This is the first specific, large-scale study of conduct in warfare and the nature of chivalry in the Anglo-Norman period.

The extent to which the knighthood consciously sought to limit the extent of fatalities among its members is explored through a study of notions of a brotherhood in arms, the actualities of combat and the effectiveness of armour, the treatment of prisoners, and the workings of ransom. Were there ‘laws of war’ in operation in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and, if so, were they binding? How far did notions of honour affect knights’ actions in war itself? Conduct in war against an opposing suzerain such as the Capetian king is contrasted to behaviour in situations of rebellion and of civil war.

A study of aristocratic violence towards churches in war, and of the mechanisms of ravaging, examines the behaviour of the knighthood to the other ordines of society, the Church and the peasantry. An overall context is provided by an examination of the behaviour in war of the Scots and the mercenary routiers, both accused of perpetrating ‘atrocities’.
To my Mother and Father
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Musée de la Tapisserie, Centre Guillaume le Conquérant, Bayeux, 1, 9, 11, 13, 14; the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 4, 6, 12, 15, 17; the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, 7, 8, 10; James Austin, 2, 5; T. E. Gray, 16; Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries, 3; and R. Ewart Oakshott for the figure accompanying Plate 3.
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PREFACE

The ability both to give and to heed good counsel ranked high among the many chivalric qualities expected of the prudhomme. If this book is far from being sans reproche, then the fault is mine alone, for in its preparation, as in so much else, I have benefitted enormously from the help and advice of many friends and colleagues. A brief preface such as this can do them scant justice.

I owe a particular debt to Jim Holt, who provided incisive comment and constructive advice at every stage during the long metamorphosis from thesis to book, and who encouraged me to keep faith with a broad thematic and conceptual treatment of Anglo-Norman chivalry. Two others deserve special thanks. Bill Zajac has given unstintingly of his wide knowledge, above all on the crusades, and over many years has helped to hone my thoughts concerning conduct in medieval warfare. John Hudson cast the expert eye of an Anglo-Norman legist over the text, and made invaluable suggestions for its improvement.

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PREFACE

If the acknowledgement of formative influences is one of the pleasures of a first book, it is equally a great sadness that Vivien Fisher, who instilled in me an abiding interest in Anglo-Norman history, Allen Brown, who offered me much encouragement in the early stages of my thesis, and Lewis Warren, who examined it with gentle rigour, did not live to see the completion of this work.

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Last, but far from least, I would like to thank my parents, John and Elizabeth, for their unflailing support in this as in so much else. My debt to them is unbounded, and it is to them that I dedicate this book.
ABBREVIATIONS

\textit{AM} \quad \textit{Annales monastici}, ed. H. R. Luard, 5 vols. (Rolls Series, 1864–9).


# List of Abbreviations

**Chronicles and Memorials**  

**Chronicon universale**  

**Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou**  

**Coggeshall**  
Radulphi de Coggeshall Chronicon Anglicannum, ed. J. Stevenson (Rolls Series, 1875).

**Devizes**  

**Diceto**  

**Diplomatic Documents**  

**Documents of the Baronial Movement**  

**Ducange**  
Ducange, Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis, ed. L. Favre, 10 vols. (Niort, 1885–7).

**Eadmer**  
Eadmeri historia novorum in Anglia, ed. M. Rule (Rolls Series, 1884).

**EHRR**  
English Historical Review.

**Expugnatio**  

**Foedera**  

**Foliot**  

**FW**  

**Gervase**  

**GF**  
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**GFr**

**GH**

**GR**

**GS**

**Guibert**

**HGM**

**HH**

**Histoire des ducs**

**HN**

**Howden**

**Itinerarium**

**JF**

**JH**

**Joinville**

**JW**

**Mansi**
Sacerorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio, ed. J. D. Mansi (Florence, Venice and Paris, 1759 ff.).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>MGH SS</td>
<td><em>Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae Historiae separatim editi</em>.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Occ.</td>
<td><em>Historiens occidentaux</em>.</td>
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<td>Or.</td>
<td><em>Historiens orientaux</em>.</td>
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<td>Select Charters</td>
<td><em>Select Charters and other Illustrations of English Constitutional History from the earliest times to the reign of Edward the First</em>, ed. W. Stubbs (9th edn, revised by H. W. C. Davis, Oxford, 1913).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TCWAAS</td>
<td><em>Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Archaeological and Antiquarian Society</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRHS</td>
<td><em>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vita Herliuni</td>
<td><em>Vita Domini Herliuni Abbatis Becensi</em>, in J.</td>
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William le Breton, Philippii, ibid., 11, pp. 1–585.


Guillaume de Jumièges, Gesta Normannorum ducum, ed. J. Marx (Société de l’histoire de Normandie, 1914).

William of Newburgh, Historia Rerum Anglorum, Chronicles and Memorials (Rolls Series, 1884), 1, and 11, pp. 409–53.


Map: The Duchy of Normandy
Map 2 Twelfth-century France