Manning, Roger B. "Notes." *War and Peace in the Western Political Imagination: From Classical Antiquity to the Age of Reason*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016. 293–346. *Bloomsbury Collections*. Web. 26 Apr. 2023. <<http://dx.doi.org/10.5040/9781474258739.0009>>.

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Notes

Introduction

- 1 Michael Howard, *The Causes of War and Other Essays* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), 11–12; Azar Gat, *War in Human Civilization* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 663.
- 2 Howard, *Causes of Wars*, 13; Ian Clark, *Waging War: A Philosophical Introduction* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 4–5, 12.
- 3 Richard A. Gabriel, *The Culture of War: Invention and Early Development* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), 128.
- 4 See, for example, Melvin Small and J. David Singer, *Resort to Arms: International and Civil Conflicts, 1816–1980* (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage, 1982).
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- 6 Lewis F. Richardson, *Statistics of Deadly Quarrels*, ed. Quincy Wright and C.C. Lienau (Pittsburgh: Boxwood Press, 1960), 32–111; Steven Pinker, *The Better Angels of Our Nature: Why Violence Has Declined* (New York: Viking, 2011), 200–222. John Gittings, *The Glorious Art of Peace from The Iliad to Iraq* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 20–24, argues that there were more numerous and more extended periods of peace, but his argument would be more convincing if he furnished quantitative evidence.
- 7 Jonathan Scott, “The Law of War: Grotius, Sidney, Locke and the Political Theory of Rebellion,” *History of Political Thought* 13, no. 4 (1992), 566–67; Paola Pugliatti, *Shakespeare and the Just War Tradition* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2010), 103; Fernand Braudel *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, trans. Siân Reynolds, 2 vols. (2nd ed.; New York: Harper & Row, 1966), ii: 836.
- 8 Edwin M. Duval, *The Design of Rabelais’s Tiers Livre de Pantagruel* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1999), 19–20. Lucian wrote in Greek. Rabelais was citing the Latin edition of Lucian’s works by Jakob Moltzer *alias* Jacob Mycllus, *Luciani Samosatensis Opera* (Frankfurt, 1538). See also *Ben Jonson and the Lucianic Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 82.
- 9 Michael Mann, *The Sources of Social Power*, vol. i: *A History of Power from the Beginning to A.D. 1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 73–120, 130–31. Peter Brecke, in his online “Conflict Catalog” (Violent Conflicts, 1400 A.D.

- to the Present in Different Regions of the World [Centre for Global Economic History, Utrecht University]) enumerates 3709 international and civil conflicts between 1400 and 2000.
- 10 Michael Howard, *War in European History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), 36–37.
 - 11 Roger B. Manning, *Swordsmen: The Martial Ethos in the Three Kingdoms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 1–2 and 2n.
 - 12 Evan Luard, *War and International Society* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 24–25, 35; Quincy Wright, *A Study of War*, 2 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942), tables 31–34 (pp. I: 641–43); Roger B. Manning, *An Apprenticeship in Arms: The Origins of the British Army, 1585–1702* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), chs. 2–3.
 - 13 Micheal Clodfelter, *War and Armed Conflicts: A Statistical Encyclopedia of Casualty and Other Figures, 1494–2007* (3rd ed.; Jefferson, NC: MacFarland, 2008), 7–69.
 - 14 Philip Bobbitt, *The Shield of Achilles: War, Peace, and the Course of History* (New York: Knopf, 2002), 19–23.
 - 15 Michael Mann, *States, War and Capitalism: Studies in Political Sociology* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), 129–30; Harry Holbert Turney-High, *Primitive War: Its Practice and Concepts*, (2nd ed.; Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1971), 166–67; Gabriel, *Culture of War*, 25.
 - 16 Gat, *War in Human Civilization*, 663–65; Bradley A. Thayer, *Darwin and International Relations: On the Evolutionary Origins of War and Ethnic Conflict* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2004), 267–68; Mann, *States, War and Capitalism*, 129–30; id., *Sources of Social Power*, i.48; Lawrence H. Keeley, *War before Civilization* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 4–5; Pinker, *Better Angels of Our Nature*, 55–56.
- René Girard, on the other hand, does not believe that primitive societies are more prone to violence than “civilized societies,” nor does he believe that war is more characteristic of one society than another. Primitive societies try to subdue violence by ritualizing it and making it part of their religion by offering sacrifices (René Girard, *Violence and the Sacred*, trans. Patrick Gregory [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977], 19–20, 249).
- Steven Pinker continues to argue that humankind is born with a disposition to violence, which is bred out of infants by the process of socialization (*Better Angels of Our Nature*, 482–88; id., *The Blank Slate: The Modern Denial of Human Nature* [New York: Viking, 2002]).
- 17 Vegetius: *Epitome of Military Science*, trans. N.P. Milner (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1993), bk. iv, Preface (p. 113); Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World*, ii: 37.

- 18 Robert Muchembled, *A History of Violence from the Middle Ages to the Present*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012), 8; Pinker, *Better Angels of Our Nature*, 49, 53 (Tables 2.2 and 2.3); Keeley, *War before Civilization*, 33.
- 19 Gat, *War in Human Civilization*, 665; Wright, *A Study of War*, i: 162–63; Muchembled, *History of Violence*, 162–63; Jonathan Fletcher, *Violence and Civilization: An Introduction to the Work of Norbert Elias* (Cambridge: Polity, 1997), 32.

In the early modern period of history, Charles Tilly, with some slight degree of exaggeration, compares the formation of states and the attempt to secure a monopoly on violence to government-operated protection rackets (Charles Tilly, “War Making and State Making as Organized Crime,” *Bringing the State Back In*, ed. Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 169, 171.

- 20 *The Laws of Plato*, trans. and ed. Thomas L. Prangle (New York: Basic Books, 1980), VII: 823b–824a (pp. 215–17); François Rabelais, *The Histories of Gargantua and Pantagruel*, trans. and ed. J.M. Cohen (Harmondsworth, Middx.: Penguin, 1978), bk. V, ch. 14 (p. 632); Alberico Gentili, *De Jure Belli Libri Tres*, vol. 2: The Translation of the Edition of 1612, trans. John C. Rolfe (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), 94–95.

The actual cause of the war, according to Virgil, arose from the disputed betrothal of Lavinia, daughter of the king of the Latins, whom some had wished to see married to Turnus, king of the Rutuli, a neighboring people in Italy (Virgil, *The Aeneid*, trans. John Dryden [Harvard Classics, no. 13; New York: Bartleby, 2001] [online]), bk. VII, lines 673–776.

- 21 Plato, *The Laws I and VII*, trans. A.E. Taylor, in *The Collected Dialogues of Plato*, ed. Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns (Bollingen Ser., LXXXI; Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1973), 823b–d (p. 1393); Aristotle, *Politics*, trans. H. Rackham (Loeb Classical Library; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977), I. ii.1420 (pp. 23–29), I. iii.7–8 (p. 37); *Peace and War in Antiquity*, comp. Augustus FitzGerald (London: Scholartis Press, 1931), 29, 94.
- 22 Xenophon, *On Hunting [Cynegeticus]*, trans. A.A. Phillips and W.W. Willcock (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1999), 12.1–18 (pp. 81–85); id., *Cyropaedia*, trans. Walter Miller, 2 vols. (Loeb Classical Library; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960), I. ii. 9–11 (pp. 17–19), VIII. i. 34–39 (pp. 321–23). See also *The Laws of Plato*, ed. Pangle, V. 763 (pp. 149–50), VII. 823–4 (pp. 215–17); Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De Officiis*, trans. Walter Miller (Loeb Classical Library; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961), I. xxix (p. 104).
- 23 [Flavius Mauricius Tiberius Augustus,] *Maurice’s Strategikon: A Handbook of Byzantine Military Strategy*, trans. George T. Dennis (Philadelphia: University of

Pennsylvania Press, 1984), 165; Oliver Lyman Spaulding, *Pen and Sword in Greece and Rome* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1937), 146.

Martin van Creveld notes that many commentators from Plato to Machiavelli and beyond have viewed hunting as the oldest of all sports and a preparation for war. However, Creveld rejects the idea that hunting can be regarded as a wargame in the modern meaning because it was distinguished from war in the sense that it is “an interspecies activity and not an intraspecies one” (*Wargames: From Gladiators to Gigabytes* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013], 9–10).

- 24 Fletcher, *Violence and Civilization*, 110; Bernard Chapais, *Primeval Kinship: How Pair-Bonding Gave Birth to Human Society* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 117, 232–34; Matt Cartmill, *A View to a Death in the Morning: Hunting and Nature through History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 9–14, 16–26.

- 25 Keeley, *War before Civilization*, 21–23, 27–28.

Douglas P. Fry challenges the assumption that humans are culturally or instinctively warlike, and examines numerous cases of hunter-gatherer as well as less primitive societies to demonstrate that many such groups have developed methods of conflict resolution that avoid warfare (*The Human Potential for Peace: An Anthropological Challenge to Assumptions about War and Violence* [New York: Oxford University Press, 2006; id., *Beyond War: The Human Potential for Peace* [New York: Oxford University Press, 2007]]).

- 26 Victor Davis Hanson, *Carnage and Culture: Landmark Battles in the Rise of Western Power* (New York: Doubleday, 2001), 5–23.

- 27 Gat, *War in Human Civilization*, 419–20; Perry Anderson, *Passages from Antiquity to Feudalism* (London: NLB, 1974), 83–84.

- 28 Clodfelter, *War and Armed Conflicts*, 4–5; Philip Benedict, “Civil War and Natural Disaster in Northern France,” *The European Crisis of the 1590s: Essays in Comparative History*, ed. Peter Clark (London: Allen & Unwin, 1985), 96, 100.

- 29 Gat, *War in Human Civilization*, 435; David Martin, *Does Christianity Cause War?* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 113; Michael Howard, *War and the Liberal Conscience* (London: Temple Smith, 1978), 13.

- 30 Cicero, *Phillipics*, ed. and trans. D.R. Shackleton Bailey (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), vii. 19 (p. 207); Vegetius: *Epitome of Military Science*, trans. Milner, 62; John of Salisbury, *Policratus: The Statesman’s Book*, ed. Murray K. Markland (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1979), vi. 20 (p. 90); *D.N.B.*, sub John of Salisbury (d. 1180); William Penn, *An Essay towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe* (1693–94), rpr. in *Peace Projects of the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Garland, 1972), 3.

- 31 See, for example, William, Cardinal Allen's polemic in *The Execution of Justice in England*, by Sir William Cecil, and *A True, Sincere and Modest Defense of English Catholics*, by William Allen, ed. Robert M. Kingdom (Folger Documents in Tudor and Stuart Civilizations; Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1965), 160.

1 The Legacy of Classical Antiquity

- 1 Pertaining to Quirinus, the Roman deification of Romulus, founder of the city of Rome, son of Mars, and like his father, a war god.
- 2 Pertaining to a stone that was especially resistant to fire.
- 3 A later version of the Temple of Janus was located in the Campus Martius, close to the *Ara Martis*, or Altar of Mars.
- 4 John Bridge, "Janus Custos Belli," *The Classical Journal* 23.8 (1928), 610–14; Philip de Souza, "Parta victoriis pax: Roman Emperors as Peacemakers," in *War and Peace in Ancient and Medieval History*, ed. Philip de Souza and John France (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 80; Jeri Blair DeBrohun, "The Gates of War (and Peace): Roman Literary Perspectives," in *War and Peace in the Ancient World*, ed. Kurt A. Raaflaub (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), 256–58; Paul E.J. Kershaw, *Peaceful Kings: Peace, Power, and the Early Medieval Political Imagination* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 44–45. The ritual of opening and closing the gates of the Temple of Janus originated following the Roman victory in the first Punic War.
- 5 Joycelyne G. Russell, *Peacemaking in the Renaissance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), 9; John Gittings, *The Glorious Art of Peace: From The Iliad to Iraq* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 15–16.
- 6 Giambattista Vico, *The First New Science*, trans. and ed. Leon Pampa (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 108–9; J.E. Lendon, *Soldiers and Ghosts: A History of Battle in Classical Antiquity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), 24–25; *The Illiad of Homer*, trans. Richard Lattimore (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), 1. 206–14 (p. 64); Martin van Creveld, *Wargames: From Gladiators to Gigabytes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 15–17.
- 7 Vico, *The First New Science*, 204–5; Simon Hornblower, "Warfare in Ancient Literature: The Paradox of War," *The Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Warfare*, ed. Philip Sabin and Hans van Wees, vol. I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 40, 50; Jean Bodin, *Method for an Easy Comprehension of History*, trans. Beatrice Reynolds (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945; rpr. 1966), 41–42, 55.

- 8 Hornblower, "Warfare in Ancient Literature," 22–23, 26–27, 40, 50.
- 9 Robert Knapp, *Invisible Romans* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), 33–42, gives a vivid picture of the violence and lawlessness that ordinary and poor Romans faced on a daily basis.
- 10 Hans van Wees, *Greek Warfare: Myths and Realities* (London: Duckworth, 2004), 3–4; Adam Ferguson, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society* (4th ed.; London: T. Caddel, 1773; rpr. London: Gregg, 1969), 33; Brian Campbell, *War and Society in Imperial Rome, 91 BC–AD 284* (London: Routledge, 2002), 45; Ian Clark, *Waging War: A Philosophical Introduction* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 19–20; Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, trans. Rex Warner (New York: Penguin, rev. ed., 1972), vii. 29–30 (pp. 495–96); Brian Bosworth, "Massacre in the Peloponnesian War," *Theatres of Violence: Massacre, Mass Killing and Atrocity throughout History*, ed. Philip G. Dwyer and Lyndall Ryan (New York: Berghahn, 2012), 17–26.
- 11 Christopher Coker, *Barbarous Philosophers: Reflections on the Nature of War from Heraclitus to Heisenberg* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 13–18, 22–23.
- 12 Quincy Wright, *A Study of War*, 2 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942), i: 162–63.
- 13 Arnaldo Momigliano, "Some Observations on the Causes of War in Ancient Historiography," in *Studies in Historiography* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966), 120; *The Iliad of Homer*, trans. Lattimore, 1.1–192 (pp. 59–64); Louis Rawlings, *The Ancient Greeks at War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 4–8; Doynce Dawson, *The Origins of Western Warfare* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996), 52–53; Clark, *Waging War*, 20; *The Landmark Herodotus: The Histories*, trans. A.L. Purvis, ed. R.B. Strassler (New York: Pantheon, 2007), 1.154–57 (pp. 83–84), 2.167 (p. 197).
- 14 W. Kendrick Pritchett, *The Greek State at War*, Part III: *Religion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 1–10; *Landmark Herodotus*, trans. Purvis, ed. Strassler, 9.61–62 (p. 479); also *ibid.*, Cartledge, "The Spartan State in War and Peace," p. 734.
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- 16 *Iliad of Homer*, trans. Lattimore, 5.889ff (p. 152); Hans van Wees, "War and Peace in Ancient Greece," in *War, Peace and World Orders in European History* ed. Anja V. Hartmann and Beatrice Heuser (London: Routledge, 2001), 33–47 (at 39).
- 17 Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War: The Complete Hobbes Translation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), V. 105 (p. 368). See also I. 76 (p. 440).
- 18 Dawson, *Origins of Western Warfare*, 16.

- 19 This is sometimes rendered as “self-defense.”
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- 22 Gabriel, *Culture of War*, 85.
- 23 Antonio Santosuosso, *Soldiers, Citizens and the Symbols of War: From Classical Greece to Republican Rome, 500–167 B.C.* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997), 8.
- 24 Aristotle, *Politics*, trans. H. Rackham (Loeb Classical Library; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977), II. iv. 9–12 (pp. 117–19); Thucydides, *History*, trans. Warner, IV.59 (p. 299); van Wees, *Greek Warfare*, 34–36.
- 25 Anthony Pagden, *Worlds at War: The 2,500-Year Struggle between East and West* (New York: Random House, 2008), 41–46; Thucydides, *History*, trans. Warner, I. 76 (p. 80).
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- 30 Wallace E. Caldwell, *Hellenic Conceptions of Peace* (New York: rpr. AMS, 1967), 100–101; R. Sealey, “Thucydides, Herodotos, and the Causes of War,” *Classical Quarterly*, new ser., 7 (1957): 8–11; Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, trans. Warner, I. 23 (p. 49). See also Rawlings, *Ancient Greeks at War*, 12–13.

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- 32 Eckstein, *Moral Vision*, 195–234.
- 33 Leon Harold Craig, *The War Lover: A Study of Plato's Republic* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 14–18.
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- 42 Aeschylus, *Persians*, ed. and trans. Alan H. Sommerstein (Loeb Classical Library; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 239–40 (vol. I, p. 41); Santosuosso, *Soldiers, Citizens and the Symbols of War*, 5–6; Pagden, *Worlds at War*, 41–4. Herodotus is more restrained and indirect in his criticism of the Persians than Aeschylus. See, for example, *The History of Herodotus*, trans. George Rawlinson, ed. E.H. Blakeney, 2 vols. (London: Dent, 1940), iii. 80–89 (vol. I: pp. 250–55).
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- 51 *Laws of Plato*, trans. Pangle, bk. III, pp. 60–63, 677e–680c, p. 425.
- 52 Henrik Syse, “Plato: The Necessity of War, the Quest for Peace,” *Journal of Military Ethics* 1. No. 1 (2002), 36–44; *Laws of Plato*, bk. I, p. 7, 628c–e; Iain McDaniel, *Adam Ferguson in the Scottish Enlightenment: The Roman Past and Europe’s Future* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), 80–81.
- 53 Pindar, *The Odes and Selected Fragments*, trans. G.S. Conway, ed. Richard Stoneman (London: J.M. Dent, 1997), fragment 110 (p. 377). This, presumably, is the source of the Latin proverb *dulce bellum inexpertis*. Cf. also the speech by Hermocrates of Syracuse at the conference in 424 BCE attempting to mediate the war in Sicily (Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War*, trans. Warner, v. 59 (p. 299).
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- 56 Zampaglione, *Idea of Peace in Antiquity*, 26–28, 108–9.
- 57 *Isocrates II*, ed. Terry L. Papillon, (“The Oratory of Classical Greece”; Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), 136–66, esp. 8, 16, 44, 46, 64.
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- 68 William V. Harris, *War and Imperialism in Republican Rome, 327–70 BC* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 105–9; Onasander, *The General*, in *Aeneas Tacticus, Asclepiodotus, Onasander*, trans. The Illinois Greek Club (Loeb Classical Library; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977), prooemium 7–6 (p. 371).
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- 70 Perry Anderson, *Passages from Antiquity to Feudalism* (London: NLB, 1974), 60–61, 67–68, 70; Vico, *First New Science*, 43, 112–13.
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- 72 Campbell, *War and Society in Imperial Rome*, 11–12.
- 73 Remus.
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- 77 Dawson, *Origins of Western Warfare*, 56, 114–15; Onasander, *The General*, IV. 1–4 (pp. 391–93); Cicero, *De officiis*, trans. Walter Miller (Loeb Classical Library; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961), I. xi. 34–35 (p. 37); Roland H. Bainton, *Christian Attitudes toward War and Peace* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1960), 41.

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- 106 Bainton, *Christian Attitudes toward War and Peace*, 33–35.
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- 115 Tertullian, "The Chaplet, or De Corona," in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, ed. Roberts and Donaldson, ch. 11 (vol. iii: pp. 99–100).
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- 51 Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society*, trans. L.A. Manyan, 2 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), i.155–60; Heinrich Fichtenau, *The Carolingian Empire*, trans. Peter Munz (Toronto: Medieval Academy of America and the University of Toronto Press, 1978), 79.
- 52 Bloch, *Feudal Society*, i: 123–24; Guy Halsall, *Warfare and Society in the Barbarian West, 450–900* (London: Routledge, 2003), 2–3, 15, 17–18, 231–33. On the authority of Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals*, passim, I have avoided using the term *vassal* because it is anachronistic and was introduced into the study of early medieval history by scholars of a much later period.

- 53 Bloch, *Feudal Society*, i: 155–60; Halsall, *Warfare and Society in the Barbarian West*, 37–38; Fichtenau, *Carolingian Empire*, 179–88.
- 54 Bloch, *Feudal Society*, i: 40–42, 55–56; Jean Dunbabin, *France in the Making, 843–1180* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 37–42; Jane Martindale, “The French Aristocracy in the Early Middle Ages: A Reappraisal,” *Past and Present*, no. 75 (1977): 20–21.
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- 56 Michael Mann, *Sources of Social Power*, vol. i: *A History of Power from the Beginning to A.D. 1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986): 390–92; Elizabeth M. Hallam and Judith Everard, *Capetian France, 987–1328* (Harlow, Essex: Longman, 2001), 128.
- 57 Maurice Keen, *The Laws of War in the Late Middle Ages* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965), 28; Richard W. Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 4; Matthew Strickland, *War and Chivalry: The Conduct and Perception of War in England and Normandy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 134–37.
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- 59 Strickland, *War and Chivalry*, 13–15. Vegetius’s textbook on military affairs, the *Epitome of Military Science*, had circulated widely in the ninth and tenth centuries. Charlemagne and Alcuin both possessed copies, and apparently, the book was widely read in the Carolingian and Ottonian periods—not only by the higher ranks of soldiers but by the clergy as well. There is also evidence that Vegetius’s *Epitome* was used for training soldiers in their households. But we lack evidence that knowledge of and acceptance of the principles of Roman discipline were widespread in the armies of the ninth and tenth centuries—or even later periods (Cf. Davis S. Bachrach, *Warfare in Tenth-Century Germany* [Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2012], 12–20, 134, 138.)
- 60 Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 7–8, 13, 56, 81, 98–99; Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence*, 30–32; Jean de Bueil, comte de Sancerre, *La Jouvencel*, ed. C. Favre and L. Lecestre (2 vols.; Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1887–89), ii.20–21; see also *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*, ed. William D. Paden, Jr., Tilde Sankovitch and Patricia Stäblein (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 338–43.
- 61 Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence*, 61–64, 135–46; Strickland, *War and Chivalry*, 113–15.

- 62 Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence*, 176–77; Michael Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages: The English Experience* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 219–22; Martindale, “French Aristocracy in the Early Middle Ages,” 24 and *n.* 78. Richard Kaeuper and others have argued that when the Plantagenet kings replaced the Angevin monarchs, the state based on the rule of law that had been introduced by the latter dynasty degenerated into a state largely devoted to making war. This so-called “war state” allowed responsibility for law enforcement at the local level to fall into the hands of local feudal lords under the system of “bastard feudalism” that corrupted the administration of justice. Gerald Harriss’s view is that a bellicose military policy did not necessarily hamper the administration of justice provided that the monarch was competent. Harriss insists that “war was a normal and integral element in the medieval polity, and to present it as a contrasting and alternative option to state-building is misleading” (G.L. Harriss, “Political Society and the Growth of Government in Late Medieval England,” *Past and Present* no. 138 (1993): 28–29, 32).
- 63 Strickland, *War and Chivalry*, 98–99.
- 64 H.E.J. Cowdrey, “Bishop Ermenfrid of Sion and the Penitential Ordinance following the Battle of Hastings,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 20. no. 2 (1969): 225–42. Burchard of Worms (c. 950–1025), in his *Decretum*, had specified severe penances for homicide and also included certain acts of killing by soldiers in this category (Greta Austin, “Jurisprudence in the Service of Pastoral Care: The Decretum of Burchard of Worms,” *Speculum* 79. no.4 (2004): 929–59.
- 65 Strickland, *War and Chivalry*, 1–6, 164–65; John Gillingham, “1066 and the Introduction of Chivalry into England,” *Law and Government in Medieval England and Normandy: Essays in Honour of Sir James Holt*, ed. George Garnett and John Hudson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 32–34, 45, 369.
- 66 Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare*, 6, 237–39; Strickland, *War and Chivalry*, 307–10; Gillingham, “Conquering the Barbarian: War and Chivalry in Twelfth-Century Britain,” 67–84; Frederick C. Suppe, *Military Institutions in the Welsh Marches: Shropshire, 1066–1300* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 1994), 32–33.
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4 Humanism and Neo-Stoicism

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- 65 Stuart Carroll, *Blood and Violence in Early Modern France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 258, 260, 264–65.
- 66 Guillaume du Vair, *The Moral Philosophie of the Stoicks*, trans. Thomas James (London: Thomas Man, 1598; rpr. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1951), 124–25.
- 67 Carroll, *Blood and Violence in Early Modern France*, 266–67. For a parallel study of the effect of the chivalric revival on the aristocracies of the British Isles during the same period, see Manning, *Swordsmen*.
- 68 Carroll, *Blood and Violence in Early Modern France*, 279.

- 69 *Complete Essays of Montaigne*, trans. Frame, “Of Husbanding [i.e., Restraining] Your Will,” iii: 10 (pp. 770–71, 774–76).
- 70 Carroll, *Blood and Violence in Early Modern France*, 291–92; *Complete Essays of Montaigne*, trans. Frame, ii: 7 (p. 277); “Of Experience,” iii: 13 (p. 841). Pierre Charron, Montaigne’s friend and a Catholic priest and theologian, repeated this passage almost word for word in his *Traité de la Sagesse* (1601), but then contrasted it with his own dark view of military life and the consequences of war in a passage whose antiwar rhetoric rivals that of Erasmus in its eloquence. To give but a sample, Charron says that humankind’s proclivity for war “seems to be unnatural and to proceed from an alienation of our sense and understanding; it is a great testimony of our weakness and imperfection, and it is not found in the beasts themselves, in whom the image of nature continueth far more entire” (Pierre Charron, *Of Wisdom*, trans. Samson Lennard [London: Edward Blount and William Ashley, before 1612; rpr. Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1971], 207–8. Compare Ammianus Marcellinus as cited in ch. 2, 9n).
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- 73 J.H.M. Salmon, “Stoicism and the Roman Example: Seneca and Tacitus in Jacobean England,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 50, no. 2 (1989): 202.
- 74 Skinner, *Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, i: 254.
- 75 Tuck, *Philosophy and Government*, 39–42, 45; Bireley, *Counter-Reformation Prince*, 91; Neal Wood, “Introduction,” in Machiavelli, *Art of War*, trans. Farnsworth, xxxvii–xxxviii.
- 76 Adriana McCrea, *Constant Minds: Political Virtue and the Lipsian Paradigm in England, 1584–1650* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 26; Gerhard Oestreich, *Neostoicism and the Early Modern State*, ed. B. Oestreich and H.G. Koenigsberger, trans. D. McIntock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 50, 71, 131.
- While the Dutch Army in the time of Maurice, Prince of Orange came the closest to meeting Lipsius’s standards of a long-service professional army that avoided the worst characteristics of a mercenary force, Dutch citizens were, in the time of Maurice, a minority in that force (Roger B. Manning, “Prince Maurice’s School of War: British Swordsmen and the Dutch,” *War and Society* 25, no. 1 (2006): 1–19.
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- 79 Tuck, *Philosophy and Government*, 47, 59–61.

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- 88 *Basilikon Doron*, in *The Political Works of James I* (1616), ed. C.H. McIlvain (rpr. New York: Russell and Russell, 1965), 41–42.
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5 The Search for a Science of Peace

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