60 fight books.

## 1.2 Bibliographies and scientific resources

The first bibliographies were produced by fencing historians and major collectors in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> c. and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. One of the largest is the bibliography of Carl A. Thimm (1896), but other are available as well (Vigeant 1882; Gelli 1895). Most of these works disregard manuscripts and focus on printed material, especially from the 17<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Additionally, because the main interest was fencing, other major HEMA disciplines, such as wrestling or armoured fighting, are left out of these works. The most complete bibliography of that kind today is:

*Fencing: A bibliography* (Pardoel et al., eds 2005).

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3. Such as PALAS project by the French Federations Other platforms are also freely accessible online, and many HEMA clubs do share their work in the form of downloadable content. No exhaustive repository of such initiatives is available.

The work of Thimm (1896) forms the base of this revised and augmented bibliography edited by Henk Pardoel. It is limited to printed material only (including early prints of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, but not exhaustively) in Europe. It contains 3100 entries.

After the World Wars, academic discourse and disciplines diversified. A small niche formed in the 1960s with linguists and philologists in Germany. Martin Wierschin (1965) and Hans-Peter Hils (1985) were the first scholars to build a corpus of primary sources and to develop a field of research. They focused on the late medieval manuscript corpus of German fight books. The product of their labour was a scientific bibliography of this specific corpus (which is the largest for the period), initiated in the 1960s, interrupted, then finally finished by Rainer Leng in 2008. It contains 62 entries (52 manuscripts, 10 prints) and adheres to high academic standards (with in-depth, but sometimes erroneous, descriptions of the material).

Other works are listed below (by category and with examples), but none actually provides a list of all European fight books known to date.

Bibliographies by region, language, time period or media (manuscript or print)

The bibliography cited above (Leng et al. 2008) belongs to this category. Others are available, such as a major bibliography for Spanish works (Valle 2012) with 701 entries, including both manuscripts and prints. No studies published to date offer a critical overview of such bibliographies, which are scarce, dispersed, and of very different quality.

Exhibition or collection catalogues

Some large collectors have published catalogues of their collections. In some cases, when the collection passes to public institutions, exhibition catalogues and secondary literature may be published regarding the collection, or about a selection of pieces. A list of exhibitions regarding fight books is available in Appendix 3.

Appendix 1 presents a bibliography list of primary sources in Europe between 1305 and 1630<sup>4</sup> and a map of printed material between 1305 and 1630.<sup>5</sup> This is not exhaustive and is limited by timeframe. Moreover, many fight books are being continuously rediscovered since 2000, notably because of the development of the HEMA community and ongoing scholarly works.

### **I.3 Other types of primary sources related to fighting practices**

There are many other primary sources connected to fighting practices – they are also used as sources by HEMA practitioners, but none are as detailed as fight books when it comes to studying or interpreting bodily knowledge. These sources include:

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4. Taken from a collective volume published in 2016 (ed. by Jaquet, Verelst and Dawson), attempting to offer a state of research of the field.

5. Taken from an exhibition catalogue published in 2019 (ed. by Gotti, Jaquet and Tzouriadis).

Objects: Surviving arms, armours and related objects are considered main primary sources for the study and interpretation of European martial arts. The main limitations for its study are: identification of the object and its potential relation with martial arts practice described in a fight book;<sup>6</sup> study of mechanical and dynamic properties;<sup>7</sup> and use-wear analysis.<sup>8</sup>

Narrative or normative literature: many documents include records or even descriptions of martial practices (some of them include pictorial evidence). These documents are primary sources for periods of history where no fight books were produced (Roman or Viking period for instance). They are secondary complementary sources when fight books are produced in the same era or geographical space. The main limitation for their study is a critical assessment of the accuracy of martial information.<sup>9</sup>

Iconography (painting, sculpture, decorative art): The celebration of martial culture through art is a common place in various cultures throughout history. However, information about martial practice must be understood through the eyes of artists who apply different types of filters when it comes to representing martial arts techniques on different media. The main limitation for its study is the critical assessment of the accuracy of martial information.<sup>10</sup>

## II. The history of European martial arts revivals

The HEMA movement spread in the beginning of the 21st century, with roots in the last decades of the twentieth century. However, other periods of revival of past martial arts can be traced earlier.

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6. For example, it is often difficult – almost impossible – to assess a direct relation with the documentation, even for objects whose provenance is well documented (which is the minority of objects in public or private collections). Moreover, many weapons were modified transformed or re-used in various contexts and manners over in the course of their history or during conservation.

7. Many HEMA practitioners developed bodily knowledge by handling and practicing with replicas. Most producers of replicas for HEMA practitioners attempt to deliver products as accurate as possible, not only visually, but also attempting to simulate the mechanical and dynamic capabilities of the original objects. There is currently ongoing research which aims to aiming at proposing methods for measuring mechanical and dynamical features of the original objects in order to reproduce them. However, there are currently no published methods to achieve that goal.

8. There are interests in studying surviving objects from the perspective of the traces of previous use in order to better understand the practice. However, this is limited by the history of the conservation of the object, and the different operations of cleaning, restoring and preserving the object. The actual state of the object is often far from what it was in its original period of use. Paleopathology often explores the limitations of this type of examination, in connection with the study of human remains. Additionally, the main scientific fallacy of this approach lies with the use of retrospective analysis that forces connections between two bodies of information without conclusive evidence.

9. Each document is produced in a context, which is often disregarded, or considered unimportant. For narrative literature, the author (or the person commissioning the text a product) writes aims to portray actions for a specific audience. Therefore, martial practice described can be idealised, biased or fictionalised. For normative literature, martial practices described are often standardised, or referred to without the aim of actually describing the underlying bodily knowledge. Moreover, the authors (or others the people involved in the production of the document) may not be martial experts, as opposed authors to some of the fight books (and even with them this is not always the case even for fight books).

10. The aforementioned limitations of narrative and normative literature apply here as well. Moreover, the nature of any artwork and the process of its production must be assessed, especially when it comes to understanding whether a martial expert was involved in its manufacture/production.

## II.1. Early European martial arts revivals

Attempts at reviving past martial arts traditions have been documented in Europe from as early as in the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century. The first martial arts revival pioneer is the author of an anthology of European martial arts in the form of a fight book, as well as a collector of arms, armour and fight books. Paulus Hector Mair explicitly states in his two-volume work that he attempts to document and revive past martial arts (Forgeng 2018). He based his knowledge of fighting on his own collection of fight books (7 known manuscripts bear his ex-libris), as well as his professional activity. He was a civil servant for the town of Augsburg and overviewed all sporting events for the town, including fencing competitions and tournaments. He hired two fencers to interpret the fighting techniques of the previous century. This was most likely intended to assist the artist from the workshop of Jorg Breu the Young who was commissioned to produce the images for the manuscripts.

Later authors also referred to a martial lineage going back as far back as the fifteenth century, as an authoritative criterion asserting the validity of their teachings. Few, however, wrote as explicitly as Paulus Hector Mair did. He is therefore an exception. The first extensive revival wave occurred in the late nineteenth century.

## II.2 The late nineteenth century revival

Several elements and processes led to this revival. First, an increased interest in the popular culture appeared in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, as a reaction towards the major social changes caused by the industrial revolution. Second, from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards, the Olympic movement's ideas developed a new conception of sports. The history of sports appeared as a field of research in that period as well, with scholars and sports practitioners investigating the roots of the newly developing sports. Finally, at the very end of the century, Asian martial arts, especially Japanese martial arts, were imported to Europe. Diverse mechanisms of acculturation or rejection led scholars and martial arts practitioner to revive past traditions of European martial arts.

Collectors, fencers, and historians of fencing in several European countries developed an interest in European martial arts. The first historians of fencing published facsimiles and editions of earlier fight books.<sup>11</sup> Some were more inclined to reconstruct and perform with a sword in hand. A famous example is Egerton Castle (1858-1920), an English author, and collector, who often performed in London with his friend Captain Alfred Hutton (1839-1910), author, captain of the King's Dragoon Guard, and Olympic fencer (Anglo 2008). Similar figures can be found in Germany, France, Italy, and Eastern Europe.

The revival of European martial arts vanished at the dawn of the World Wars, which saw the rise of mechanical warfare and the decline of the art of the sword. Those

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11. This includes foollectors and fencers such as Gustav Hergsell (who edited Hans Talhoffer's fight books, see Hergsell 1887, 1890, 1893), or linguists such as Francesco Novati (who edited Fiore de'i Liberi's fight book, see Novati 1902).

interested in the arts of combat, turned to modern sports, or continued their martial arts training, but without institutional support or public awareness.

### III. The rise of HEMA as a movement

At the time of the production of this report, and from the perspective of national and international regulation (sport authorities) of combat sports, the different HEMA communities are mostly non-governed bodies. Some national organisation (Slovenia, Sweden and Italy) have achieved recognition by NSA (National Sport Authorities), but most of the groups are local or regional. Not all communities pursue the goal of turning their practice into combat sport, as defined by national or international sport authorities. Other goals are often pursued (see chap. 2).

#### III.1 HEMA pioneers

In the beginning of the current revival most groups of practitioners were isolated and claimed (either immediately or post facto) the status of pioneers (dating from the 1980s in the oldest cases). It is interesting that many pioneering organisations were located outside Europe, such as in the United States and Canada (for example [ARMA](#) and [AEMMA](#)). Before the label “HEMA”, several other appellations existed. The most known and widespread is “WMA” which stands for Western Martial Arts.<sup>12</sup> It was intended to differentiate itself from the practices of Eastern (Asian) martial arts, especially in the United States, but also to avoid the label “European” since many practitioners lived outside Europe, and also sought to revive their own traditions related to extra-European spaces.

#### III.2 HEMA networks and the HEMAC organisation

“HEMA” is now a widely accepted term and was probably created around the time in which the idea of having an informal organisation started, in 2001-2003. At the time certain communities of practitioners started to meet three times a year, in Dijon ([HEMAG](#)), Vienna ([Dreynevent](#)) and London ([Fightcamp](#), now in Balsall Common). A parallel series of events has been ongoing in the United States under the name [WMAW](#) (Western Martial Arts Workshop) since 1999 and is still ongoing. It is the same for the Australian community, organising events since 1999. Historical European Martial Arts Coalition ([HEMAC](#)) was created following the dynamics modelled on the European gatherings, first as an email list, then a forum, then a website (which is no longer active), and now a Facebook group. This organisation was never led by any form of executive body and achieved little more than connecting people (its initial goal). However, it was/is praised and became a standard behind which a large number of communities rallied.

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12. Other exist, such as “CAMRE” — Combat Arts of the Medieval and Renaissance Eras, or “Maré” — the Martial Arts of Renaissance Europe, or even “MARCA” - Medieval and Renaissance Combat Arts (etc.).

### III.3 Regional, national and international umbrella organisations

Several organisations expanded on a regional base, with some expanding extra-regionally by establishing systems of chapters of one main organisation (for example ARMA). Another type of expansion or development is the founding of umbrella organisations. The first European national federation was the BFHS (British Federation of Historical Swordplay), founded in 2004, followed by the Austrian Federation the same year. Other types of umbrella organisations also appeared, not based on national territories, but based on cultural identity or type of practices. HEMA groups were also founded on other continents, and soon joined in small networks. Such is the case for South America, South Africa, Australia and parts of Asia (such as Eastern China).

Around 2010, discussions led to the foundation of larger umbrella organisations in Europe (IFHEMA, founded in 2013) and in the USA (HEMA Alliance, founded in 2014). This was notably driven by the need of national organisations to be part of an international organisation in order to secure recognition by their domestic national sport authorities (this is notably the case for Austria). By that time, at least eight European countries had national organisations for HEMA practitioners. In 2013, the International Federation for Historical European Martial Arts was founded with eight founding members. It attempted to bring governance while at the same time acknowledging national differences and independence, and it produced bylaws and definitions. It tackled relevant questions such as what “European” means. More importantly, it debated what “Historical” stands for. In other words, when and where are HEMA’s limits? Does it include martial arts traditions exported outside of Europe? Does it include martial arts practices from Antiquity or Viking times, of which there are no fight books available for study? Does it include pre-World Wars martial arts practices, or modern combat sports such as Alpine wrestling or Jogo de Pau?

This organisation is more of a European federation rather than an international one, since major communities outside of Europe exist and are not yet members. Russia joined in 2018, but no communities from the American, Australian or Asian continent joined yet. Also, several major communities, such as the British or Italian organisations are not yet members. Therefore, there is no central governing body collectively representing HEMA communities.

## Chapter 2. HEMA as a practice

HEMA practitioners have developed their own subculture, based on a constructed identity (practicing martial arts from the past, based on the study of fight books, and without period costumes). The label “HEMA” is well-recognised since 2005. A global growth of a least 85% can be observed in the last 5 years (see chapter 3). Such growth also spurred the development of different kind of practices and aims.

At the core, HEMA practitioners are martial arts practitioners. Therefore, they face the same issues in defining their practice as any other martial artists, combat sport athletes or occasional practitioners attending martial arts classes. The borders between combat sports and martial arts are blurred. The questions of historical accuracy or effectiveness of any kind of martial practice is also often connected to myths and (institutional) doctrine (Bowman 2017). Additionally, when it comes to understanding the motivations of the individuals participating in such activities, specialists have defined five different categories (Wetzler 2015):

- Preparation for violent conflict
- Play and competitive sports
- Performance
- Transcendent goals
- Health care

Any practitioner should be falling in one or several of these broad groups. Another stratum is related to the group of individuals or the organisation itself. Any governed organisation should be attempting to develop and offer ideal conditions for their practitioners. An element needed to achieve any major development on a larger scale is some kind of institutional recognition. HEMA communities seek different kinds of recognition, depending on their aims and practices. From an institutional point of view, which is defined by the politics of the governing bodies, three different types of recognition can be sought: through national sport authorities, through UNESCO (as a cultural authority), and through academia (Jaquet and Sorenson 2015). However, as was previously discussed, not all communities are governed, and not all communities adhere to existing governing bodies. The following three subchapters are organised following this threefold categorisation. The fourth subchapter explores HEMA activities from the point of view of “alternative” cultures, which appears to better define the trend of HEMA as an activity.

### I. Combat sport

Most of HEMA practitioners train and compete in modern settings: in gym halls with modern equipment. This strongly differentiates the HEMA practice from re-enactment activities, performed in period costumes, and where fighting activities are mostly staged for an audience. HEMA practitioners wish to train and test their

fighting skills, and therefore they adopted over the years certain standards of modern combat sports. Specific equipment adapted to the practice is nowadays developed either by the practitioners themselves (using DIY techniques, see subchapter 2.IV), by independent companies, or by established sports manufacturers who developed lines of products for the practice of HEMA (for example Leon Paul, AllStar, PBT Fencing, and others, mainly providers of modern sports fencing equipment).

Major gatherings of HEMA communities (see subchapter 1.III) since the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century began to shape standards for competition activities. Different rulesets are being produced and tested over the years locally and internationally, with all the elements of combat sport competition systems including scoring systems often assisted by computers, training for judges, and simulators to determine that equipment meets safety requirements (national standards exist, but are mainly provided by the event organisation). One of the most recognised international competitions is held during the Swordfish event (since 2006), and has been streamed online since 2011. Different tournament scenes exist in different continents, and international and national circuits started to appear in Europe and Northern America since 2010. A major element bringing the communities focusing on competitions together is the release of a competition management system with international ratings, called HEMA Ratings (released in 2017), developed within the first northern European tournament league bringing together communities from Denmark, Finland, Sweden and Norway (Nordic Historical Fencing League, active since 2014), following the development of the software tool “HEMA Competition Manager”. At the time of the writing of this report, 7.072 competitors are registered on HEMA Ratings (accessed 01.12.2019). This rating system has been followed by HEMA Scorecard, a similar online initiative (competition manager giving ratings) from the northern American HEMA organisation HEMA Alliance.

Most of the national and international HEMA organisations are developing internal tournament scenes with major tournaments generally open to all athletes. The international federation (IFHEMA) launched an international cup, held in Hungary in 2014 and in Portugal in 2018. Many of these organisations also organised demonstration bouts in regional or national multisport events. The largest known to date was the HEMA tournament held as part of the cultural program of the Second European Games in Belarus in 2019, with participation from European, American and Asian delegations.<sup>13</sup>

Several national HEMA organisations started collaboration with modern sport fencing federations or combat sports federations, and some are recognised as official partner organisations. Such is the case for some HEMA organisations in Italy, Spain, Sweden, and Slovenia. However, the majority of HEMA organisation seeks to develop pathways separately or in parallel to such modern sport organisations. Even

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13. Organised as a private initiative from Roberto Gotti, a HEMA collector, founder of AIMA (an Italian organisation recognised by the Italian modern fencing federation – FIS) and owner of Opera Nova (an Italian HEMA organisation bringing together, a HEMA museum, and a training facility). See <https://www.hema-minsk2019.org/> (accessed 01.10.2019).

in the aforementioned countries with established relationships with modern sports major organisations, there are communities acting outside these partnerships.

## II. Cultural activities

Several HEMA communities are aiming to promote their activities from a cultural perspective. The usual output of such endeavours is the organisation of public displays of HEMA activities with cultural festivals or museums. Several collaborations with patrimonial institutions have also been made on local basis, but few on the level of a larger HEMA organisation such as a national federation.<sup>14</sup> Regular demonstrations or public outreach events are increasingly sought out. No data or registrar of such events can be presented in this report. However, a list of exhibitions since 1968 regarding fight books is available in Appendix 3 from a study by Jaquet (2018).

On a strategic level, the potential recognition of UNESCO is actively – or passively – sought since 2010 by larger HEMA organisations. Initiatives from Belgium, Poland and Germany are attempting to have HEMA practices listed in their national inventories of ICH (Intangible Cultural Heritage), as defined under the 2003 Convention.<sup>15</sup> Several martial practices have been included on UNESCO's list for preservation of intangible cultural heritage,<sup>16</sup> but HEMA is not yet on it. By being listed on national inventories, HEMA organisation would not only find it easier to be recognised by government authorities, but could also benefit from potential subsidies with which they could develop and preserve their activities in the future. Such a strategic direction is part of the aims of the International HEMA Federation. HEMA (labelled as "Renaissance Martial Arts" is also represented on the World Martial Arts Union (WoMAU) since 2010,<sup>17</sup> by an American HEMA pioneer and founder of ARMA (John Clements), but without mandate or any relation to any other larger HEMA organisation.

Another important element for public outreach and promotion of HEMA as a cultural practice is the entertainment industry. Theatrical fencing (or stage fencing) is already following this path, but is not directly connected to HEMA organisations in general, since both the methods and the fighting practices are different than those of HEMA practitioners (though the distinction is not necessarily clear to the public). Stage fencing is organised into national and international governing bodies, usually in close relationship to the modern sports fencing organisations. Professional organisations have been proposing regulations for fight directors in the film industry since 1980s. Some HEMA groups, however, are connected to such

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14. The Hellenic and the Spanish Federations regularly collaborate with military museums.

15. More information can be made available by contacting the authors of the report. Actually, the German application was submitted in 2019. The Polish application is under preparation and the Belgium application has been reported to have been prepared, but did not succeed so far.

16. Such as Taekkyon (Korea, 2011) or Chidaoba (Georgia, 2018). See the full list, online: <https://ich.unesco.org/en/lists> (accessed 01.11.2019).

17. WoMAU is founded in 2002 in Korea, registered as an NGO and recognised by UNESCO with consultative services since 2010. It now represents 67 martial arts organisations in 46 different countries.

practices, and some even specialise in stunts and fighting choreography, but they are the exceptions, and they generally make a distinction in their own practice between HEMA activities and stage fighting or stunts for the film industry.<sup>18</sup> Another popular type of mass market media is videogames. Several HEMA practitioners have collaborated in the production of such videogames, working on aspects of fighting and its presentation.

### III. Scientific activities

HEMA is based on interpretation of historical documents, mainly fight books. For most of these documents, there are only a few scientific editions or translations available. Most of the work in providing transcriptions, studies and translations is being produced by the HEMA communities themselves. Many HEMA instructors are working to some degree directly on historical documents, and consider this to be research. According to a study based on an international survey (Jaquet 2015), the typical profile of the average HEMA researcher is as follows:

The HEMA researcher is a male (female 5%) aged 37 years (min. 19; max. 54). He holds a bachelor degree from a discipline unrelated to HEMA studies and he is not currently affiliated with any scientific institution. He actively trains HEMA with an average experience of 14 years (min. 1; max. 37). He teaches HEMA on a local or national level. He is trained or has an average experience of 6 years in other martial sports or arts (most mentioned: Judo and Olympic fencing). He does not publish his research, but shares it with a targeted audience (HEMA practitioners, through workshops, regular teaching or online self-publication on dedicated forums or web-sites with unstable URL, mostly without peer-review or editorial processes). His main occupation is not the research and teaching of HEMA (only 6% presented themselves as professionals on this occupation; the most mentioned main occupation is related to information and communication technology).

Initiatives stemming from HEMA researchers have attempted to raise academic interest in the potential of a field of study dedicated to HEMA. Journals appeared and vanished (such as SPADA with two issues published 2003 and 2005), specialised publishing houses were founded,<sup>19</sup> and proceedings of HEMA-related conferences (usually held alongside major HEMA gatherings) were published.<sup>20</sup> Without major academic or scientific affiliation and support, such initiatives achieved little outreach and usually did not meet scientific standards. The main publication venue for HEMA researchers remains online publishing or print-on-demand companies,

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18. Some HEMA groups include specialised section for such activities, see AMEK for example. Several HEMA communities also take part in the Las Vegas annual CombatCon since 2014, where HEMA activities interact with gaming and film industries.

19. Chivalry bookshelf 1996-2006, based in the USA; Freelance Academy Press, 2015-ongoing, based in the USA; Fallen Rocks, 2014-ongoing; VS-Books (coll. Bibliothek der historischen Kampfkünste), 2005-ongoing, based in Germany.

20. Two proceedings published for HEMAG, Dijon (see Cognot, ed. 2006 and 2011); and two proceedings published for WMAW, Chicago (see Mele, ed. 2010 and 2013); two series of conference in Scotland in partnership with Glasgow museums (org. Keith Farell), but without publication of proceedings

which are not peer-reviewed. Most of these publications are then disregarded by professional scholars. Also, there are existing debates about whether or not HEMA as a practice can be considered at all as scientific research (Burkart 2016).

The field of fight book and European martial arts studies, as conducted by professional scholars, has grown significantly in the past twenty years. For many, the beginning of the field is marked with the publication of Sydney Anglo's monograph *The Martial Arts of Renaissance Europe* in 2000. Increased interest appeared in different fields about fight books, relying on the late 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century historiography (see subchapter 1.1.2). 10 years later, several scholars specialised in the study of these books are actually attempting to foster a proper field of study following scientific standards. Regular sessions are held in major conferences for Medieval Studies in Europe (International Medieval Congress, Leeds) and in the USA (International Congress of Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo) since 2012.<sup>21</sup> Some of the major developments for the systematic academic study of European martial arts were the creation of a dedicated peer-reviewed scientific journal (*Acta Periodica Duellatorum*) in 2013 and the founding of the Society for Historical European Martial Arts Studies (SHEMAS), which is slowly developing with little major institutional support. The inclusion of this field of research in the larger emerging field of "Martial Arts Studies" (since 2015, relying on the *Martial Arts Studies Research Network*) is yet another achievement for visibility within academic networks. Other initiatives have been conducted of course by professional, semi-professional or part-time scholars over the years, with or without the collaboration of the HEMA communities. Listing and commenting these lies outside of the purpose of this report, especially since little outreach to major scientific communities have been achieved so far.

For HEMA communities, being able to rely on scientific works and publications is a seal of quality, which is sought in order to be able to interact with governmental and non-governmental major organisations, both for development of sport and cultural activities.

#### IV. Alternative leisure activities

Considering these different aspects, HEMA form a subculture and is part of the field of alternative leisure activities. Alternative leisure activities are mainly studied from a sport perspective. Conventional modern sports appear to fulfil fewer and fewer consumer expectations, which, for example, revolve around more play and less efficiency or achievement. Practitioners turn to physical activities which are innovative, emerging, or renewed. By moving away from the values traditionally associated with sport movement (Ehrenberg 1991), these activities propose new rules and forms of practice. This is the case for sports that have been revived, such as HEMA. Sporting leisure activities that are developing alongside traditional sports can be described as 'not mainstream', because they present themselves in

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21. Some of these sessions led to publication of selected proceedings, both by Freelance Academy Press (Mondschein and Cramer, eds. 2014) and *Acta Periodica Duellatorum* (Jaquet 2016).

opposition to what is already on offer. Thus, studies show that so-called “alternative” sports convey ideological positions that are in opposition to mainstream sport culture (Cohen and Peachey 2015). A form of resistance is being presented by the practitioners of these activities (Jarvie 2006), which may be related to the values inherent in the practice (e. g. gender inclusivity) or to the type of activity. Beyond that, this alternative dimension is also found in other leisure hobbies, not just sport activities. This is the case of playful practices or underground activities, which can be related to music, such as punk culture (Robène and Serre 2016; Straw 1991) or in the field of heritage, in particular with historical re-enactment. These leisure activities are based on a lifestyle that requires significant commitment from practitioners (Gilchrist and Wheaton 2016). They also tend to form subcultures (Hall and Jefferson 2006; Chaney 2004; Wheaton 2007) and allow the symbolic creation of new norms and values, which tend to change the dominant ideology in the field of leisure.

Few academic studies are devoted to these forms of leisure, but researches on alternative cultures show the important role played by the Do it Yourself (DIY) ideology. In addition, a recent research project ([Aiôn](#)) tends to show that these leisure activities require a non-linear conception of time. In other words, the meanings given to the time by alternative leisure actors seem to oppose the unidirectional time of our societies. Indeed, the alternative playful experience reveals several temporal structures that co-exist (festive present time, a golden age of a bygone past and a future perceived as uncertain). Living history and in particular HEMA thus fall into this category of alternative leisure activities. First, HEMA is a community of practitioners that emphasizes the sporting and cultural (historical) dimension of their activity. Moreover, the transmission of knowledge is more often horizontal than vertical, thus opposing the logic of top-down transmission of knowledge in traditional sports. In addition, HEMA embodies the DIY ethos through participation in workshops, working on primary sources, etc. Finally, the practitioners’ imaginary conception of forgotten eras, in particular of the Middle Ages, guides HEMA practices. Thus, as the sword is the symbol of Middle Ages, it also became the visual cue usually representing HEMA. Moreover, sword fighting can become the realisation of a childhood dream: “When we were children, we dreamt to become knights. We became adults only to allow other children to follow the same dream” (Gotti, Jaquet and Tzouriadis 2019). But HEMA also looks to the future, with the creation of a new model of practice, outside traditional sports settings, combining cultural approach and sporting performance. For all these reasons, it is possible to position HEMA within the more general framework of alternative leisure activities, in particular because it proposes other ways of practicing (through DIY, the cultural dimension, the community base, etc.).

## Chapter 3. HEMA today

Most of the pioneer groups evolved and increased in size since the early 21<sup>st</sup> century. Many new groups appeared in the last ten years. Based on a comparison between the first available survey, conducted by an individual in 2013 (Roger Norling, see [HEMA survey 2013](#), details in Appendix 4) and the data gathered by our own survey and by our additional investigation we can estimate a growth of 85% in 5 years. The total amount of practitioners can be estimated at 16.000 at least.

### I. Survey and methods

This questionnaire used for this chapter was addressed to the heads of organisations (associations, clubs, etc.), in order to collect general information about HEMA organisations nowadays. However, due to the different profiles of the respondents and the overall situation of HEMA communities, we have a mixture of answers, sometimes from different bodies within the same country. For such cases, we mention the number of answers per country (n=x). The survey was conducted by the authors of this report in order to cross sociological and historical points of view. The project was under mandate from the International Centre of Martial Arts for Youth Development and Engagement under the auspices of UNESCO ([ICM](#)), in partnership with the International Federation of Historical European Martial Arts ([IFHEMA](#)) and the Society for Historical European Martial Arts Studies ([SHEMAS](#)).

The survey was composed of 34 questions, divided into 4 sections (“Your organisation”, “Your practitioners”, “Optional further information for research purposes”, “Information about yourself”, see Appendix 4). The response time was estimated at 20 minutes. We used the free software LimeSurvey to create it. We hosted the questionnaire on a dedicated server and we submitted it online between the 5th August 2019 and the 25th September 2019. We collected 102 answers, from all over the world.

First of all, it is necessary to specify that the analysis concerns organisations, not individuals. Thus, this is more of an analysis of the practice setting than one of individual practitioners. Thus, thanks to this survey, we can only describe HEMA through the prism of groups or clubs.

With respect to representativeness, our sample was random. Given the weak structuring of HEMA worldwide, we did not have a list of all clubs by country. We therefore chose to distribute the questionnaire as widely as possible. For this purpose, we asked the help of the International Federation ([IFHEMA](#)) to communicate the survey to clubs and national federations. Moreover, we created a Facebook page to spread awareness of the survey on social media. Thanks to these distribution channels, we accommodated people who otherwise would have had problems accessing and filling in the survey. Even though the survey was intended for all heads of organisations worldwide, or at least as many as possible, we received only 102 responses before the time limit. Our sample is therefore not representative

of the entire HEMA practice. Nevertheless, by cross-referencing our data with other research conducted (quantitative, qualitative) on HEMA, we can obtain a relatively accurate picture of HEMA practice today. We also conducted and added a separate investigation to obtain comparable quantitative data to the HEMA survey of 2013, conducted by Roger Norling, so as to have an estimate of the total number of practitioners worldwide (see Appendix 4.II).

A major limit was the linguistic barrier. The survey was created in English but some respondents could not answer all questions, especially those which were open.

Finally, it is important to mention that the summer period was not ideal for the distribution of the survey because a lot of potential respondents were on holiday. Furthermore, many clubs stop training during the summer, and August is the period between two practice seasons. These issues can also explain the low number of responses received. They should also be considered for the conduct of future research including surveys of HEMA communities.

## II. Survey Analysis

First of all, it is important to clarify, before any further analysis of the survey, that wherever it was necessary, the “no answer” entry was retained. This non-response must be taken into account statistically. In addition, the absence of an opinion is also indicative of a respondent’s position. Thus, questions may not be answered due to lack of knowledge or due to choice.

The analysis of the survey is divided into five main categories: 1. General information; 2. The organisations; 3. HEMA in everyday life; 4. The practitioners; 5. HEMA practices.

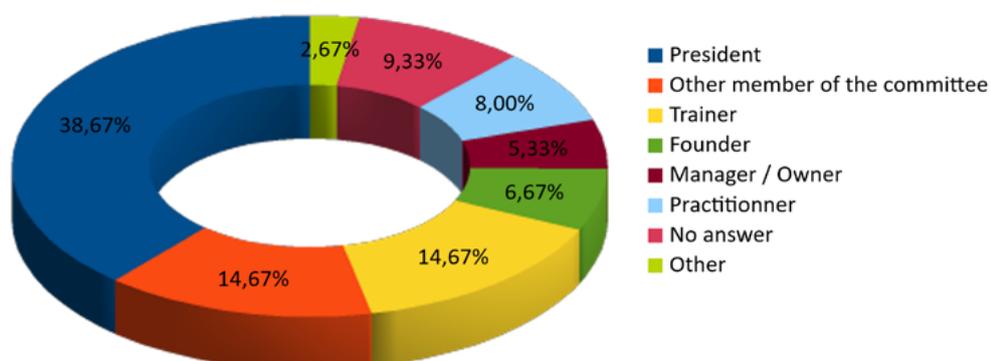
### II.1 General information

Two general data can be introduced first to better understand the following analyses: the respondents’ role and the country.

#### *II.1.1 The respondents’ role*

Initially, the role played by the respondents, who represented their organisation, must be presented. Thus, nearly 39% of them are presidents of their organisation. Equally (nearly 15%) are coaches or hold another position in the committee of their organisation. 8% are practitioners and nearly 7% are the founders of the structure. 5% are managers or owners of the organisation.

Role of the respondent



### II.1.2. HEMA by country

The distribution of HEMA can be presented by country. We received answers from 28 different countries. Among those answers, a large majority is from the USA (n = 16) and from France (n = 13). In third, come a group of countries with 7 answers each (Germany, United Kingdom, Finland) and we can add to this group Switzerland (n = 6). Though we are far from being able to generalize about the national dynamism of HEMA at a global level, it is possible to hypothesize that these countries form an active core for HEMA. They also partially represent countries in which the writers of the survey could better communicate the existence of the questionnaire because of personal links and ties.

Even if our analysis does not allow us to draw a map of HEMA clubs, the massive mobilization of respondents from Western and Northern Europe as well as the USA reflects a continuous monitoring of news about HEMA and a very active involvement of practitioners in the HEMA community. See Appendix 4.II for a map drawn from our additional investigations.

More specifically, some respondents testify as to the specificity of HEMA in their country. For example, in Norway, HEMA is still a marginal practice. Furthermore, re-enactment takes an important place in the field of leisure activities and guides HEMA practice. For example, an answer to the question "Do you have something to add?": *"HEMA in Norway is quite a marginal sport/hobby; with potential for growth, but it has difficulties growing because of the already existing and quite dominant Viking combat/re-enactor hobby"*.

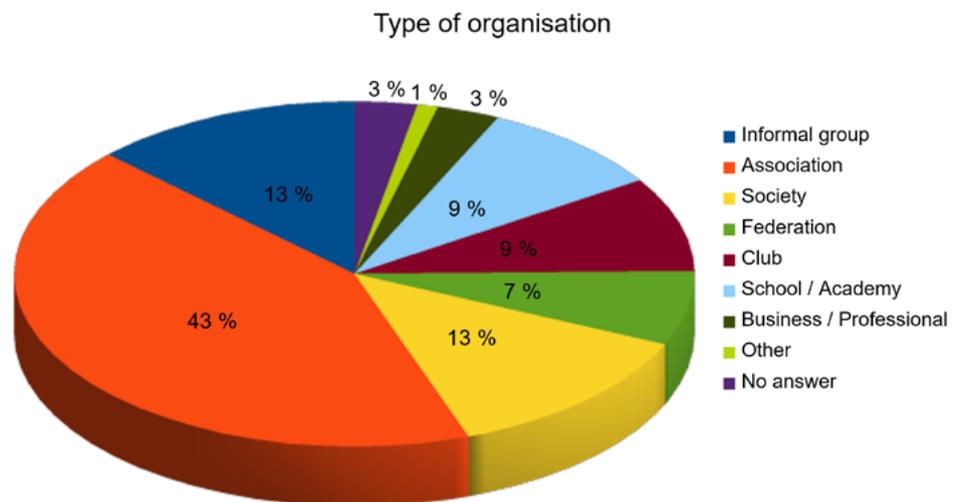
## II.2 The organisations

This section is dedicated to the presentation of HEMA's structures (type, volunteering, date of creation and main aim).

### II.2.1 Type of organisations

Respondents specified the description of their group choosing between the terms "association", "informal group" and "society" or by using the "other, specify" option in the single choice list. Therefore, our analysis and chart below include new categories compared to the original list of options. A large majority of organisations declare themselves as an association (42%). Equally, in second place are "societies" and "informal groups" (13%). The societies are not always for-profit, but this name shows the scale of HEMA formalization. There are also unorganized, informal groups of practitioners. On the other hand, there are well-established organisations, sometimes for-profit. The middle ground to these is represented by the associations. Clubs and schools occupy a similar place. It can be assumed that these two denominations are intended to emphasize, more than for associations, the supervised nature of the activity (with trainers).

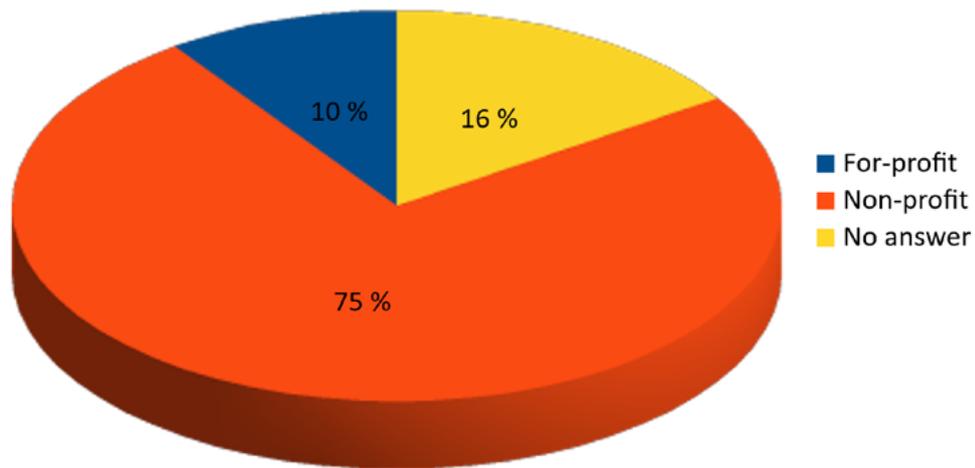
7 federations are listed (France, Switzerland, Austria, Belgium, Greece, Sweden and Hungary).



### II.2.2 For-profit and non-profit organisations

Almost 75% of the respondents report that their organisation is a non-profit one. Nearly 10% report that there is a commercial purpose in their HEMA organisation.

### A profit organisation?



Cross-referencing this data with the type of organisation reported, 86 responses appear to be complete. Among these answers, 10 organisations declare themselves as for-profit ones. 4 are “schools”, 3 “companies”, 2 “associations” and 1 is a “business”. It should be noted that another response included “business” in the type of organisation declared, but did not specify whether or not it was a for-profit organisation. Some terms seem more specifically oriented towards profit-making organisations (school, business) without this being discriminatory. On the other hand, a large proportion of organisations declared as non-profit are mainly “associations” or “clubs”. Furthermore, we can note that the term “owner” is only used by respondents to describe themselves if they belong to a for-profit organisation.

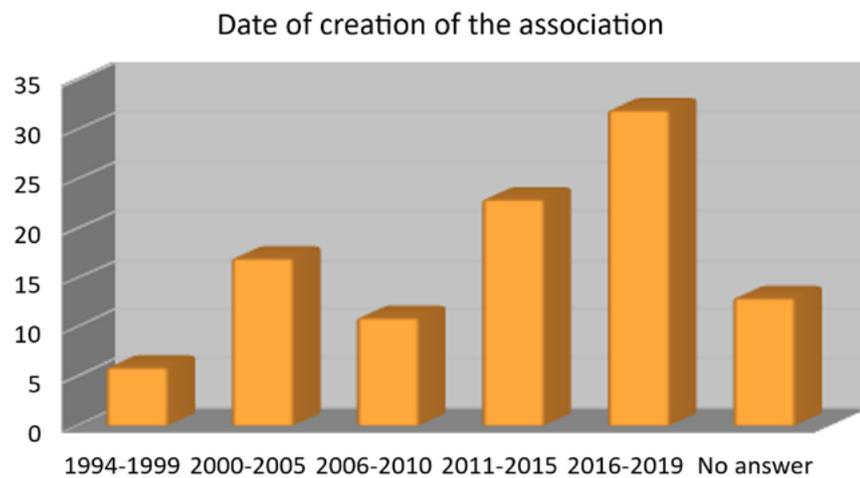
Type of organisation	Is your organisation?		Total sum
	Non-profit	For-profit	
Alliance	1		1
Association	37	2	39
Business		1	1
Club	7		7
Federation	8		8
Informal group	12		12
School	3	4	7
Society	8	3	11
<b>Total sum</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>86</b>

By country, for-profit organisations come from Spain (n = 3), USA (n = 2), Canada, Finland, UK, Australia and Italy (n = 1).

#### II.2.3 Date of creation

More than half of the associations have been created since 2011 (n = 55). The oldest

organisation is a for-profit one, from Canada (created in 1994). A low level of activity was evident before the 2000s and despite a drop in the creation of organisations in the years 2006-2010, the practice is generally growing rapidly, especially since 2016. Subsequently, HEMA organisations appeared both in Europe and in the USA. The three organisations created in 2019 were created in Canada (n = 1) and in the USA (n = 2).



In Appendix 4.III, a cross-tabulated table shows the dates of creation of organisations by country. Development is a constant process. However, there has been a steady increase in the number of HEMA organisations in the UK and USA over the past three years.

#### II.2.4 The aims of the organisations

A question was about the main aim of the organisation. Respondents were asked to describe the purpose of their HEMA group. Among these answers, four main categories can be presented. They are not exclusives and some respondents declared multiple purposes.

- First, respondents set out a transmission objective. It is about learning and transmitting ways of doing HEMA. This learning has embodied knowledge, historical, and research aspects: *“Collaborate in research, sharing, study and diffusion of historical sources of martial gestures [...]”; “To study historical sources and to get better together”; “[Our] HEMA [organisation] is dedicated to the study and practice of the martial arts of Medieval and Renaissance Europe”.*
- A second aim is to allow members to be part of a group (i.e. the community of practitioners), and emphasizes inclusiveness and fun. HEMA is therefore clearly categorised as leisure, and one of the aims of organisations is to provide a pleasant practical environment: *“To be involved in a dynamic of knowledge sharing within the community of practice of European Historical Martial Arts”; “Our goal is*

*to create a safe and inclusive environment where people can learn about real sword fighting techniques and practice them for fitness and enjoyment”.*

- The third aim that could be identified from the responses is the quest for recognition for the activity. In these cases, the organisations prioritise the promotion of HEMA and its development at the local and national levels. The aim is to make HEMA known to a wide audience: *“To develop the international HEMA scene”; “Our current goal is to reach a wider audience”; “To advance the hobby in the general area”; “To promote the practice of HEMA”, etc.*
- A final element highlighted is the promotion of competition and performance. In this case, the aim of organisations is to improve the training of practitioners and to participate in tournaments. This is the sporting dimension of HEMA: *“To give members the necessary abilities to take part in HEMA competitions”; “To recreate Historical European Martial Arts based on exiting historical sources and test them in sparring and competitive environments”; “To train and compete in historical fencing, specifically longsword & sword and buckler”.*

These goals can coexist, and the organisations often combine several objectives (promotion and competition, study and sharing with the community, research and training, etc.).

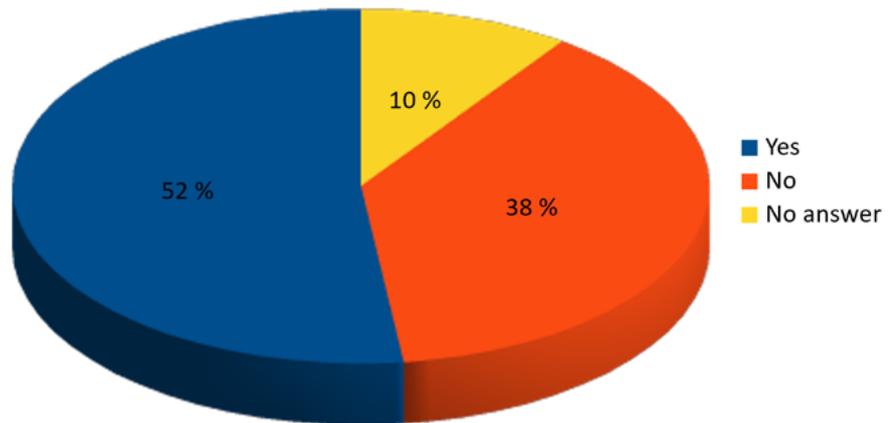
## II.3 HEMA in everyday life

This part concerns HEMA on a daily basis, from the structure to the participation in sporting or cultural events.

### *II.3.1. Umbrella organisation*

Half of the organisations declare themselves affiliated to an umbrella organisation and 50% of them are affiliated to a national HEMA federation. Furthermore, federations report their affiliation to IFHEMA (the international federation). Some respondents report their affiliation to other HEMA organisations, such as guilds, academies, regional organisations, etc. (15 %). Finally, other umbrella organisations mentioned are various federations, such as sports, martial arts, or re-enactment (9%).

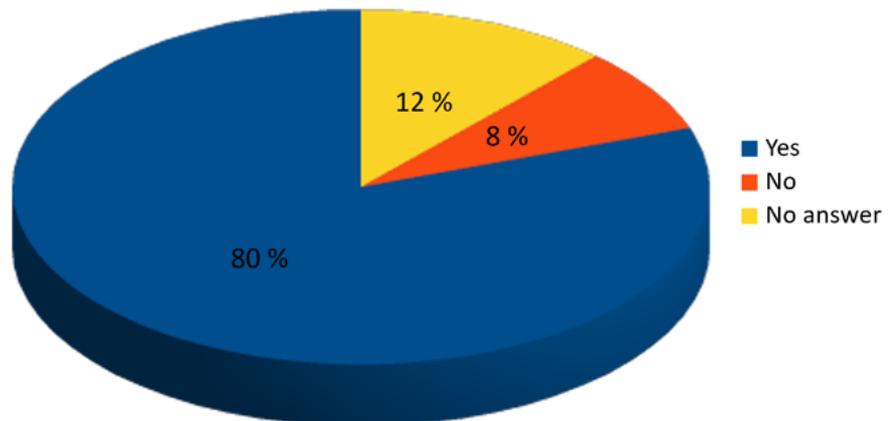
Member of an umbrella organisation



### II.3.2 Workshops

80% of the respondents declare that their organisation takes part in workshops or HEMA events. It shows that this part of HEMA, – which allows meetings and exchanges–, remains crucial for the practice. The community of practitioners seems to be relevant to explain this percentage.

Participation in workshops or HEMA event

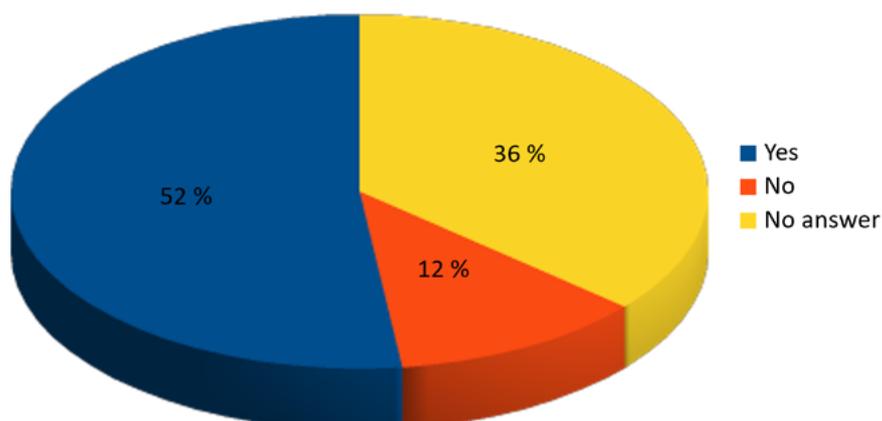


### II.3.3 Cultural events

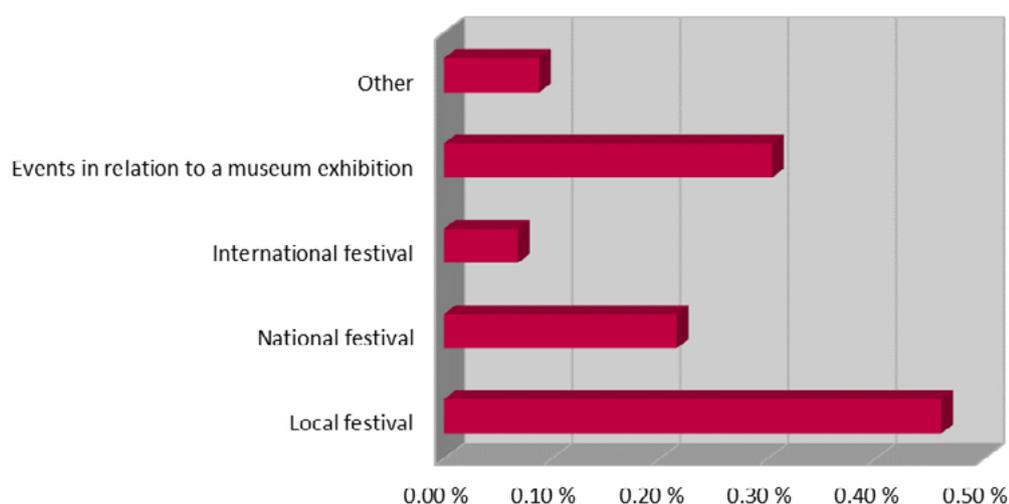
The survey also inquired whether organisations participate in cultural events and activities, such as HEMA demonstrations to the general public. Not as many organisations responded that they take part in such activities compared to organisations that take part in HEMA-specific workshops (II.3.2). However, a large number of respondents did not answer this question (36%).

For those who responded, the most popular cultural events are local festivals and events linked to museums and exhibitions. Other cultural events are pedagogical interventions in schools or University conferences. This is a reminder of the importance given to the cultural dimension of HEMA.

Participation in cultural events



Type of cultural event

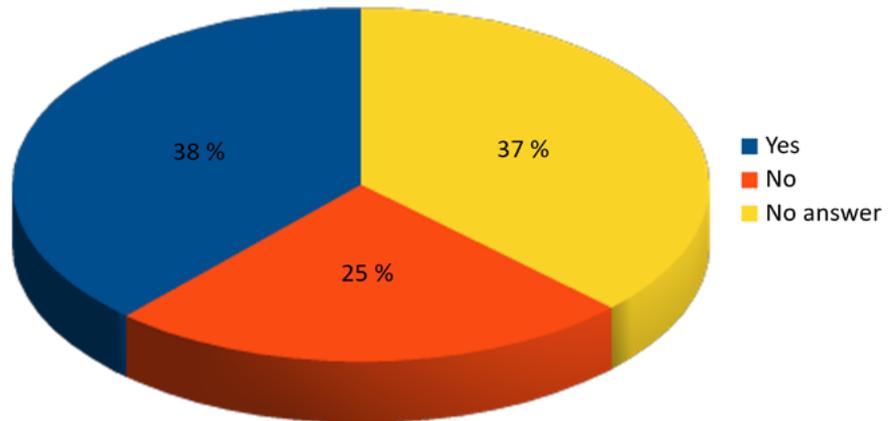


### II.3.4 Sporting events

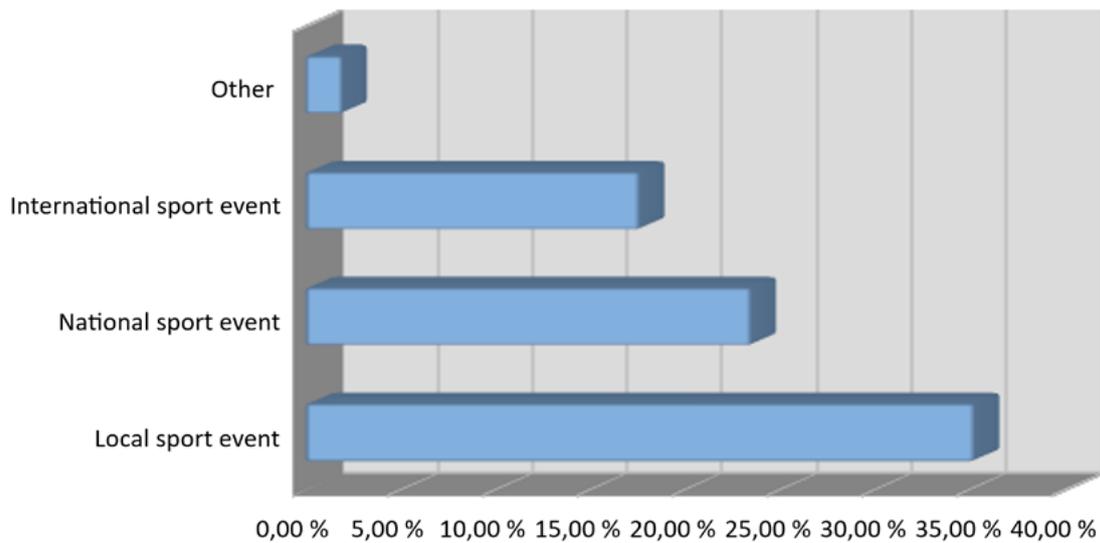
As with the previous question, a significant proportion of respondents did not answer the question: "Does your organisation encourage or actively takes part in sporting events?". Although it is impossible to know why they did not answer, the responses show that participation in sporting events is less important than participation in cultural events.

It seems that HEMA are promoted more through cultural events than through their sport counterparts. Both the sporting and cultural events in which HEMA organisations participate are, for the most part, local-level events.

Participation in sport events



Type of sport event



## II.4 The practitioners

Here is the data concerning practitioners, as reported by the organisations.

### II.4.1 Gender

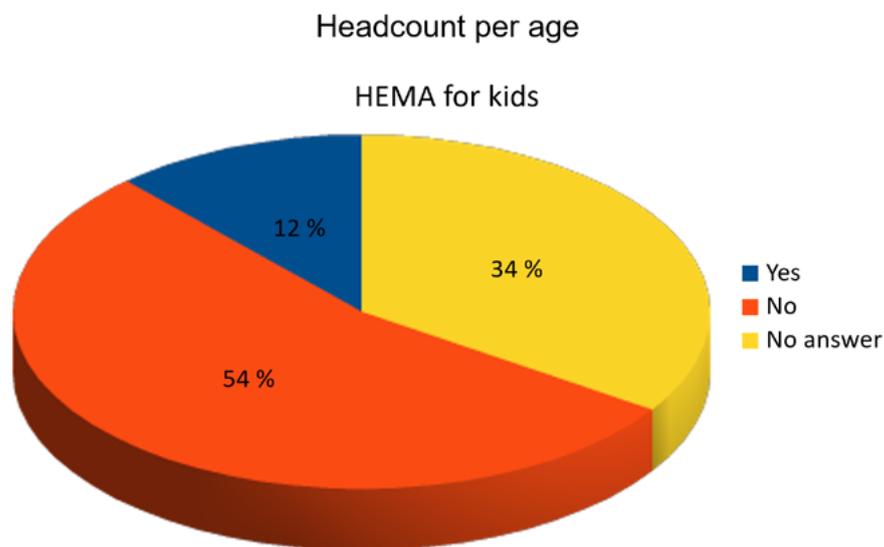
The organisations reported a total of 5905 practitioners. Of these, 82% (n = 4843) are male, nearly 18% (n = 1051) are female and less than 1% are reported as non-binary (n = 11). However, these numbers are most likely underestimates, because several organizations did not answer this question.

HEMA thus tends to attract more male practitioners. This trend is consistent with other combat sports, which similarly attract fewer female participants (around

30%)<sup>22</sup>. Reported non-binary practitioners come from different European countries (Germany, Italy, Spain, and Sweden) and from the USA.

#### II.4.2 Age

With regards to age, more than half of the organisations state that they do not offer HEMA activities for children. Only 12% of them provide activities specifically catering to kids. HEMA are best suited to adults and are dedicated in particular for 18-40 years old, with a high proportion of practitioners in the 25-40 years old range. There is a significant drop after 40 years old and almost no practitioners over 60 (n = 23). As far as children are concerned, there are few practitioners under 15 years old (n = 85). This is directly due to the low number of organisations that offer HEMA courses for children.



## II.5 HEMA practices

This category is about how HEMA are practiced, from the research for primary sources to competitions.

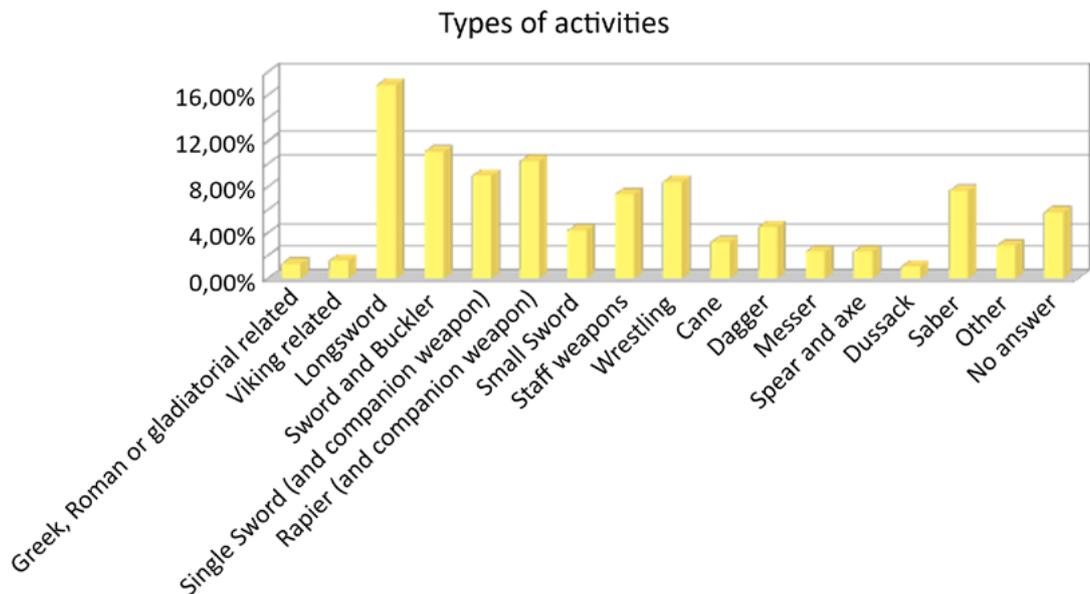
#### II.5.1 Several types of activities

The principal activities according to the survey are: "Longsword" (n = 64), "Sword & Buckler" (n = 42), "Rapier" (n = 39) and "Single Sword" (n = 34). Then comes

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22. For France, see for example Muller (2006) and Gleizes & Pénicaud (2017). Gender stereotypes, in particular the relationship to the body, partly explain the lower presence of women in martial arts. Women still frequently attend practices that convey feminine stereotypes (flexibility, grace, etc.), while combat sports emphasize endurance, strength, etc.

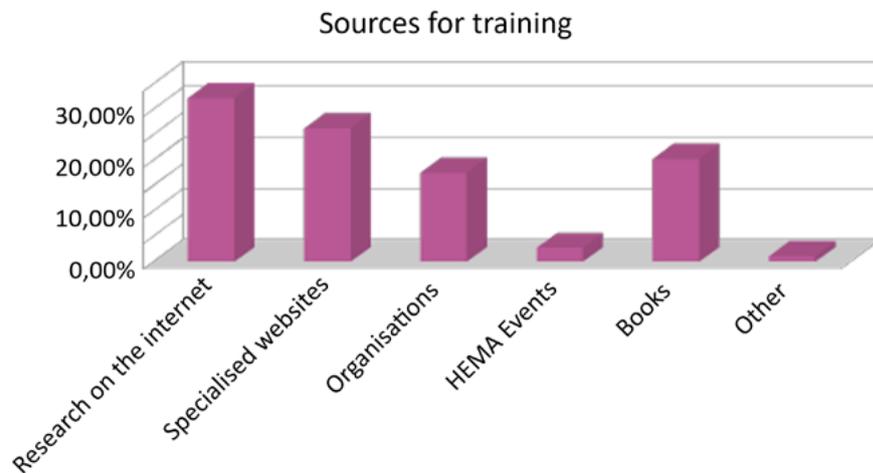
“Wrestling” (n = 32) and “Staff Weapons” (n = 28). This question was a multiple choice question. The answers clearly show the predominance of the sword (whatever its form) as a central practice of HEMA. We can assume that in addition to the practice, practitioners are also interested in the object itself, since the sword is one of the most identifiable symbols of the European Middle Ages, and has been adopted as the symbol of many HEMA organisations, such as the French HEMA Federation.



### II.5.2 Origins of the sources for the training

Research on primary sources is an important part of HEMA practice and related culture. Transcriptions and translations are necessary supports for gestural experimentation. The HEMA community of practitioners has also grown through the use of digital media. In fact, a large proportion of respondents indicate that they looking for sources *via* the Internet, particularly through specialised websites dedicated to HEMA or ones which provide free access to manuscript translations.

The second place to find sources is through the organisations. This category includes federations and research organisations dedicated to HEMA. The third most popular is through books that translations of primary sources. Finally, events are sometimes cited as places where practitioners can learn and again facilitated access to the sources due to instructors bringing them along for use during workshops.



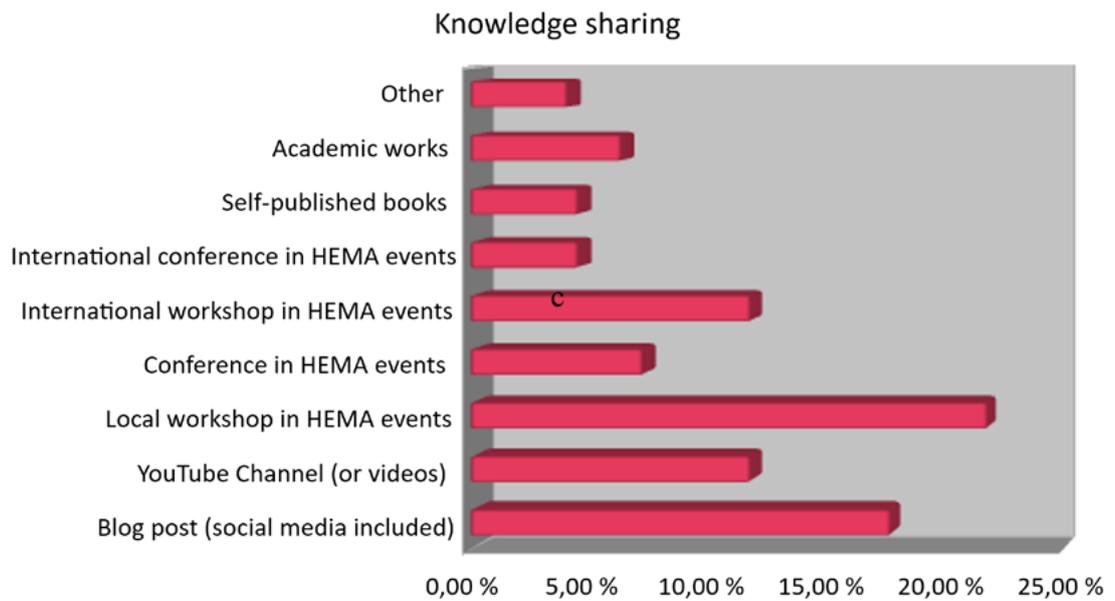
### *II.5.3 Transmission of knowledge*

A distinctive characteristic of HEMA is having many different groups active in the search for sources and the implementation of martial gestures. This accumulated knowledge base (which includes translations of primary sources) is therefore widely shared within the community of practitioners.

The primary place in which such knowledge is shared are HEMA local events ( $n = 48$ ), including workshops. It shows that the primary transmission method is the physical approach, through body experimentation. Online transmission follows next: blogs ( $n = 39$ ) form a dominant sharing space, especially since they can be accompanied by videos shared online ( $n = 26$ ). On an international level, knowledge exchange still takes place through workshops ( $n = 26$ ), which is more than through conferences ( $n = 10$ ).

However, it should be noted that written publications also play an important role, divided between academic work ( $n = 14$ ) and self-published works ( $n = 10$ ). These statistics testify that writing (which comes in addition to the martial experimentation) is still an important part of the transmission of knowledge in HEMA.

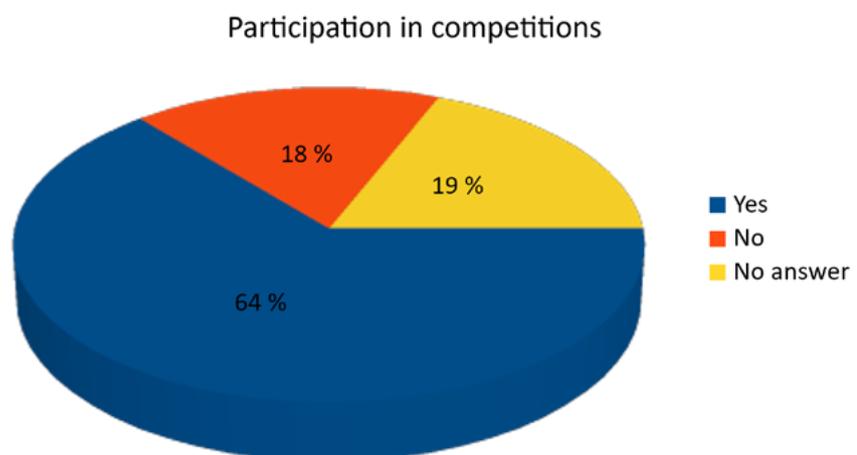
Therefore, we can observe that the transmission of knowledge is divided into two main areas: workshops and videos allow the transmission of physical and technical skills, whereas historical data (primary sources and translations) are more frequently exchanged via specialized websites or academic works.

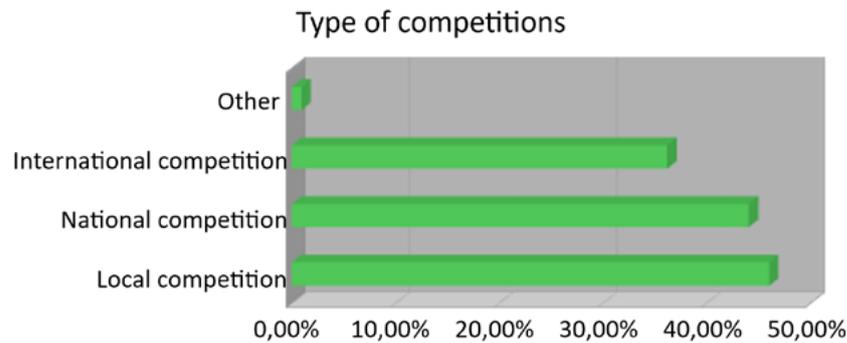


#### II.5.4 Competition

The other side of HEMA, which complements the cultural and historical approach, is the sporting and competitive dimension. Nearly 64% of respondents said they encourage competition among their members. 17.5%, on the other hand, do not take part in this dimension of HEMA.

Competitions are first held at a local (46%) and national (44%) level. Declared participation in international competitions is 36%. Thus, only one third of respondents take part in formal and codified meetings on an international level.





By cross-referencing the positive responses to competitive engagement with countries, we see that different profiles are emerging. Although the small number of responses does not allow us to make general statements and is not representative, it is possible to see that some countries strongly encourage competition, for example Sweden or Spain (3 out of 4 organisations), while others seem more reluctant to this practice (for example, Switzerland, Italy, Ireland or Hungary give only from 33% to 40% of positive answers (see Appendix 4.III.4).

### *II.5.5 Characteristics of HEMA*

Respondents were asked to rank a number of keywords in terms of how fundamental to HEMA they considered each of these concepts to be. The term “martial” was placed in rank 1 by 26% of respondents, and by 18% in rank 2. The term “history” was ranked first by nearly 21% and second by nearly 17%. Thus, these two concepts are at the core of the definition of HEMA for respondents. “Sport” was ranked first by only 7% of respondents, but it was the third most popular term in rank 2 (13%), just ahead of “culture” with 12%. While it is not popular in rank 1 (about 7%), “sport” is cited in rank 2 in third place (13%), just ahead of “culture” (12%). Although it is not central to the concept of HEMA, “sport” is nevertheless an important factor.

The terms which were ranked third most important by respondents all received an almost equal number of votes (ranging between 9.8% and 13.7%). This indicates that, although the martial and historical aspects of HEMA are its most distinguishing characteristics in respondents’ opinions, the rest of the terms (“community”, “culture”, “heritage” and “sport”) are considered to be almost equally important.

This data reflects the conclusions of the HEMA questionnaire for French practitioners produced in 2015 (see the case study below, subchapter III). In that study, French respondents placed the historical dimension first (n = 171), followed by the terms “martial” (n = 146) and “sport” (n = 145). Thus, if the order of the terms may change, the top three remain the same. HEMA are clearly characterized by martial, historical and sporting dimensions (see charts in Appendix 4.III.5).

### II.5.6 Definitions of HEMA

One question of the survey concerned the definition of HEMA. This was a deliberately open-ended question. There were few responses to it, but among those received, it is possible to synthesise the definitions given.

The thematic and lexical analysis of the responses indicates that respondents propose different types of definitions. One of them explains that no-one agrees on a single definition today. Some practitioners are more interested in the martial dimension, others in the historical one. It is possible to identify two main axes in the answers recorded. Respondents define HEMA either as a process, or as an object. This data reflects that collected for the questionnaire for French practitioners in 2015, which identified three orientations for the definition of HEMA (the process, the object, the community). This last aspect is almost entirely absent from the responses to the current survey. We can hypothesise that this aspect was not highlighted because respondents were replying on behalf of their organisation and rather than as individual practitioners. It should be noted that typos and mistakes were left unchanged from the respondents' answers.

- The first axis presents HEMA as a "process": the aim is, via to study and practice, to apply the primary sources in contemporary martial arts practice: *"HEMA consists in studying and practicing the former combat forms which occurred in Europe by the past"; "HEMA is a discipline which consists of studying the fighting methods and fighting systems that existed on the European ground in his past, distant or close, on the base of historical sources, mostly using fighting treatises and fighting manuscripts left by masters or students back then"*.

Some among the respondents emphasise the fact that HEMA is the reconstruction of ancient martial arts. In this case, the focus is on the revivalism and gesture reconstruction: *"We do reconstructions of the historical arts and skills"; "Reviving the lost European Martial Arts through the scientific study of existing original sources"*. However, respondents show their awareness that studying and practicing HEMA is a modern activity, and underline the contemporaneity of the practice: *"The practice and study of Western martial arts and armed combat from medieval manuals interpreted into modern practices"; "A modern day martial art inspired by treatises as true as possible to them but unavoidably different, accepting that our context and values are different"*.

According to this first axis, HEMA are a modern practice, based on a process, starting from primary sources to achieve martial experimentation, in a recreational and leisure context.

- The second axis emphasizes the object, more than the process. In this case, HEMA are specific forms of martial arts, types of primary sources, a historical period, etc.: *"Historically accurate martial arts based on written evidences, such as fencing codex's"; "Martial arts based on historical written documents"; "Martial arts as practiced in the historical period from the 14th to 19th century"*. These definitions

focus on HEMA as an object and not on the experimentation or on the body dimension in the activity.

According to this second axis, HEMA are the sum of objects and/or themes to analyse or describe.

Some definitions can of course mix the two types of definitions: *“HEMA covers the arts of defense that was practiced in Europe in olden times. For this there are historical sources which describe the principles, terms, used techniques and their execution”*.

It should also be noted that some respondents proposed the definition officially given by the French federation of HEMA (FFAMHE): *“European Historical Martial Arts covers the historically demonstrated study of all forms of martial arts that have existed in Europe from antiquity to the end of commonly accepted history. Thus, HEMA are interested in the motor situations used in combat, armed or unarmed, on foot or mounted, in battles, skirmishes, and duels or sports games, as practiced, used, and perceived, by combatants and masters of arms throughout history. It may include, as related knowledge, certain forms of remote armament or engagement, regardless of the means of propulsion. The study of military art is excluded”*.

The different definitions given show the main themes that practitioners seek to highlight: HEMA as a full process, or HEMA as an object of research. The problem with this lack of unanimous definition and broad approach is that it is impossible to give a general presentation of HEMA. More importantly, the framework of practice is not clearly communicated, as one respondent noted: *“We have never needed a formal definition to date though, so we are a little bit more lenient with how we allow our affiliated clubs to decide what HEMA is for themselves”*.

### III. Case study on the French practitioners

#### III.1 General presentation

In 2015, three years after the creation of the French Federation of European Historical Martial Arts (FFAMHE), a questionnaire was drawn up for practitioners.<sup>23</sup> Submitted online, 220 answers were collected. It represented between 20 % and 25 % of the practitioners licenced at the French Federation of HEMA (FFAMHE).

Overall, since early 2010, HEMA in France has been increasingly organised, with the support of a federation, which coordinates and organises activities and offers training courses.. The media coverage of the activity is increasing and there is an increased focus on improved communications, leading to many practitioners finding their HEMA group through posters, demonstrations, etc. It is also necessary to highlight a new questioning of practitioners regarding primary sources and in particular their accessibility. But this movement is counterbalanced by a more

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23. It was created by Bruno Galice and Audrey Tuailon Demésy, technical advisors of the French Federation of HEMA. It was analysed from a sociological point of view.

passive consumption of the activity (where sources may not be consulted at all).

### III.2 The practitioners

The average age of the practitioners was 32 years old. Only 17% of the respondents were women. HEMA practitioners were mainly single (39.7%) or in a common-law relationship (37.9%). They were 20.5% were married, with 28% reported as having children.

Concerning the level of education, nearly 64% of respondents had a Bachelor's degree (28,1%) or a Master's degree (35,7%). 5.4% of them had a doctorate. Therefore, the majority of practitioners had higher education (less than 19% had a high-school diploma or a lower level of qualification). The disciplines in which degrees were obtained were varied and included the humanities and social sciences, as well as other fields of research: biology, physics, computer science, literature, etc. Concerning their professions, the practitioners were students, teachers, engineers, craftsmen, working in the medical sector, artists, cooks or booksellers etc.

### III.3 Martial and sporting past

67% of the practitioners had a martial past. Most of them practiced judo (27.7%), or, to a lesser extent, other oriental martial arts (karate, kendo). A portion of these respondents reported having been involved in sport fencing (13,6%). The majority of the answers reported having practiced more than one combat sport. Gouren, Ju-ji-tsu, wrestling, boxing, etc. also appeared in answers.

45% of HEMA practitioners were also re-enactors, which reminds us of the significance of HEMA as living history.

### III.4 Introduction to HEMA community

Introduction to HEMA was mainly through friends or family. 24% of respondents said they found out about the activity through friends. The next most popular responses were through the Internet and various informative media (advertising, demonstrations, etc.), all tied at about 17%. At that time, the federation had made it possible to distribute a logo on a large scale.

13.6% of participants came from the re-enactment field. These were, for the most part, re-enactors who wanted to improve their martial techniques so that they could add historical credibility to their presentations during re-enactment events.

Finally, just over 10% of respondents learned about HEMA by word of mouth.

There were therefore different audiences drawn to HEMA: firstly, those in adjacent environments (re-enactment, role-playing games, those that had a practitioner as an acquaintance, etc.), who were the majority of the respondents to the questionnaire; and, secondly, those who came to this activity without any type of previous related knowledge (by chance, through a desire to practice medieval fencing, etc.).

### III.5 Main transformations of HEMA

While the “community of practice”<sup>24</sup> aspect (Wenger 1998) has not disappeared from HEMA today, the standardisation of the activity and the technical and social innovations (through equipment, institutionalisation and the arrival of new practitioners) contribute towards transforming the identity of HEMA. The relationship to history remains essential, but the practice is now linked to a kind of commodification: a portion of practitioners simply consume the activity, like any other sport. The research aspect tends more and more to become the work of specialists. These transformations can bring some tensions in the community of practitioners because they question the identity of HEMA.

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24. A community of practice can be defined by a set of common resources shared by the members of the group, as well as common objectives and similar commitments so as to achieve common goals.

## Conclusion

HEMA communities are in the process of establishing standards. A large part of these communities are also at the same time not welcoming (sometimes even actively working against) any process of standardisation. These tensions are visible in the classical fracture between “traditional” martial artists who value the cultural dimensions of the activity more, and combat sport athletes willing to adhere to competitive standards comparable to major modern combat sport organisations. However, this is not the only fracture or point of friction, which is visible in internal discussions within the community, external observations of institutional politics, and nowadays, publicly on social media. Communities may claim differences in their methods, fundamental questions of identity, and approaches, and they may favour specific disciplines and arguing for the exclusion of other disciplines from the “HEMA sphere”. These differences should be considered treasures, because the plurality of approaches enriches the practices and the movement itself. Such dissensions also cause the difficulties faced by any umbrella organisations having to deal with dissident local, regional, and international ideologies and practices. This is why many of the national or regional HEMA organisations cannot be seen as representative of the whole community, and even in some cases, of their own domestic landscape.

HEMA are multifaceted. No definition has yet been agreed upon, even if the process (from primary sources to gesture experimentation) seems accepted by most organisations. Similarly, the practice is not standardised. Even though the sword occupies a large part of HEMA’s activities and symbolizes the whole practice, other weapons, treatises and systems are also studied (wrestling, dagger, dussack, messer, rapier, saber, etc.). This is a testament both to the vitality and to the diversity of HEMA. At an organisational level, the aims are also different: promotion, learning, performance, and community engagement are all highlighted.

For individuals and groups attempting to foster the development and recognition of the movement, there are no common pathways to follow. Some turn to modern sport organisations, either to have HEMA events included as independent activities under some form of governance, or as part of larger multisport or modern sports fencing organisations. Others are attempting to seek acknowledgement by cultural or educational institutions, and recognition by UNESCO for a potential inclusion on the intangible cultural heritage lists represents the highest form of this process. Others, again, tend to find partnerships or common grounds with other similar activities within the living history organisations or entertainment businesses (stage fencing, re-enactment, hyper-reality or fictionalised martial arts movements, film or gaming industries).

The HEMA movement is growing and increasing its public profile. This model of development is interesting for other martial arts practices as well. The strong connection with the past through the process of interpreting historical document is paving new routes for extra-European historical martial arts as well. The list below

is not exhaustive and serves as example<sup>25</sup>:

#### Razmafzar: Persian Historical Martial Arts

This organisation founded in 2012 by Moshtag Khorasani is focusing on the study and interpretation of Persian martial arts heritage. The mission statement is the following: “The purpose and mission of Razmafzar are the systematic study and classification of the techniques described in Persian manuscripts to revive the ancient martial arts of Iran/Persian, such as Persian archery and swordsmanship. It relies on scientific publications, conferences, seminars and the development of a martial arts syllabus by the founder.”<sup>26</sup>

#### Chinese Longsword: Chinese Historical Martial Arts

This organisation founded in 2010 by Jack Chen (Historical Combat Association, Singapore) is focusing on the study and interpretation of Chinese historical martial arts heritage. It provides English translation of Chinese fight books and methods for martial arts practice and interpretation. It also covers Korean material documenting East Asian martial arts (Chinese, Japanese and Korean) in the late eighteenth century (Muye Dobo Tongji 1790). Other organisations have developed or are developing similar activities.

#### HAMAA: Historical African Martial Arts Association

This organisation, founded in 2018 by D’amon Stith is focusing on the study and interpretation of African martial arts heritage, based in North America. Its mission statement is the following: “HAMAA is dedicated to the research, preservation, restoration, and propagation of the martial disciplines of Africa and its global diaspora community. This is achieved through academic research, experimental archaeology, and building a global community of practitioners, historians, and enthusiasts.”

As Chinese martial arts were spread and globalised through the film industry in the 1970s, HEMA as a movement has been spread and globalised through digital mass media. Outside Europe and Northern America, pockets of practitioners are known worldwide, in South Africa, South America, Australia, and Asia. The “orientalism” effect (reception of Asian martial arts in Europe) has started to reverse, albeit with a much smaller impact so far, as a new “occidentalism” effect. Interestingly enough, what seems to raise the most questions is the claim of a connection to the past through the historical documents, revived into modern practice. This element questions the established ideology (mythology?) of the uninterrupted tradition by oral transmission, through generational lineage claimed by major martial arts organisations. Martial arts practice labelled as HEMA are, as other martial arts practices, continuously being re-invented.

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25. Not investigated in the scope of this report. The information comes from personal communication and a review of the social media presence of these organisations. Disclaimer: this list is neither representative, nor exhaustive. The authors know of other similar movements and are aware of dissensions within each of these movements.

26. See Khorasani (2013). Other publication listed on his website: <https://www.moshtaghkhorasani.com/> (accessed 01.11.2019).

# Appendices

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Listed below are manuscripts, prints, incunabula and post-incunabula constituting the corpus of sources highlighted in this volume. The documents dating from after 1630 were ignored. Currently, there is neither a specialized bibliography, nor a descriptive catalogue taking all the witnesses into account. For the witnesses described, the concordance with existing catalogues is indicated in brackets at the end of the relevant references, abbreviated as follows:

- [W]            Wierschin 1965
- [H]            Hils 1985
- [KdiHM]       Leng 2009

A large part of the fight book corpus is anonymous and untitled, and classification by indexing references to authors is problematic. Similarly, a chronological index also poses difficulties, as codicological studies have not been conducted on all of the witnesses, and these are necessary to ensure a viable dating. The references are organized by conservation location. Alternative titles are given in brackets.

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## Appendix 2: Existing HEMA definitions

This appendix includes a diverse selection of definitions produced over the years by HEMA communities as well as one major news agency (New York Times). For the purposes of this report, only English texts were reviewed. Scholarly definitions can be found by following the references in the bibliography, notably Anglo (2000); Jaquet, Verelst & Dawson (2016); and Jaquet (2018).

Wikipedia – Article HEMA. Page created by Dieter Bachmann (Switzerland) in 2004. It had undergone 828 edits when last accessed (01.10.2019). Excerpt from the first section of the page:

Historical European martial arts (HEMA) refers to martial arts of European origin, particularly using arts formerly practised, but having since died out or evolved into very different forms.

While there is limited surviving documentation of the martial arts of classical antiquity (such as Greek wrestling or gladiatorial combat), surviving dedicated technical treatises or martial arts manuals date to the Late Middle Ages and the early modern period. For this reason, the focus of HEMA is de facto on the period of the half-millennium of ca. 1300 to 1800, with a German and an Italian school flowering in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance (14th to 16th centuries), followed by Spanish, French, English and Scottish schools of fencing in the modern period (17th and 18th centuries). Arts of the 19th century such as classical fencing, and even early hybrid styles such as Bartitsu may also be included in the term HEMA in a wider sense, as may traditional or folkloristic styles attested in the 19th and early 20th centuries, including forms of folk wrestling and traditional stick-fighting methods.

The term Western Martial Arts (WMA) is sometimes used in the United States and in a wider sense including modern and traditional disciplines. During the Late Middle Ages, the longsword had a position of honour among these disciplines, and sometimes historical European swordsmanship (HES) is used to refer to swordsmanship techniques specifically.

Modern reconstructions of some of these arts arose from the 1890s and have been practiced systematically since the 1990s.

Source: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Historical\\_European\\_martial\\_arts](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Historical_European_martial_arts) (accessed 01.10.2019)

HEMAC – Historical European Martial Arts Coalition, Europe, founded in 2001

Elements of definition from the website, taken from the “About us” section (now offline since 2018):

The Historical European Martial Arts Coalition (HEMAC) is a collection of martial artists and researchers in Europe. We are dedicated to the study, reconstruction, practice and promotion of traditional European fighting arts, based on the study of surviving technical sources (treatises and manuals).

The available sources for these arts date from around 1300AD onwards (we may yet discover earlier ones), covering both armed and unarmed combat. They cover the

techniques of dueling, self-defence and combat skills for war, with a wide variety of weapons, in armour or civilian clothes.

Source: <http://www.hemac.org/> (accessed 12.02.2013, now offline).

HEMA Alliance – Historical European Martial Arts Alliance, Northern America, founded in 2009

Elements of definition from the website, taken from the section “New to HEMA?”:

So, you want to play with swords?

Historical European Martial Arts, or HEMA for short, involves the study and practice of historical European fighting techniques. As a community, we are bringing back to life the dead arts of the old European masters.

You will fight with steel, and you will rekindle the traditions.

Why Did The Arts Die?

In eastern martial traditions, there are direct lineages of masters - present day masters learned from a master who learned from a master, etc. In Europe, many martial traditions died or evolved into purely sporting forms - sport fencing, boxing, wrestling.

How Are You Bringing them Back?

Many European masters left behind manuals, sometimes coded in poetry. The HEMA community has been discovering, translating, and interpreting these manuals to reconstruct the old arts.

Source: <https://www.hemaalliance.com/new-to-hema> (accessed 01.10.2019)

IFHEMA – International Federation for Historical European Martial Arts, Europe, founded in 2013

Elements of definition from the website, taken from the section “About us”, which is a reworked version of the preamble of the bye-laws:

Historical European Martial Arts (HEMA) is a worldwide movement aiming towards safe and efficient practice of European martial heritage.

HEMA can be practiced either as martial arts or martial sports, many HEMA centres practice both forms. The practice is based on research and study of sources that recorded martial arts within European territories and European spheres of influence.

HEMA is to be considered separately from modern sports such as fencing, wrestling, boxing, savate and similar, since most of the modern sports are based on regulations created from the late nineteenth century onward.

The same is true for more “traditional” competitive activities such as alpine wrestling or cane fighting, which are also based on modern regulations, even if their practices reflect their original forms.

Source: <http://ifhema.com/about-us/> (accessed 01.10.2019)

New York Times – Online reportage Mac William Bishop. 2014. “Inside the world of longsword fighting”, online: <http://nyti.ms/1BJk5MP> (accessed 01.10.2019)

Elements of definition of HEMA, excerpt from the transcript of the reportage:

HEMA stands for Historical European Martial Arts. What that means in short is that HEMA is study and practice of historical European fighting techniques that were traditionally practice in Europe and its colonies.

These techniques include but are not limited to:

- Unarmored combat with various weapons (longsword, rapier, sword & shield, dagger, polearms, etc.
- Armored combat with various weapons
- Mounted combat both unarmored and armored, primarily with the sword and lance.
- Unarmed combat which includes wrestling, grappling, punching and kicked; which are fully integrated into all of the above.

Unlike other martial arts, which have living traditions, HEMA is primarily based on the study of surviving manuscripts and books written by long ago by European fencing and wrestling masters. Thus, they are reconstructed fighting arts. HEMA has been practiced in a systematic way since the mid-1990s, although attempts at reconstruction occurred as early as Victorian times.

The European fighting arts evolved over time, with each era having its own focus and flavor:

- Medieval: The period of greatest diversity, with a primary focus on the longsword, following the teachings of masters such as Johannes Liechtenauer and Fiore dei Liberi.
- Renaissance: Focused on the rapier systems of the late 16th and 17th centuries
- Early Modern: Primarily smallsword, military sabre systems, and stick-fighting systems

Most HEMA clubs focus on Late Medieval fighting arts (especially the longsword) or on the Renaissance sword arts (especially the rapier). However, many clubs practice a mix of arts, weapons, and periods. Above all, HEMA is characterized by its diversity.

Regardless of a club’s particular focus, the practice of HEMA typically consists of: Physical conditioning; training in martial techniques (alone, with a partner, or in a group); putting martial techniques into practice by sparring with opponents; and the practice of related skills, such as using the sword to cut through targets.

Some HEMA practitioners choose to take part in tournaments as a way of testing their skills, but this is by no means required.

Although our practitioners come from many backgrounds, HEMA is NONE of the following:

- Live Action Role Playing (LARP)
- Society for Creative Anachronism (SCA)
- Medieval/Renaissance Re-Enactment
- Stage Combat

The bedrock foundation of HEMA is the study of primary source material, such as old books on fencing and wrestling. Because of this, scholarship and research are important parts of the practice of HEMA. Many of these old works have been translated, and quite a few are illustrated.

Source: Transcript from reddit, user Pfbenczagel.

## Appendix 3: HEMA in museums

This Appendix is taken from an article published in 2018 (Jaquet 2018), which reviews exhibitions including fight books between 1968 and 2018.

Some exhibitions featured reproduction of fight books (either a facsimile, or photographic reproduction of the manuscript, or illustrations taken from editions or secondary literature). These are hereafter mentioned as “facsimile”, a list of which to be found at the end of the appendix.

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

### I. Temporary exhibitions

	Temporary exhibition title (catalogue and institution)	Date	Number of books
TE1	Das Fechten in der Kunst (ed. coll. authors, Basel: Schweizerisches Turn- und Sportmuseum, 1968). Basel, Schweizerisches Turn- und Sportmuseum	10.1968-11.1968	10 prints (incl. 2 facsimile)
TE2	500 Jahre Fechtmeister in Deutschland. Ältester privilegierter Berufsstand (ed. Huhle, Henner and Brunck, Helma, Frankfurt am Main: Historisches Museum, 1987). Frankfurt am Main: Historisches Museum	08.1987-11.1987	4 prints
TE3	The Academy of the Sword: illustrated fencing books 1500-1800 (ed. LaRocca, Donald J., New-York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998). New-York, Metropolitan Museum	06.1998-09.1999	1 manuscript, 26 prints
TE4	En garde! : schermen verbeeld : schermboeken uit de Corble-collectie, wapens en attributen (ed. Coppens, Chris and Schwartz Chris, Leuven: Presses Universitaires, 1998). Zemst, Sportmuseum Vlaanderen [Sportimonium]	10.1998-12.1998	55 prints (incl. 1 facsimile)
TE5	A fil di spada. Il duello dale origini... agli ori olimpici (ed. Spotti, Alda, Roma: Colombo, 2005). Roma, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale	05.2005-07.2005	2 manuscripts, 12 prints (incl. 1 facsimile)
TE6	Bewegtes Leben. Körpertechniken in der Frühen Neuzeit (ed. Mallinckordt, Rebekka von, Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Bibliothek, 2008), pp. 340-51. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek	06.2008-11.2008	6 prints
TE7	Ritterwelten im Spätmittelalter (ed. Niehoff, Franz, Landshut: Museen der Stadt Landshut, 2009). Landshut, Museum der Stadt Landshut	06.2009-09.2009	2 manuscripts, 1 print
TE8	L'épée: Usages, mythes et symboles (ed. Huynh, Michel, Paris: RMN, 2011). Paris, Musée National du Moyen Âge	04.2011-09.2011	3 manuscripts
TE9	The Noble Art of the Sword: Fashion and Fencing in Renaissance Europe 1520-1630 (ed. Capwell, Tobias, London: Paul Holberton, 2012). London, Wallace collection	05.2012-09.2012	3 manuscripts, 7 prints
TE10	Ritter! Traum und Wirklichkeit (ed. Haag, Sabine, Wien: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 2013). Innsbruck, Schloss Ambras	06.2013-09.2013	1 manuscript
TE11	Mousquetaires! (ed. Renaudeau, Olivier, Paris: Gallimard, 2014). Paris, Musée de l'Armée	04.2014-09.2014	2 prints

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

## II. Permanent exhibition

	Permanent exhibition	Date	Fight books
PE1	Los Angeles (and Malibu), J. Paul Getty Museum, Getty Center (15 temporary exhibitions at the centre, list online)	1986-2015	Fiore dei Liberi, [ <i>Fior di battaglia</i> ], ca. 1410 (Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms Ludwig XV13).
PE2	Paris, Musée National du Moyen Âge	2011-current	Anonymous, [fight book], 1480-1500 (Paris, Musée National du Moyen Âge, Cl. 23842 / olim Donaueschingen, Fürstliche Fürstenbergische Hofbibliothek, Cod. 862). [KdiHM 2.3/6.2]
PE3	Vordinborg, Danmarks Borgcenter (Danish Castle Centre)	2014-2015	Hans Talhoffer, [Alte Armatur und Ringkunst], 1459 (København, Det Kongelige Bibliothek, Thott 290 2°). [KdiHM 3.4]
PE4	Solingen, Deutsches Klingensmuseum	2015-current	Sebastian Heussler, <i>Künstliches abprobrites und nutzliches Fecht-Buch</i> , Nürnberg, Paulus Fursten, 1615 [Par 1253.01]
PE5	Glasgow, Kelvingrove museum	2006-2011	Frederico Ghisliero, <i>Regole di molti cavagliereschi essercitii</i> , Parma, Erasmo Viotto, 1587.
PE6	Leeds, Royal Armouries (Self-Defence Gallery)	2016-current	Domenico Angelo [Maletovi Termamondo] (Henry Charles William Angelo), <i>The School of Fencing</i> , London, W. Henry, 1787.
PE7	Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Schatzkammer (Vitrine V)	2016-current	Paulus Hector Mair, [fight book], 1550 (Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, C93/94). [KdiHM 8.3]
PE8	Chicago, Art Institute, Arms and Armor gallery	2017-current	Gérard Thibault D'Anvers, <i>Académie de l'espée</i> , Leyden, Bonaventura & Abraham Elzeviers, 1628 (1630) [Par 2598.01]

## III. Fight books displayed

Listed in chronological order.

Fight books	Reference	Exhibition
Anonymous, <i>Liber de Arte Dimicatoria</i> [Tower Fechtbuch], ca. 1305 (Leeds, Royal Armouries, I.33).	KdiHM 9.8	TE9
Anonymous, <i>Florius de arte luctandi</i> , 1420-1430 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Lat. 11269).		TE8
Hans Talhoffer, [fight book], 1446-1459 (Königseggwald, Gräfliche Bibliothek, XIX 17.3).	KdiHM 3.5	TE7
Anonymous, [ <i>codex Wallerstein, or von Baumann</i> ], 1450/70 (Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, I.6.4° 2).	KdiHM 9.1	TE14
Peter von Danzig, [fight book], 1452 (Roma, Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana.44 A 8).	KdiHM 9.9	TE5
Anonymous, <i>Le Jeu de la Hache</i> , [1465-80] (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Fr. 1996).		TE8
Anonymous, [fight book], 1480-1500 (Paris, Musée National du Moyen Âge, Cl. 23842 / olim Donaueschingen, Fürstliche Fürstenbergische Hofbibliothek, Cod. 862).	KdiHM 2.3/6.2	TE8, PE2

Fight books	Reference	Exhibition
Peter Falkner, [fight book], 1480-1500 (Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, KK 5012).	KdiHM 1.5/4.2/6.3	TE10
Filippo Vadi, <i>Liber de Arte gladiatoria dimicandi</i> , 1482-1487 (Roma Biblioteca Nazionale, 1342).		TE5
Johannes Lecküchner, <i>Kunst des Messerfechtens</i> 1482 (München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 582).	KdiHM 6.1	TE7, 15
Hans Talhoffer, [fight book], 1500-1550 (New York, Metropolitan Museum, 26.236).		TE3
Hans Wurm, [Ringerbuch], ca. 1500 (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, 1693).	KdiHM 10.c	TE7
Anonymous, [fight book], 1508 (Glasgow, R. L. Scott Collection, E.1939.65.341).	KdiHM 1.2	TE9
Anonymous, [Solothurner Fechtbuch], ca. 1510 (Solothurn, Zentralbibliothek, S 554).	KdiHM 3.7	TE12
D. Antonio Manciolino, <i>Opera Nova</i> , Venice, Nicolo d'Aristotile detto Zoppino, 1531.	Par 1623.01	TE5
Gregor Erhart, [fight book], 1533 (Glasgow, R. L. Scott Collection, E.1939.65.354).	KdiHM 9.5	TE9
Achille Marozzo, <i>Opera nova</i> , Modena, D. Antonii Bergolae, 1536.	Par 1654.01	TE1, 3, 4, 9, 13
Fabian von Auerswald, <i>Die Ringer-Kunst</i> , Wittenberg, Hans Lufft, 1539.	Par 168.01	TE1, 14
Camillo Agrippa, <i>Trattato di scienza d'arme</i> , Milan, Heredes Antonij Bladij, 1553.	Par 17.01	TE4, 5, 6, 9, 13
Camillo Palladini, <i>Discorso sopra l'arte della scherma</i> , [Bologna], n.n., 1555-60.	Par 1972.01	TE9
Hans Talhoffer, [Fechtbuch], 1555-1560 (Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, I.6.2°.1).	KdiHM 3.1	TE14
Anonymous, <i>Die Ritterliche/Mannliche Kunst und Handarbeyt Fechtens/und Kempfens</i> , Frankfurt am Main, Christian Egenolff, 1558. <sup>27</sup>	Par 2920.01	TE2, 4, 13
Camillo Agrippa, <i>Trattato di scienza d'arme</i> , Venice, Antonio Pinargenti, 1568.	Par 16.01	TE3, 5
Achille Marozzo, <i>Arte dell'armi</i> , Venice, Antonio Pinargenti, 1568 [1569].	Par 1675.01	TE3, 4, 5
Giacomo di Grassi, <i>Ragione di adoprare sicuramente l'arme</i> , Venice, Giordano Ziletti, 1570.	Par 1146.01	TE3, 4, 9
Joachim Meyer, <i>Gründtliche Beschreibung, der freyen Ritterlichen und Adelichen Kunst des Fechtens</i> , Strasburg, Thiebolt Berger, 1570.	Par 1761.01	TE1, 2, 3, 4, 15
Henry de Saint Didier, <i>Traité contenant les secrets du premier livre sur l'espée seule, mère de toutes armes</i> , Paris, Jean Mettayer et Matthurin Challenge, 1573.	Par 2311.01	TE4, 13
Angelo Viggiani (Vizani Dal Montone), <i>Lo schermo</i> , Venice, Giorgio Angelieri, 1575.	Par 2728.01	TE3, 9
Jerónimo Sanchez de Carranza, [F]ilosofia de las armas y de su destreza, y de la agresion y defension christiana, Sanlucar de Barrameda, casa del autor, 1582.	Par 533.01	TE4
Angelo Viggiani (Vizani Dal Montone), <i>Lo schermo</i> , Bologna, Gio. Rossi, 1588.	Par 2729.01	TE5
Anonymous, [Fechtbuch], 1591 (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August-Bibliothek, Guelf. 83.4 Aug. 8°).	KdiHM 9.13	TE1
Giacomo di Grassi, <i>His true arte of defence</i> , London, John Jaggard, 1594.	Par 1147.01	TE4
Vincenzo Saviolo, <i>His practise, in two bookes; the first intreating of the Use of the Rapier and Dagger, the second of honour and honourable quarrels</i> , London, John Wolfe, 1595.	Par 2344.01	TE4, 9
George Silver, <i>Brefe instructions upon my paradoxes of defence for the handlyng of all manner of weapons</i> , London, [Edward Blount], 1599.	Par 2446.01	TE4, 9
Luis Pacheco de Narváez, <i>Libro de las grandezas de la espada</i> , Madrid, [Juan Iñiguez de Lequerica], 1600.	Par 1892.01	TE3, 4
Marco Docciolini, <i>Trattato in materia di scherma</i> , Florence, Michelangelo Sermatelli, 1601.	Par 808.01	TE5
Nicolleto V. Giganti, <i>Scola overò teatro nel quale sono rappresentate diverse maniere, e modi di parare, e di ferire di spada sola, e di spada e pugnale</i> , Venice, Giovanni Antonio et G. di Franceschi, 1606.	Par 1100.01	TE4, 13
Salvatore Fabris, <i>De lo schermo overo scienza d'arme</i> , Copenhagen, Henrico Waltkirch, 1606.	Par 893.01	TE3, 4
Salvatore Fabris, <i>Italiänische Fechtkunst</i> , Leiden, Isack Elzevier, 1606.	Par 897.01	TE4, 6
Ridolfo Capoferro da Cagli, <i>Gran simulacro dell'arte e dell'uso della scherma</i> , Siena, Salvestro Marchetti & Camillo Turi, 1610. NB: 2 versions, one coloured (Roma Biblioteca Nazionale, I.3.I.bis.3).	Par 510.01	TE3, 4, 5, 11, 13

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

Fight books	Reference	Exhibition
Hyeronimo Cavalcabo, <i>Neues künstliches Fechtbuch</i> , Leipzig, Henning Grosse, 1611.	Par 569.01	TE4
Jacob Sutor, <i>New künstliches Fechtbuch</i> , Frankfurt am Main, Wilhelm Hoffmans, 1612.	Par 2537.01	TE2, 4
Sebastian Heussler, <i>Künstliches abprobrites und nutzliches Fecht-Buch</i> , Nürnberg, Balthasar Caymoxen, 1665 [Par 1257.01]	Par 1253.01	TE3, 4, PE4
Bonaventura Pistofilo, <i>Oplomachia</i> , Sienna, Hercole Gori, 1621.	Par 2081.01	TE5
Nicoletto V. Giganti, <i>Neue Fechtkunst</i> , Frankfurt am Main, Hartmann Palthenius, 1622.	Par 1104.01	TE3, 14
Gérard Thibault D'Anvers, <i>Académie de l'espée</i> , Leyden, Bonaventura & Abraham Elzeviers, 1628 (1630).	Par 2598.01	TE1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 11, 14, PE8
Francesco Ferdinando Alfieri, <i>La scherma</i> , Padova, Sebastiano Sardi, 1640.	Par 53.01	TE3, 5
Charles Besnard, <i>Le maistre d'armes libéral, traittant de la théorie de l'art et exercise de l'espée seule, ou fleuret</i> , Rennes, Julien Herbert, 1653.	Par 344.01	TE4
Francesco Ferdinando Alfieri, <i>L'Arte di ben maneggiare la spade</i> , Padova, Sebastiano Sardi, 1653.	Par 57.01	TE13
Alessandro Senese, <i>Il vero maneggio di spade</i> , Bologna, Vittorio Benacci, 1660.	Par 2426.01	TE4, 13
Jean Daniel l'Ange, <i>Deutliche und gründliche Erklärung der Adelichen und Ritterlichen freyen Fecht-Kunst</i> , Heidelberg, Adrian Weingarten, 1664.	Par 109.01	TE3, 4
Johann Georg Paschen, <i>Kurtze jedoch deutliche Beschreibung, handlend vom Fechten auf den Stoß und Hieb</i> , Halle in Sachsen, Melchior Oelschlegel, 1664.	Par 2003.01	TE3
Johann Georg Pascha (Paschen), <i>Vollständige Fecht-, Ring-, und Voltigier-Kunst</i> , Halle in Sachsen, Melchior Oelschlegel, 1666	Par 2003.01	TE1
Giuseppe Morsicato Pallavicini, <i>La scherma illustrate</i> , Milan, Sperling & Kupfer, 1670.	Par 1973.01	TE4
Philbert de la Touche, <i>Les vrays principes de l'espée seule</i> , Paris, François Muguët, 1670.	Par 2644.01	TE4
Johannes-Georgius Bruchius, <i>Grondige beschryvinge van de edele ende ridderlijcke scherm ofte wapenkunste</i> , Leyden, Abraham Verhoef, 1671.	Par 464.01	TE4
Nicolaes Petter, <i>Klare onderricthtinge der voortreffelijkes worstel-kunst</i> , Amsterdam, W. van Lamsveldt, 1674.	Par 2045.01	TE4
Francisco Antonio de Ettenhard y Abarca, <i>Compendio de los fundamentos de la verdadera destreza, y filosofia de las armas</i> , Madrid, Antonio de Zafra, 1675.	Par 883.01	TE3, 4
Miguel Pérez de Mendoza y Quixada, <i>Resumen de la verdadera destreza de las armas</i> , Madrid, Antonio de Zafra, 1675.	Par 1720.01	TE4
Jean Baptiste Le Perche du Coudray, <i>L'exercice des armes</i> , Paris, Ve. de F. Chereau, 1676.	Par 2030.01	TE3, 4
Anonymous, <i>The Art of Defence in which the several sorts of Gurards, Passes, Encloses, and Disarms &amp;c are represented by proper figures</i> , [London], [n.n.], [1690-1700].		TE4
André Wernesson de Liancour, <i>Le maistre d'armes</i> , Amsterdam, Daniel de la Feuille, 1692.	Par 1502.01	TE3, 4, 6
Bondi (di Mazo), <i>La spade maestra</i> , Venice, Domenico Lovisa à Rialto, 1696.	Par 413.01	TE3, 4
Jean Labat (L'Abbat), <i>L'art en fait d'armes: ou De l'épée seule, avec les attitudes</i> , Toulouse, Jean Boude, 1696.	Par 1417.01	TE3
Henry Blackwell, <i>The English fencing-master</i> , London, J. Downing in Bartholomew-Close, 1702.	Par 367.01	TE3, 4
Francisco Lorenz de Rada, <i>Nobleza de la espada</i> , Madrid, Joseph Rodriguez Escobar, 1705.	Par 1559.01	TE3
Francisco Lorenz de Rada, <i>Nobleza de la espada</i> , Madrid, Joseph Rodriguez Escobar, 1705.	Par 1558.01	TE4
Pedro de Solera, <i>Titulo de maestro de la filosofia, y destreza de las armas</i> , Madrid, casa del autor, 1710.	Par 2483.01	TE4
William Bart Hope, <i>The compleat fencing master</i> , London, W. Taylor, 1710.	Par 1282.01	TE4
Johann Andreas Schmidt, <i>Leib-beschirmende und Feinden trotz-bietende Fecht-Kunst</i> , Nürnberg, Johann Christoph Weigel, 1713.	Par 2365.01	TE3, 4
William Bart Hope, <i>New method of fencing</i> , Edinburgh, James Watson, 1714.	Par 1284.01	TE3
Alexander Doyle, <i>Neu altmodische ritterliche Fecht- und Schirm-Kunst</i> , Nürnberg, Paul Lochnern, 1715.	Par 816.01	TE4
Jean Jamin de Beaupré, <i>Die allerleichteste neue Eeiss, den Adel in der Fechkunst zu unterweisen Fechkunst</i> , Ingolstadt, Thomas Grass, 1721.	Par 280.01	TE4
Thomas Parkyns, <i>Progymnasmata. The Inn-Play: or Cornish-Hugg Wrestler</i> , Westminsterhall, Humph. Wainwright, 1727.	-	TE4
Donald McBane, <i>The expert swordman's companion</i> , Glasgow, James Duncan, 1728.	Par 1696.01	TE4

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

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

Additional information and errata: The largest exhibition known to date has not been included in this study published in 2018. The exhibition *European Martial Arts: From Vulcan's Forge to the Arts of Mars* (Gotti, Jaquet and Tzouriadis 2019), in Minsk, Belarus, as part of the Cultural Program of the European Games (01.05 – 15.09.2019), included 52 prints and 5 manuscripts.

Other exhibitions are missing from this list, signalled by colleagues, notably Antti Ijäs. An erratum is in preparation.

## Appendix 4: Survey data

This appendix includes more information regarding the different data, surveys and questionnaires used for this report. The first section reproduces selected data from the survey conducted by Roger Norling (HEMA survey 2013). The second section presents the separate investigation conducted by the authors to get similar data as the survey of Norling (2013), by contacting HEMA organisations directly or by using public information found on the Internet. The third section presents additional information and data from the 2019 international survey for HEMA organisations (see Chapter 3).

### I. Selected data from the [HEMA survey 2013](#)

The [HEMA survey 2013](#) was conducted by Roger Norling. The context and the methods are described online. Here, the main table is reproduced for reference. The author estimated a 68% rate of completion (based on the response of the 395 contacted).

Country	Groups & Chapters	Members	Known clubs
Argentina	1	20	1
Australia	15	230	15
Austria	15	337	18
Belgium	4	82	5
Brazil	2	8	2
Bulgaria	2	24	2
Canada	18	378	14
China	1	15	1
Croatia	2	43	2
Czech Republic	4	147	3
Denmark	5	81	5
Finland	8	294	3
France	14	280	18
Germany	29	898	21
Greece	2	33	2
Hungary	8	300	3
Ireland	5	42	4
Israel	1	100	1
Italy	51	764	13
Latvia	1	0	1
Luxembourg	1	10	1
Malta	1	30	1
Mexico	5	69	8
Netherlands	16	512	8
New Zealand	3	57	4

Norway	6	87	8
Poland	5	160	7
Portugal	5	65	5
Serbia	1	12	1
Singapore	2	48	2
Slovakia	8	172	5
Slovenia	3	20	3
South Africa	2	28	2
Spain	46	784	12
Sweden	25	324	26
Switzerland	5	137	8
Turkey	3	53	1
UK	53	905	46
USA	111	1303	113

Number of countries	39
Number of replying groups	270
Number of groups and chapters	489
Number of paying practitioners	8852

Practitioners by continent	
Australia & New Zealand	77
Europe	6596
Canada	378
US	1303
Mexico	69
South America	28
Africa	28
Asia	163

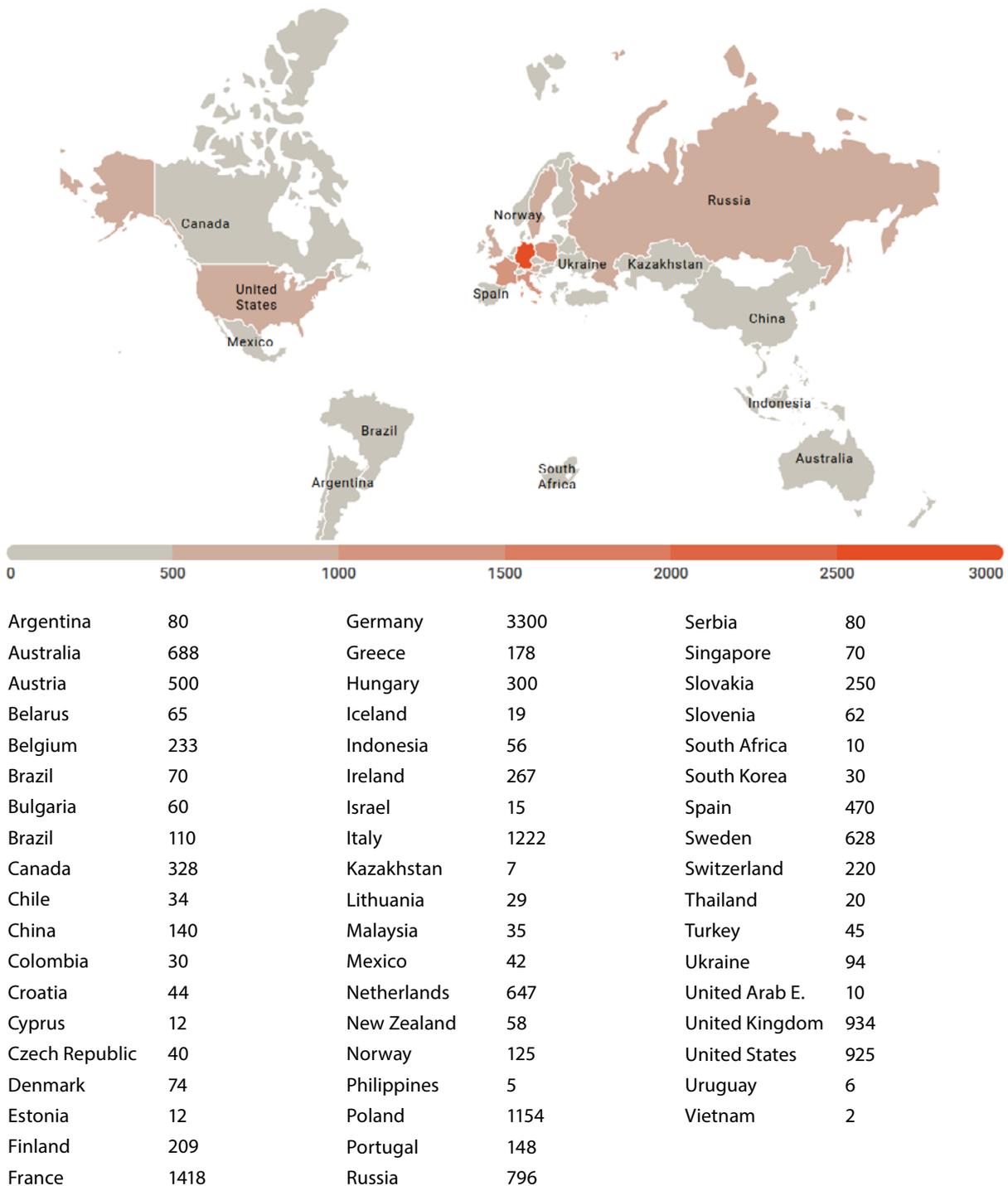
Nota Bene: in the last chart, US, Canada and Mexico are listed as separate continents (regions), whereas they do belong to the same continent.

## II. Additional investigation to present an international overview and total number of practitioners

Due to the limited amount of response to our survey intended for HEMA organisations (102), our results are not representative of the overall numbers of practitioners worldwide. If our survey fulfilled our expectations for qualitative research, it was not designed for a quantitative aspect. We therefore conducted an additional survey aimed at HEMA group leaders or instructors, in the format of

an interactive infographic shared through social networks (November-December 2019). By doing so, we reached a greater number of HEMA practitioners (304 additional respondents), partially because the questionnaire was less detailed (name of the group, country, number of practitioners and website).

Our results show that the HEMA movement is global, represented on each of the five continents. At the end of the survey (15.12.2019) the total number of practitioners was 16.336.



With the data available, we can state that the existing umbrella organisations almost never include all HEMA groups in a given country. Nevertheless, some umbrella organisations cover 100% of the groups (example: Slovenia, as an exception), some up to 50-75% (example: Germany with 75%), when other countries include several umbrella organisations, with none of them being representative of the plurality of the communities on a national level (example: Spain and Italy). Also for some countries, less than a handful of practitioners are signalled (example: Vietnam with 2 practitioners). Finally, this dataset is representative, but not completely accurate. By cross-referencing data with available public sources, such as [HEMA Alliance's](#) club finder, it appears that some HEMA clubs are declared there, but were not included in our survey (for example Japan, where one club is referenced, but the club owner did not reply to our messages). Some numbers are apparently lower than the reality for countries where no governing body exists. For example, in the United States of America 1300 practitioners were recorded in 2013, when our survey only includes 925. According to organisers of major HEMA events in this country, this number should at least be double, or even triple (1700 competitors of USA origin are listed on [HEMA Ratings](#) for instance). The same situation also applies in the case of Russia. The raw data can be requested for research purpose by contacting the authors.

### III. International survey for HEMA organisations 2019

#### III.1 The blank questionnaire:

##### Section 1: Your organisation

- 1 What is the country of your organisation? [open]
- 2 What is the name of your organisation? [open]
- 3 What is the type of your organisation? [list: Informal group; Association; Society; Federation; Other]
- 4 Is your organisation? [multiple choice: for profit; non-profit]
- 5 What is the date of the creation of your organisation (year)? [open]
- 6 Is your organisation a member of an umbrella organisation? [single choice: Yes; No]
- 7 If yes, which one? [open]
- 8 Does your organisation participate to workshops or HEMA events? [single choice: Yes; No]
- 9 If yes, please provide examples [open]
- 10 What is the website or the social media of your organisation? [open]

##### Section 2: Your practitioners

- 11 How many practitioners does your organisation have? [scale between: Women; Men; Other]
- 12 How many practitioners do you have in your organisation in total? [open]

- 13 Does your organisation provide HEMA for kids? [single choice: Yes; No]
- 14 How many practitioners do you have in your organisation per age group? [scale between: 5-10; 10-15; 15-18; 18-25; 25-40; 40-60; 60 +]
- Section 3: Optional further information for research purposes
- 15 Does your organisation have an official definition of HEMA? [single choice: Yes; No]
- 16 If yes, can you provide the definition? [open]
- 17 Can you provide the source of this definition (where it is published or where it is available to the members of your organisation)? [open]
- 18 Please describe the main aims of your organisation [open]
- 19 Can you provide the source of this information? [open]
- 20 What kind of disciplines does your organisation provide training for? [multiple choice: Greek, Roman or gladiatorial related; Viking related; Longsword; Sword and Buckler; Single Sword (and companion weapon); Rapier (and companion weapon); Small Sword; Staff weapons; Wrestling; Cane; Sabre; Other]
- 21 How do you share your knowledges about HEMA? [multiple choice: Blog post (social media included); YouTube Channel (or videos); Local workshop in HEMA events; Conference in HEMA events; International workshop in HEMA events; International conference in HEMA events; Self-published books; Academic works (publication with peer-review, research for Master's degree, PhD, etc.); Other]
- 22 What are the most important characteristics in HEMA for your organisation? [value (1-6) per item: Culture; Sport; History; Heritage; Martial; HEMA Community]
- 23 Where do you find the sources for your training? [multiple choice: Research on the internet; Specialised websites; International organisations; Other]
- 24 Does your organisation encourage or actively take part in public cultural events (held in museums, festivals, etc.)? [single choice: Yes; No]
- 25 If yes, what kind of cultural event? [multiple choice: Local festival; National festival; International festival; Events in relation to a museum exhibition; Other]
- 26 Does your organisation encourage or actively take part in public sportive events? [single choice: Yes; No]
- 27 If yes, what kind of sportive event? [multiple choice: Local sport event; National sport event; International sport event; Other]
- 28 Does your organisation encourage or actively take part in competition or tournament? [single choice: Yes; No]
- 29 If yes, what kind of HEMA competition? [multiple choice: Local competition; National competition; International competition; Other]
- Section 4 : Information about yourself
- 30 What is your role in your organisation? [single choice: President; Other member of the committee; Trainer; Practitioner; Other]
- 31 What is your name? [open]

32 What is your email? [open]

33 What is your phone number? [open]

34 Do you have something to add? [open]

### **III.2 Introductory text of the online questionnaire**

This survey is intended for any governing body or organisation of HEMA, worldwide. We use the definition of HEMA provided by the International Federation for Historical European Martial Arts.

There are 34 questions in the survey, many of them optional. If you are representing an organisation (local, national, transnational), you will spend 20min answering only our mandatory fields, more time if you do fill all fields.

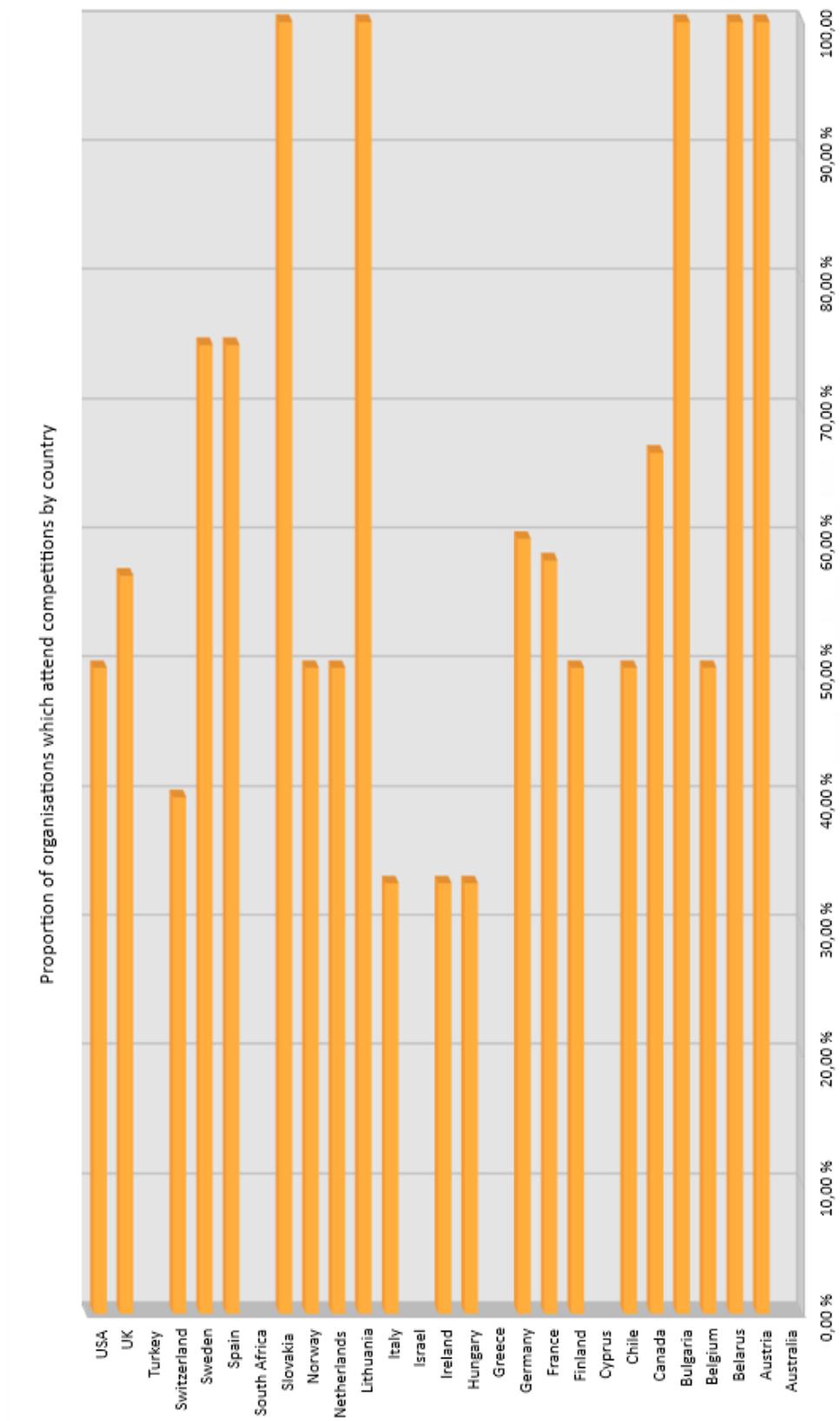
This survey has been realised by Dr. Daniel Jaquet, Dr. Audrey Tuillon Demésy and Dr. Iason-Eleftherios Tzouriadis, under mandate from the International Centre of Martial Arts for Youth Development and Engagement (under the auspices of UNSECO - ICM, <http://www.unescoicm.org/eng>), in partnership with the International Federation of Historical European Martial Arts (IFHEMA, <http://ifhema.com>) and the Society for Historical European Martial Arts Studies (SHEMAS, <https://shemas.org>).

It has been publicly released on August 5, 2019 and closed on September, 15, 2019. The raw data can be requested for research purpose by contacting the authors.

### III.3 Cross-tabulated chart of the dates of creation of organisations by country

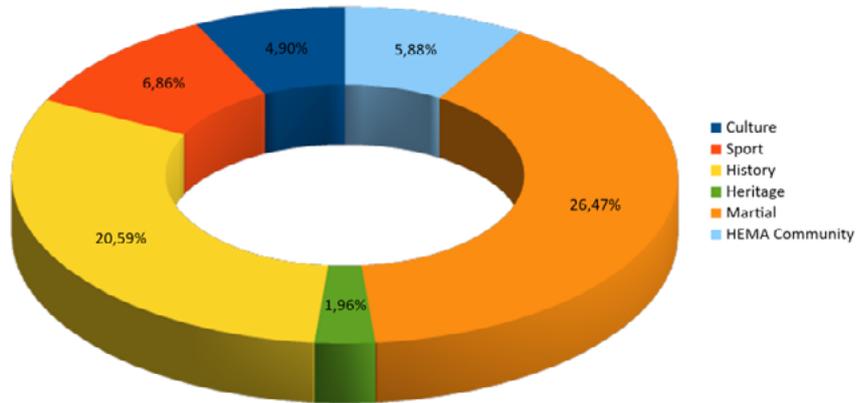
Country	Date of creation												Total sum														
	1994	1996	1997	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2008		2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	Total sum		
Australia																									1		
Austria																										1	
Belarus																										1	
Belgium																										1	
Bulgaria																										2	
Canada																										1	
Chile																										3	
Cyprus																										2	
Finland																										2	
France																										6	
Germany																										12	
Greece																										5	
Hungary																										2	
Ireland																										2	
Israel																										3	
Italy																										3	
Lithuania																										1	
Netherlands																										2	
Norway																										2	
Slovakia																										1	
South Africa																										1	
Spain																										4	
Sweden																										4	
Switzerland																										4	
Turkey																										5	
UK																										1	
USA																										7	
Total sum	1	1	1	3	1	6	2	3	2	2	2	3	3	3	1	3	4	4	4	4	2	3	3	8	7	3	89

### III.4 Competition (additional chart)

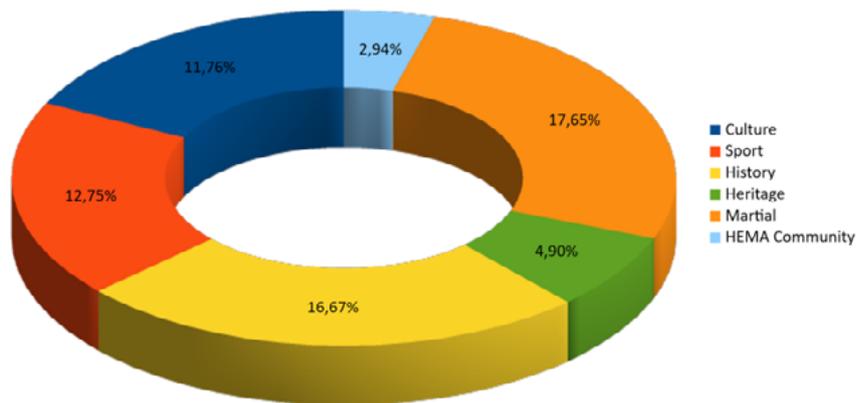


### III.5 Characteristics of HEMA (additional charts)

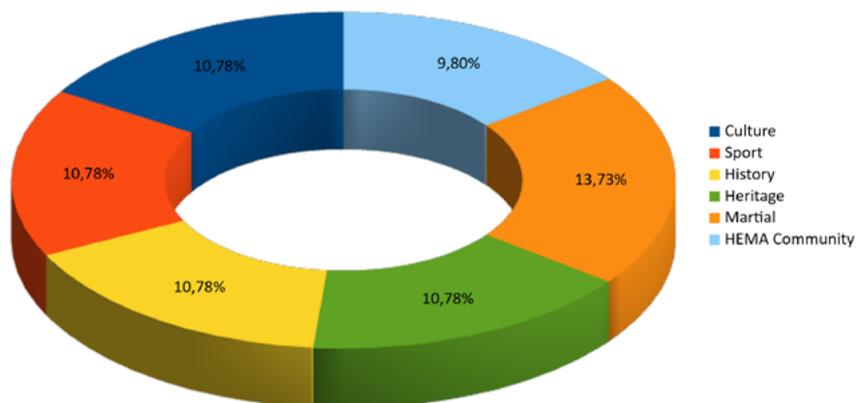
Characteristics of HEMA, rank 1



Characteristics of HEMA, rank 2



Characteristic of HEMA, rank 3







United Nations  
Educational, Scientific and  
Cultural Organization



International Centre of Martial Arts  
for Youth Development and Engagement  
under the auspices of UNESCO