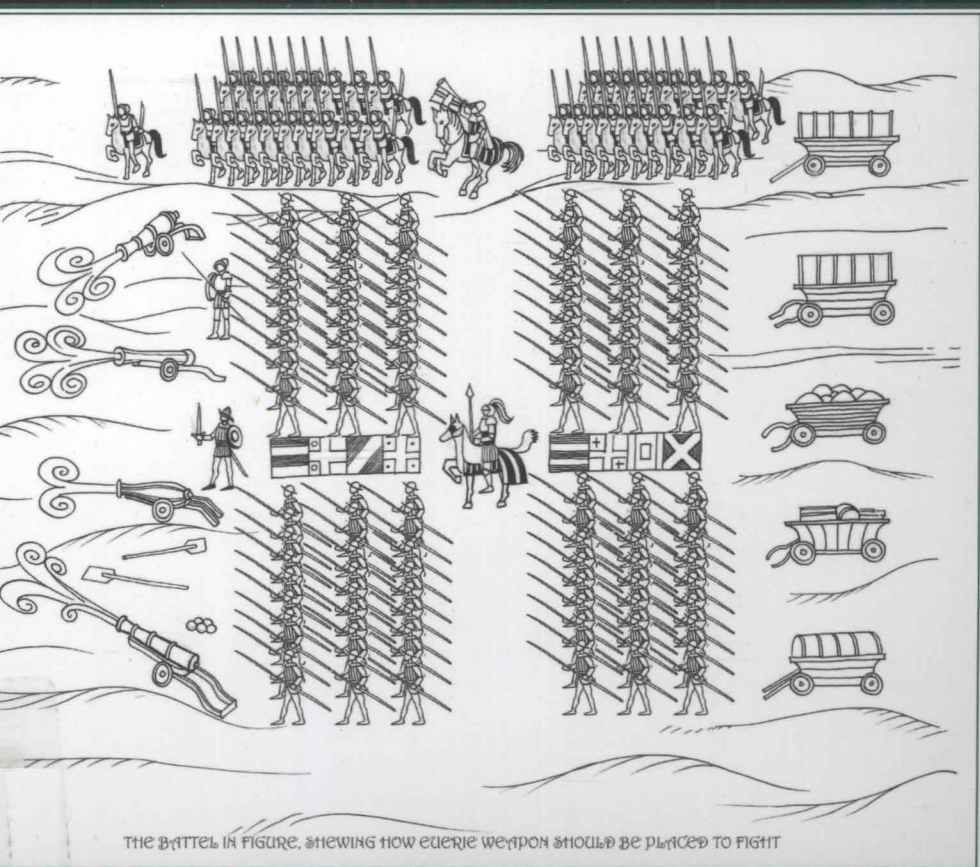


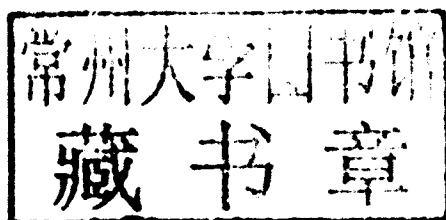
Shakespeare and the Just War Tradition

PAOLA PUGLIATTI



Shakespeare and the Just War Tradition

PAOLA PUGLIATTI



ASHGATE

© Paola Pugliatti 2010

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without the prior permission of the publisher.

Paola Pugliatti has asserted her right under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act, 1988, to be identified as the author of this work.

Published by
Ashgate Publishing Limited
Wey Court East
Union Road
Farnham
Surrey, GU9 7PT
England

Ashgate Publishing Company
Suite 420
101 Cherry Street
Burlington
VT 05401-4405
USA

www.ashgate.com

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Pugliatti, Paola.

Shakespeare and the just war tradition.

1. Shakespeare, William, 1564-1616—Knowledge—Military art and science.
2. War in literature.
3. Just war doctrine.
4. Military ethics—Europe—History—16th century.

I. Title

822.3'3—dc22

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Pugliatti, Paola.

Shakespeare and the just war tradition / Paola Pugliatti.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-7546-5927-3 (hardback) — ISBN 978-0-7546-9964-4 (ebook)

1. Shakespeare, William, 1564-1616—Criticism and interpretation.
2. Shakespeare, William, 1564-1616—Knowledge—Military history.
3. War in literature.
4. Military history in literature.

I. Title.

PR3069.W37P84 2010

822.3'3—dc22

2009035318

ISBN 9780754659273 (hbk)

ISBN 9780754699644 (ebk)



Mixed Sources

Product group from well-managed
forests and other controlled sources
www.fsc.org Cert no. SA-COC-1565
© 1996 Forest Stewardship Council

Printed and bound in Great Britain by
MPG Books Group, UK

Acknowledgements

My book was conceived in 2004 and written during the following four years. Those were years in which our perception of the wars being waged around us was becoming increasingly sharp; and increasingly sharp was the conviction that, one way or the other, those wars were being waged unjustly. In the city where I was then teaching and living, Florence, the 2002 European Social Forum was one of the most widely attended since the Forum had been established and the demonstration dedicated to peace which closed the meeting was immense; on 15 February 2003, we witnessed, and many of us participated in, the largest ever demonstration for peace throughout the world. The following month, however, Iraq was made the object of a military invasion and of a preventive war which many of us considered a downright aggression and which is still continuing under the pretence of reconstruction and appeasement: 'the war after the war' is still making victims.

Evidently, this kind of atmosphere affected even the usually secluded academic world and a need to discuss the issue of war started to be manifested even in the most secluded of its sectors, that of literary scholars and, in particular, of Shakespeareans.

In 2003, two seminars on 'Shakespeare and War' were chaired by Paul Franssen and Ros King at the Utrecht ShinE (Shakespeare in Europe) Conference; in 2005, the topic of the Cracow ShinE Conference was 'History and Memory' and many papers were devoted to discussing issues connected with war; finally, in 2008, one of the seminars at the biannual International Shakespeare Conference in Stratford-upon-Avon was devoted to 'Shakespeare, Memory and War'. The first two of these occasions produced papers which have now been collected and published; some of them (Simon Barker's at the Utrecht Conference and mine at the Cracow meeting) have been expanded into book-length studies.

In March 2009, a Conference on 'Wartime Shakespeare' was held at the University of Ottawa; and one of the seminars at the September 2009 British Shakespeare Association Conference was entitled 'Shakespeare in Wartime'; the seminar was chaired by Ton Hoenselaars and Clara Calvo, who are preparing a collection of essays on the seminar's topic; finally, the Conference of the recently instituted ESRA (European Shakespeare Research Association), which was held in Pisa in November 2009, was devoted to 'Shakespeare and Conflict'.

On three of these occasions, I had the chance to present my reflections on the topic of Shakespeare and the doctrine of what with an oxymoron is called 'the *just war* theory'; and on all these occasions I received valuable feedback and the encouragement to proceed in the direction outlined. I am grateful to my colleagues and friends for those suggestions and encouragements. I am also grateful to Marta

Gibinska, who invited me to deliver a speech at the Conference she organized in Cracow in 2005 and who, together with Agnieszka Romanowska, edited with love and care the fine volume of the Conference Proceedings; to Clara Calvo who chaired with skill and gracefulness the Stratford 2008 seminar, in which many different and varied perspectives were usefully confronted; and to Carla Dente, who invited me to deliver the closing speech at the Pisa Conference. I would also like to thank for their help Paul Franssen and Ros King who generously let me read the book they edited in one of its latest stages of elaboration; Thomas Casadei whom I met on the internet and who took interest in my work and sent me his extremely useful reflections on Michael Walzer's latest book; Carmelina Imbroscio who suggested that I read the article 'Paix' in the *Encyclopédie*, whose moving *incipit* I chose as one of my epigraphs; Donatella Pallotti who introduced me to the reading of the fascinatingly outlandish *Art of War* by Sun Tzu; Jeanne Clegg, by now my habitual designated victim, who read the first part of this book and who, I am afraid, encouraged me to continue my efforts; and Luca, who willingly designed and drew the cover image of this book.

Trying to imagine an apt *envoi* for this book at the moment in which it concludes its private life, when it has communicated only with its author, and starts its public life, I thought that, instead of wishing it good success, I should wish that, by the time it is published and in the hands of its first reader, it would appear obsolete and even incomprehensible.

I would gladly forfeit the time and toil I spent writing it for such an outcome.

December 2009

Abbreviations and Documentation

- Aquinas St Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, Latin Text and English Translation, Introduction, Notes, Appendices and Glossaries, London: Blackfriars, in conjunction with Eyre & Spottiswood, London, and McGraw-Hill, New York, 1963-81, 61 vols. The volumes quoted are vol. XXXV, 1972, ed. by T.R. Heath, O.P. and vol. XXXVIII, 1975, ed. by Marcus Lefébure, O.P.
- Augustine Augustine, *Political Writings*, trans. M.W. Tkacz, D. Kries and E.L. Fortin, Indianapolis: Hackett, 1994.
- Bouvet Honoré Bouvet, *L'arbre des batailles*; Engl. trans., *The Tree of Battles of Honoré Bouvet*, edited and introduced English trans. by G.W. Coopland, Liverpool: At the University Press, 1949.
- Erasmus *Collected Works of Erasmus*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974-. The volumes quoted are vol. 27, 1986, ed. by A.H.T. Levi and vol. 35, 2005, ed. by D.L. Drysdall and J.N. Grant.
- Ethics* G.M. Reichberg, H.Sykes and E. Bigby, eds, *The Ethics of War: Classic and Contemporary Readings*, Oxford: Blackwell, 2006.
- Gentili Alberico Gentili, *De iure belli Libri Tres*, 1598; Engl. trans., ed. John Carew Rolfe and Coleman Phillipson, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933, 2 vols. All quotations are from vol. 2.
- Gratian *Concordia discordantium canonum*, c. 1140, in *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, accurate J.-P. Migne, 217 vols + Indices; Tomus CLXXXVII, Paris, 1855.
- Legnano Giovanni da Legnano, *Tractatus de bello, de represaliis et de duello*, c. 1360; Engl. trans., *De bello*, ed. by T.E. Holland, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1917.
- Pisan Chrstine de Pisan, *Le Livre des fais d'armes et de chevalerie*, c. 1410; Engl. trans., *The Book of Deeds of Arms and of Chivalry*, translated by Summer Willard, ed. by Charity Cannon Willard, University Park: Pennsylvania University Press, 1999.

- Vives Juan Luis Vives, *Obras políticas y pacifistas*, estudio introductorio by Francisco Calero, traducción y notas de Francisco Calero et al., Madrid: Atlas, 1999.

French, Italian, Spanish, Latin or Greek pamphlets have been quoted in their sixteenth- or seventeenth-century English translation, that is, in the verbal vesture in which they came to form part of the coeval English discourse on war. Reference to recent translations (as, for instance, in the case of John of Legnano, Bouvet, Christine de Pisan, Gentili and John of Salisbury) has been made either when no coeval translation exists or in the case of incunabula (as is Caxton's translation of Pisan), where both meaning and form are not of easy reading. However, whenever modern editions or translations have been used, the first date given in the Works Cited section is the one (known or presumed) of either composition (e.g. Cicero) or first publication (e.g. More). This also applies to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century works quoted in contemporary translations. Wherever possible, first editions of the works originally written in English have been read and quoted. The old spelling has been kept in all quotations except for contractions, which have been modernized.

In the list of Works Cited, those journals that are always quoted following standard abbreviations are given in that form (e.g. *SQ* for *Shakespeare Quarterly*, *SS* for *Shakespeare Survey*); all lesser known journals are quoted in full. Anonymous works are listed under the title.

Unless otherwise stated, Shakespeare quotations are from Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor, eds, *William Shakespeare, The Complete Works*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.

When the editions of non-Shakespearean plays quoted are those of the 'Malone Society Reprints' collection, references are to the line numbers given in each edition.

Quotations from Marlowe are from Frank Romany and Robert Lindsay, eds, Christopher Marlowe, *The Complete Plays*, London: Penguin, 2003.

Bible quotations are from the Authorized King James Version.

Matters of authorship have been dealt with only when relevant to the contingent argument as – more than on who the author of a given play is or whether a given play is thought to be the outcome of collaboration – I am chiefly interested in discussing what, with the obvious approximation, was seen on, and predicated from, the stage (or could be read in a book) especially in the 1590s, in relation to discourses of war which were heard or read by that time.

Translations from works not available in English are mine.

Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	vii
<i>Abbreviations and Documentation</i>	ix
Introduction	1
PART ONE ETHICS AND WARFARE: THE JUST WAR TRADITION IN EUROPE	
1 Christianity and the Ethics of Warfare	9
1.1 Augustine: War Ethics and the Roman Empire	9
1.2 The First Systematization of Canon Law: Gratian	17
1.3 Aquinas: Violence Public and Private	22
2 The Lay Tradition	27
2.1 John of Legnano	27
2.2 Honoré Bouvet	30
2.3 Christine de Pisan	32
2.4 Alberico Gentili	34
3 The 'Pacifist' Tradition	37
3.1 The Humanist Pacifists: More, Erasmus and Vives	37
PART TWO THEATRES OF WAR: OFFSTAGE AND ONSTAGE	
4 Elizabetha Triumphans	55
4.1 'The Cause is Thine': War and Conquest in God's Name	55
4.2 Defence or Aggression? The Pressure of Perpetual War	61
4.3 Crisis	62
4.4 On the Stage	66
5 Marlowe et alii	69
5.1 The Extremities of War: Papists, Mahometans and Other Infidels	69
5.2 Civil Wars	76
5.3 War and National History	79
5.4 Sedition and Riot	83
6 Closer to Shakespeare	91
6.1 The Just War in Contemporary Tracts and Manuals	91

PART THREE SHAKESPEARE ON WAR AND PEACE

7	The Temper of War and Peace	103
7.1	The Blessings of Peace, the Evils of War	103
8	<i>Ius ad bellum</i>	119
8.1	Beginnings and Declarations of War	119
8.2	Causes Just and Unjust	121
8.3	Succession and Civil War	122
8.4	Aggression and Defence	131
8.5	Rebellion	136
8.6	Revenge	139
8.7	Killing the Tyrant	143
8.8	Just, Holy, Religious	147
9	<i>Ius in bello</i>	153
9.1	Before the Battle	153
9.2	War Leaders	159
9.3	Common Soldiers	170
9.4	Honour and Cowardice	179
9.5	The Legacy of Chivalry	183

PART FOUR HENRY V AND THE WARS OF OUR TIME

10	The Just War of Henry V	197
10.1	Old and New: a Moral View of War?	197
10.2	The Just Conquest of <i>Henry V</i> and its Appropriations	200
10.3	Further Appropriations: The Jurists' Point of View	204
10.4	The falsification of the <i>causa belli</i>	207
10.5	The Defence of Cultural Values	213
10.6	Responsibility	215
10.7	Proportionality and Discrimination	218
10.8	God's Hand and the Empire	225

<i>Works Cited</i>	229
<i>Index</i>	241

Introduction

War is ubiquitous in Shakespeare. It may appear in his plays as a war of conquest as in *Henry V*, as a defensive war as in *Coriolanus*, as a civil war as in *Julius Caesar*, as a war of defence against rebels as in *1 and 2 Henry IV* and in *2 Henry VI*, as a dynastic war or war of succession as in *King John*, in *Richard II* and in *2 and 3 Henry VI*, as a war against a tyrant as in *Richard III*; it may appear as an absurd and inane enterprise as in *Troilus and Cressida*; it may appear as the main and almost sole topic of a play as in *Henry V* or as background as in *King Lear* and *Othello*; it may appear as a menace, as a scourge or as a desired condition, down to its innumerable uses as metaphor and image in many of the comedies and even in *Lucrece* and in the *Sonnets*. Shakespeare penned powerful portraits of military leaders in the problematic and even nervously fragile, or at least unstable, characters of Othello, Antony, Macbeth, Achilles, Coriolanus; of churchmen that turn soldiers like York in *2 Henry IV*; of ambiguous military counsellors like the Bastard in *King John*; of incompetent military counsellors like Volumnia in *Coriolanus*, or of biased war counsellors like Canterbury in *Henry V*. He even sketched portraits of common soldiers like the thoughtful and thought-provoking Michael Williams, again in *Henry V*, or the 'band of (tragicomic) brothers' in the same play and in *1 and 2 Henry IV*; he portrayed the perfect medieval knight in Talbot and the less than perfect knight in Troilus; he invented the quixotic war-manual maniac in Fluellen; he staged honour and cowardice, courage and 'effeminacy', rashness and prudence, the praise of war and the praise of peace, the dispraise of war and the dispraise of peace. In short, the range of issues he staged and the complexity and variety of perspectives and embodiments he imagined is indeed impressive.

That Shakespeare was deeply interested in war and that he had a good knowledge of warfare is a fact; indeed he is probably the Renaissance writer who wrote most intensely on the issue of war. But his representations of war were not born in a vacuum. Not only did they start to be produced at the outset of his career, in the 1590s, which was probably the most warlike decade in the reign of Queen Elizabeth and the one in which the highest number of war manuals appeared in England; but they also appear to be conscious of a long-standing tradition of discussion and dispute on the discipline of war; a tradition initiated in the fifth century by Augustine, who tried to justify war without shaking the bases of Christian morals, and prosecuted first by the Church Fathers and later on by lay thinkers, who endeavoured to establish principles both for the *ius ad bellum* and for the *ius in bello*. In particular, the issue which surfaced both in religious and in lay treatises as paramount in all discussions and which appears to be one of the main concerns in Shakespeare's representations of war was that of the 'just war', a topic which is still

today being debated in books of international law and a theory which continues to dictate the norms for the conduct of *iustum bellum* in our time.

To discuss Shakespeare's representations of war, therefore, means not simply to examine his work from a literary point of view or to historicize those representations in connection with the discourses (and the practice) of war which were produced in his time; it may also mean to consider or reconsider present-day debates for or against war and the kind of war ideology which is trying to assert itself in our time in light of the tradition which shaped those discourses and representations and which still substantiates our 'moral' view of war.

Indeed Shakespeare's works have been exploited, and are still being exploited, in different contexts and with different aims in order to support diverse views of war. Apologetic readings of *Henry V* have served the purpose of eulogizing the heroism of English soldiers both after World War I and after World War II: in 1918 Sir Walter Raleigh's famous speech at the British Academy (Raleigh, 1918); in 1944 the film that Sir Laurence Olivier dedicated 'To the commandoes and airborne troops of Great Britain'; while in recent times scholars of international law or teachers of 'Ethics and Warfare' have exploited the same text in order to show the flouting of all the norms obtaining at the time (and still obtaining today) both as concerns the just cause for waging war (the *ius ad bellum*) and the just conduct of hostilities (the *ius in bello*). Shakespeare's representations of war, therefore, pose questions to which the just war doctrine is still trying to give answers both from the moral and from the juridical point of view.

The just war doctrine has affected Christian morals more deeply and dramatically than any other ethical dilemma. How is it that, inside a Christian framework of thought, acts which should have been considered unchristian could be justified as unavoidable or even praiseworthy? Is the just war theory mainly intended to restrain those acts or was (and is) it, on the contrary, meant to legitimize them? How far did Augustine's writings – and the writings which followed that first step – play in favour of war while apparently marking the boundaries between what form of violence was 'acceptable' and what form was not? As Ros King says, 'The terrible irony of all attempts to control war, to codify it and make it "just", is that it puts a civilised or righteous gloss on pre-civilised behaviour.' (King, 2008, p. 25) And indeed, the very fact that a theory of the 'just war' could be elaborated and that its way was first paved by the crucial contribution of Christian thinkers gave currency to the idea that there are certain forms of violence which can be considered 'just' in terms of Christian ethics, that is, not only justifiable on the basis of shared juridical principles but also approvable in terms of moral behaviour.

The dilemma is more easily solved in terms of realism and expediency than of theology and dogma. As J.T. Johnson suggests, it is important, when discussing the just war doctrine, to consider, on the one hand, its effects 'on the society to which it was preached and on which it was imposed as a moral guide' and, on the other, 'the input of secular forces into the very making' of that doctrine. (Johnson, 1975, pp. 6, 5) As we shall see, there were significant secular forces at the basis of Augustine's elaboration of the category of *iustum bellum*.

In spite of the omnipresence of war in the Elizabethan theatre of the 1590s and especially in Shakespeare's works, very few studies have been devoted to it or have discussed the interrelation of the theatrical representations of war and the warlike spirit of the Elizabethan era. Surprisingly, Paul A. Jorgensen's articles and his seminal book (1956) were not followed by other substantial reflections until the 1990s and the early 2000s, when a book by Nick de Somogyi (1998) and one by Nina Taunton (2001) appeared. Somogyi's book examines and discusses, with the help of an impressive bibliography, a wide range of often very little known texts and some of Shakespeare's plays with the aim of exploring the relations existing between what was presented on the stage and England's involvement in war activities from 1585 until 1604; Taunton's book focuses on the 1590s and is especially interested in discussing the interrelation between the prescriptive discourse of war in contemporary war manuals and the discourse of war which developed in the drama of the decade. Further examples of the revival of interest in these issues are a book by Alan Shepard (2002) and one by Simon Barker (2007). The first examines the representation of masculinity and militarism in Marlowe's plays, reading them in a sequence which goes from *Tamburlaine* to *Doctor Faustus* which, according to the author, represents a parable which goes 'from apparent endorsement of [hypermilitarism] to apparent repudiation of it.' (p. 15) In Barker's book, the themes (and the ideology) developed in the war manuals are contrasted with the critique which, according to the author, came from the stage. In addition, a rich and variegated collection of essays edited by Ros King and Paul Franssen appeared in 2008 (for a review of this volume see Pugliatti, 2009). The revival of interest in the topic of war in literary works is also witnessed by a research which has recently engaged three different Departments of the University of Cassino. The volume in which the outcome of this joint enterprise has been published (Magrelli, ed., 2009) explores the representation of war in various cultural and historical contexts and devotes the first chapter to Shakespeare; (Valentini, 2009) another Italian contribution on Shakespeare and war, this time devoted to performance, is Soncini, 2005.

Going back to the 1960s, extremely interesting are the articles and books written by J.R. Hale between 1961, when he published *The Art of War in Renaissance England* and 1990, when he published *Artists and Warfare in the Renaissance*. Apart from the perspicuity and lucidity of his reflections on war and the Renaissance, Hale's comments on Shakespeare (as in 'Shakespeare and Warfare', 1985b, and *passim* in other of his works) offer a precious source of inspiration.

Of particular importance, in my perspective, is the fact that scholars not professionally engaged in the study of literature have discussed the issue of war starting from Shakespeare's works. Theodor Meron is professor of international law and, among other activities in this field, he has served as counsellor to the U.S Department of State and to the Israeli Foreign Ministry; his scholarly activity has been mainly devoted to the study of international criminal law and to that of human rights in an international perspective; although he is not a professional Shakespeare scholar, Meron is probably the academic who has written most about Shakespeare and war. His books (Meron, 1993 and 1998) display a surprising

insight into, and knowledge of, Shakespeare's texts and constitute a necessary reading experience for anyone reflecting on Shakespeare in connection with war.

In the Introduction to his book on the Renaissance pacifists (1987), Philip Dust writes that the essays which compose the volume were begun in 1973, when the Vietnam war was drawing to a close and that at that time they were meant as a form of protest against that war. Similarly, my book was born from a deep uneasiness about the wars we are witnessing and waging and draws one of its motivations from the controversial justificatory discourse which has been developing especially since the military intervention in Kosovo. Unlike what happened in Shakespeare's time, when the principal vehicle of ideology and consensus was the theatre, the representations of our wars are now staged on television and commentaries on them are to be found in newspaper articles and on the internet. Not unlike what happened then, however, the *accident* of war, thus represented, is imposing itself on our consciousness and conscience in such a way as to *normalize* those representations and consequently that *accident*. Furthermore, in addition to the news and views which are spread among the general public by means of acquiescent mass media, a great part of the specialized debate is arguing for the necessity of establishing new, more ample and flexible boundaries in international law as to what is right and what is wrong about war-making. For the first time, therefore, the principles of the just war tradition are being shaken and substituted by a practice which tends to ignore existing international agreements. The violation of state sovereignty and the justification of the use of force as dictated by 'humanitarian reasons' which are being affirmed and practised have inaugurated the idea that the defence of human rights must be considered *ius cogens*, following what Michael Walzer has called 'emergency ethics'; (see Walzer, 2005, pp. 33-50)¹ therefore, in cases in which human rights are patently violated, a war may (and should) be waged also outside the norms of international law: the relevant legislation, it has been argued, will follow. Obviously, no one knows what in the future will be deemed, even unilaterally, a *cogens* cause for waging wars.

Although my book covers the same ground explored in the works on Shakespeare and war mentioned above, and although reading them has revealed to me many stimulating aspects of the general topic as well as a number of fine analyses of the texts examined, my main interest lies in discussing the ways in which wars have been and still are justified; and the ways in which, especially in the Christian world, acts of violence and of aggression have acquired the status of 'just' actions, even indispensable deeds for the peaceful perpetuation of the human species. The 'just war tradition' which appears in the book's title, therefore, is both my point of departure and my point of arrival. In this perspective, Shakespeare and some of his contemporaries are at the same time, so to speak, the conscious

¹ On the issue of 'humanitarian war' and the subversion of international law which it has determined, see Zolo, 2000. These issues have produced an intense debate among scholars in the field of international law.

cultural 'retainers' of that doctrine and – in some cases – its most eloquent and farsighted cultural interpreters.

The general framework of my study concerns the influence of the just war doctrine on a particular social phenomenon (the theatre) and, more specifically, on the work of a particular playwright (Shakespeare); and, consequently, the perspective which, on the issue of war, was communicated to the contemporary audience, thereby shaping the public opinion of the time. After all, in Elizabethan England the theatre represented for many, from court to commoners, a crucial opinion-making medium, intimately interwoven with the social, economic and political features of the age and therefore a phenomenon whose impact on the construction, or enforcement, of ideology cannot be overlooked. Indeed, as N. de Somogyi says, 'There is some evidence that Elizabethans learned much of (what we might call) their current affairs from the theatres' (Somogyi, 1998, p. 137) It is in the theatre, therefore, that we may expect to find reverberations of the dialogue between contemporary (and previous) statements about war and the social, political and cultural forces which nourished that dialogue and the revival of the just war doctrine at that particular time and in that particular place. Is this reading Shakespeare historically? It probably is.

But another dimension imposes itself with a particular aura of necessity. On the one hand, this necessity is determined by what has recently been called 'the anachronism of Shakespeare's imagination', (Ryan, 2008, p. 29) that is, 'an alternative conception of Shakespeare's universality'; (ibid., p. 31) not 'the complacent conservative cliché that Shakespeare's drama depicts the abiding truths of the human predicament' (ibid., p. 25) or even, one may add, the extravagant idea that he was 'the inventor of the human'; but the largely demonstrated fact that his work expresses a 'refusal to stay tied to its time', that it invites appropriation, that 'his drama allows us to perceive his world, and our world, through the eyes of a world which human beings are still struggling to create.' (ibid., p. 35) On the other hand, the paradoxical tension between the local and the universal (can we say 'universal' without blushing?) is also relevant to the topic with which Shakespeare is confronted in the following pages. Invention or biological necessity, (Mead, 1940) war is the most constantly and stubbornly practised of collective human activities in all kinds of human communities, whatever their cultural, social, political and psychological imprint. As such, it is a fundamental which Shakespeare himself 'appropriated' in his texts, sometimes establishing a strong link with the wars of his time and place: with what intent – whether conformist or critical – his texts do not tell us, nor should we care to decree. Is this 'appropriating' Shakespeare (and Shakespeare's appropriations)? It probably is; but it is mainly an attempt at reconstructing and revising a theological and moral Christian tradition which is the first and foremost source which for centuries has given currency to war, justifying it and even popularizing violence as within certain limits commendable; a tradition which we are still trying to cope with.

In Part One of the book I found it indispensable to discuss at some length the European sources of the just war tradition starting from its Christian roots in the

thought of Augustine and then to show the way in which the moral principles expressed in his works were transposed into a lay framework in the work of jurists, essayists or pamphleteers. I then take into consideration the work of those humanists (mainly Erasmus, More and Vives) who expressed, more or less systematically, what is today described as a 'pacifist' position. This part of my book is obviously deeply indebted to those scholars who have discussed the just war tradition both from the historical and from the doctrinal point of view. Indeed, the bibliography on this issue is immense and, when the authors are experts in international law, highly specialistic. My treatment of the subject, therefore, is not meant to provide a fresh theoretical elaboration of these issues but simply to outline a framework and a viewpoint for the discussion of Shakespeare's work. Where my ideas diverge from those of most commentators is in the general evaluation of the doctrine, which is usually interpreted as a tool devised to set limits to violence but which, in my opinion, constituted, from the start, a means to authorize war and make it morally acceptable.

In Part Two I first describe briefly the political context in which Shakespeare's major plays on war were produced, outlining the general atmosphere of the 1590s. I then discuss other theatrical representations of war in the context of the debate on the art of war which developed in England during the last decade of the sixteenth century.

In Part Three I discuss Shakespeare's many representations of war, trying to take into consideration the whole of his theatrical work and shaping the discussion on the basis of categories which are relevant both to the *ius ad bellum* and to the *ius in bello*.

Part Four is devoted to *Henry V*, the play which presents the most heroic image of war yet which draws at the same time a most ambiguous picture of it and of its hero. I decided to isolate the story of Agincourt and of Henry's conquest of France with the special purpose of drawing an explicit parallel between the issues developed in *Henry V* and certain doctrines which are being developed in our time and which in many ways are reshaping the view of what for centuries has been thought to be a 'just war'.

There is a tendency today to dismiss the just war doctrine as obsolete and inadequate to reflect the political, social and economic structures of our time. It is thought that the landscape of the globalized world imposes a rethinking of the whole issue and a rewriting of certain principles of international law which until a few decades ago appeared to be universally accepted. To speak of war today, therefore, implies taking into consideration many more issues and perspectives than it did even in the recent past; issues and perspectives which concern all of us and which therefore urge us to take a stand even when we are speaking of Shakespeare. War is indeed an argument which allows neither reticence nor neutrality: as Michael Walzer put it, 'we are doomed to continue arguing about war; it is a necessary activity of democratic citizens.' (Walzer, 2004, p. xiv)

This book represents my way of performing that task.

PART ONE
ETHICS AND WARFARE:
THE JUST WAR TRADITION
IN EUROPE

