

MACIEJ TALAGA

SOLARITY OF MARTIAL ARTS FROM THE WESTERN MIDDLE AGES TO THE PRESENT: TOWARDS A NEW INTERPRETIVE PARADIGM?

ABSTRACT

This article proposes a new interpretive framework for martial arts studies by introducing the concept of *solarity* – a complementary orientation to *martiality* – derived from late-medieval European cosmology. Drawing on historical, ethnographic, and media-based sources, the paper considers martial arts practices as agonistic, cooperative, and epistemic rather than pragmatic and violent. Revisiting the Bowman-Wetzler exchange, it offers a perspective that builds on and bridges both discursive and functionalist models, foregrounding practitioner intentionality and the pedagogical value of failure. The *solar-martial* continuum advanced here reframes martial arts as dynamic sites of knowledge-making shaped less by system or structure than by stance and purpose, thus working around the problem of systematisation of martial arts. This approach complements existing theories while offering a generative vocabulary for reinterpreting martial-arts-related practices and the evolving role of *martiality* in contemporary culture.

CONTRIBUTORS

Maciej Talaga is Assistant Professor at the Faculty of Artes Liberales, University of Warsaw, Poland. His research interests focus on pre-modern physical culture, especially late-medieval German martial arts and nearly-extinct Polish folk wrestling. He is also exploring embodied approaches to history writing. Some of these topics will be covered together in his upcoming book, Archaeology of Motion (Springer).

KEYWORDS

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The term *martial arts* is notoriously difficult to define—a “floating signifier,” morphing to meet expectations, fears, and desires of a given time and place (Bowman, 2015: 134–135). However, in Romance languages, as well as in English, the name consistently references Mars, the Roman god of war. English martial arts correspond to Italian *arti marziali*, French *arts martiaux*, or Spanish *artes marciales*: that is, “arts of Mars.” In other European contexts, the term evokes skilful combat, as in German *Kampfkünste*, Polish *sztuki walki*, or Slovak *bojové umenia*, that is, “fighting arts” or “fighting skills.” Either way, the term links to physical violence with a hint of finality—in common intuition, an art of fighting becomes martial, when death is on the line.

However, this perspective occludes a deeper historical and ethical dynamic embedded within martial traditions. Drawing from cultural history, historical European martial arts (HEMA) studies, video games research, martial arts ethnographies, and anthropological discussions on the martial arts *versus* combat sports dichotomy, I argue that many of the practices we now label as martial arts are, in fact, better understood as *solar* arts—practices aligned not with Mars and the merciless, anti-social violence of war, but with Sol, the Sun, a celestial body representing the agonistic, socially-integrative modes of regulated combat. Drawing on the late-medieval European distinction between “Children of Mars” and “Children of the Sun,” I analyse a number of historical and modern examples from across different cultures to propose that even in the more violent past martial arts worldwide foregrounded mutual betterment, community-building, and epistemic development over lethal efficiency; and that this fact is nowadays obscured in the West, because we have forgotten the solar aspect and become blinded by the prominence of Mars and martiality in our collective imagination; in effect, today we tend to assume competition as the default form of interaction and have easy access to experiences of unrestrained violence offered by multi-sensory media and certain performative and athletic activities. This paper briefly explores the historiographical, semantic, and sociocultural implications of this re-framing, offering a constructive critique of previous perspectives and proposing a new interpretive vantage point—a new paradigm?—for martial arts studies.

AMBIGUOUS MARTIALITY OF MARTIAL ARTS

Wojciech Cynarski, a leading figure in Polish martial arts anthropology, attempts to codify the domain of fighting practices through a four-tier typology: *gladiatorship–combat sport–fighting art–martial art* (Cynarski, 2012a). “Gladiatorship” includes all violent activities between individuals undertaken for material profit, from performing in boxing fight cards to being hired as an

assassin. “Combat sports” groups competitive practices centred on physical fighting in which practitioners are bound by certain conventions minimising the risk of serious injury or death, such as sportive rulesets, and motivated by a desire to win within these artificial constraints. “Fighting arts” is an umbrella term for analogous practices but without the conventional limitations, where the sole focus can be on the practical aspects of interpersonal combat “in the wild,” such as in military combatives or many self-defence systems. What allows certain fighting-oriented practices to be distinguished as “martial arts” in this framework is the moral or spiritual component ingrained in them and the intrinsic motivation of their practitioners, who seek not material gain but personal betterment. As Cynarski writes:

Martial arts are forms of psycho-physical activity embedded in specific traditions of hand-to-hand or armed combat, which combine training methodologies with spiritual development and personal betterment (Cynarski, 2012a: 50).¹

These practices are, according to Cynarski, “axio-normative systems” that foster not merely physical prowess but personal and communal integrity (Cynarski, 2012b: 3). Consequently, a proper martial artist must exercise a sort of restraint, manifested especially in their ability to adjust the use of force to the circumstances, always trying to minimise physical injury to the opponent, moral shock to the community, and spiritual harm to themselves. It is the practitioner and their conscience that places limitations on the violent practice, regardless of external rules or conventions—here lies the real difference between *martial arts* and *combat sports* or *fighting arts*. And yet, Cynarski simultaneously asserts that martial arts must simultaneously be grounded in preparation for unrestrained violence, that is, “not mock fighting, bound by conventions (like in sports), but real combat” (2012a: 53).² This internal contradiction becomes especially apparent in Cynarski’s treatment of Mixed Martial Arts (MMA), which he dismisses as a degraded form of fighting practice, “stripped of everything except brawling for money” (2012a: 54).³

Yet MMA arguably embodies many of the qualities Cynarski champions. Ethnographic and auto-ethnographic accounts (e.g., Spencer, 2014; Green, 2016; Rosenberg, 2021; Healey et al., 2025) reveal deep bonds of camaraderie, ritualised mutual respect, self-imposed restraint, and significant personal development among MMA practitioners. Paul Bowman classifies MMA among “reality martial arts” that test and refine techniques under relatively unrestrained but still rule-governed conditions (2014: 1). Likewise, many elite practitioners themselves reject reducing their own performance in MMA spectacles to mindless brawling, presenting it instead as but one facet in a holistic pathway towards traditional martial arts mastery (Figure 1). Thus, the grounds on

¹ All English translations in the paper are mine, unless stated otherwise. The original in Polish: *Sztuki walki to formy psychofizycznej aktywności powiązanej z określoną tradycją walki wręcz bądź władania bronią, mającej na celu rozwój osobowy i wiążące metody nauczania z doskonaleniem w wymiarze duchowym.*

² *walce nie udawanej, konwencjonalnej (jak w sporcie), a realnej.*

³ *Skrainym przykładem degeneracji sztuk walki jest tzw. MMA, gdzie nie ma już nic oprócz mordobicia za pieniądze.*

which Cynarski denies MMA inclusion in the category of “martial arts” become unclear.

are used to label as “martial arts”, a term stubbornly defying attempts at precise definition.

MARTIAL ARTS AS POLYSYSTEMS AND FLOATING SIGNIFIERS

Martial arts resist stable classification. As Daniel Jaquet observes, techniques worldwide have historically appeared in contexts beyond warfare, including ritual, play, exercise, and self-defence (2016: 92). Likewise, the debate between Paul Bowman and Sixt Wetzler over the possibility to define “martial arts” as a distinct phenomenon ended unresolved (cf. Bowman, 2015; Wetzler, 2015; Bowman, 2019, pp. 45–51). Bowman framed martial arts as a floating signifier, shaped by discourse, narrative, and media. Wetzler instead proposed a structural-functional typology in which martial arts were polysystems—cultural ephemera shifting roles with context. Against Bowman’s refusal to offer a definition, Wetzler argued that all martial arts engage at least one of five dimensions: 1) training for lethal violence and self-defence, 2) physical education and competition, 3) performance and aesthetic expression, 4) cultural heritage and spiritual transcendence, and 5) health. In the end, Bowman conceded the empirical usefulness of this approach—his recent analysis of *qigong*’s layered identity, important both to Chinese self-image and Western reception, may be read as a gentle nod towards Wetzler’s typology (Bowman, 2025). Yet he also critiques its reductionism and determinism, warning that it may obscure how the same martial art, in the same time and place, can inhabit different dimensions depending on mediation (2019: 44–59). Modern American *karate*, for instance, may be about competition in an Olympic-focused club, health in a disability-oriented dojo, or parody in *The Simpsons*. For Bowman, dimensions attach not to martial arts as stable systems but to specific contexts in which martial arts *happen*—transient points of “stabilisation” (2019, p. 58).

The unremovable paradox of martial arts training

The Bowman-Wetzler debate recounted above underscores the inherently polysystemic and fluid nature of martial arts: they are multi-faceted practices that operate simultaneously across symbolic, functional, institutional, and discursive registers. Despite differing methodologies, both scholars affirm that martial arts are community-generating entities, at the same time ever-shifting and temporally durable; modern *qigong* or *karate* may be far cries from their historical predecessors, but they still dialogue with their past and instil practitioners with a sense of rootedness and continuity. Importantly, even with the most violent martial arts, this continuity depends on their proponents’ capacity to attract practitioners and keep them *alive* and *around*. This forces them to embed violence within socially acceptable frameworks sensitive to the tastes, values, and practical needs of their particular time and place. Therefore, the said social and cultural

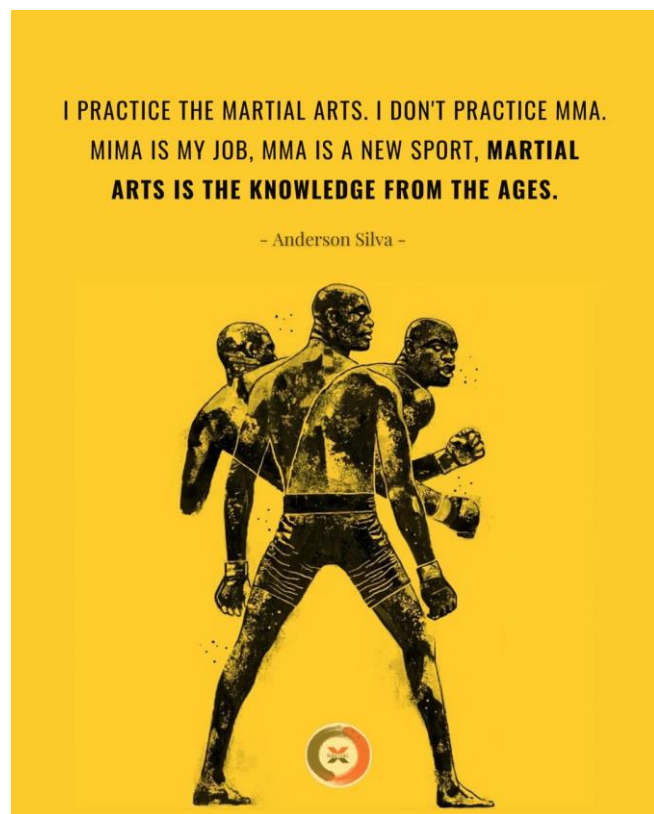


Figure 1. Meme shared in 2017 by the official Facebook fanpage of Anderson Silva, a UFC champion with a strong background in traditional martial arts. The image and quote were reshared countless times in online MMA spaces.⁴

The paradox intensifies when Cynarski lauds Olympic fencing—a modern highly-conventionalised sport arguably far removed from life-threatening combat which once gave birth to it—and frames its notable Polish practitioners as role-models for martial artists (Cynarski, 2019, pp. 244, 248–249; see also Cynarski & Szajna, 2015). Equally surprising is his enthusiasm towards reconstruction of early-modern Polish sabre fencing undertaken by *Signum Polonicum*, a community of practitioners-researchers lacking unbroken lineage with the historical practices they emulate and shunning empirical verification of their combat efficacy (Cynarski, 2008, 2009, 2021; see also Sawicki, 2011). This tension in Cynarski’s framework, I propose, does not stem from analytical inconsistency but from the unstable conceptual boundary between *martiality* and its more socially-integrated counterpart—what I will call *solarity*. But before we explore this boundary further, we first need to acknowledge the fuzzy nature of the very thing we

⁴⁴ Artwork commonly attributed to Gian Galang, <https://www.instagram.com/p/CHBm3KdHxYZ/>

embeddedness of martial arts creates a curious paradox: fighting of all sorts is usually practiced within pedagogical ecosystems that prioritise safety and repeatability, because inflicting injury is much easier than finding suitable training partners. As Bowman noted:

By the same token, in contrast to combat sports, ‘traditional’ martial arts (especially those that are not competition-focused) are accused of operating without the checks and balances of ‘real-world’ pressure testing, and hence without any verifiable relation to ‘real fighting’ at all (...). Indeed, at the other end of the spectrum, even military(esque) ‘combatives’ such as krav maga can stand accused of a verification deficit. This is because, no matter how life-and-death-reality-oriented they seek to be, such training necessarily requires elements of simulation (...). One cannot ‘really do’ the things being trained for. One can only ever (play) act. (Bowman, 2020, p. 396)

The dojo, or a gym, is not a battlefield but a ritualised space for bodily, mental, and spiritual transformation (e.g., Wacquant, 2006; Washiya, 2016; Poliakov, 2022). Even in arts that claim heritage in life-or-death struggle, the spectre of “real combat” functions more as mythopoetic reference than daily reality (Wetzler, 2014; Bowman, 2020). An extreme case is the controversial Chinese system 疯狗拳 (“mad dog fist”), whose founder Chen Hegao emphasises maximal lethality: never injure when one can kill, always exploit advantage, even if “unfair.” Mainstream Chinese martial artists criticise the style as antithetical to martial spirit, implying, in a sense, that it is too efficient to be a martial art, revealing the ambiguity in the notion of martiality. Yet even Mad Dog Fist students seldom apply techniques against peers, relying on dummies, drills, and visualisations. Only a few test their skills in real encounters where violence is legally permitted. Thus, lethal force orients practice from a distance, like a lighthouse: a reminder of potentiality, not a demand for actualisation. The same holds for HEMA, *kenjutsu*, and most martial arts. In these contexts, martial arts become what Bowman calls “discursive achievements” (2019, p. 52): not faithful representations of violence but its transformations into something else. They must create a pedagogy of violence—something imaginable and discussable beyond the narrow circle of survivors.

This is hardly new. Bartłomiej Walczak (2022) shows how late-medieval fencing masters transmitted combat knowledge through texts and images, turning lived experience into an “imagined world”—a pedagogical device distilling memories of violence into recipes for skill and discovery (2022, p. 21). Similar mechanisms are noted by modern scholars of martial arts and self-defence mediated through texts and images, suggesting an enduring feature of knowledge transmission (e.g., Staller, Körner, & Abraham, 2020). Training for combat thus becomes less about defeating an enemy than mastering skill and self through disciplined interaction, blurring Cynarski’s line between martial arts proper and other practices, as well as the dimensions of Wetzler’s classification. As I have argued, it is difficult to find a

practice—“reality-based” or “conventional”—that does not prepare practitioners for “hostile physical conflict, in civilian and military contexts” through “convivial practice of physical struggle” and “form[ing] the character of practitioners,” integrating most if not all of Wetzler’s dimensions (2015, p. 24). This cooperative antagonism—two people seeking excellence through resistance—steers martial arts away from raw martiality and toward what may be called a solar aspect, or solarity. The obscuration of this aspect in contemporary Western discourse is clearest when contrasted with cultural associations historically tied to Mars.

MARS IS GOOD ENOUGH

Traditionally, the Western imagination has portrayed Mars as a hot-tempered, warlike deity, quick to rage and eager to fight (Figure 2: top). This image still colours understandings of martiality on both sides of the Atlantic; fighting is seen as martial when combatants are relatively unrestricted in methods and force, showing boldness and domination.

Akin to “realism” in martial arts media analysed by Bowman (2014, 2017), martiality is attributed not to individual acts, such as a strike, but to whole situations or even entire systems (*Shōtōkan karate*, *Katorishintō-ryū kenjutsu*, etc.). Thus, a strong sword strike to the head (*ippon men-uchi*) may appear un-martial in a *kendo* match, where technique choice is constrained by rules, while a weaker, unpolished strike may seem martial in a less restricted, more “realistic” setting. Martiality then depends less on the physical qualities of motion than on spectators’ sense of context—the range of actions potentially possible in an encounter. A martial situation is marked by unpredictability, requiring fighters to rely on a broader range of skills. This implies such skills cannot be perfected to the same degree as those of elite combat sport practitioners, whose training is narrowed to techniques fitting their ruleset. Compare, for instance, the specialised tactics of *kendo* with the wider repertoire of traditional *kenjutsu* dojos or the revived *gekiken* (“free-fighting with swords”) movement:

Modern Kendo is now a big organization widely found in most parts of the world, and the teachings are standardized as one. Whichever Kendo Dojo that you visit, you’ll find largely the same things being taught. One of the important Kenjutsu style involved in historical Gekiken was *Jikishinkage Ryu*, however their teachings were not found in modern Kendo. Instead, modern Kendo teachings is based mainly on the *Itto Ryu* teachings. After World War II, rules were additionally created and enforced, leading to modern Kendo becoming a form of sports competition. However, in historical *Edo* period Gekiken, there was no such standardization as the teachings of each individual style is unique to itself. (...) [For example,] 柳剛流 and 慈元流 had a unique style of Gekiken technique that defeats the opponent through applying pressure on their shin. However, these techniques are not permitted in modern Kendo. (Chen, n.d.)



Figure 2. Late-medieval German depiction of Mars (top) and his “children,” that is, people involved in brutal violence. Part of the iconographic cycle of *Planetenkinder* (“Children of the Planets”).⁵

Martial situations, therefore, appear to be more about being “good enough” in many aspects than attaining perfection in a select few. And what one lacks in technical excellence, can often be compensated with the breadth of one’s technical repertoire, surprise, bravery, quick wits, or sheer aggression.

Comparisons between martial and non-martial practices recur in periods marked by frequent interpersonal violence. Stewart Edmund (2019) shows how authors in Classical Antiquity distinguished athletics from warfare, noting that athletic training

did not necessarily prepare one for battle. While physical fitness was valued, critics like Euripides and Xenophon argued athletics could hinder combat readiness, while Tyrtaeus and others stressed that sporting excellence did not equal martial skill. Thus, an important part of the pre-medieval tradition questioned athletics’ utility for war even as it affirmed the need for strong bodies (Edmund, 2019, pp. 157–160). In the post-medieval period, when Antiquity was re-evaluated against new experience, writers on education and physical culture likewise contrasted warriors training for martial, antagonistic contexts (war) with athletes pursuing agonistic, non-martial ones. For instance, Anton Schneeberger (1530–1581), physician at the royal court of Sigismund II Augustus and author of the earliest European treatise on military medicine, questioned the value of athleticism, including wrestling and fencing, in soldiers’ training:

[The Romans] solemnly swore that the bodies of soldiers and athletes not only differed thoroughly, but so did their lifestyles and types of exercises. This is because athletes sleep a lot and are never hungry, and their practice follows a set measure and a certain order, (...) so that they cannot stand even the smallest deviation from what they are accustomed to; soldiers, on the other hand, are used to a life full of diversity, straying, and shortcomings. (Schneeberger, 1564, fol. 76r)⁶

In other passages, Schneeberger admitted that combat sports do have merits, but emphasised that they were inherently dangerous, exposing soldiers to the risk of serious injuries or even death. In effect, Schneeberger concluded that “wrestling and fencing bring benefit neither to military training nor health” (fol. 79v), and proposed to base soldiers’ preparation on ball games instead, since “no other form of exercise is as harmless and as beneficial, both for health and the art of war, as playing ball” (fol. 78v).⁷

On the surface, the examples gathered above corroborate Cynarski’s strong distinction between *martial arts* and *combat sports* and Wetzler’s separation between “preparation for lethal combat” and “play and competitive sports” (dimensions 1 and 2). However, they simultaneously demonstrate, especially Schneeberger’s preference of ball games over martial practices in soldiers’ training, that even in the more violent past preparation for martial situations needed not, and perhaps could not, rely on faithfully replicating martial behaviour. This leaves martial arts in a sort of limbo. We are accustomed to think that traditional fighting practices are out-of-context today, when interpersonal violence is relatively rare and the social demand for martial prowess is low, but now we can see that their purpose was not much clearer in the historical periods in which they supposedly

⁵ Mittelalterliche Hausbuch von Schloss Wolfegg, Master of the Hausbuch, Germany ca. 1480, fol. 13r. Wikimedia Commons.

⁶ English translations by me, after the Latin-Polish critical edition by Robert A. Sucharski (2008). Transcription by Sucharski: *Illi vero pulchre asseverarunt cum omnibus rebus inter athletarum et militum corpus interesse, tum vero aliam vivendi formam et aliud exercitationis genus. Athletas quidem permulto sopore, assidua saturitate, agitationibus ad certum modum et ordinem institutis, (...) fere non posse vel minimam consuetudinis permutationem clamare; militam autem in maxima varietate, summo errore et omnium rerum inopia versari consuetam* (Sucharski, 2008, p. 174).

⁷ Transcriptions by Sucharski: *Athletarum gladiatorumque exercitationes superius nec militari arti, nec sanitati prodesse diximus* (Sucharski, 2008, p. 180); *Sed nulla exercitatio ab omni periculo tutior et hominum sanitati et scientiae militari utilior potes afferri, quam pila parva ludere* (Sucharski, 2008, p. 178).

originated. Let us now turn to the Sun to illuminate this conundrum.

SUN IS PERFECT

Mars embodied war, and war is competition taken to the extreme. Yet social psychology suggests cooperation, not competition, may underlie martial arts as socially integrated practices. Gordon W. Russell argues that while competition has long been fetishised in the West, evidence shows that rivalrous attitudes foster hostility and undermine community (2008, p. 94). Meta-analyses demonstrate that cooperative structures consistently outperform competitive ones, and low competitiveness often correlates with higher achievement. The famous Robbers Cave experiment showed boys divided into competing teams descended into hostility, which was restored only through joint cooperative tasks (Russell, 2008, pp. 93–96). Russell also reviews studies on combat sports finding that regimens emphasising philosophical lessons and de-emphasising high-stakes competition reduce aggression and foster pro-social behaviour (2008, pp. 58, 102). Although later nuanced (e.g., Skorupa, 2017), these insights recast martiality; unlike the unsanctioned violence glamorised in, for instance, professional wrestling (Russell, 2008), early MMA (Downey, 2014), or violent cinema (Ta, 2017), martial arts training typically promotes mutual care. Poliakov's ethnography of Dagestani wrestling culture, known worldwide for producing outstanding athletes, shows practitioners balancing fierce masculinity with mutual support (2022, p. 27). My own research on folk wrestling in north-eastern Poland likewise revealed community-building within competitive practice (Talaga, 2024, 2025a). The logic is straightforward: without a steady supply of expendable training *subjects* (such as slaves), training *partners* must care for each other's health if training is to continue. But there is more to it: caring for others ensures tomorrow's practice, but it also fosters epistemic progress.

In martial arts, where violence is tempered, failure becomes relatively low-cost and high-value. While injury risk remains, practice bouts are not meant to end in hospital, much less a mortuary. This safety encourages experimentation, while the prospect of losing face still creates stress, preparing practitioners for real violence. As one military study concluded, "simulation procedure is a powerful means to create intense psychophysiological responses in soldiers, predicting soldiers' behaviour in real situations" (Clemente-Suarez, Palomera, & Robles-Pérez, 2017, p. 249). Thus emerges a blend of competition and cooperation that accustoms martial artists to stress without undermining growth. This distinction—between fighting as pure competition versus antagonistic cooperation—complicates Cynarski's (sportive vs. martial) and Wetzler's (playful vs. violent) binaries. Highly competitive practices like Olympic fencing or even kick-boxing may appear *un-martial*, due to them being

combat sports, while cooperative ones, such as *kata* drills or *aikido* sequences, are commonly seen as *martial*, since they supposedly serve "preparation for violent conflict", a paradigmatic martial arts function. This logic has deep roots, resonating with medieval associations between martial arts and the Sun.



Figure 3. Late-medieval German depiction of the Sun (top) and his "children," that is, people involved in amicable combat and other pro-social activities. Part of the iconographic cycle of *Planetenkinder* ("Children of the Planets").⁸

Medieval astrology, inherited from Antiquity and enriched through Christian, Jewish, and Arab thought, assumed the macrocosm of seven planets—Sun, Moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn—shaping the microcosm of human life (Klingner, 2017; Starownik, 2024, p. 120–122). Under Mars, people were impulsive, choleric, and norm-breaking; the so-called *Planetenkinder* ("Children of the Planets") images, popular

⁸ Mittelalterliche Hausbuch von Schloss Wolfegg, Master of the Hausbuch, Germany ca. 1480, fol. 14r. Wikimedia Commons.

especially in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, depict “Children of Mars” as brigands and soldiers, looting and killing (Figure 2: bottom). In contrast, practitioners of wrestling, fencing, jousting, or other physical exercises were aligned with Sol, the Sun (Krause & Kaindel, 2013). Planetenkinder images show these athletes next to activities focused on personal growth and community-building, such as alms-giving, courtship, and prayer (Figure 3).

In effect, Olivier Dupuis (2020) calls medieval wrestlers and fencers “Children of the Sun”, stressing that not all combat was inherently martial. Instead, martial disciplines often served a *solar* function: regulated, honourable, public expression of combat-readiness rather than clandestine violence. *Solarity* created scenarios where fighters tempered each other rather than sought annihilation. Unlike war or ambush, defeat in solar combat rarely meant death or disgrace, instead offering feedback on the practitioner’s path to mastery. The same principle remains in modern dojos or training halls, where practitioners “sharpen iron with iron” as co-creators of skill. Such settings turn both victory and defeat into engines of knowledge, underscoring the *epistemic value of failure*—the theme of the next section.

FAILURE UNDER THE SUN

Thinkers have long compared manual skills, including fighting arts, to science, since both domains generate knowledge through disciplined management of failure. Sven Dupré and Geert Somsen (2019), historians of knowledge, argue that failure and ignorance are central to knowledge-making. In writings by pioneers of modern science and in artisanal manuals, the richest sections are often troubleshooting notes, where trial, error, and reflective practice produced new insights. The same dynamics—iterative adjustment and resilience in the face of failure—characterise day-to-day martial arts practice more than idealised notions of violence and power. Truly martial situations punish error with injury or death, discouraging experimentation. But in controlled practice, fighters can safely explore, revise, and innovate. This contrast defines the epistemological divide between martiality and solarity. The former pursues expedient efficacy through surprise, dominance, and deceit. Solarity instead levels the field, embracing the uncertainty of outcomes as the prerequisite for growth, and privileges process over results. In this environment, failure is not only safe but becomes productive, sustaining training and encouraging technical and tactical creativity.

Yet solarity and martiality are not opposed; they often nurture each other. A historical example comes from Jacopo Monesi, an early modern Italian fencing master, who criticised contemporaries for overcomplicating swordsmanship with excessive theorising. For Monesi, elaborate conceptual frameworks were redundant; real—martial—mastery rested on a limited set of natural behaviours, expertly executed:

But we are permitted to debate upon the lessons of some, who have taught and teach through mathematics, with the addition of lines, circles, traverses and extravagant voids of the body. For me, these are commendable for fencing in a clean *sale* [fencing hall—MT], furnished with even tiles. (...) But if I imagine them outside the tiled hall, that is in the streets, where confrontations most often arise, then I can’t help but criticise and malign them, since it is impossible (...) to put these actions into practice. (...) Furthermore those who employ the sword in this manner, can be called good and beautiful fencers, but in an open space, or street where stones, holes, and cracks can cause you to stumble, they are always in danger of defending themselves poorly from their enemy. In such cases most of the time the artifices of traverses, voids and lines are left aside, and they throw themselves into natural attacks, as is so often seen. (Monesi, 1640, chap. 3)

At the same time, the remedy Monesi proposed was not technical but pedagogical—he did not preach stricter adherence to traditional, presumably battle-proven techniques, but rather embracing regular and truly competitive training fights or sparrings (*assalti*):

That which pertains to bodies of reason: such as logic, philosophy, and so forth, must be put in practice with words alone, as they are necessary to expound such virtues. However in the profession of fencing words have no place to execute well what the students have learned from the master. Actions are needed when it comes to training your body for defence and attack. This is not applied by today’s youth, which is a further reason why assaults no longer take place, and students neglect to learn wielding a sword in hand well. It then follows that masters are judged and branded as inept in their craft, since they no longer produce students as they did in the past. (...) If it were otherwise, it would not be the case, not only in public schools but also in the presence of nobility with the intervention of great princes, that professors of play founded upon such [theories] had been touched assault after assault, with cuts and thrusts, as is clear and manifest to a great many people. (Monesi, 1640, chaps. 2 and 3)⁹

This voice from Renaissance Italy claims that without exposure to real antagonistic situations, practices once preparing for combat may become autotelic and regressive: a goal in themselves rather than a method. The fragment about fencing masters persisting in their theories despite repeated defeats (“assault after assault”) reads as a warning against forfeiting the epistemic value of failure. When this occurs, Monesi argues, training shifts from preparing for life-threatening violence—martiality—toward other aims, such as excelling in sport conventions or producing aesthetic or spiritual impressions. Paraphrased in terms of the Mars–Sun dichotomy, this “something else” would be solarity. In Wetzler’s

⁹ All Monesi quotations are given after the translation by Piermarco Terminiello (2017).

polysystemic model, solar practice detached from martiality would then redirect practice away from preparation for real combat (Dimension 1) towards sport and play (Dimension 2) or performance (Dimension 3): from *antagonistic* to *agonistic* settings.¹⁰

Yet Monesi should not be taken uncritically. The assalti (“assaults”) that he considered a true test of martiality were themselves agonistic—the term refers to mock combat or “sportified” competition—and thus solar. Sportification of traditional fighting arts—Olympic fencing as sportified HEMA, or *judo* as sportified *jujutsu*—is today often seen as abandoning martial heritage, reducing repertoires and lethality in exchange for efficiency within a narrower set of skills judged by conventional standards. As Cynarski notes:

[Sportification] brings about a drive for elite performance informed by sport-scientific methodologies; the level of technical proficiency increases but at the cost of impoverishing the repertoire of practiced techniques. In general, the quality of self-defence and free-fighting improves (...) rendering some classical martial arts techniques anachronistic, akin to museum exhibits, or moving their focus gradually more towards recreation, aesthetics of motion, or betterment of health. (Cynarski, 2019, pp. 148–149)¹¹

His observation aligns with Monesi’s in an intriguing way. Both see sportification—structured, relatively safe, “polite” competition—as simplifying practice by discarding redundant techniques and theories. Yet while Cynarski views this as a deviation from the true spirit of martial arts, Monesi welcomes it as a return from the fantasies of autotelic solarity to the hard reality of the martial domain. This discrepancy complicates our earlier view of martiality as antisocial, brutal violence producing fighters “good enough” across many skills, and solarity as chiefly playful and performative. It suggests martiality and solarity co-exist productively: solarity sustains training over time, while martiality gives solar practice its purpose and epistemic edge. From this angle, sportification is not antithetical to martiality but perhaps more martial than traditional training, which may claim battlefield origins yet cannot be pressure-tested without disrupting social order. Combat sport rivals are in fact freer to dominate and outperform each other—waging a kind of “war”—than practitioners in non-competitive martial arts, even those teaching lethal techniques. Might we then say, given the contemporary proliferation of combat sports in the West, that we live in an age favoured by Mars, the god of war? Let me offer an argument in favour of this proposition in the next section.

MODERN SURPLUS OF MARTIALITY

Paradoxically, we may now enjoy greater access to martiality than people living in supposedly more brutal past ages. As Chris Goto-Jones (2019) has argued, contemporary technologies—especially antagonistic martial-arts-themed videogames—have created new “digital dojos,” where mastery over combat systems requires discipline, emotional control, and a performative expression of skill. These games do not accurately reproduce violence, but they do simulate martial scenarios by gamifying its logic. Players learn to feel their avatars’ timing and intentions much like martial artists learn combat-specific spatio-temporal skills, creating embodied knowledge through a controller. Goto-Jones suggests that these virtual contexts are more than simple mimicry and actually allow players to enter a kind of martial mindset (as understood here), complete with cognitive and psychological demands. The only true difference is that they do so without actual physical harm:

To be clear, then, there should be no pretence that MAVs [martial arts videogames] are simulations of the martial arts, nor that mastery of the simulation is closely related to mastering the simulated. MAVs are not training aids for kung fu students. Rather (...) they are martial arts in their own right, standing for nothing other than themselves. Indeed, the long-running Virtual Ninja Project, from which this article is drawn, seems to reveal that there is something about the meaning and nature of the idea of ‘mastery’ itself that can be shared across these disciplinary accomplishments, uniting them into some form of family resemblance. Mastery appears to emerge as a special quality of ethical self-transformation that results from skilful practices that are properly intentioned, rigorously disciplined, and martially oriented. (Goto-Jones, 2019, p. 50)

In an interesting parallel to this virtual martiality, modern combat sports also offer increasingly authentic embodied simulations of unrestrained violence, but without actual bloodshed, thanks to advanced protective equipment. High-grade gloves, headgear, mouthguards, or full-body armour allow practitioners to fight “all-out” while keeping the risk of serious injury to the minimum—be it in boxing, *taekwondo*, or historical fencing. Just like digital simulations, this technological buffer enables combatants to express high degrees of aggression and strategic ruthlessness—to “destroy” their opponents, or get them “rekt” in gamers’ slang—without the finality of real violence (Figure 4). In other words, current technologies allow for the unleashing of martial attitude and behaviour under conditions of physical safety—and below I

¹⁰ For more on the distinction between agonism and antagonism in historical European martial arts, see Talaga, 2020.

¹¹ [Wraz z usportowieniem] pojawia się wyczyn poparty metodami teorii sportu; wzrasta poziom techniczny, ale kosztem ubożenia repertuaru ćwiczonych technik. Ogólnie poziom nauczania samoobrony i wolnej walki staje się coraz wyższy, (...) toteż niektóre klasyczne techniki sztuk walki stają się anachroniczne, utrzymują wartość muzealną lub służą coraz bardziej rekreacji, estetyce ruchu, ćwiczeniom zdrowotnym.

argue that it creates an important departure from the past situation, lacking historical precedents.



Figure 4. Final touch of the Challenge Réseau Ferré de France–Trophée Monal 2012 (épée world cup tournament in Paris): Diego Confalonieri (left) and Fabian Kauter (right). Kauter hits with a swooping attack known as the *flèche* (arrow) while Confalonieri hits with a counter-attack (the stop-thrust or *l'arrêt*). Both hits would be extremely strong and likely debilitating if the weapons were sharp, as evidenced by the bent blades. © Marie-Lan Nguyen / Wikimedia Commons / CC-BY 2.5.

Somewhat counter-intuitively, contemporary martial artists may have more opportunities to engage with martiality than their predecessors, who lacked both virtual worlds and advanced protective gear. Medieval audiences were certainly exposed to violence—through warfare, hunting, executions, and literature celebrating strength, cunning, and brutality. Recent HEMA-aware readings of chivalric epics by Rachel Kellet (2016), Laura Bernardazzi (2022), and Przemysław Grabowski-Górniak (2023) show that these depictions were informed by real fighting praxis, appealing to veteran combatants and preparing would-be knights for battle. Yet close reading and reconstruction of specialised “fight books” from the period (Jaquet, 2020) sometimes yields a more solar interpretation. Roland Warzecha’s reconstruction of swordsmanship from manuscript I.33 (ca. 1320) exemplifies this, with its focus on measured motions, low-impact weapon handling, and blade contact (Warzecha, 2014; Ijäs, 2022). Critics note that this style diverges from both period depictions and modern HEMA sparring (Krustev, 2022), but perhaps the conflict is only apparent. In ostensibly peaceful postmodern societies, infrastructure abounds for martial experience, in the form of competitive gaming (e-sports) and violent video games, VR training, or full-contact sparring with protection. Here, one can “destroy” opponents without real repercussions—killing a friend in a *Counter-Strike* game fosters bonding rather than shatters lives, razing a village in *Mount & Blade* causes no trauma, and MMA fighters can throw lethal strikes knowing that gloves, referees, and medical staff mitigate consequences. Such safeties were unavailable to historical practitioners, even a few decades ago.

Thus, the apparent contradiction between heroic martiality in chivalric epics and the solarly of some modern reconstructions may be illusory.

The *martiality–solarity* continuum suggests that chivalric literature reflected harsh antagonistic fighting yet appealed to audiences precisely because it preserved knowledge of what could rarely be experienced. Even veteran knights mostly fought in formations resembling standoffs rather than individual exploits, with true martial feats being an exception rather than a rule (Taylor, 2012). This ambiguity—between heroic martiality and the realities of war—was already satirised in the fourteenth-century *Vows of the Heron*, where knight Jean de Beaumont admits that:

When we are in taverns, drinking the strong wines, / and the ladies near look at us, / drawing kerchiefs around their smooth necks, (...) / Nature urges us to have desiring hearts / to contend, looking for mercy as the result. / Then we conquer Yaumont and Aguilant, / and others conquer Oliver and Roland. / But when we are in the field, on our swift war-horses, / our shields at our necks and our spears lowered, / and the great cold benumbs us all, / our limbs fail us both behind and before, / and our enemies are approaching, / then we should wish to be in a cellar so great / that we should never make a vow of one kind or another. (Wright, 2012, p. 21)

This should not imply that knights or men-at-arms were untrained or cowardly—evidence shows that they invested heavily in physical and mental conditioning (Bruso, 2017; Talaga, 2025b). But martiality could not be practiced daily. Training had to cultivate combat-readiness without risking injury or destabilising the social order. A man-at-arms in a lord’s household, for instance, might spar with the host’s sons or retainers but avoid harming them or even outshining them, for socio-cultural reasons. In such contexts, the solar swordsmanship reconstructed by Warzecha would have been not only plausible but sensible, coexisting alongside martial applications, only in a different cultural niche. Seen this way, chivalric epics and fight books can be read as both martial and solar. Martial, because they conveyed credible depictions of hostile combat, with its techniques and ethical stakes. Solar, because they marked such violence as extraordinary—in epics, enacted by larger-than-life heroes (Kellet, 2016); in fight books, framed as arcane knowledge to be used only *in extremis* (Jaquet, 2020; Ijäs, 2022). Many epics also moralised against reckless exploits, while fight books often promised to teach not only technical solutions for extremal situations but also moral virtues helping one avoid unnecessary bloodshed. Together, these sources addressed a pressing question: How to become a martial hero without first becoming a villain?

Today’s gamers in “virtual dojos” and athletes in combat sports enjoy unprecedented access to martial violence, able to experience it through simulations that minimise the need for imaginative substitution in solar practice. This situation prompts new questions: What role does martiality play in relatively non-violent

societies? What drives its disproportionate popularity in visual and virtual media? Is it still about preparing for real violence, or has it become a symbolic actualisation of something modern Westerners lack? How does early exposure to martiality affect children? Are we witnessing a depreciation of solarity? These issues lie beyond this paper's scope, but merit posing before moving to the conclusions.

CONCLUSION: INTRODUCING SOLAR ARTS STUDIES

Previous research has shown that martial arts are far more than systems of violent efficacy. Here, I argued that they cannot be reduced to ludic, spiritual, or health-related dimensions either. They are traditions of knowledge-making, shaped by embodied learning, mutual resistance, and the transformative potential of failure. The Western term "martial arts" emphasises Mars—conflict, destruction, aggression—but this framing misleads us, since martial artists past and present stress cooperation, refinement, and mutual uplift, in late-medieval Europe symbolised by Sol, the Sun. At the same time, we have overlooked the latent martiality now permeating Western culture, from film through sport to video games. These tensions underlie the difficulty of defining martial arts, giving rise to three competing approaches: Cynarski, who distinguishes martial arts proper from other fighting practices through their union of technique and spiritual growth; Wetzler, who sees them as polysystems shifting across five dimensions; and Bowman, who refuses systemic definitions in favour of analysing specific manifestations. The martial-solar continuum proposed here aims to ease or explain these tensions.

First, if we define martiality narrowly as antisocial, unrestricted violence, then no combat preparation would count as *martial art*, since it must rely on structured and prolonged *solar* training. Even gladiatorial practices (*sensu* Cynarski) like boxing, MMA, or krav maga rely on communities of cooperation. Second, existing typologies of martial arts seem to focus on applications rather than training, thus overlooking the core of these practices. Cynarski is perhaps strictest in this regard, when he excludes MMA from martial arts altogether, because of its consumerist prizefighting context. Yet ethnographies of prizefighting—boxing and MMA—show that most of practitioners' time is spent not under the spotlights but in rigorous training within disciplined, almost monastic communities (Wacquant, 2011; Spencer, 2009; Green, 2016). Likewise, he laments the sportification of judo as a process uprooting this practice from its martial legacy, but at the same time celebrates Olympic fencers—combat athletes with little pretence to martiality—as role models for their ethical conduct. From the martiality-solarity perspective, his broader thesis could therefore be paraphrased as follows: martial arts are primary axio-normative systems, producing masters who wield dangerous

martial skills but restrain themselves to solar applications, guided by intrinsic (conscience) rather than extrinsic motives (law or personal gain). But, as we saw, this is where Cynarski's sharp division between *martial arts* (axio-normative and martial) and *combat sports* (no axiology and un-martial) or *gladiatorship* (no axiology but martial) falters: modern sports (including prizefighting and some e-sports) foster ethical and spiritual growth while pressure-testing skills more uncompromisingly than cooperative drills. It is no coincidence that we find "opponents" in sports, but "partners" in self-defence training. This demonstrates that Cynarski's emphasis on axiology and intrinsic self-restraint as defining features does not remove the ambiguous martiality of martial arts. Instead, it raises a further question: If martial artists are defined by self-restraint, could we not find them across *all* fighting practices?

Consider a bare-knuckle boxer, living off brutal street fights yet guided by a strict moral code and a sense of spiritual growth. Is he a *martial artist*, a *combat athlete*, a *fighter*, or a *gladiator*? Such examples highlight the flaw in applying value-laden labels to whole "arts" instead of individual practitioners. This echoes Bowman's point that notions of "martial," "real," or "traditional" attach not to systemic wholes but to specific uses—transient "stabilisations" (2019, p. 51). However, while his examples come from media portrayals of combat, adding the martiality-solarity lens clarifies how practitioner *intentionalities* form similar stabilisations, not in particular manifestations of an "art" but in the community-sustained context of prolonged training. Importantly, these intentionalities-stabilisations are shaped by society and traditions but at the same time reshape them from below.

The mechanisms through which practitioners reconfigure fighting practices remain understudied, but hints appear in ethnographies and online materials. For instance, after decades of state-sponsored transformation into meditative gymnastics, Chinese *taijiquan*—and to some extent *qigong*—is being *re-martialised*, as schools and teachers rediscover and promote combat applications.¹² The critical mass needed to overturn taijiquan's mainstream image has not yet been reached, but growing numbers of practitioners now call for change. Their drive was likely sparked by the public humiliation of traditional Chinese martial artists at the hands of representatives of Western arts, especially MMA, widely broadcast online. With institutional backing far weaker than during the late-20th-century qigong craze (Bowman, 2025), this revival appears sustained chiefly from within, drawing on the long-dormant martial potential of a practice long seen as strictly solar. Comparable dynamics, likewise rooted in practitioner intentionality, can be found in efforts to re-invent folk dances or performative traditions as martial arts, often in response to collective identity crises.¹³ A promising field for future inquiry lies in emerging martial arts—invented traditions and

¹² One of the schools with the strongest online presence in English is the *Yang's Martial Arts Academy* (YMAA), strongly emphasising the distinct functions of *qigong* (physical conditioning and health) and *taijiquan* (martial art) (see Yang, 2013; Silver, 2024). For general context of *qigong* in contemporary China and its Western reception, see Bowman, 2025.

¹³ Well-studied examples are Korean *t'aekkyōn*, Mexican *xilam*, and Ukrainian *hopak* (see, respectively, Cho et al., 2012; Jennings, 2016; and Pivtorak, 2016).

modern reconstructions of historical practices—where *small* communities and weaker institutional inertia make change easier to trace. The martial-solar lens facilitates such research by shifting attention from “art,” or “system,” as the main analytical unit to the practitioners themselves, with their diverse epistemic goals and intentions. Daniel Jaquet, studying historical female martial practices, noted that both antagonistic and agonistic fighting—or martial and solar—“lead to the execution of the same martial gestures” and that “it is the intention and the affect that change according to the context, not the technique” (2021, p. 77). No physical act, system, or art is inherently martial or solar; the distinction lies in practitioner stance. Martiality, as I define it, is tied to application and winning, while solarity relates to exploration and participation. From this angle, Bowman’s critique of Wetzler can be taken further: martial arts are neither shifting polysystems nor even discursive stabilisations. As Goto-Jones shows in gaming, a practitioner may switch from playful (solar) to killer (martial) mindset within seconds, while the represented “art” and its discursive portrayal remain the same.

Yet Wetzler’s call for categorisation is also supported by the solar lens, since discursive framing and embodied practice vary across practitioners. Martial-oriented individuals treat real or imagined violence as their reference point, researching its nature and preparing to face it. They gravitate to arts they deem “applicable” or adapt their chosen art accordingly—as seen in the re-martialisation of taijiquan. By contrast, solar practitioners focus on mastering and expanding the practice itself, often without regard to “real combat”. For them, the art is the reality. Hence, competition, performance, spirituality, and health can all occur across the martial-solar continuum, but the balance always shifts with practitioners leaning more toward Mars or Sol.

Importantly, martiality depends on solarity: even the most martially minded practitioners must train in controlled, cooperative settings. Meanwhile, the reverse is not true—one can be a solar artist without engaging martiality at all. Today, even MMA is taught to many who will never enter the cage. In effect, most practitioners in the West are solar artists, given the decline of endemic civilian violence. This supports Bowman’s conclusions and further weakens Cynarski’s four-tier typology of fighting practices. Since solarity permeates gladiatorship, fighting arts, combat sports, and martial arts alike, these categories differ mainly in historical roots and spiritual emphasis. Of course, one might object that this argument reflects postmodern

overcomplication, detached from reality. Yet the ubiquity of solarity in contemporary practice may stem from current socio-cultural conditions, where martiality is marginalised. Even so, it would be wrong to assume the reverse was true historically. Evidence from medieval and early-modern Europe—eras of endemic violence—suggests martial practitioners were still a minority. The anonymous author of one of the oldest books on the art of fighting known from Europe, German manuscript 3227a,¹⁴ criticised their contemporaries for neglecting the martial aspect of fighting in pursuit of vain solarity:

One may yet find false masters [of the sword who] (...) invent wide, indirect fighting and parrying and often instead of a single attack they make two or three. They are praised by the ignorant just for the liveliness of it, as they fiendishly arrange themselves with those beautiful parries and wide, indirect fighting and deliver wide and long attacks slowly and clumsily. With those they quite severely delay and over-extend, exposing themselves [to opponent’s attacks], because they have no moderation in their fighting. This does not belong to earnest fencing [=fighting for one’s life], only to school fencing, being somewhat good for exercise and entertainment. (fols. 14r–14v)¹⁵

But a few lines later, the same author acknowledged that the martial techniques described in the book, to be efficient, must be first mastered through play—that is, in a solar context. Moreover, they went as far as to state that solarity beats martiality, because it is the former that creates actual skill that allows one to use the “art”:

Also note and know that one cannot speak and write about fencing or explain it quite as simply and clearly as one can easily show and teach it by hand. Therefore, use your own judgement and ponder [about fighting] as best you can, and practice it even more in playful combat, so that you understand it in earnest fighting. For practice [in play] is better than art [=theory and skill], since exercising does quite well without the art but the art does not do well without practice. (fol. 15r)¹⁶

But let this not blind us to the crucial fact that solarity also needs martiality, without which it can easily lose not only its original purpose but also the epistemic leverage provided by failure. Put differently, when a solar practice, such as mock fighting, becomes

¹⁴ Hs. 3227a, ca. 1400, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg, Germany, <https://dlib.gnm.de/item/Hs3227a>

¹⁵ Translation from manuscript 3227a by me, based on the transcription by Dierk Hagedorn (Chidester, 2021, p. 16–19): *Als man noch manche leychmeistere vindet (...)/ Vnd das sy weit umbefechten vnd paryrn irdenken / vnd oft vör eynen haw czwene ader dreye tuen nür durch wolstehens wille / do von sy von den unvorstendigen gelobt woollen warden / mit dem höbschen paryrn vnd weit vmbefechten / als sy veintlich stellen / vnd weite vnd lange hewe dar brengen / lanksam vnd trege / mit deme sy sich gar sere vorhawen vnd zeümen / vnd sich auch do mite vaste blos geben / wen sy keyne mosse yn irem fechten nicht haben / vnd das gehört nicht czu ernstem fechten / zonder czu schulvechten durch vbunge vnd gebrawchunge wille mochte is wol eczwas gut seyn.*

¹⁶ Translation from manuscript 3227a by me, based on the transcription by Dierk Hagedorn (Chidester, 2021, p. 20): *Auch merke das / vnd wisse das man nicht gar eygentlich vnd bedewtlich von dem fechten mag sagen vnd schreiben ader auslegen / als man is wol mag / czeigen vnd weisen mit der hant / Dorvmb tu of dyne synnen vnd betrachte is deste bas / Vnd ube dich dorynne deste mer yn schimpfe / zo gedenkestu ir deste bas in ernste / wen ubunge ist besser wenne kunst / denne ubunge tawg wol ane kunst / aber kunst tawg nicht wol ane ubunge.*

its own goal and point of reference, it can no longer be used to produce knowledge about real combat through trial and error. In this light, reframing martial arts as solar arts offers a new vantage point from which to reinterpret earlier theoretical contributions. It complements Wetzler's functional dimensions by revealing the practitioner's *epistemic* stance as the crucial mediator of the experience of martial arts training and adds analytical specificity to Bowman's notion of discursive "stabilisation" by distinguishing between martiality and solarity as coexisting, context-sensitive orientations—intentionalities—within the same practice. At the same time, paradoxically, this conceptualisation shows that Cynarski may have had a point insisting that "martial arts" can be defined based on a feature shared by all members of the category. If we agree, as I suggested earlier, that gladiatorship, fighting arts, and combat sports can all be collapsed into martial arts without the loss of important information, then what they all have in common is not the spirituality or cultural heritage. Rather, they prioritise martial personal combat as the main epistemic problem and develop corresponding training methodologies designed to sustain prolonged practice and stable communities, that is, solarity. Thus, the ambiguous martiality of martial arts is dissolved. For fighting without solarity is not a martial art—it is just violence.

Finally, I must stress that martiality and solarity as proposed here are not ontological categories. Instead, through the examples provided above I wanted to show that they are useful conceptual metaphors revealing hitherto obscured, and thus neglected, dynamic aspects of this bundle of experiences potentially identifiable as "martial arts". In effect, I believe that this new interpretive lens actually identifies the main source of the stubborn fuzziness of this term, namely the role of practitioner intentionalities in shaping the physical praxis and social reception of these practices. It also opens new terrain for applied inquiry—suggesting pedagogical frameworks that distinguish between training for resilience versus training for conflict, raising questions about the cultural function of martiality in postmodern societies, challenging modern narratives about the past, and inviting research into how different identities (e.g., gendered, racialised, disabled) navigate and embody solar and martial roles. Moreover, by shifting the focus from systems to stances, this approach allows for a more inclusive and intercultural reading of martial practices globally, without relying on static typologies or essentialist definitions.

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Declaration of artificial intelligence use

The author affirms that no artificial intelligence applications were used in the preparation of this manuscript.

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