A Transcription of ff. 84-85 of Harleian 3542

(A verse describing the use of the Two hand Sword)

Being an excerpt from a forthcoming book

By

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INTRODUCTION

It is an accepted convention in the study of WMA (Western Martial Arts) that if we are unable to make *fechtbuch* (fightbook) techniques work correctly it is because we haven't understood the author's *intended meanings*. I applied the same convention when transcribing the extant English two-hand sword texts[1]. Common sense tells us that those same texts would have been clearly understood by their target audiences; If we are unable to understand those same texts it indicates not that the art of English two-hand sword fighting is too mysterious to understand but that the 'dictionary' we have been using is lacking some key definitions. I therefore made it my task to seek out those missing definitions, that is to say the author's intended meanings. This necessitated studying contemporary prose, poetry, chronicles, wills, documents etc. in order to find contemporary definitions that would match the author's intended meanings. In this latter task I have been largely successful and I have been able to add some crucial definitions to the aforesaid dictionary; This has allowed me to transcribe ff. 84-85 (the verse section) with a better understanding of the author's meaning and methodology. This in turn draws a clearer picture of the English school of two-hand sword fighting than has hitherto been possible.

The copyist's use of unlinked minims when writing *n's* and *u's* (as well as *m's*) meant that I was unable to determine whether or not he intended *cantel* or *cautel*[2] (line 4). There are in fact many examples in ff. 84-85 of independent minims as in, for example 'aı ı' for an, 'haı ıke' for hauke, 'sıı ıyte' for smyte, and so on. In such cases the intended spelling can be worked out from the context of the pertinent sentence and so caused no problems. Unfortunately this logical process cannot be applied in the *cantel* or *cautel* conundrum because the word in question is in fact a case of *hapax legomenon*, that is to say a word that occurs only once in a body of text; not only that but it occurs as part of a list that is devoid contextual settings that might have allowed me to determine the word intended by the copyist and therefore its intended meaning.

Finally, it should be noted that some of the rubrics were not originally part of the copies of ff. 82-85, and were added later, seemingly in the hand of Samuel Knott[3]. This means that we shouldn't necessarily place too much faith in their pertinence to the subject matter of the folios and for that reason my transcription does not include Knott's rubrics.

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1 British Library MS Harley 3542 ff.82-85.
British Library Additional MS 39564.
British Library MS Cotton Titus XXV, f. 105r-v.

2 Thomas Wright and James Orchard Halliwell, *Reliquiae Antiquae*, 1841 uses *cantel*.
Alfred Hutton, *The Sword and the Centuries*, 1901, opts for *cantel*.
Hester, *The Use of the Two-Hand Sworde...* (2005-6 Dissertation, York University) uses *cantel*.

3 Dr Laura Nuvoloni (opinion given in correspondence). I have been unable to verify whether or not Byard also annotated the text

DESCRIPTIONS and REFERENCES (courtesy of the British Library Board)

'The folios on the two-handed swords was copied within a booklet that is the second codicological unit in Harley 3542, a composite miscellany made up of three codicological units, i.e. booklets of origin and provenance:

Second unit, ff. 17-94 (gatherings ii-viii), imperfect at the beginning and at the end: ruled in brown ink (only bounding lines) for single columns of 28-31 lines (first across top ruled line), written space circa 165 x 110 (ff. 17-44) and 143 x 88 (ff. 44v-94v), written possibly by two scribes in an English bookhand (cursiva antiquior libraria/formata - Anglicana), initials (2-4 lines, 15 lines in the margin on f. 68) in red and black or (ff. 88v-90) in green, occasionally (ff. 28v, 44v, 68v, 69) with pen work decoration in black and red, titles in formal Gothic hand (littera textualis formata - textualis rotunda, ff. 25v, 44v, 55v), rubrics and paragraph marks in red, occasional cadels on first line (ff. 44v-94v), marginal diagram (f. 57v), blank space left for initials and rubrics added in red by Samuel Knott (ff. 82v-88, 90v-94v).

ff. 82-85. Instructions for fencing with the two-handed or great-swords, partly (ff. 84v-85) in verse; 15th cent. Middle English. Copy. Rubric (added later) 'The use of the Two Hand Sworde', inc. 'The ferste pleying & begynnyng of the / substansce of þe too honde swerde'. Text divided into three parts (ff. 82, 83v, 84v). For the text see A. Hutton, *The Sword and the Centuries* (London, 1901; rpt. as *The Sword Through the Centuries*, Mineola, 2002); L. Ehrsam Voigts and P. Deery Kurtz, *Scientific and Medical Writings in Old and Middle English: An Electronic Reference*, CD (Ann Arbor, 2000), nos. 940.50, 3506.50, 6753.50. For the verse section see C. Brown and R. H. Robbins, *The Index of Middle English Verse. Supplement* (New York, 1965), no. 3423; J. Boffey and A. S. G. Edwards, *A New Index of Middle English Verse* (London, 2005), no. 3423.

Molcat.bl.uk

See also:

Laura Nuvoloni, 'The Harleian Medical Manuscripts', *The Electronic British Library Journal 2008*, art. 7, p. 14, with pl. [http://www.bl.uk/eblj/2008articles/article7.html], accessed 3 April 2009.

Linda Ehrsam Voigts, 'Wolfenbüttel HAB Cod. Guelf. 51. 9. Aug. 4° and BL, Harley MS. 3542: Complementary Witnesses to Ralph Hoby's 1437 Treatise on Astronomical Medicine'.
http://www.bl.uk/eblj/2008articles/article10.html

For the full description of Harley MS 3542 visit the British Library website at Molcat.bl.uk.

It is a commonly accepted convention that the Harley collection manuscripts were bound together not by subject but by size. However Voights states that the three sections which make up MS3542, 'have been bound together at least since the seventeenth century'. Further to this Voights, referring to the three bound sections, states:

> '...was part of a collection purchased from Burscough's widow for the Harleian library in 1715 for £40

This means that the three sections of MS3542 were already bound together before Harley purchased them. In relation to this fact Hester[1] makes an interesting proposal which is that the the owner of MS3542 was not only an academic but also an aspiring swordsman studying the two-hand sword texts. Hester then quotes Anglo[2] to further reinforce that proposal:

> 'The relevance of systematic personal combat training has not even been recognised let alone studied.The intellectual atmosphere has become so rarified that no body asks how duellists studied the arts of killing, who taught them, and where.'

[1] Hester, J., *The Use of the Two-Hand Sworde...* (Dissertation, York University, 2005-6)

[2] Anglo, Sydney. *The Martial Arts of Renaissance Europe* (Newhaven & London, 2000) p2.

Anglo's words are an important reminder that academics of former times would have regarded martial arts as both necessary and honourable; *Art and Arms* co-existed as desired accomplishments of the gentleman; It is in this latter context that Hester's words are worthy of further consideration: The question of why a two-hand sword text was bound together with scientific/medical texts has always been answered by the assumption they were bound together by Harley because of their size. However Voights' assertion as to the date of binding makes it clear this wasn't the case. I therefore think that Hester's suggestion might well be valid. Perhaps the manuscript's owner did indeed study the two-hand sword as well as medicine and astronomy; rather like *Lippo Bartolomeo Dardi*, swordsman, astronomer and professor of mathematics at the University of Bologna, who founded a fencing school in 1415.

DATING

The two-hand sword folios (ff. 82-85) are commonly dated to the second half of the15th century. However,Voigts suggests the late 15th or early 16th century while Nuvoloni gives the 15th century but doesn't specify which part thereof. Hester on the other hand suggests the late 14th to the very early 15th century, giving the following reason:

> Since the handwriting lacks any secretary influence, but is rather a very standard anglicana, I would set the date earlier: to either the late fourteenth or the very early fifteenth century'

If Hester's dating is accepted it would prove to be extremely important to Western Martial Arts researchers because it offers the possibility of ff. 82-85 being contemporary or nearly contemporary with the earliest known European two-hand sword text, that being *Cod.HS.3227a* (*Hanko-Döbringer fechtbuch* of 1389).

PROVENANCE

The list of of Harley 3542 owners would seem to indicate that it has a West Country provenance:

> Byaed (Thomas). vicar of Bockerill [Devon[1]]. Owned, 16th cent.
> Knott (Samuel). Rector of Combe Raleigh, co. Devon; d.1687. Owned and annotator.
> Burscough (Robert). Archdeacon of Barnstaple [Devon]. Owned, late 17th-early 18th century.

Further to this Hester notes that the word 'goede' occurs exclusively in the Gloucestershire/ Herefordshire areas of Western England[1]. Voights seems to support this:

> Perhaps the west country provenance of Harley 3542 may be of some significance, given Ralph Hoby's identification with the Franciscan convent in Hereford

HAND-WRITTEN COPY OF TWO HAND SWORD VERSE (ff. 84 - 85)

I originally hand-copied MS 3542 in order to compare it to previous transcriptions and did not intend it for publication. However I now feel that its inclusion will prove to be of interest and will also help to illustrate the problems of transcribing/translating such a text. I have not attempted to copy the entire verse exactly in the copyist's style, focussing instead on giving at least one accurate example of each letter in the style of the copyist. I have adhered to the layout and punctuation of the copyist. The scribal crossing out (line 35) has been included in my hand-written copy but omitted from the printed version.

[1] Hester cites, A Linguistic atlas of late medieval English v. 1, A. McIntosh (Aberdeen, 1986) p.413.

A transcription of ff. 84-85 of Harleian 3542
(A verse describing the use of the two hand sword)

man y^{t} wol to y^{e} tohond swerd lers Bap^{c}
close R̄ clery// sic a most haue a goede eye
Boy^{e} fer R̄ nery// R̄ an in stop. R̄ an owte
stop. R̄ an hauke grte yu el cantel. a doblet. an
half for hys fery// tro rowndys. R̄ an halfe w^{t}
a goode chere This ys y^{e} ferste conter of y^{e}
toohond swerd sere// 2 Bynde R̄ to gedere R̄
say god spede v two q^{r}ters R̄ a rownde a stop
y^{u} hȳ bede// a rake w^{t} a spryng per y^{u} hȳ a by
der ffalle ī w^{t} an hauke R̄ stride no3te to wyde/
Smyte a rēnyng q^{r}ter owte for hys syde
com in w^{t} a rake in ch^{c} a syde
an hole rownde R̄ an halfe. Wath so h^{t} be tyde
.iiij. q^{r}ters R̄ a rownd. R̄ anctures stroke wyth
23cr^{e} up hys harnes R̄ gete y^{u} ye gryth
dobyl vp ly3thy R̄ do as y seye
ffal in w^{t} an hauke R̄ ber^{e} a goede eye
a spryng R̄ a rownde R̄ stap ī wyth
spar no3th ā hauke yf he lye in yy kyth
smyte a rēnyng q^{r}ter sor owte of yy honde
a byde a pon a pēdent R̄ lese not yy londe
Smyte ī ye lyfte foete R̄ clene ry3t downe
Geder oute of yy ry3te hond R̄ smyte ā hauke
rownde// ffresly smyte yy strokis by dene and
hold wēl yy lond yath hyt may be sene
thy rakys. yy rowndis. yy q^{r}ters a bowte
thy stoppis. yy foynys. lete hē fast rowte
thy sprynges. yy quarters. yy rabetis also
2Ber^{e} a goede eye R̄ lete yy hond go
ffy on a false hert y^{t} dar not a byde
Wen he seyy rowndys. R̄ rakys rennyng by h^{s} side

A transcription of ff. 84-85 of Harleian 3542

(A verse describing the use of the two hand sword)

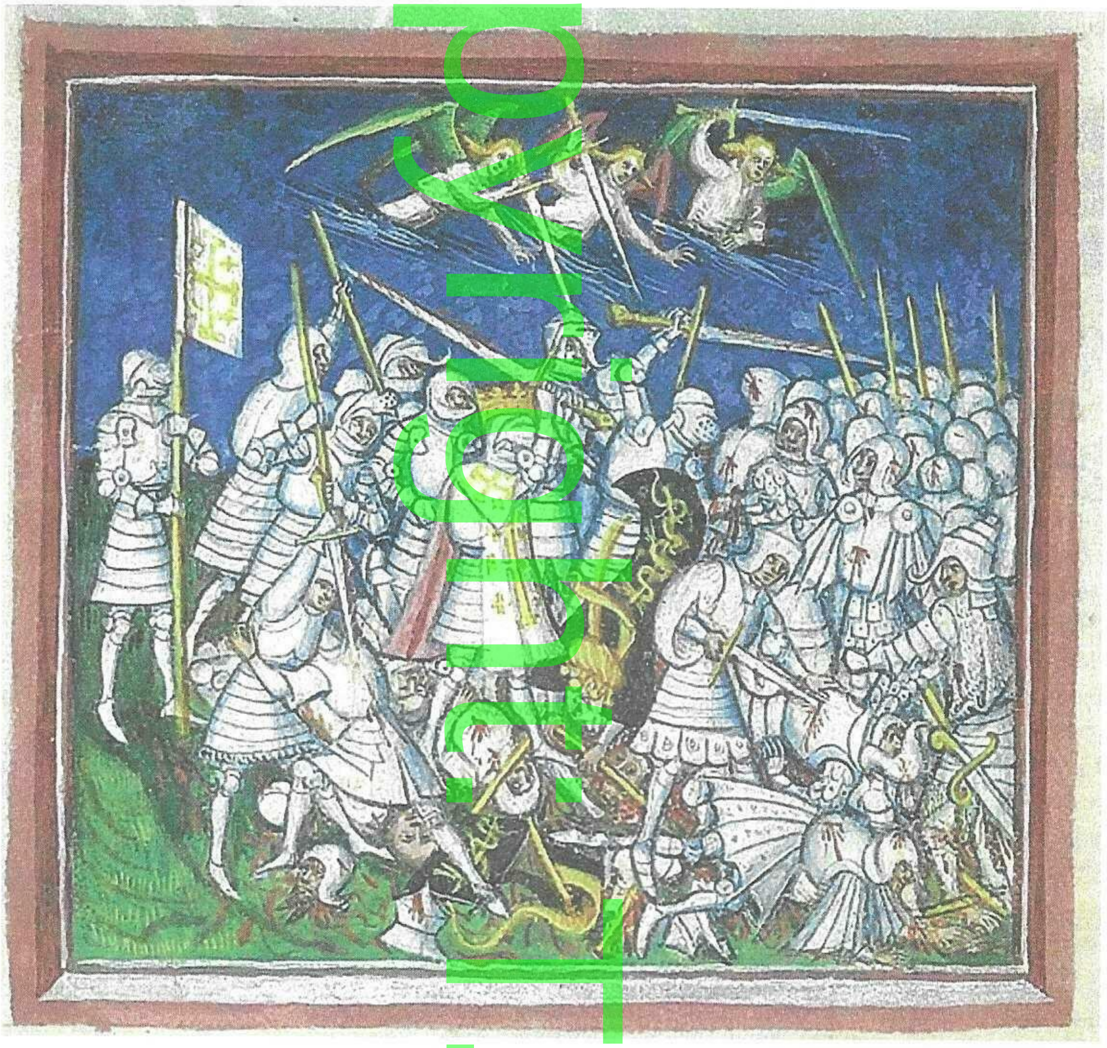
---

ffle not hastly for a lytil pryde
ffor lytil wote þy adusary wath hy̅ shal betide
lete strokys fast folowe aftr hys honde
and hauk rownde ~~&ff~~ wt a stop & stil þt þu stond
Greve not gretly yov þu be tochyd a lyte
ffor a̅ aftr stroke ys betr yf þu dar hy̅ smyte
a gode rownde wt an hauke & smyte ryȝt downe
Gedyr vp a doblet & spare not hys crowne
wt a rownde & a rake a byde at a bay
wt a re̅nyng qrter sette hy̅ oute of hys way
Thys bue þe lettrs þt stondy̅ in hys syȝte
To teche · or to play · or ellys for to fyȝte
These bue þe strokys of þy hole grownde
ffor hurte · or for dynte · or ellys for depys
wounde

TYPED COPY OF TWO HAND SWORD VERSE (ff. 84 - 84)

man þ^t wol to þ^e tohond swerd lern boþ^e 1
close & cler/ he most have a goede eye 2
boþ^e fer & ner// & an in stop · & an owte 3
stop · & an hauke q^ū^rter ∪ A cantel · a doblet . An 4
half for hys fer// Too rowndys · & an halfe w^t 5
a goode cher This ys þ^e ferste cownter of þ^e 6
toohond swerd sere// Bynde h^‘ to gedere & 7
say god spede √ two q˜rters & a rownde a stap 8
þ^u hŷ bede// a rake w^t a spryng þer þ^u hŷ a by 9
de ~ ffalle ī w^t an hauke & stride noȝte to wyde/ 10
Smyte a r^‘ nŷg q^ū^rter owte for hys syde 11
com in w^t a rake in eu^e^y a syde 12
An hole rownde & an halfe · Wath so h^t be tyde 13
· iiij · q^ū^rters & a rownd · & au^‘ turs stroke wyth 14
Ber^e up hys harnes & gete þ^u þe gryth 15
dobyl vp lyȝthy & do as y seye 16
ffal in wt an hauke & ber^e a goede eye 17
A spryng & a rownde & stap ī wyth 18
spar noȝth ā hauke yf he lye in þy kyth 19
smyte a r^‘ nŷg q^ū^rter sor^e owte of þy honde 20
A byde a pon a p^‘ dent & lese not þy londe 21
Smyte ī þe lyfte foete & cleue ryȝt doune 22
Geder oute of þy ryȝte hond & smyte ā hauke 23
rounde// ffresly smyte þy strokis by dene ~ and 24
hold wel þy lond þath hyt may be sene 25
thy rakys · þy rowndis · þy q^ū^rters abowte 26
thy stoppis · þy foynys · lete h^‘ fast rowte 27
thy spryngys · þy quarters · þy rabetis also 28
Ber^e a goede eye & lete þy hond go 29
ffy on a false hert þ^t dar not a byde 30
Wen he seyþ rovndys · & rakys r^‘ nyng by h^s side 31
ffle not hastly for a lytil pryde 32
ffor lytil Wote þy adusary Wath hŷ shal betide 33
lete strokys fast folowe aft^r hys honde 34
And hauk rovnde w^t a stop & stil þ^t þ^u stond 35
Greve not gretly þov þ^u be tochyd a lyte 36
ffor ā aft^r stroke ys bet^r yf þ^u dar hŷ smyte 37
A gode rovnde w^t an hauke & smyte ryȝt dovne 38
Gedyr vp a doblet & spar^e not hys crovne 39
W^t a rownde & a rake a byde at a bay 40
W^t a r^‘ nŷg q^ū^rter sette hŷ oute of hys way 41
Thys buþ^e þ^e lettrs þ^t stondŷ in hys syȝte 42
To Teche · or to play · or ellys for to fyȝte 43
These buþ^e þ^e strokys of þy hole grovnde 44
ffor hurte · or for dynte · or ellys for deþys 45
wonde 46

A transcription and translation of ff. 84-85 of Harleian 3542
(A verse describing the use of the two hand sword)



Fremund Defeating The Danes, In John Lydgate's 'The Lives Of Sts. Edmund And Fremund'
Date; Between 1433 and 1444; probably c.1434
Image copied by kind permission of the **British Library Board,** Shelfmark; Harley MS 2278, f.86v

Apart from the classic two-hand strike in the centre of the image it is worth noting the somewhat unusual single-hand thrusting actions; For example, the image depicted in the lower left showing a 'dagger type' downward stab against a wrestling opponent; Also the image in the lower right corner showing a 'couched' *coup de grâce* thrust against a prostrate opponent. The swords depicted in this illustration would seem to match the description, (noted by Hester), of a two hand sword as given by Dr Sidney Anglo[1] and could be the type of sword used by the author and readers of ff. 83- 85.

> 'The true two-hand sword may have a blade of four feet or more,
> and a grip of well over one foot; can weigh about six pounds;...'

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[1] S. Anglo, *The Martial Arts of Renaissance Europe* (New Haven, 2000), page 97.

man þᵗ wol to þᵉ tohond swerd lern boþᵉ close & cler/
man that will to the twohand sword learn both close & clear/

clēr.	plain, obvious. *MED*
clere.	clear.
clere.	evident. *Palsgrave, 1530*
clēr.	understanding. *MED*
close.	comprehend, grasp. *MED*
close.	secret. *Palsgrave, 1530*
closed.	covered, buried. *Anonymous: The Towneley plays (1460), AT*
closely.	covertly. *Wm Thomas, 1550*
to keep close.	to hide. *Th. Thomas, 1587*
wol.	will.
þᵉ.	the, (thorn + superscripted 'e')
þᵗ.	that, (thorn + superscripted 't')

The opening statement, 'man þᵗ wol to þᵉ tohond swerd lern boþᵉ close & cler', is superflous as a fencing instruction and its main purpose seems to be to both describe the poems purpose and to set the rhyme and meter of the following lines of verse; In this it serves the same purpose as the *stopgaps*[1] found elsewhere in the poem. As the *Gloss* shows, the words 'close' and 'cler' have several contemporary meanings which, broadly speaking, offer two categories of transcription; The first category is one that reflects the range of skills of the art of the two-hand sword; Starting at the basic, or *cler,* level and going on to the advanced, or *covered*, level. This would give a transcription along the following lines:

man that will to the twohand sword learn both covered and clear

This would give a modern, idiomatic meaning of:

The man that would like to study the basic and advanced arts of the two-hand sword

The second category would see *close* catering for the fencing masters penchant for secrecy and it would therefore be used in the sense of 'secret' or 'covert'. In which case *cler* could be transcribed as, *evident*, *obvious*, or *plain.* This would give something akin to this:

man that will to the twohand sword learn both secret & obvious.

This in the modern idiom would be:

'The man that would like to study both the obvious and secret arts of the two-hand sword'

A third, implied, transcription would see *close* transcribed as 'deeply' to give:

'The man that wishes to learn the arts of the two-hand sword deeply and clearly'

However, I would re-iterate that this line of the verse is descriptive rather than practical.

[1] *stopgaps.* Words typically used at the end of lines to maintain rhyme and meter.

he most have a goede eye boþe fer & ner [Lines 2-3]
he must have a good eye both far & near

This is a self-explanatory statement that one might profitably view in terms of Silver's[1] *Judgement of Distance and Measure* inasmuch as they relate to the ability to fight effectively at all distances. I therefore interpret this as 'he must be able to effectively judge all fighting ranges'.

& an in stop & an owte stop [Lines 3-4]
& an in stop & an out stop

The question that arises is this, did the author use the word *stop* to mean parrying, or stepping? In Old English *stop* can be used to mean, 'engaged', 'came to close quarters', 'got to grips', 'closed', 'stepped'; A good example being the Anglo-Saxon poem, the *Battle of Maldon* which was probably written down near the time of the battle itself (991AD).

> Wod þa wiges heard, wæpen up ahof,
> bord to gebeorge ond wiþ þæs beornes stop;
> lines 130-31. *Cotton Otho A.xii.*, British Library

> Then one strode, battle-hard, lifted his weapon,
> his shield as defense, and against that man stepped
> Translation by J. Glenn, 2006, University of Central Arkansas.

In the modern idiom I render this as:

> Then came a battle-hardened warrior who raised his weapon
> [and] shield for protection and closed with the thane.

The early 13th century work 'Layamon, fl.1200: Brut' (MS Cotton Caligula), also written in Old English, uses *to-stopen* to give a similar meaning to that of *stop* as given above:

laðliche fuhten	hatefully fought	[L4885]
hardeliche heuwen helmes þer gullen.	hardily hewed helmets there rang	[L4886]
stercliche tostopen mid steles egge.	sternly advanced with steel's edge.	[L4887]
	AT	

In both examples we see an Anglo-Saxon usage of *stop* to indicate closing with an enemy. This is supported by the use of *abe/und czutreten* (meaning *in-tread* and *out-tread*[2]) which are found in Hanko Döbringer's *fechtbuch, (*folio19R*)*. Further support for the advancing/retreating hypothesis comes from Filippo Vadi's 15th century manual *Arte Gladiatoria Dimicandi* in which he advises,

> *... if he attacks, go back or let him find you near.*[3]

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[1] George Silver, Brief Instructions, 1599. (Sloane MS No. 376)
[2] Cod.HS. 3227A, Hanko Döbringer fechtbuch 1389. Translation and transcription by David Lindholm and friends (see ARMA)
[3] Filippo Vadi, ARTE GLADIATORIA DIMICANDI Translated by Luca Porzio & Gregory Mele. Chivalry Bookshelf, 2002

It may seem surprising that fencing masters should emphasise the acts of stepping in and out of range but it is to be remembered that such actions are fraught with risk when facing a weaponwielding opponent. Therefore the acts of advancing or retreating need to be accompanied by specific actions and positions of weapon and body which in turn relate to vital combat principles. It is therefore possible that references to such footwork in the verse were mnemonic by nature and intended to remind the trainee of the life-preserving actions and combat principles he needed to remember when stepping in or out of striking distance.

My analysis so far seems to indicates that the terms instop and owte stop refer to fencing related footwork rather than defensive movements of a weapon; However 'stop' can also be derived from Late Latin and can therefore have the meaning of, stuffing, plugging, blocking etc. as the following examples show:

He scholde into the mouthes throwen — He should into the mouths throw
Of tho tweie Oxen that fyr blowen — Of those two Oxen that fire blow
*Therof **to stoppen** the malice;* — Thereof to plug the malice
The glu schal serve of that office. — the glue shall perform that office *AT.*

Gower, John: *Confessio amantis (1390-1393) ,Book 5, Lines 3609 -3612.* TEAMS

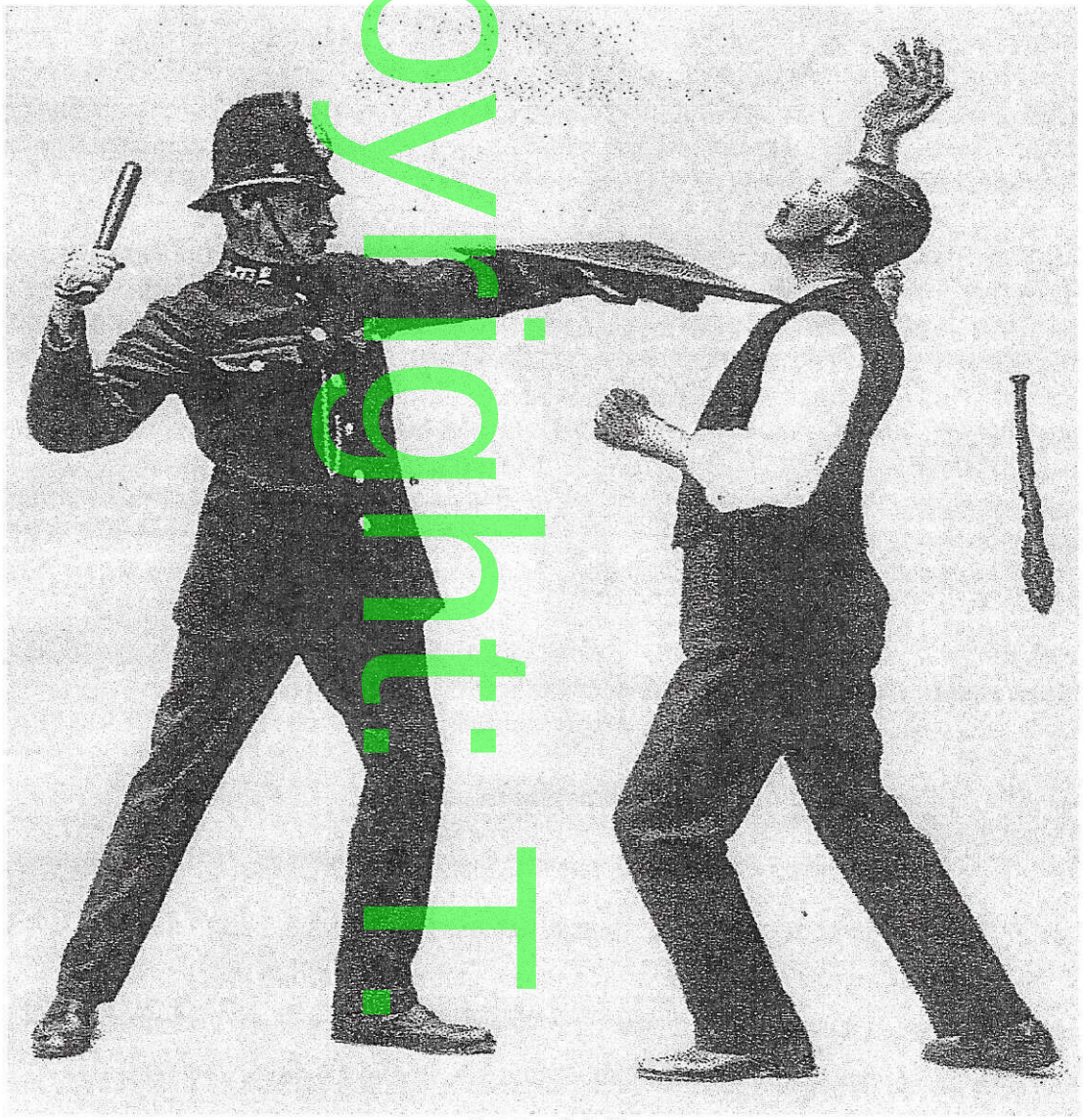
Stoppen euereche a streem...With stockes & stones & stynkande bestes
Block every stream...With tree stumps & stones & rotting beasts *AT.*
The siege of Jerusalem, (1390-1400) Lines 690-691, TEAMS

The schynand and fyry suerd, that stoppis oure gait to paradice;
The shining and fiery sword that blocks our path to paradise *AT.*
The Meroure of Wyssdome, (1490), Johannes de Irlandia. DSL. *Bibliographies*

I Stoppe on ones syde as one is a stoppar in a tenes play or at the foote ball
I defend on one's side as one is a defender in a tennis game, or at football *AT.*
Lesclarcissement de la langue francoyse, 1530, John Palsgrave

A later, 20th century, example of 'stop' being used in a martial context is to be found in the *Law and Order Police Shield catalogue*[1]. This catalogue contains several photographs depicting usage of the shield, one of which (see below) shows the rim of the shield being struck to the throat of an armed assailant.Whilst this action can not be regarded as a stereotypical block it nonetheless represents *stopping* an attack by means of a pre-emptive strike. In fencing terms it might be regarded as a 'stop thrust'.

[1] Hiatt & Co., Ltd, *Law and Order Police Shield catalogue,* Birmingham, England, 1912.



A Useful Stop

The aforegoing examples could seem to validate transcribing 'stop' as parry, and this appears to be the view of both the Middle English Dictionary (MED) and the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) The latter giving the following entry for 'instop' :

> [f. IN adv. + STOP n.]. (app.) An inside guard.

The MED entries are as follows:

> instop (n.) [?From **in** adv. & **stoppe** n. (2).], A parry on the right side [cp.*OD* **inside**, A.1.b].
> ***a1500 The man that wol (Hrl 3542** p.308:The man that wol to the to hond swerd lere bothe close and clere, He most have a goode eye bothe fer and nere, And an in stop and an owte stop and an hawke quartere.*
>
> **outestop** (n.)
> [?From **out(e** adv. or pref. & **stoppe** n.(2); cp. **instop** n.]
> *A parry on the outer or left side.*

Unfortunately the MED then confuses the situation even further with the following definition:

> **stop** (n.) Pl. **stoppes**. [From **stoppen** v.] *(a) A kind of thrust in fencing;*

I would ask how, in a single given source, (Harley 3542, ff.83-85) can a *stop* be both a parry and a thrust? I would also point out that even if *instop* and *outstop* actually are parries the MED definitions of them are incorrect; An *instop* would in fact be a parry to or towards the fencer's left hand side whilst an *outestop* would be a parry to or towards the fencer's right hand side (both actions being from the fencer's own perspective). The reason for this error becomes clear when reading the same OED citation (*inside, A.1 b.*) as seemingly used by the MED:

> '**1863** *Archery, Fencing, & Broadsword* (Rtldg.) 46 It is customary for adversaries, on coming to the Guard, to Engage, or to join blades, on what is called the *inside*, that is, the *right* side; although there are occasions on which it is advisable to engage on the outside, or on the left; otherwise called the *Quarte* or *Tierce* sides.'

Although confusing to the non-fencer the above description is nonetheless correct; When two right-handed fencers engage blades using an inside parry their blades will be positioned to the right of the other fencers sword, from their own perspectives. However, the actual blade contact during the parry will occur to the left of each fencers sword from their own perspectives. The opposite will of course be the case when engaged in an outside parry. Regardless of the MED's interpretation it is clear that it and the OED equate Harley's *instop* and *owtestop* with the much later terms *inside parry* and *outside parry*.The question is, are they correct to do so? For example Godfrey[1] talks of *Inside Stops, Inside Blows, Outside Blows, Inside and Outside Postures* etc.. This clearly shows that Godfrey used inside and outside as directional prefixes to a multitude of fencing related actions whereas literature contemporary with MS3542 shows that 'in' and 'out' were typically used

[1] A Treatise upon the Science of Defence. Godfrey, Capt.J. 1747

to define linear movement/steps from one geographic location to another. For example, 'within and without' a city's walls as the following examples show:

> *'This prince mak proclamatiouns **out throwe** his realme'.*
> (This prince made proclamation **through out** his realm) *AT*
> *The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland*, Robert Lindsay,

> *'At yone gate I wil **outryde**'.*
> (At yon gate I will **ride out**) *AT*
> *Ywain and Gawain,, 15th century*

> *'mighte best **in reke**'*
> (might best **go in**) *AT*
> *Bevis of Hampton*

The above usage survives to this day with the terms 'inside' and 'outside' having the same geographic connotations, as in 'go inside/go outside'. With this in mind it seems not unreasonable to suggest that the contemporary use of 'instop' and 'owte stop' refer to fencing related footwork (stepping in and out of striking range) rather than spatial movements of a weapon (parrying left and right).

Further encouragement for the 'geographic' hypothesis can be gained by examing the words *of, on* and *wastyd* which are to be found in folio 83r:

> ...w^{t} a sengyl q$^{\bar{u}}$rter · & a sengil quart$^{\partial}$ wastyd w^{t} a cart$^{\ell}$ stroke · & þ^{s} smyte þy
> *coɲter bothe of & on*

The term *of & on* appears to have been ignored by previous transcribers. This is unfortunate because the term plays a crucial role in determining the methodology of English two-hand sword systems. It also helps to solve the 'stepping' versus 'parrying' quandry under discussion. Fortunately the words 'off' and 'on' are still extant in England today and, as any cricket fan will know, respectively mean to the right or left of the batsman when facing the bowler. 'Off' and 'on' would have had the same meaning to the reader of folios 83-85 as 'outside' and 'inside' had to swordsmen of later centuries, in other words 'off and on' mean 'right and left'.

An accurate description of *wastyd* will help further to verify my transcription of 'off and on'. I am of the opinion that *wastyd* has never been correctly transcribed and therefore the author's intended meaning has never been realised. For example Hutton[1] transcribes 'wastyd' as, *a blow well laid on.* ARMA, cautiously it must be admitted, suggest 'a feint or strike thrown purposely short' Neither suggestion, in my opinion, is supported by valid etymological roots or period evidence. Hester[2] interprets *wastyd* as a blow 'aimed at the waist' but I do not feel that this interpretation addresses the targetting issues as indicated by the term *of & on.*

I believe the correct transcription of *wastyd* to be 'wested' (see my glossary) and that the unusual spelling reflects a regional/dialectal accent. Its meaning in the verse is that of a strike to the West, that is to say from the swordman's own left side (normally to the opponent's right side):

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[1] The Sword and the Centuries, 1901. Hutton, A.
[2] Hester, J., *The Use of the Two-Hand Sworde...* (Dissertation, York University, 2005-6)

eastward/westward	right/left. *The True Bottom'd Boxer, 1825, by J.JONES AT*
wastyd.	wested, to the west, a synonym for the left or opposite side. *DSL*
westard/westhard.	westward. 'Ye'll navar get to the westhard of yandher falla'. *A VotAMd*
westwarde.	to the left as representing west on an astrolabe [quot. a1450], *MED*

Using my suggested transcription the poet's intended meaning immediately becomes clear. Original text:

...wᵗ a sengyl qᵗᵉrter · & a sengil quartᵉ wastyd wᵗ a cartᵗ stroke · & þˢ smyte þy
cꝛnter bothe of & on

Transcription:

'...with a single quarter and a single quarter wested with a cartar stroke and thus smite your attack both off and on'

Modernised version:

'with a single quarter [from the right] and a single quarter from the left with a cartar stroke and thereby strike your attacks both right and left'

In light of my argument that *of & on* means 'right & left' should we not expect, if 'stop' means parry, to see the terms 'onstop' and 'offstop' employed instead of 'instop' and 'outstop'? I therefore propose that '& an in stop & an out stop' should be given the meaning of 'and a step forward and a step backward'.

& an hauke qřter [Line 4]
& an hauke quarter

The *Dictionary of Obsolete and Provincial English*[1] defines *hauke* as a cut or wound while Hutton[2] gives it as a blow. Using these definitions I translate 'hauke quarter' as 'quarter strike'.

'A cantel, a doblet, an half for hys fere,'
A cantel, a double, an half for his fere

cant.	side. MED
cantel	side-piece of a pectoral (breastplate). Bedford Inventories
cantel	side-piece of a pectoral. Catholic Encyclopeadia
caunter	cross lode. (deriv. of cant) *Risdon's Surv. Devon* p. xiii, J.T.1810. OED
caunter	a cross-handed blow. (deriv. of cant) *W. Cornwall Gloss.*, 1880. OED
cantel	crown of the head. (c late18th-19thc). DSL
cantel	blow to head. (c late18th-19thc). DSL
cantel	clasp at the top of a sporran. (late1700's) http://www.historic-uk.com
cantle.	crown of the head. *Sc.* perh. from Du. *kanteel* a battlement, used fig. OED
cantel	battlement. *from Dutch. kanteel.* DSL
cantel	edge, brink. *from the Dutch.* DSL

[1] *The Dictionary of obsolete and provincial English*, 1857. Wright, Thomas

cantle.	a corner or other portion cut or sliced off; a sliver, a slice. *Obs.* OED
cantus.	corner. http://www.thefreedictionary.com
cantel	upper edge/rim! *'The ouer cantall of his scheild he claue'*. DSL.[AT]
cantell	shield!. *AT. 'He clef thorgh the cantell that covered the knight,* SMA
cantelle	corner of shield!*in a cantelle he strikes. The Awntyrs of Arthur, L613.*TEAMS
cantle.	a projecting corner or angle of land. *Obs.* OED
cantle.	the legs, chiefly of animals*W. Riding Yorksh. Gloss,* 1811 *WILLAN W.* OED
cantle.	the leg of an animal. *North.* 1847-78 HALLIWELL. OED
cantel	a piece of timber used as a brace or support. *MED*
cantel	a piece of wood placed obliquely to support a rafter. *Bosworth/Toller.*
cantel	obliquely, sideways. [*cp. OF en chantel*]. *MED*
cant.	sing softly. *Scots Glossary, The Mudcat Cafe*
cantle.	lilt. *ME* [from Old North French] *Scots Glossary, The Mudcat Cafe*
canticle	holy song or prayer. *OED*
cantel	for cantica. *the Song of Solomon. MED*
cantelene	holy song.*c1450(?c1425) St.Mary Oign.(Dc 114) 178/17*
cantelys	sacred songs. *1450 St.Mary Oign. (Dc 114)178/17.*
cantile	sacred song. *MED*
cant	fall. *CDD*. http://homepages.rootsweb.ancestry.com
cant.	toss lightly, cast anything a small distance. AGC(*G*)D
cantel	the rear supporting part of a saddle
cantel	a quarter, or the quarter-peece, of a garment. *Randle Cotgrave, 1611*
cautel	to be on one's guard... *http://dictionary.reference.com* [dictionary.com]
cautel.	caution; prudence; wariness. *http://www.thefreedictionary.com*
cautel.	craft; deceit; falseness. *Shak., Webster's Revised Unabridged Dictionary.*
cautil.	craftiness; deceitfulness, deceit, a stratagem, ruse, trick *MED*
cautile.	ruse/trick, '*By crafte or by cautile*' .*GRom.*(Hrl 7333) 122: *AT*

Cantel occurs only once in ff.82-85 and then only as part of a short list that is devoid of descriptions. The *Middle English Dictionary* suggests that cantle is a strike of some kind aimed at a corner or side of the body and/or that it might be an oblique stroke. Hester[1] opts for 'a cut to the side'. Either Hester's or the MED's proposal would be acceptable given that they relate to typical definitions of 'cantel'. However the same logic can be extended to suggest defensive actions utilising diagonal sword positions such as the pendent which approximates to the German *Hengen* (hanging) guard. The term pendent was in use in England more than two centuries later when Wylde[2] refers to it as a quarterstaff ward. Further conjecture based on a diagonal sword position might suggest an English equivalent of the German *kron*[3] and the Italian *corona* which guard against attacks to the head. Perhaps, remembering the use of unlinked minims, we might consider that *cautel* not *cantel* was the intended word! This possibility arises because the third letter of the word in question is rendered as 'ıı' making it difficult to determine whether 'u' or 'n' was intended. If the poet intended it as 'u' it would give *cautel* which can have the meaning of, trick, ruse, or stratagem. This would accord with continental sources such as Filppo Vadi who mentions the need

[1] Hester, J., *The Use of the Two-Hand Sworde...* (Dissertation, York University, 2005-6)
[2] Wylde, Zachary. *The English Master of Defence*, 1711.
[3] The blade is held centred out from the lower abdomen at a 45° angle aimed at the opponent's chest, throat, or face. www.historicalweapons.com/swordsfencingterminology.html

to know and use '*tricks and cunnings*' in his 15th century *Arte Gladiatoria Dimicandi*[1] (folio 3r).

A final, though less likely, suggestion is that *cantel* may refer to a holy song or hymn. Such a possibility is suggested by *cantile* (also see *cantelys*); After all warriors are traditionally advised to give devotion to God before entering battle. However, such a transcription would probably require 'halfe' and 'doblet' to refer to protective harness (A hymn, a doublet, and half harness for his companions). Crucially though there is no mention of helm (unless one contrives helm from crown) and gauntlets which one would expect if the poet were listing harness requirements.

In closing I feel I must reiterate my belief that there is insufficient evidence to draw a reliable conclusion as to the martial meaning of 'cantel'. I would also suggest that 'cautel' must be kept in mind as being the word intended by the poet.

Two rowndys and an half with a good cher [Lines 5-6]
Two rounds and an half with a good cheer

round.	'His heer was by his erys ful round yshorn;'	(his hair was by his ears shorn round. *AT*) *The Reeve's Portrait,* Chaucer
round.	'to rounde or cutte of the heare.' (to round or cut off the hair *AT*)	Wm Thomas, 1550
round	*because of the compass he makes while moving around it's called the Round blow.*	Meyer[2]
rounde.	tondo.	Wm.Thomas, 1550 (Patterweb)
half	A half part of an object, an area, an aggregate, a quantity, a unit of measurement, etc.;	MED
half.	either of two sides/ directions to the right or left of a person.	MED
halves.	sides. *Alliterative Morte Arthure, L1966*	TEAMS
sere halves.	every side. *Alliterative Morte Arthure, L1853*	TEAMS
fele halfes.	many sides. *Alliterative Morte Arthure, L2450*	TEAMS
half time.	sword strike delivered with a turn of the wrist.	Vadi[3], (folio 13v)
half blow	slower but harder than a wrist blow, faster but weaker than a quarter blow.	Swetnam
chere	manner, *Amis and Amiloun, L15,*	TEAMS
blithe chere.	good will. *The Avowyng of Arthur, Line 799,*	TEAMS
blithe chere	good spirit.	AT

The above glossary suggests to me that the 'round' strike should be regarded as a circular strike in the horizontal plane; In such a strike the sword orbits the body striking a target either on the left or the right hand side of the opponent's body. In determing the nature of the 'half' it may prove useful to consider the words of English fencing master Joseph Swetnam[4] who describes three kinds of sword strikes, the wrist blow, the half blow and the quarter blow:

> sometimes with a wrist blow thou maiest speed thine enemie when thou
> canst not hit him with a halfe blow nor with a quarter blow because there
> is in the deliuering of either of the two last blowes more time spent,
> for euerie blow exceedeth each other in force and in quickenesse

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[1] *ARTE GLADIATORIA DIMICANDI* Translated by Luca Porzio & Gregory Mele. Chivalry Bookshelf, 2002
[2] *The Art of Combat*, 1570, Meyer, Joachim. Translated by Jeffrey L. Forgeng. London 2006
[3] *ARTE GLADIATORIA DIMICANDI* Translated by Luca Porzio & Gregory Mele. Chivalry Bookshelf, 2002
[4] *The Schoole of the Noble and Worthy Science of Defence*, 1617. Swetnam, Joseph

The importance of Swetnam's words is that they not only name each kind of strike but also describ when and why they are to be used. His wrist blow represents the fastest of the three because involves the smallest and therefore quickest physical action. In this it very clearly equates to Vadi' *mezzo tempo* (half time) which Vadi[1] describes thus:

> 'The half time is only a turn
> of the wrist, quick and immediate to strike
> ...often the turning [blow]
> breaks the other's brain with its good edge.

Vadi's words suggest that this blow is dedicated to head strikes and it is interesting to note tha Swetnam's words imply his wrist strike serves the same purpose:[2]

> this wrist blow will hit thine enemie either head or face if his points lie anie thing open, or on either side of his head, if he doe looke ouer either of his weapons: for
>
> although he doe see it comming neuer so plaine, yet he cannot preuent it, if hee had *Argus* eies,

There is agreement then between two fencing masters from different times and climes that the wris strike is a fast attack that targets the head (though I do not claim it cannot be used to target othe areas). Swetnam doesn't describe the half-blow in great detail but in discussing his wrist and quarte blows we can hopefully arrive at a better understanding of the half blow. Swetnam has this to say o the quarter blow:

> the quarter blowe doth fetch a compasse about the head,
> that although hee come strong it is not so quick as many other:

This description of the quarter blow is an important description of a strike that is repeatedly referenced in ff. 83-85 and will be extremely useful in decyphering the methodology of English two-hand sword play. However, for the time being we look to Swetnam for clues as to the nature o the half blow. We know from Swetnam's descriptions that the realm of the half blow lies between the wrist and, by extrapolation, the shoulder thereby suggesting that it is a blow generated by and from the elbow(s). Given Swetnam's suggested targets for the wrist and quarter blows I do not think it unreasonable to propose that the torso would best target for the half blow, though I do allow for other targets. With these suggestions in mind we might now examine the application of 'two rounds and a half' which is obviously an instruction to carry out three separate attacks designed not only to keep an opponent under constant pressure but also to draw his sword into wide spaced defensive actions. Meyer's *Doppel Rundstreich*[3] (Double Roundstrike) shows similar intent:

> This one do like this/strike the first one (the first blow) horizontally from your right towards his face/but don't let it connect/but rather jerk your hilt (upward) while striking/ towards your left into the said guard of (left) Ox/and turn the (your) right

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[1] *ARTE GLADIATORIA DIMICANDI , c. XIIII, f.13v* Translated by Luca Porzio & Gregory Mele. Chivalry Bookshelf, 2002
[2] *The Schoole of the Noble and Worthy Science of Defence*, 1617. Swetnam, J.
[3] Translation supplied by Jörg Bellinghausen, January, 2007

> side well towards the (your) left, following the hilt/but you shall not rest in this position even for a moment/but rather move your head down during the said upward jerking motion/and strike the other one (the second blow, J.B.) around your head towards his right (side) to his mid section or armpit/but don't let this blow connect either/but rather only let it get through up to his parry (if he has turned it against it) /and with this blow move again upwards to your right with your hilt/let your blade move back around/ and strike the third one completely through from your right horizontally through his foot (with 'foot' Meyer means the whole lower leg from the knee down).

The Bolognese schools used a similar tactic:[1]

> The Bolognese also show a variety of actions where they throw a horizontal cut from one line, snap around to throw its opposite, and then cut back down on the same line, breaking the original rhythm of the attack

Whether or not the rounds in the verse are intended to be feinting strikes, as in Meyer, or are full-power attacks is at this stage immaterial, the important thing is that we understand the basic nature of the round. Using Meyer's description as a tactical template I propose the following sequence as one example of how 'two rounds and a half' could be employed:

Begin with a full anti-clockwise round to the opponent's upper right, followed by a full clockwise round to his lower left torso then, bending back the arms from the elbows, swing the sword 180 degrees backwards (in the same line as it entered) and then strike back to the opponent's upper left torso. In other words the 'half' is delivered by pulling the blade back to the half-way point of the previous round. Such an action would allow the blade to clear the opponent's weapon and attack a different target on the same side. Tactically, the targeting I suggest bears more comparison with the Bolognese school than with Meyer. I would also suggest, given the over-riding philosophy reflected in the verse, that all three strikes referred to in 'two and a half rounds' should be delivered forcefully as first, second and third intention attacks rather than as two feints and one strike. Given the degree of force I suggest was intended at each stage of the sequence I propose that full steps or passes be used in conjunction with the strikes in order that optimum body mechanics can be utilised to generate speed and power. The final section of the instruction in question, *with a good cher* has the modern meaning of with 'good spirit' or 'confident manner'. It also rather cleverly serves as a *stop gap* for the following line.

Thys ys the ferst cowntere of the too hand swerd sere // [Lines 6-7]
This is the first counter of the two handsword sere

This usage of 'counter' is derived from encounter or incounter meaning, to attack, to engage, to join battle. This is of crucial importance when determing the methodology of the English two hand sword system because it immediately reveals a much smaller reliance on the parry-riposte than previously appreciated. The word *sere* as used by the poet has the meaning of many or several though I opt for 'many'. The transcription then becomes 'This is the first attack of the two hand sword many' which I give the modern meaning of 'This is the first of many two hand sword attacks'.

[1] Description provided by Gregory Mele, co-author of *ARTE GLADIATORIA DIMICANDI,* Chivalry Bookshelf, 2002

Bynde hem togedere & say god spede / [Lines 7-8]
Bind them together & say god speed

It has been suggested that the phrase *bynde hem togedere* refers to the binding of an opponent's sword blade but this is not borne out grammatically or contextually. In my opinion the clue for its actual meaning is contained in the preceding line; *Thys ys the ferst cowntere of the too hand swerd sere* (This is the first of many two hand sword attacks) and therefore 'bind them together' is a straight forward instruction to bind, or join, these many attacks together in combinations. This correspondes with similar instructions in other parts of the text, for example, *Fresly smyte thy strokis by dene* (fiercely strike your strokes in quick succession) which is discussed below. The expression *say god speed* simply means 'ask for God's help', such an instruction is common in period Western Martial Art sources. It is also another example of the poet's use of stopgaps to balance rhyme and metre. In the modern idiom I suggest the following 'Combine your attacks and pray for God's help'.

Two quarters and a rownde a stop thou him bede [Lines 8-9]
Two quarters and a round a stop thou him bid

The attacks referred to here are discussed elsewhere, rather it is the word *stop* that is of interest inasmuch as it re-visits the issue of whether *stop* means step or parry, or even halt, . The first choice seems less likely than one of the next two because no fighter would not normally want his opponent to parry his attacks. Therefore the choice lies between 'step' or 'halt'. In reality it matters little which of the two is applicable because the poet is conveying to us that this particular combination is a good way to break up an attack and/or force your opponent on to the defensive and thus create openings for further attacks. With this in mind I give the following, preferred modern day transcription 'Two quarter strikes followed by a round strike will force him to step away'.

A rake w^{t} a spryng þer þ^{u} hȳ a byde [Lines 9-10]
A rake with a spring there thou him abide

I take Swetnam's description and usage of 'rake', the reason for doing so is primarily that Swetnam was at pains to point out the defensive qualities of his *rake* which equates nicely with the covering/defensive duties inferred in the verse. It should also be noted that the *rake* is also used as a covering strike when advancing, as in this example at line 13 'Come in with a rake in every a syde' (close in with a rake on each side). This is suggestive of a moulinet type action designed to attack and cover at the same time. That is to say slicing cuts delivered, Swetnam style, with the weapon held at such an angle and height that it simultaneously provides a covering line for the head and body when advancing. This, in my opinion, can be achieved with a close range slicing action but not with a a long range slicing action because the shallower angle of the sword in the latter would not only be unable to present a covering line during its action but would also be easier to parry.The word 'spring' is also problematical in that it appears to be ascribed different meanings in different places in the text. It can mean springing (jumping) backwards or forwards with the feet or it can mean springing the sword forward with a thrust or blow, for example with a single-hand thrust. The

[1] *The Schoole of the Noble and Worthy Science of Defence*, 1617. Swetnam, J.

latter seems unlikely in this scenario in that it would seem strange to deliver a rake followed by a thrust (or blow) and then 'await the opponent's responses'. If the thrust (or blow) hit home or occupied the opponent's weapon, a follow-up attack would be advisable. If the thrust (or blow) failed then some other action, probably defensive, would be required. However, if in this instance the rake is viewed as a defensive action it would then make sense to 'spring' or jump backwards to a strong defensive position from which to await your opponent's next action (cp. with Silver's *flying out*). Importantly *ther* can be transcribed as 'where' which would then give, 'a rake with a spring where you wait for him'. This would then accord nicely with Swetnam's defensive use of the rake:

> *but if you bee armed with a Bill or a Hooke, then in your halfe-close you may fall away turning the edge or your Bill or Hooke towards his legge, and so by a drawing blow rake him over the shins, and keeping up the But-end of the Staffe for the defence of your owne head, and so you may fall out of his distance, and recover your guard before he can any way endanger you.*

Keeping the above suggestions in mind I offer the following interpretation, 'jump backwards with a rake and await your opponent's next move.

ffalle ï w^{t} an hauke & stride noȝte to wyde/ [Line 10]
Fall in with an hauke & stride not too wide

This is a straightforward instruction to advance and strike down with a hauk (a vertical or nearly vertical downward strike) coupled with an admonition not to step too far to the side as you advance. This echoes Döbringer[1] who wrote:

> you should also show reach in your fencing as is suitable
> and not step too wide (f.15v).

Smyte a rēnȳg q^{ū}rter owte for hys syde [Line 11]
Smyte a running quarter out for his side

The usual transcription of rēnȳg (rennying) is as a racing motion of the feet as shown here:

> *The raches comun rennyng* (The dogs came running) AT
> The Avowyng of Arthur (L101). TEAMS

In period fencing terms the use of *rennying* in relation to footwork is best regarded as a synonym for speedy footwork rather than actually running. For example Forgeng[2] translates the German term *einlauffen* (running in) as, 'To close with an opponent in order to grapple or wrestle'. Rath and Rector[3] interpret it as 'To duck under the opposing weapon'. ARMA[4] gives it as, 'To duck under

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[1] Cod.HS.3227a or Hanko Döbringer fechtbuch, 1389. Translation and transcription by David Lindholm and friends. (see ARMA)
[2] THE ART OF COMBAT by Joachim Meyer, 1570. Translated by Jeffrey L. Forgeng
[3] Glossary of the Kunst des Fechtens, compiled by David Rath, edited by Mark Rector (see www.angelfire.com)
[4] Definitions and Study Terminology, ARMA (Association of Renaissance Martial Arts)

the opponent's weapon or employ closing and entering techniques (Einlauff)'. The inference from these translations/interpretations is that in German sources 'running in' means to get to very close-range. I suggest this indicates quick stepping or leaping actions rather than running, it also emphasises closeness not distance. Therefore 'Smite a running quarter out for his side' is unlikely, in my opinion, to refer to an action whereby the swordsman runs or leaps to the side of an opponent to deliver a quarterstrike: Firstly because this action implies increasing the distance between antagonists not reducing it as suggested above: Secondly, the greater the number of footsteps (as running implies) the greater the time an opponent has to react to the attack. At folio 82 is found the fifth lesson which I believe further supports this argument:

> breke of þe erþe w^{t} rēnȳg rowndis on þe hede
> break of the earth with running rounds on the head

This is commonly interpreted as 'run forward with rounds above the head' but the gloss I provide below suggests a very different interpretation is possible:

breke foreward	advance. Anonymous: *The Owl and the nightingale*, Cotton ms, (1190-1210)
breke forwarde	advance. *Layamon, fl.1200: Brut,* 1205 AT
breken in	to break into the ranks of an enemy, invade. MED
breken vp	jump up. Anonymous: *An anthology of Chancery English* (1384- 1462)
of	from. c1400 (?c1390) *Gawain* (Nero A.10)1778: '..*sprange of her mouthe*' OED quot..
on	above, over. MED
on	an axis or centre of revolution. DSL

Taking the words in order it can be seen that *breke* can refer to a motion of the body and/or feet; that *of* can mean 'from' and *on* can mean 'above' or 'over'; by combining these meanings I am able to propose the following interpretation:

> spring from the earth with running rounds above the head

This suggests that springing or breaking from the earth involves a short two-footed jumping action or, as Döbringer[1] put it 'a short leap with short steps'. The Harley verse uses the plural *rowndis* (rounds) so it follows that more than one spring from the earth is intended. In other words the instruction means that the swordsman is intended to close distance by springing (leaping) forward, more than once, whilst simultaneously delivering round strikes. I suggest this rules out the act of running forward because a person cannot both spring forward and run forward at the same time! On the other hand separate leaps would represent finite physical actions which would allow the swordsman to co-ordinate each action of the blade with each advance of the feet. The importance of co-ordinating hand (blade action) and foot (or feet) is attested to at folio 82 of Harley 3542:

> these ben stroke & revle of þe · ij · hondswerd to make hys hond & hys foete a corde
> these are stroke & rule of the two handsword to make his hand & his foot accord

A virtually identical statement is to be found in Cotton Titus AXXV[2]

> *and ever _e fote _e hande _e hye and _e herte to accorde*
> And ever the foot the hand the eye and the heart to accord

[1] *Cod.HS.3227a* or Hanko Döbringer *fechtbuch*, 1389. Translation and transcription by David Lindholm and friends. (see ARMA)

[2] *Cotton Titus A XXV.* Eleonora Litta's transcription.

These statements, both from English sources, reflect the universal concept of co-ordinating strikes with footwork. I suggest this offers further encouragement for ruling out running as the poet's intended meaning; This is because coordinating weapon strikes with footwork when moving at running speed is somewhat difficult. Taking these factors into consideration I propose that the poet intended *rēnȳg* to apply to actions of the blade not actions of the feet as suggested by this 14th century example:

> Thurgh him into the herte renneth
> Through him into the heart runs (pierces)
>
> *Confessio Amantis*, Line 324, Book 1. TEAMS

Similar examples are also found in German sources:

Ablauffen (running off), withdrawing the blade before or after contact by rotating it around the hilt[1]
überlauffen (over-running) to attack the opponent agressively from above[2]

All factors considered I believe that 'Smyte a running quarter out for his side' means to change the angle of attack in order to strike to the opponent's side. It should also be remembered that steps with strikes are usually implied (unless otherwise stated) in period texts. A suggested scenario then finds a swordsman who is standing, for example, in a middle guard stepping foward to his right and simultaneously pivoting his sword around the wrists to deliver a circular attack to his opponent's left side. This might profitably be compared to Swetnam's description of a quarter blow as one in which the sword blade *doth fetch a compasse about the head* (follow a circle around the head). My suggested transcription is therefore 'circle the sword around the head to strike to the opponent's side'. My interpretation does not preclude the simultaneous use of steps and passes whilst the blade is 'running'.

Fal a pō hys harneys yf he wole abyde [Line 12]
Fall upon his harness if he will abide

fal	fall. proceed/start. *Thai fal to werslyng* [wreslyng]..., Doug. vi x 36. DSL. *AT*
fall (to þe fyghte)	proceed, start, begin, go. The Alliterative Morte Arthure (1440). TEAMS. *AT*
fall	to fall to, to fall upon, engage with. DSL

This line may be, as is commonly thought, a reference to a wrestling move but if so it seems to be remarkably vague and incomplete when compared to the rest of the verse; Or indeed to other contemporary prose descriptions of wrestling techniques. Of course such prose was written for a different audience and for different reasons, but the point is that the authors of period romances were adept at describing wrestling actions; One might therefore expect the Harley author, a trained martial artist after all to be capable of doing the same. Look, for example, at the following wrestling descriptions1 from Hartmann von Aue's, Erec, 9275-9315 (c.1180-1190):

> Furiously [Mabonagrin] rushed towards [Erec]
> intending with all speed

[1] Higgins Armory Sword Guild, Glossary of German Fechtkunst terms. Translated and compiled by Jeffrey L. Forgeng
[2] THE ART OF COMBAT by Joachim Meyer, 1570. Translated by Jeffrey L. Forgeng

---

to seize [Erec] tightly to himself,
lift him, and throw* him
with his great strength,
so that he would be shattered to pieces.
But very fortunately
Erec, as a child,
had learned in **England,** it is said,
to wrestle very well
(as well as other useful skills).
He was aided by the fact
that it is is very hard to grasp armour with one's hand
when it is being worn.
For this reason, he began to slip out of [Mabonagrin's] grip,
so that he was unable to carry out his intention.
He seized [Mabonagrin's] belt in front of him,
and bent himself away from him below:**
[Mabonagrin] made efforts
to pull Erec towards him,
but he did not succeed.
Erec showed his strength.
As [Mabonagrin] bent forward,
[Erec] set his shoulder†
so that it could be seen against [Mabonagrin's] chest,
so that he could not approach him.
Quickly, he pushed [Mabonagrin] away from him
and pulled him back again
so fast that the huge man
began to fall.
Because of his weight, he could not
prevent himself from touching the ground.
Now the noble knight,
Erec the wondrous,
made [Mabonagrin's] situation
as difficult as he pleased.
He knelt on his breast
and gave him so many blows
that [Mabonagrin] lost hope of surviving,
lying under him,
and abandoned all attempts to defend himself.

* More accurately 'thrust him down'
** This may mean that Erec is moving his legs and lower body away from Mabonagrin to prevent Mabonagrin from seizing him, in his turn, possibly around the waist.
† Literally, his shoulder-bone.

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[1] *Single Combat and Warfare in German Literature of the High Middle Ages*, 2008, by Rachael E. Kellet.

As can be seen *Hartmann von Aue* very capably describes several wrestling moves; For example the sentence, 'lift him up and throw him' represents a clear, concise and complete description of a wrestling move. A description that would be perfectly lucid even to non-wrestlers. The sort of lucidity that we should in fact expect to find employed by the Harley poet, after all, he has proved his academic and martial credentials beyond any shadow of a doubt. Given those credentials it would be strange indeed if he were unable to match the simple yet accurate descriptions in *Erec*, or for that matter, the following English sources:

> *And Gawayn bi the coler keppes the knight*
> And Gawayn by the collar [gorget!] takes captive the knight
> *The Awntyrs of Arthur*, L618. TEAMS

> *He leapt upon him then He pull'd him down upon his knee*
> He leapt upon him, the he pulled him down on his knee. AT
> *Sir Lancelot du Lake*, The Percy Reliques, P.200, Everyman's Library

> *ant seh hu feole the grimme wreastlere of helle breid upon his hupe ant weorp with the hanche-turn into galnesse*
>
> and saw how many the fierce wrestler of hell caught on his hip and threw into wickedness with a turn of the haunch. AT
>
> *Ancrene Wisse*, Part IV, L1243-1244. (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 402), TEAMS

In fact the Harley poet ably demonstrates the ability to give clear, concise instructions throughout the verse, except, that is, for the two supposed wrestling sections, neither of which represent self-contained units of instruction! For example if we take *Fal apon hys harneys yf he wole abyde*, to be a wrestling instruction we are given, in the modern idiom, something along the lines of, 'Grip his harness if he doesn't move; It has an initial instruction but lacks a concluding action; The reader is being told to catch or grip an opponent's harness and that is all; No instruction to 'dash him down', there is no specific instruction to grasp him by the belt, or grasp him around the neck, just the instruction to *Fal apon hys harneys yf he wole abyde*. This is demonstrably out of keeping with the structure of the rest of the verse, I am therefore forced to question whether *Fal apon hys harneys yf he wole abyde* actually alludes to a wrestling instruction! I propose that is is simply an instruction to strike an opponet's harness if he stays still long enough.Such a reading would at least represent a complete action. Needless to say, attacking the harness with the weapon is frequently mentioned in medieval sources. Indeed, when facing an armoured opponent striking his harness is a given action. George Silver[1] validates the importance of attacking harness when questioning the usefulness of rapiers in battle:

> *Can they pierce his corslet with the point? Can they unlace his helmet, unbuckle his armor, ...*

Further support for the non-wrestling hypothesis is available in an alternative meaning of 'fall upon', a valid transcription of this being 'engage with'. This might be taken to mean grapple with the harness but at once such a meaning raises the previous objections in that it would be an action that lacked a qualified martial or grammatical ending. However by giving 'fall upon' the meaning 'strike

[1] George Silver. *Paradoxes of Defence*. London. 1599

with the weapon' it would represent both action and result. Further encouragement for this approach comes from the following contemporary description:

> *Than they fall to þe fyghte foynes with sperys*
> Thrusting with spears they begin to fight. *AT*
>
> Anonymous: *The alliterative Morte Arthure*, 1440. TEAMS

This description makes it clear that in a martial sense 'fall' can mean, begin (to fight). We also have 'fall to' meaning to commence or start, while 'fall upon' can mean to drop or descend upon; Indeed, such a transcription may be rather helpful in indicating sword position and therefore target as shown in this later source:

> *offer a pitch the outside of his head or right ear, then fall to the inside of his leg*
>
> Zachary Wylde, *The English Master of Defence*, 1711

Given the above uses of 'fall' I interpret *Fal apon hys harneys yf he wole abyde* as 'strike his harness whenever the opportunity arises. In other words this is not an instruction to strike at a specific target but at any opportune target that presents itself.

Come in w^{t} a rake in euy a syde [Line 13]
Come in with a rake in every a side

This refers to a means of closing distance while using rakes as defensive cover. In other words 'When advancing defend both sides with rakes'.

An hole rownde and an halfe • wath so h^{t} be tyde [Line 14]
A whole round and an half, wath so it betide

wathely	woefully. *Alliterative Morte Arthure*, Line 2090. TEAMS
wathes	harm. *The Avowyng of Arthur*, Line 212, STMEC
wath	danger, risk. AT
waþe	peril. ME
wothely	lethally. *The Awntyrs off Arthur*, L692. TEAMS

In a modern context I interpret this as 'one and a half rounds is a dangerous attack' because the second part of the attack is facilitated by a fast change of line to strike in to the wide space created when the opponent defends against the first attack (the round).

• iiij • q^{u}rters & a rownd • a ventures stroke wyth [Line 15]
iv quarters and a round, and a ventures stroke with

There are two questions that need to be asked about using *• iiij • quarters* the first being this: Would delivering four consecutive quarter blows comply with the principles of the True Fight? Dobringer[1]

[1] Cod.HS.3227a or Hanko DÃ¶bringer fechtbuch, 1389. Translation and transcription by David Lindholm and friends. (see ARMA)

and therefore Leichtenaur, certainly thought so as can be seen by the following from the Hanko Döbringer fechtbuch, 1389:

> When you have done the first strike [Vorschlag] then you shall without any delay do the [Nachschlag] and you should also stay in motion and do one thing after another. If the first [attack] does not work then the second, the third or the fourth will hit, and you shall not let the opponent come to blows.

Yet Döbringe's words need to be considered in context because he is talking of the principles of *Vor* (before) and *Nach* (after). By this he means if the first attack fails then a second attack must be launched immediately after. In other words keep pressuring the opponent so that he is too busy defending to launch an attack of his own. In this scenario it follows that the attacker is free to launch a second and, if needed, a third and fourth attack. This approach is fine because, done this way, it will accord with the principles of the true fight; In fact based upon the terminology of the verse there is good reason to believe that exactly the same methodology was part of the arsenal of the English two hand sword fighter.

Nonetheless it cannot be taken as read that Döbringer's 'four blows' equate to the verse's iiij quarters. For one thing Döbringer doesn't specify that four blows must be used, only that four blows can be used if necessary. It is also important to realise that in Döbringer's scenario only the first blow is pro-active, the subsequent blows being re-active; that is to say that the manner and necessity of the subsequent blows depend upon the opponent's reactions or lack of reactions as the case may be. In the verse the four quarters are pro-active; That is to say that they form a specific attack or strategy initiated by the attacker rather than being responsive to an opponent's reactions. It is therefore necessary to ask if four, seperate, pre-planned quarter strikes would in fact comply with the principles of effective combat? The answer must be no because the idea that there would be enough time to safely deliver four separate, committed quarter strikes without reply or reaction from the opponent is not likely. Such an attack would involve pulling the blade back three times and striking in again three times after the initial attack; A skilled opponent would surely be able to take advantage of the lost times between those attacks!

If not four separate strikes then what else could it be? To answer this question it is necessary to ask what function or role is fulfilled by the *iiij q"arters* that is not performed by other strikes or combinations in the 3542 manuscript? There are, for example, rowndis or rounds, which I define as orbital strokes in the horizontal plane. There are also rolling strokes which I define as forward (clockwise) orbital strokes in the vertical plane, done on one side of the body or the other. Rakes I define as diagonal drawing cuts across the body line, either upwards or downwards. Every other technique is either done singly or doubly; None of these can be described as four quarters, this suggests the need to look for a different kind of delivery; A delivery in which four quarters are delivered with a continuous, pre-planned action. For this action we might consider something along the lines of Mertin Siber's *schneller*[1]:

> *Den Schneller tu mit Macht*
> *Zu beiden Seiten zweifach*

[1] A thesis on the fechtlehre from Handschrift M I 29 (Codex Speyer), University of Salzburg, Austria. By Jeffrey Hull

Do the speeder with might
To both sides twice.

The instruction to do the Sneller to 'both sides twice' is interesting because here is a German source giving the instruction to carry our four successive, proactive strikes; The *iiij quarters* are clearly intended to be proactive, that is to say pre-planned attacks and logic suggests that the *iiij quarters* need to be performed with a continuous action as are the 'speeders to both sides twice'. Whilst I make clear that there is no proof that the *iiij quarters* and the 'speeders' are the same the fact that both tactics consist of four consecutive, proactive strikes is an intriguing coincidence that is surely worthy of consideration. In the case of the iiij quarters I propose that they be considered as round strikes delivered diagonally across the body line. The nature of the round has already been discussed but the reference to doing the round with a 'ventures stroke' is somewhat intriguing and I suggest it may be similar in nature to a quarterstaff attack that Meyer[1] describes as:

A good stroke in which you turn around

Meyer's description of this 'turning attack' could easily be described as a ventures stroke in that both the English and the German attack involve turning the back to the opponent, hence the venture (risk). Bearing these factors in mind I interpet the line as follows, 'four consecutive quarter strikes then a round strike and a turning strike'.

Bere up hys harnes & gete þ^{u} þ^{e} gryth [Line16]
Bere up his harness and get thou the grith

bare.	thrust. *The Avowyng of Arthur* L 422. TEAMS.
to bere a rout.	to receive a blow. DSL
Beres.	thrusts. *The Alliterative Morte Arthure,* Line 1379. AT. TEAMs
Bere.	push, thrust. *The Knight's Tale,* 1387-1394, ACG
vp bere.	to lift up, raise. DSL

As can be seen there are a variety of transcriptions for 'bere', though the one that seems to command popular support in relation to the verse is that of 'lift'. When this 'popular' transcription is applied to *Bere up hys harnes* it becomes 'lift up his harness'. If the second part of this line is then introduced according to the same 'popular' transcription we arrive at 'lift up his harness and get you the girth'. Or in the modern idiom 'lift up his harness and grip him around the waist'. It is immediately clear that these instructions are confusing and lack any sort of conclusion; Are we to assume that lifting up his harness refers to bodily lifting the opponent from the ground? If so, what action follows next! Even if *do as y seye* in the next line is taken to be the concluding instruction it would be superfluous since there can only be one thing to do once a man has been lifted from the ground and that would be a throw of some kind, so why not say so! Furthermore the question needs to be asked as to why the poet would, in effect, give the same instruction twice in that he tells the reader to lift up an opponent AND to grip him around the waist! The second of these two instructions indicates the

[1] *THE ART OF COMBAT* by Joachim Meyer, 1570. Translated by Jeffrey L. Forgeng

first (why else grip a man around the waist!) and the first of the instructions, that of lifting a man up, indicates the second instruction, which is to grip him around the waist. It is quite obvious that these instructions are not only confusing but also lack any sort of grammatical or martial conclusion. Further to this is the matter of the transcription itself, we have already seen that other writers were perfectly capable of giving concise wrestling instructions So why did the author use the expression *gete thou the gryth* to qualify the initial instruction? 'Get you the waist' makes no sense whatsoever, we must therefore ask if this was the author's intended meaning! In like manner we must also ask why the author would tell us to 'lift up his harness'? Surely, in keeping with other wrestling instructions, he would have told the reader to 'lift him up' or 'lift up his body'! I therefore propose examining afresh the assumptions upon which the 'popular' transcriptions are based.

The first of these assumptions is that *gryth* means girth, in other words that metathesis has been employed, but what if metathesis wasn't employed! What if *gryth* is *grith* which means peace or security and what if we ascribe to *gete* (get) the common period meaning of win! This would provide a translation of 'win you the peace'. However this meaning would not make sense if allied to 'lift him off the ground' because the peace, or security, would only last for as long as the opponent could be held off the ground.

The second assumption, based on the first, is that the author is describing a wrestling move but what if he is not describing a wrestling move! What if he was ascribing to *bere* the very common period meaning of thrust! This would give a transcription of thrust up (or to) his harness and win you the peace. Such a transcription would compare well with Wittenwiller's[1] advice to 'Thrust up into all pursuing', the implication being that such a thrust would halt the pursuit and 'win some peace'. It might also be noted that the transcription 'thrust to his harness and win you the peace' would be representative of a complete martial action. I therefore propose the following transcription, 'Thrust to his harness and win you the peace', in the modern idiom I render this as, 'Thrust to his harness to halt his attack'. My preferred interpretation would appear to leave the verse bereft of wrestling moves. However this may be accounted for by the author himself who, at the end of the verse section, states the following:

> *These buþ^e þ^e strokys of þy hole grounde*
> These are the strokes of the whole art AT

This transcribes as 'These are the strokes of the whole art'. Or, in the modern idiom 'These are all of the strokes of the art'. Taken at face value this means that only strokes of the sword are being described in the verse; It could well be therefore that the verse wasn't intended to contain any wrestling instructions which might easily have been contained in a different manuscript.

Dobyl up lyȝthy & do as y seye [Line 17]
Double up lygthy and do as I say

lyȝth	active. ACDME
lyȝth	nimble AT
light	quick. *The Awntyrs of Arthur*, Line 469. TEAMS

[1] *Fight-Book of Hugues Wittenwiller* (late 15th century AD) Translation by Jeffrey Hull. From a transcription by Didier de Grenier. (A joint project of ARMA and Arts d' Armes (see ARMA)

lightly quickly. ACG

The commonly accepted transcription of this is 'Double up quickly and do as I say'. I would point out lythy might be translated as actively or nimbly with the closing clause *& do as y seye* acting as a stopgap. If the closing clause were not a stopgap and held some greater martial significance I might find myself querying why the poet, for this one line of the verse, suddenly switches to a first person narrative! I might, as a result, suggest an error and propose the reading of 'do as you see' which I believe makes more grammatical and martial sense. However the clause in question is of so little significance that I am content to follow the common reading of it.

ffal in wt an hauke & bere a goede eye [Line 18]
Fall in with a hauk & bear a good eye

Fall in with a hauk means to attack or engage with a vertically, or near vertical descending strike towards the head, neck or shoulders. Bear a good eye could have a similar meaning to Vadi's warning to be watchful when striking with a *riverso fendente* (Ch XI, Folio 12R):

> ...a careful eye to prevent the mandritto coming from below[1]

In other words beware the opponent striking from below as you strike in a higher line. Of course there is no requirement for the warning in the verse to be so specific because it could simply mean to be on guard, to be alert, or watchful for any counter-actions by the opponent. My favoured interpretation is, 'Begin the attack with a hauk but watch for counter-strikes from below'.

A spryng & a rownde & stap ï wyth [Line 19]
A spring & a round & step in with

There are a number of options to consider here; The first is to jump forward while delivering a round and then step in! This unlikely since the last action, stepping in, would be without a covering strike or defence. The second option is to spring forward and then step in while delivering a round; This too seems unlikely inasmuch as the leap would not be accompanied by either attack or defence thereby presenting the opponent an attacking opportunity. I suggest the most likely interpretation of spring as a fast single-hand thrust to occupy the opponent's mind and weapon; This occupying action would then allow the swordsman to step in and deliver a round strike in relative safety. I therefore propose the following interpretation, 'A single-hand thrust and then step forward and deliver a round strike'.

spar noȝth ā hauke yf he lye in þy kyth [Line 20]
spare not an hauke if he lie in thy kith

Kyth means 'one's country or district' and I therefore regard it as a synonym for the area of ground covered by the reach of the sword. The transcription can then be read as 'Spare not a hauke if he lies in your reach'. In other words you are being instructed to strike opportunistic blows whenever your opponent comes within range of your sword.

[1] ARTE GLADIATORIA DIMICANDI, (c.xI. f.12r). Translated by Luca Porzio & Gregory Mele. Chivalry Bookshelf, 2002.

smyte a rēnȳg q^{u}rter sor^{e} owte of þy honde [Line 21]
smite a running quarter sore out of thy hand[s]

soore hard. ACG. AT
sore involving great effort or exertion, with intensive force. MED
sori hard, fierce, terrible. Sir Bevis of Hampton, L 3432. STMEC. AT

This transcribes as 'Strike a running quarter firmly out of your hand'. The crucial word here is 'rennyng' to which I ascribe the transcription as previously discussed. I further propose that the action of a 'running quarter' is that described by Swetnam when discussing the quarter blow; I therefore give the meaning of 'Deliver a hard quarter strike by pivoting the sword around your hands'.

A byde a pon a pēdent and lese not þy londe [Line 22]
Abide upon a pendent and lose not thy land

The pendent or high guard, which is described by Wylde[1] in the quarterstaff sections of his book, is the English equivalent of a German hanging guard; It is a guard where the hilt of the sword (or the butt end of the staff) is held above head height with the sword blade (or staff) depending diagonally towards the ground, hence the name. It is clear that the author of the verse was one of those who esteemed this guard because his words make it clear that he regarded the pendent as ideal for holding opponents at bay. I therefore give 'Abide upon a pendent and lose not thy land' the modern meaning of 'Defend with the pendent and do not give ground.'

Smyte ī þy lyfte foete & cleue ryȝt doune [Line 23]
Smite in the left foot & cleave right down

Hester[2] interprets this as a pass forward with the left foot followed by a strong downwards cut, this interpretation requires that 'smite' is a synonym for step. However I believe that such an interpretation is out of keeping with the terminology used throughout the ms because whenever stepping is indicated the preposition 'with' precedes 'foot', as in the following extracts:

[f.82] wt •iii• fete howterwards (with three feet outwards)
wyþ •iii• doubil rowndis berȳg ī w^{t} a stop (with two double rounds bearing in with a step)
[f.82r] a qtrary hauke hamward born w^{t} •ii• stoppis (a contrary hauke homward born with two steps)
w^{t} an hauke beryng inw^{t} foote (with an hauke bearing in with the foot)
[f.83r] shalt walk in w^{t} •iii• foete (shall walk in with three feet)
w^{t} þy foete goyng (with thy feet going)
[f.85r] wt a lusty stop (with a lusty step)

[1] The English Master of Defence, 1711, Zachary Wylde
[2] The Use of the Two-Hand Sworde..., 2005-6 Dissertation, York University, Hester, J.

Other ways of describing the act of stepping are also encountered in the folios; However, the crucial point to be made is this, if 'Smite in the left foot & cleave right down' meant to step forward and cut right down I would expect to see it phrased something like, 'step in with the left foot and cleave right down'. Or perhaps, 'cleave right down bearing in with the left foot'. ARMA[1] suggest 'stomp' for 'Smite' and I feel that this is somewhat closer to the poet's meaning; However I take it a stage further than stomp in suggesting that *Smyte ī þ^e lyfte foete* actually means, 'kick in the left foot'. I suggest this because I believe any other interpretation of smite would be inconsistent with its use throughout the manuscript. Consider, for example, the following extracts from ff.83-84:

[f. 83r]

smyte ī iii rakys (smite in three rakes)
& smyte þy stroke avēture... (and smite your stroke aventure)
& þ^s smyte þy conter bothe of & on (and thus smite your attack both right and left)
& smyte a large hauke vp to þ^e skye (and smite a large hauke up to the sky)

[f. 84]

& smyte *þy* foynys... (and smite your thrusts)
& smyte a large sprynge (and smite a large spring)

In the aforegoing examples a clear object-subject, or verb-noun relationship can be seen; I believe that by applying this same relationship to the instruction, Smyte Ä« Ã¾e lyfte foete we can derive from it that 'smite' is the object (verb) and that foot is the subject (noun) it governs. I believe that this establishes, 'kick in the left foot' as a stand-alone instruction. I offer the following period example to reinforce my case:

with my fete j smott the soler a lofte over my hed iij strokis.[2]
with my feet I smote the solar aloft over my head iij strokes. *AT*

If my hypothesis is correct it means that, 'smite in the left foot and cleave right down' is actually an instruction to carry out two seperate but linked attacks; The first being a kick as in, 'kick in with the left foot', the second being a sword stroke as in, 'cut down to the ground'. The act of kicking during sword combats is well documented[3].

Geder oute of þy ryȝte hond & smyte ā hauke rounde [Lines 24-25]
Gather out of thy right hand & smite an hauke round

gather.	come into a state of preparation for action or effect. CD
gather.	to collect all one's powers or faculties for a strong effort. CD

I propose that 'gather out of your right hand' simply means to attack from the right hand side with a hauke. A hauke being a descending vertical, or near vertical, strike aimed at the head or neck of an opponent. The instruction to smyte ~ hauke rounde suggests a moulinet type of action with the sword being revolved or spun through 360o, or nearly so, using the hands, wrists and elbows to enable the action. I propose the following meaning. 'Strike a circular hauk from the right hand side'.

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[1] The Harleian Project, ARMA (The Association of Renaissance Martial Arts)
[2] The Vision of Edmund Leversedge, Som. Dor. NQ 13 (1905). 22-35. MED quotation The manuscripts of Fiore de'
[3] Liberi, George Silver and Hans Talhoffer all advocated this tactic

ffresly smyte þy strokis by dene [Line 25]
ffersly smite thy strokes together

bidene.	together, at once. ACDME.
bydene.	in succession. *The Awntyrs of Arthur,* Line 459. TEAMS
bydene.	together. *Ywain and Gawain,* Line 50. AT
bydene.	together. *The Awntyrs of Arthur,* Line 11. TEAMS
by dene	together. Century Dictionary, (Vol. VII)
ffresly	fiercely. AT

ffresly is fiercely with metathesis of the 'r'. by dene, in the poem it is written as two separate words but is usually given as, bydene, bidene, bedene, etc.. It has the meaning of 'together', or in quick succession and when combined with fiercely is used by the poet to indicate the need for fast, powerful, consecutive attacks delivered without pause. In other words it is an instruction to keep your opponent under constant pressure. Similar advice is contained in Hanko Döbringer's fechtbuch[1]:

[f.21v] When you
have done the first strike [Vorschlag] then
you shall without any delay do the [Nachschlag]
and you should also stay in motion
and do one thing after another. If the first [attack]
does not work then the second, the
third or the fourth will hit, and you shall
not let the opponent come to blows.

[f.28r] And you shall cross strike [Twerehaw] to both
sides, to the ox [Ochs] and to the plough
[Pflug] that is to the upper and the lower
opening, from one side to the other, above
and below continuously and without any
interruptions so that you are in constant
motion and the opponent can not come to
blows.

I suggest the following interpretation, 'Fiercely strike your blows in quick succession'.

and hold wel þy lond þath hyt may be sene [Lines 25-26]
and hold well thy land thath it may be sene

sene	easy to see, visible, evident, manifest. OED
sene	expert, well-versed, skilful. DSL
sene	evident, Confessio Amantis, Book 3, L1924. KMMIP
sene	skilful, OED
þath/thath	that. scribal error!
þath/thath	though. OED

The key words of this instruction are *þath* (*thath*) and *sene*. The first of which, *þath*, is commonly

[1] Cod.HS.3227a or Hanko DÃ¶bringer fechtbuch, 1389 Translation and transcription by David Lindholm and friends (see ARMA).

held to be a scribal error intended to mean 'that'. The second word, sene, is usually given the more common visual context. Combining these two meanings gives 'and defend well your land that it may be seen' clearly such a transcription lacks any sense or meaning. However, þath (thath) in fact means 'though' which then gives 'and hold well thy land though it may be sene'. If we then consider that *sene* also has the period meaning of 'skilled' we are then able to use the intended meanings of these words to arrive at 'and hold well thy land though it may be skilful. This is perhaps hinting that defending without giving ground is a difficut task that requires great skill. A modern version of these transcriptions gives the following alternative:

Use your skills to defend your ground

Compare them with the following from Döbringer[1]:

Thus you may learn with
work and defend artfully,

A second possibilty is that the poet may have intended the line to be read in conjunction with the three lines that follow after (27, 28, 29) which possibility is discussed on page 35.

thy rakys • þy rowndis • þy q"rters a bowte [Line 27]
thy rakes, thy rounds, thy quarters about

about	all over or around; in various directions; in a circuitous course; to and fro; OED
about	around the outside; on every side, all round. OED
about	around the outside; on every side, all round. OED
about	round the outside of; round in a circuit or part of a circuit of. OED

Given the circular or part circular trajectory of rakes, rounds and quarters this line could simply be the poet's way of either reminding the student to cover all lines of attack and defence. Or it could be a reminder of the tactical purposes of the various strikes.

thy stoppis • þy foynys • lete hē fast rowte [Line 28]
thy steps, thy foins, let them fast rout

rout	to beat severely. DSL
rout	defeat, put to flight. OED
route	gather. L9, Above All Thing Thow Arte a Kyng. TEAMS
rowt/rout	a stunning blow. ACDME
rowt/rout	to assemble under arms. DSL
rowt/rout	to strike a blow (to lay a rout on (upon) a person), DSL

stoppis I transcribe as steps, as previously discussed, and *foins* I translate as thrusts. The word

[1] Cod.HS.3227a, Hanko Döbringer fechtbuch, 1389. Translation and transcription by David Lindholm and friends (see ARMA)

rowte can mean assemble, strike, or defeat, from these options I choose assemble. Assemble can have the meaning of gather together or combine together and I use the latter meaning to modernise the poet's instruction as follows, 'quickly combine your steps and thrusts'.

thy spryngys • þy quarters • þy rabetis also [Line 29]
thy springs, thy quarters, thy rebates also

quarter	a strike that compasse about the head. Swetnam, J., 1617. TNWSD
rebate	to parry a stroke or blow. [Late ME (1427), F. rabattre (12th c.)] DSL
rebatt	----------Ditto----------
rebattre, rebatre	to beat again; to beat back, anglo-norman.net
rebecquer	back again. Cotgrave. 1611, Patterweb
reb['e]s, or rev['e]s	backward, contrary, crosse. Minsheu 1599
rebours	backward, oblikely, ouerthwartly, Cotgrave, R. A dictionarie of the French and English tongues. London, 1611
rebouter (p.p.rebetē)	to repulse, drive out. J. Florio, Queen Anna's New World of Words, 1611
reboter, rebotir	---------- Ditto ----------
rebotier; rebuter	----------Ditto ----------
rebuke	*We wil not counter with them and geue rebuke for rebuke.* OED Quotation
robecq	variant of rebecquer, meaning 'back again' AT
robecke	variant of robecq meaning 'back again' AT
roebuck	variant of robecke meaning 'back again'. AT
springe	leap. Gower, John: Confessio amantis (1390-1393), TEAMS. AT
springes	runs. Stanzaic Morte Arthur, L 267, TEAMS
spring (the sword)	one-handed thrust of the sword. AT

The line, 'thy springs, thy quarters, thy rebates also' would seem to be a reminder to include springs, quarters and rebates in with the three previous instructions. As to the nature of 'springs' it is not easy to state with absolute confidence but I opt for single-hand thrusts; I make this selection because the use of this strike is amply attested to in other two-hand sword sources and it would seem anomalous for this source not to include it. I therefore modernise this instruction to read, 'as well as your single-hand thrusts, quarter strikes, and parries'.

Ber a goede eye & lete þy hond go [Line30]
Bear a good eye & let thy hand go

I interpret this quite simply as, 'judge well and hit hard'.

ffy on a false hert þ' dar not a byde [Line 31]
fie on a false heart that dare not abide

I modernise this as, 'shame on a man who flees for fear'.

Wen he seyþ rowndys • & rakys r'nyng by hs side [Line 32]
When he sees rounds & rakes running by his side

by to. *The Avowyng of Arthur,* L101. TEAMS

In a modern sense this line has the meaning of, 'When he sees rounds and rakes striking to his sides'. Thus making clear that this sentence is linked to the previous one (Line 31). It is also important because it helps to define the targets and angles of rakes and rounds.

ffle not hastly for a lytil pryde [Line 33]
Flee not hastily for little pride

Here the poet means 'have a little pride in yourself and stand your ground'. This admonition works well in conjunction with the advice contained in the following line; This informs the reader that rounds and rakes aimed at an opponent's side will place him (the opponent) in danger. In a modern sense I would describe it this way, 'Have enough confidence to stand your ground'.

ffor lytil Wote þy adusary Wath hȳ shal betide [Line 34]
For little Wote thy adversary Wath him shall betide

abide	stay, remain, await. ACDME
abide	to encounter, or sustain; to face, esp. in combat. OED
wathely	woefully. Alliterative Morte Arthure, Line 2090. TEAMS
wathes	harm. The Avowyng of Arthur, Line 212, STMEC
waþe	peril. MED
wot	know/ knows. MED

The word that has caused previous transcribers problems is *wath* which has been commonly regarded as a scribal error for 'what'. However I do not accept scribal error on this occasion because Wath carries the meaning of harm, peril, woe, etc., which makes more sense within the text than 'What'. I accordingly choose to interpret this line as, 'For little knows your adversary peril him shall encounter' or in modern terms, 'Because your enemy does not know the danger he will be in'.

lete strokys fast folowe aft' hys honde [Line 35]
let strokes fast follow after his hand(s)

This is usually taken to mean an after-strike to the opponent's hands after his attack has failed; It could refer to a specific action such as Hanko Döbringer's[1] *Krumphaw* (crooked strike) which is delivered after stepping forward diagonally in order to be able to attack the hands from the side:

folio 25v
> Go crooked [Krump] with skill and throw
> the point at the hands

However I feel that the word folowe indicates the first option of striking to the opponent's hands as he withdraws following a failed attack. This is perhaps not too dissimilar to the German concept of

[1]Cod.HS.3227a (Hanko DÃ¶bringer fechtbuch) 1389 Translation and transcription by David Lindholm and friends (see ARMA)

nachreissen (travelling after). This concept advocates striking to an opponent's hands immediately after thwarting his attacks. I therefore translate this as, 'strike quickly at his hands when his attacks fail.'

And hauk rovnde w^{t} a stop & stil þt þu stond [Line 36]
And hauk round with a step & still that thou stand

This is a simple instruction to step forward whilst delivering a circular hauk and then to stand still (or calmly) and await the opponent's response. At first glance this seems to be a somewhat strange instruction; However if the opponent, having been forced out of position, wishes to go on the offensive he will be forced to do so using *False Times*[1] and/or *Wide Spaces*[2]. However, because the defender is standing still he will be able to strike or parry in the *Time of the Hand*[3], thus gaining the advantage. This command also makes tactical sense if it is considered in conjunction with lines 37 and 38. See also my comments regarding Döbringer's *Nachschlag*[4] (after strike) at line 38. I therefore interpret this line as, 'step forward with a round hauk then stand still'.

Greve not gretly þov þ^{u} be tochyd a lyte [Line 37]
Grieve not greatly though thou be touched a light

The poet is telling the student not to worry about light wounds. Like the previous line this too can be a 'stand alone' instruction but can also be considered in conjunction with lines 36 & 38. My interpretation is, 'Do not worry if you receieve a small wound'

ffor ā aft^{r} stroke ys bet^{r} yf þu dar hȳ smyte [Line 38]
For an after stroke is better if thou dare him smite

This is a straight-forward statement telling students that an 'after stroke' is an effective tactic. I think it profitable to consider the poet's *aftr stroke* as being similar in nature and purpose to the *nachschlag* (after strike) as described by Hanko Döbringer; The first example of *Nachschlag* is its use following a successful *vorschlag*[5] (first strike) in which the instruction is to, 'follow up the hit quickly'. Döbringer's second example of *nachschlag* concerns its use when an opponent has parried the *vorschlag* when he says, 'then you shall remain on the sword....then in an instant [*Indes*] should you do the after strike'. Döbringer's second scenario and the poet's injunction to 'stand still after striking' may have some similarity of purpose. Therefore I believe that the poet's words could be a mnemonic reminding the student to stand his ground if an attack is parried in order to be able to deliver a highly effective second strike. I render this line as follows, 'because an after stroke is better if you are brave enough to deliver it'.

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[1] False Time. Any action that begins with actions of body, foot, or feet as opposed to beginning with the hand.
[2] Wide Space. This refers to a distance that is too great to be covered in the time available, whether in attack or defence.
[3] Time of the hand. An action involving just the hand/arm. The fastest of the four true times
[4] Folio 20V, Cod.HS.3227a or Hanko Döbringer fechtbuch, 1389. As at 1
[5] Folio 20R, Cod.HS.3227a or Hanko Döbringer fechtbuch, 1389. As at 1

A gode rovnde w^{t} an hauke & smyte ry3 t dovne [Line 39]
A good round with an hauke & smite right right down

good	Of full measure or amount; reckoned to the utmost limit; without abatement; full; complete: CD

A good round means a full or complete round, therefore the sword will complete a full circular strike in the horizontal plane before the hauk is delivered. Smite right down translates as a full cut which travels from a high position, through the mid-point (or horizontal) down to nearly ground level. Smiting 'right down' echoes similar strikes in the German and Italian schools of two hand sword fighting. I give this as, 'Strike a complete round followed by a full hauke' with a full hauk being a strike that travels from the high line to the low line.

Gedyr vp a doblet & spar^{e} not hys crovne [Line 40]
Gather up a doublet & spar^{e} not his crown

double	repeat often, increase much, Th. Thomas, 1587
doublit	dynt for dynt; [blow for blow].Asl. MS. I. 319/20. DSL Quotation
gather	come into a state of preparation for action or effect. CD
gather	to collect all one's powers or faculties for a strong effort. CD

The expression, *gedyr vp* is suggestive of physical preparation, the summoning up of strength prior to a powerful strike whilst *doblet* signifies a double strike although its exact nature is not known. I propose that the instruction to, 'spare not his crown' indicates that the English 'doublet' might serve a similar purpose to the German *duplieren* (doubling) an example of which follows[2]:

> Mark when he strikes high to you from his right shoulder, then also strike similarly strong and high from your right to his head, if he displaces and stays strong on the sword, then drive on Immediately with your arms and thrust your sword's pommel under your right arm with your left hand, and with crossed arms strike the long edge behind his sword's blade onto his head.

On the other hand we cannot rule out something much simpler, such as two identical blows; As a final thought it is worth considering that *doblet* does not refer to a specific action but may be a generic term for any two strike sequence. I translate the meaning as follows, 'powerfully deliver two strikes to the crown of his head'.

W^{t} a rownde & a rake a byde at a bay [Line 41]
With a round & a rake abide at a bay

bay	The state of being kept off by the bold attitude of an opponent. The state of being prevented by an enemy from making further advance. CD

The rounds function to strike at the opponent or his weapon which strikes are complemented by the rakes which are used to generate defensive cuts across the body. The importance of this type of combination is that rounds and rakes quickly and effectively convert into each other; By this I

[1] Cod.HS.3227a *Hanko Döbringer fechtbuch* (f.20R), 1389. Translation and transcription by David Lindholm and friends (see ARMA)
[2] Goliath (MS 2020), recto 16. Transcribed by Grzegorz Zabinsky, translated by Mike Rasmusson.. (www.schielhau.org)

mean a round can quickly be changed into a rake (either upwards or downwards) and a rake can, in turn, be quickly be converted into a round. I interprete this line as, 'Use rounds and rakes to defend your ground'.

Wᵗ a rēnȳg qᵘrter sette hȳ oute of hys way [Line 42]
With a running quarter set him out of his way

Arma describe 'a running quarter' as 'a passing attack' whilst Hester gives the essentially similar, 'passing forward quickly...'. However, I choose to use my earlier argument that 'running' refers to an action of the sword itself and not to the swordsman 'running' towards the target. This does not preclude a simultaneous step which can almost be taken as a given fact. I see 'setting him out of his way' as a powerful sword action that forces the opponent to give ground; Swetnam's method of delivering a quarter is intended to develop power; Therefore I use Swetnam's method in defining this instruction as, 'circle the sword about the head and deliver a powerful quarter strike to drive him from his position'.

Thys buþᵉ þᵉ lettrs þᵗ stondȳ in hys syȝte [Line 43]
These are the letters that stand in his sight

lett(e)rure	learning, literature. A Chaucer Glossary
lettrure of armes	learning of arms.[AT] Anonymous c.1370 Sir Gawain and the Green Knight,

This I interpret as, 'These are the instructions that stand in his sight'. A more modern reading would be, 'these are the lessons he needs to learn'.

To Teche • or to play • or ellys for to fyȝte [Line 44]
To Teach, or to play, or else for to fight

This line's meaning is quite straight-forward in that the instructions contained in the verse will equip the reader, 'to teach, or to train, or else to fight'.

Thys buþᵉ þᵉ strokys of þy hole grovnde [Line 45]
These are the strokes of thy whole ground

ground	the foundation or groundwork for learning or skill, MED

I interpret this as, 'these strokes are the foundation of the art of the two hand sword'.

ffor hurte • or for dynte • or ellys for debys wonde [Line 46]
For hurt, or for dint, or else for death's wound

The poet's words indicate three different scenarios of use for the two hand sword. I suggest 'for hurt' is a reference to tournament fighting, 'for dint' refers to training and 'death's wound' obviously alludes to battlefield combat. This would give, 'for tournament, for training, or else for war'.

A transcription of ff. 84-85 of Harleian 3542
(A verse describing the use of the Two hand Sword)

Now I come to my translation of the verse from Middle English poetry to Modern English prose. I take many liberties in terms of adding, removing and replacing text in order to to provide simple, uncomplicated interpretations of the poet's words. I begin with a line by line comparison and end with a modern prose version of the original text: Translations are in bold text.

man that will to the two hand sword learn both close & clear, [1-2]
man that wishes to study the basic and advanced arts of the two-hand sword

he must have a good eye both far & near. [2-3]
he must be able to effectively judge all fighting ranges

& an in step & an out step [3-4]
And have a forward step and a backward step

& an hauke quarter [4]
And a hauk quarter strike

A cantel, a double, an half for his fere. [4-5]
A cantel, a double-strike and a half-strike for his companions

Two rounds and an half with a good cheer [5-6]
Two and a half rounds with a confident manner

This is the first counter of the two handsword sere [6-7]
This is the first of many two hand sword attacks

Bind them together & say god speed [7-8]
Combine these attacks and ask for God's help

Two quarters and a round a step thou him bid [8-9]
Two quarter strikes followed by a round strike will force him to step away

A rake with a spring where thou him abide [9-10]
Jump backwards with a rake and await your opponent's next move

Fall in with an hauke & stride not too wide [10]
Attack with a hauk but do not step too far to the side

Smyte a running quarter out for his side [11]
Circle the sword around the head to strike to the opponent's side

Fall upon his harness if he will abide [12]
Attack his harness whenever the opportunity arises

Come in with a rake in every a side [13]
When advancing defend both sides with rakes

A transcription of ff. 84-85 of Harleian 3542
(A verse describing the use of the Two hand Sword)

A whole round and an half wath so it betide [14]
One and a half rounds is a dangerous combination

iv quarters and a round and a ventures stroke with [15]
Four consecutive quarter strikes then a round strike and a turning strike

Bere up his harness and get thou the grith [16]
Thrust to his harness to halt his attack

Double up lygthy and do as I say [17]
Double up quickly and do as I say

Fall in with a hauk & bear a good eye [18]
Attack with a hauk but watch out for counter-strikes from below

A spring & a round & step in with [19]
A single-hand thrust and then step forward and deliver a round strike

spare not an hauke if he lie in thy kith [20]
Strike a hauke whenever he lies in your reach

smite a running quarter sore out of thy hand[s] [21]
Deliver a hard quarter strike by pivoting the sword around your hands

Abide upon a pendent and lose not thy land [22]
Defend with the pendent guard and do not give up your ground

Smite in the left foot & cleave right down [23]
kick with the left foot and cut down to the ground

Gather out of thy right hand & smite an hauke round [24]
Strike a circular hauk from the right hand side

fiercely smite thy strokes together [25]
fiercely strike your blows in quick succession

and hold well thy land thath it may be sene [25-26]
defend your ground skilfully

thy rakes, thy rounds, thy quarters about [27]
with rakes, rounds and quarters around the body

thy steps, thy foins, let them fast rout [28]
quickly combine your steps and thrusts

thy springs, thy quarters, thy rebates also [29]
as well as your single-hand thrusts, quarter strikes and parries

A transcription of ff. 84-85 of Harleian 3542
(A verse describing the use of the Two hand Sword)

Bear a good eye & let thy hand go [30]
Judge well and hit hard

fie on a false heart that dare not abide [31]
shame on a man who flees for fear

When he sees rounds & rakes running by his side [32]
When he sees rounds and rakes striking to his sides

Flee not hastily for little pride [33]
Have enough confidence to stand your ground

For little Knows thy adversary Wath him shall betide [34]
Because your enemy does not know the danger he will be in

let strokes fast follow after his hands [35]
strike quickly at his hands when his attacks fail

And hauk round with a step & still that thou stand [36]
Step forward with a round hauk and then stand still

Grieve not greatly though thou be touched a light [37]
Do not worry if you receive a small wound

For an after stroke is better if thou dare him smite [38]
Because an after stroke is better if you are brave enough to deliver it

A good round with an hauke & smite right right down [39]
Strike a complete round followed by a full hauke

Gather up a doublet & spare not his crown [40]
Powerfully deliver two strikes to the crown of his head

With a round & a rake abide at a bay [41]
Use rounds and rakes to boldly defend your ground

With a running quarter set him out of his way [42]
Circle a quarter strike around the head to drive him from his position

These are the letters that stand in his sight [43]
These are the lessons he needs to learn

To teach, or to play, or else for to fight [44]
To teach, or to train, or else to fight

These are the strokes of your whole ground [45]
These strokes are the foundation of the art of the two hand sword

For hurt, or for blow, or else for death's wound [46]
For tournament, for training, or else for war

The Verse Transcribed

Man that wishes to study the basic and advanced arts of the two-hand sword
must be able to effectively judge all fighting ranges
and have a forward step and a backward step
and a hauk quarter strike
A cantel, a double-strike and a half-strike for his companions
Two and a half rounds with a confident manner
this is the first of many two hand sword attacks
combine these attacks and ask for God's help
Two quarter strikes followed by a round strike will force him to step away
Jump backwards with a rake and await your opponent's next move
Attack with a hauk but do not step too far to the side
Circle the sword around the head to strike to the opponent's side
Attack his harness whenever the opportunity arises
When advancing defend both sides with rakes
One and a half rounds is a dangerous combination
Four consecutive quarter strikes then a round strike and a turning strike
Thrust to his harness to halt his attack
Double up quickly and do as I say
Attack with a hauk but beware counter-strikes from below
A single-hand thrust and then step forward and deliver a round strike
Strike a hauke whenever he lies in your reach
Deliver a hard quarter strike by pivoting the sword around your hands
Defend with the pendent guard and do not give up your ground
Kick with the left foot and cut down to the ground
Strike a circular hauk from the right hand side
Fiercely strike your blows in quick succession
Defend your ground skilfully with rakes, rounds and quarters around the body
Quickly combine your steps and thrusts, as well as your single-hand thrusts,
quarter strikes and parries
Judge well and hit hard
Shame on a man who flees for fear
when he sees rounds and rakes striking to his sides
Have enough confidence to stand your ground
because your enemy does not know the danger he will be in
Strike quickly at his hands when his attacks fail
Step forward with a round hauk and then stand still
Do not worry if you receive a small wound
because an after stroke is better if you are brave enough to deliver it
Strike a complete round followed by a full hauke
Powerfully deliver two strikes to the crown of his head
Use rounds and rakes to boldly defend your ground
Circle a quarter strike around the head to drive him from his position
These are the lessons he needs to learn to teach, or to train, or else to fight
These strokes are the foundation of the art of the two hand sword
for tournament, for training, or else for war.

Afterword

I would remind the reader that it has not been my intention to produce a how-to manual. My priority at all times has been to focus on transcribing and translating the original text rather than attempting to analyse the techniques the text refers to. Obviously there has been some degree of overlap in my task because sometimes a certain degree of technical analysis has been necessary to assist the transcription process. Nonetheless I choose to avoid further technical analysis at this stage because that task is for a later chapter in my book. However I would like to make some comments on the style of fighting revealed by my transcription. For one thing the verse makes clear that this system is not, as is often stated, a 'hand sniping' style. Far from it, my transcription reveals this to be an aggressive system of fence, one that, like the German school, makes use of fast, powerful, multi-strike attacks. Intriguingly it also makes use of aggressive defensive tactics; One imagines these are intended to regain control of a fight once the initiative has been lost. This is a system that emphasises speed, power, aggression and frequent changes of line in both attack and defence, this is not a wait and see system but a continuous action system. I gain the impression that the English system bears similarities with both the German and Italian schools of two-hand sword combat. Certainly the English system shares the agressiveness of the German schools and certain methods seeming to be identical or similar to the methods of both those countries. I am not implying that one school copied or learned from another because it is entirely possible that parallel evolution has been at work. On the other hand there is sufficient evidence for cross-pollination of skills to have taken place. In closing this thesis I would suggest to the reader that there is much work yet to be done in this area of English martial arts. I further suggest that this work represents the beginning of a task not the end of it.

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