

# Medieval Warfare



*a bibliographical guide*

Everett U. Crosby

# MEDIEVAL WARFARE

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## A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL GUIDE

EVERETT U.CROSBY



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*Vis palam cernere, quam res sit impia bellum,  
animadvertite per quos geritur.*

—ERASMUS, *QUERELA PACIS* (1517)

[If you really want to understand what a wicked  
thing war is, just have a look at the men who  
wage it.]



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# Abbreviations

AHR	American Historical Review
BEC	Bibliothèque de L'École des Chartes
BIHR	Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research
CISAM	Centro Italiano di Studi sull' Alto Medioevo
CNRS	Centre national de la recherche scientifique
EHR	English Historical Review
HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationery Office
MISOG	Mitteilungen. Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung
RH	Revue historique
TRHS	Transactions of the Royal Historical Society



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# Introduction

*Homo sapiens, homo pugnans*, and so it has been since the beginning of recorded history. In the Middle Ages, especially, armed conflict and the military life were so much a part of the political and cultural development that a general account of the period is, in large measure, a description of how men went to war. Even in times of peace, the customs of a warrior aristocracy which held the power and set the standards, whose members lived in castles, wore armor, carried swords, rode to tournaments, and had an inclination to settle disputes by violent means, lent a martial air to everyday life. Nor did the fortified towns and bridges, and the towers and houses of a wealthy urban class, contribute any less to the idea that this was a society organized by men ready to fight their neighbors and prepared to defend themselves. Strength in arms was celebrated in epic verse, it was the way of honor for the lord, and it formed the basis of the chivalric ethic. Both the literary image of the hunt and the poetry of the lover's quest were expressions of knightly valor. On a wider stage, success in war turned kings into heroes, as well as heroes into kings, and ultimately helped to forge the elements of a national identity from the multitude of feudal states. Defeat could mean diminished authority, domestic revolt, and conquest by a foreign power. War in the name of Christ was the instrument used by churchmen to punish the obdurate, to subdue the nobility, and to promote the ambiguous, but nonetheless potent, idea of the Christian soldier. The conduct of war encouraged practical experiment and technical innovation, and brought in its train new products, industrial expansion, and greater employment. War in the medieval period became big business, combining wealth and politics in a mutually advantageous relationship, and

has remained so ever since. Expensive campaigns forced English kings into greater dependence on parliamentary subsidies, and thereby insured a permanent place for the Commons in the constitutional development of the country; the use of mercenary troops, who demanded payment in cash, shifted the balance of power in Italy in favor of affluent rulers and further reduced the importance of the landed nobility; and, as an important part of the medieval legacy, wars won and wars lost established the conditions for treaties of peace and directly affected the way in which the political boundaries of the European countries were drawn.

Warfare in the Middle Ages was endemic, epidemic, and occasionally pandemic. It drew participants from every social group, and it affected every part of the population from the princely court and the merchant town to the peasant village. Rich in source materials and topics for study, it is a subject not only of great historical interest, but also of significance for the present day. Here, for example, can be found the first attempts to define a just war in Christian terms; here were laid the foundations for the political and religious sanctions to guarantee intervals of peace between destructive campaigns; and here appeared the elementary rules to govern behavior in combat, and for the exchange and ransom of prisoners, which came to form the basis of modern conventions on the conduct of hostilities.

A bibliography of so vast a field, therefore, has the potential to become a list of books for a multitude of related topics. If Hastings, then why not an analysis of Anglo-Saxon dynastic struggles, Scandinavian expansion, oath taking, and the meaning of the Bayeux tapestry? If the Hundred Years War, then why not Jeanne d'Arc, women as warriors, miracles, and ecclesiastical justice? Why not, indeed? But to go so far is clearly not possible in a single volume of manageable proportions, and in the end, it would only be a lesson in defeat. This volume, therefore, which by the very nature of such works is selective, comprises some 3,000 important books, articles, and collections of papers published through 1999 which deal with war primarily as armed combat. In geography and chronology, it covers the Latin West, the Greek East, and the Muslim South, from the late Roman Empire through the sixteenth century. Also included are studies on the relevant topics of fortifications, arms and armor, recruitment and service, finance and supply, war and peace, the laws of war, war and literature, military treatises, and medieval illustrations of war. As will be seen, the weight of the entries falls heavily on the history of western Europe, and especially on citations of French, English, German, and Italian titles; more lightly on Iberia, Scandinavia, and the East. That this is so is due partly to the imbalance in published research on the subject in the

major languages, and partly to the wish to stay within the traditional heartland of the European Middle Ages.

Beyond its primary use as a reference work, a comprehensive bibliography can also serve as a guide to changing views and methods in scholarly research. A comparison of individual entries, for example, will show that, whereas at one time the history of medieval warfare could be written largely as a description of battles and tactics (Oman, Delpech), there is now greater concern to put battles into context, as it were, and to see them in relation to the political, economic, and social forces of which they were a part and product (Thompson, Pounds). This approach has brought to the front hitherto neglected topics such as logistics, military technology, the status of the noncombatant, and the effect of protracted violence on social development. The study of fortifications, and of castles in particular, has taken a similar turn, whereby function has become as significant as form. The familiar architectural inventories and plans, over which the historians have laid siege to the archaeologists for many years, have been enriched by discussions of comparative building styles, costs and labor problems, royal control through licensing, the relationship of castles to urban growth and to overall strategic planning.

But what is included in a bibliography of this kind must also call attention to what has been left out. It will be apparent that there is little available at present on such interesting and important subjects, to suggest only a few, as medical care and field hospitals, the training of recruits, methods of paying the soldiers, the morale of armies and war propaganda, military intelligence, women at war, and conditions on the home front. By using the entries as a checklist, new and fruitful avenues for research can be laid out.

The method of citation in each section is by author's surname listed alphabetically. In the case of collections, it is by the title of the work followed by the name of the editor or editors. The title of the first edition of each entry is given with place, publisher, and year of publication. Later editions, revised editions, reprints, and paperback editions, if any, follow. Translations into English are given with the name of the translator. If the entry is part of a series, the title of the series or collection appears in square brackets. Under each subject heading, works of a general nature are given first, followed by regional and monographic studies, the two groups separated by three asterisks (\* \* \*).



# MEDIEVAL WARFARE

## CHAPTER 1

# War in the Middle Ages

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## CHAPTER 2

# Battles

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## CHAPTER 4

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## CHAPTER 5

# Arms and Armor

### MUSEUM COLLECTIONS

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## CHAPTER 8

# Gunpowder, Firearms, Artillery, and Siege Weapons

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## CHAPTER 9

# Fortifications

### GENERAL WORKS

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## CHAPTER 10

# Rural, Urban, and Coastal Defenses

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## CHAPTER 11

# Recruitment and Service

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## CHAPTER 12

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## CHAPTER 13

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## CHAPTER 14

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## CHAPTER 15

# The Laws of War

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## CHAPTER 17

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## CHAPTER 18

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