

```
absolutist thoughts, 200-201, 206
                                               agency
administrative and bureaucratic measures
                                                  art of the impossible, 22-23
  administrative capacity facilitated
                                                  choice under constraints, 20
    conquests, 97, 98-99, 219
                                                  human creativity, 32
  administrative layers of prefectures,
                                                  institutions as humanly devised
    counties, townships, and villages, 83,
                                                    constraints, 20
                                                  interaction with structure, 2, 11,
  in Brandenburg-Prussia, 144, 148,
                                                    19-23
    192
                                                  leadership competence, 101-102,
  centralized bureaucracy and state
    capacity, 43-44
                                                  learning, 103, 104-105, 106, 144
  centralized bureaucracy and state
                                                  Machiavelli on opportunities and
    capacity in ancient China, 1, 6-7, 97,
                                                    constraints, 22
                                                  in macrohistorical processes, 227
  in Chu, 179
                                                  opportunities and constraints, 21-22,
  in the Dutch provinces/Republic, 143,
                                                    91, 113
                                                  in overcoming countervailing
                                                    mechanisms and strategies, 11, 23, 29,
  invitation of talents, 60, 65, 104
  in Han (Warring States period), 85
                                                    101, 109; see also rising costs;
                                                    self-strengthening reforms; stratagem;
  in the Han Dynasty, 221
  in Jin, 58
                                                    strategy
  in Louis XIV's France, 122
                                                  Qin's superiority in statecraft, 97
  meritocracy, 6, 31, 32, 34, 36, 44, 63,
                                                  alliance pattern and self-strengthening
    81, 101, 103-104, 124, 127, 129, 183;
    see also agency
                                                    reforms, 32
  in Qi, 63
                                                  coalitional warfare and system
  in Qin, 83–84, 102
                                                    maintenance, 139
  in Revolutionary and Napoleonic
                                                  and domestic resource mobilization,
    France, 127, 135
  transition from traditional to
                                                  Machiavelli on the unreliability of allied
     rational-legal authority, 39, 183–184
                                                    troops, 32, 37, 135
  Weberian ideal-type bureaucracy, 183
                                                  offensive, 136, 233
                                                  see also balance of power;
  in Wei, 98
  see also direct rule; household
                                                    bandwagoning; divide and conquer;
                                                    hezong; lianheng
    registration; law; state
```

286 Index

the threshold of 1, 000 for lists of war, appeasement, 27 by Han and Wei, 87 250, 251 rationality of, 87 in wars of unification, 153 see also stratagem asymmetrical warfare, 235-236 balance of power, 1, 52 citizenship, see medieval constitutionalism; as balance of relative weaknesses in early state-society bargains modern Europe, 110, 118 collective action problem, see rationality as balance of relative wealth in early collective responsibility, see divide and modern Europe, 111, 125-126 rule as balance of threat, 24 colonies balancer, 65, 137, 232 decolonization, 234 balances as competition between as outlets for stratagems and territorial co-hegemons, 138 expansion, 142, 232 reflecting the relative openness of the balances as outcomes or equilibria, 26, early modern system, 51 Confucianism balances as stalemate in civil wars, 205 balances in ancient China, 58 as façade of legitimacy in the Han balancing as a foreign policy or strategy, Dynasty and subsequent dynasties, 26, 54, 79 220-221 balancing as resistance to domination, on foreign policy, 156 on human dignity, 184 balancing in ancient China, 55, 67; see ideal of the Mean (zhongyong), 50 also hezong; lianheng influence on Chinese politics, 18 buckpassing instead of balancing, 27 as moral restraint on the exercise of definition of, 24, 74, 138 power, 196, 220; see also medieval distancing instead of balancing, 27 constitutionalism external balancing, 12 at the village level, 220 failure at balancing in ancient China, 8, see also culture; freedom of expression; norms; rationality 55, 74-79 internal balancing, 12, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, conquest 49, 60, 110; see also self-strengthening Chu's, of Lu, 71, 75, 255 reforms; self-weakening expedients Chu's, of Yue, 71, 75 self-interest and weak balance of power, Chu's consolidation of conquests in the 27, 55, 75, 79 early Spring and Autumn period, 56, weakness of balancing in early modern Europe, 136-139 ease of in ancient China, 52, 96; see also see also alliance; bandwagoning; divide offense-defense balance Han's, of Zheng, 75, 255 and conquer; logic of balancing; Qin's, and consolidation of sovereign rationality bandwagoning, 12, 27, 68, 76, 77, 130 territorial states, 97-99; see also wars Napoleon's attacks on bandwagons, of unification Qin's, of Ba and Shu, 85, 92, 98 134 see also divide and conquer; lianheng Qi's, of Song, 64, 75, 85, 88, 155, bankruptcy, 191 partition of Poland, 131, 155 in France, 123, 126, 141 in the United Habsburgs/Habsburg profitability of, 29, 31, 97, 98, 131 Spain, 115, 117 Prussia's, of Silesia, 145, 155 see also fiscal crisis systemic conquests in early modern battle deaths Europe, 155 Wei's, of Wey, 75 in ancient China, 152-153, 253 Yue's, of Wu, 60, 104, 154 in early modern Europe, 151-152 quality of data on, 90, 151, 254, 256 Zhao's, of Zhongshan, 75, 77



```
see also administrative and bureaucratic
                                                 Shang jun shu on weakening the people,
    measures; opportunistic expansion;
                                                    185-186
                                                 in state formation, 46-47
    piecemeal expansion
consent
                                               economic measures
  contingent, 188
  habitual, 45
                                                 attraction of immigrants, 82
  see also rationality: material incentives of
                                                 in Brandenburg-Prussia, 145
    rewards and punishments
                                                 in England, see public credit
                                                 ever-normal granary, 61, 171
culture
  cultural compatibility and the promotion
                                                 land grants, 58, 60, 81, 171, 179, 209
    of Weberian state capacity and
                                                 land reform in Brandenburg-Prussia,
     legitimacy in the Third World, 237
  cultural homogeneity as result of
                                                 mercantilist measures, 122, 145
    homogenization policies, 165-166
                                                 in Qi, 63
  cultural relativism, 18, 156
                                                 in Qin, 81-83, 187
                                                 in Revolutionary France, 127, 194
  degree of cultural homogeneity and
    domination, 163, 164-165
                                                 in Russia, 147
  degree of cultural homogeneity in
                                                 in Wei, 60-61
    ancient China, 52, 163, 165
                                                 in Wu, 59
                                                 see also monetization; public credit;
  degree of cultural homogeneity in early
    modern Europe, 52, 159, 164
                                                   revenues; trade
                                               emulation
dating of system formation, 4-5; see also
                                                 disjuncture between motivation and
    interaction capacity
                                                   capability for, 86
  onset of the ancient Chinese system, 4, 5,
                                                 Qin's efforts to minimize emulation by
                                                   other states, 84-87
  onset of the early modern European
                                               feedback effect
    system, 5, 112
democratic peace, 234-235, 236; see also
                                                 interaction of positive and negative
                                                    feedbacks, 13, 25-26
direct rule, 7, 31, 43, 45
                                                 negative, 13, 27, 29
  in ancient China, 48, 54, 83, 98, 179,
                                                 positive, 13, 27, 29
                                                 see also mechanism
     180-181, 227
  erosion of in the Han Dynasty and
                                               feudalism, 1
    subsequent dynasties, 221
                                                 corporate immunity, 183
  facilitated state domination,
                                                 definition of, 196
                                                 feudal bargain of land for military
    178
  in modern Europe, 179
                                                    service, 171-172
  in Revolutionary France, 127,
                                                 Zhou, 3-4, 56, 157, 196-197
                                                 see also medieval constitutionalism
  Shang jun shu on, 180
                                               fiscal crisis
divide and conquer
                                                 in Bourbon France, 122
  in ancient China, 67, 71, 79; see also
                                                 and military weakness, 119,
    lianheng
  definition of, 27-28
                                                 in Napoleonic France, 131–132
  by Louis XIV, 121
                                                 in the United Habsburgs/Habsburg
  by Napoleonic France, 130-131
                                                    Spain, 114, 117
  by Valois France, 114
                                                 in Valois France, 113
divide and rule
                                                 a vicious cycle, 119, 229
  in Castile, 199
                                                 see also bankruptcy
  collective responsibility and mutual
                                               fiscal expedients, 33, 36, 191
     surveillance in Qin, 186, 227
                                                 in England, 124
  in England, 201
                                                 in Louis XIV's France, 122-123
```



```
fiscal expedients (cont.)
                                                 Han-Wei alliance in 294-286 BC, 69
                                                 Han-Wei alliance in 276-274 BC, 69
  in the United Habsburgs/Habsburg
    Spain, 114-116
                                                 involvement by Chu, 254
  in Valois France, 112-113, 140
                                                 involvement by Han, 254
freedom of expression, 168, 173-177
                                                 involvement by Wei, 254
                                                 prospect of in the wars of unification,
  Chinese classics on reciprocal
    state-society relations, 174
  duty to criticize rulers, 175, 176, 220
                                                 against Qi's hegemony, 64, 66, 72, 85, 88
  erosion of in Brandenburg-Prussia, 193
                                                 Qin's manipulation of, 70, 72
                                                 security alliance, 74-75
  erosion of in Qin, 178, 182-183
  Hundred Schools of Thought, 168, 174
                                                 unified command in, 68, 69, 89
  Jixia boshi (scholars beneath the Ji gate)
                                                 of 318 BC, 68-69, 76
    in Qi, 173
                                                 of 298-296 BC, 69
                                                 of 287 BC, 68
fuguo, see economic measures
fuguo qiangbing, 29
                                                 of 259-257 BC, 69, 134
                                                 of 247 BC, 69, 100, 134, 254
   see also self-strengthening reforms
                                                 of 241 BC, 69, 254
                                               Hobbesian metaphor, 37-38, 156; see also
  of the ancient Chinese system, 160
                                                   logic of domination
  barriers of, 55, 90-91
                                               household registration, 43
                                                 internal passports to control freedom of
  of Chu, 56, 92-93
  and costs, 94
                                                   movement, 181
  of the early modern European system,
                                                 in Qin, 48, 65, 84
     160, 161, 214
                                                 in Wei, 62
  of France, 160
  of Han, 92
                                               institutional stasis and innovations, 2,
  hezong and lianheng as geographical
    concepts, 68, 94
                                                 persistence of inefficient institutions, 33
  not a hard constraint, 91-93, 160; see
                                                 persistence of self-weakening expedients,
    also agency
  peripheral location, 93-94
                                                 see also self-strengthening reforms;
  problem of distance, 160
                                                   self-weakening expedients
                                               interaction capacity, 5
  of Qin, 91
  Sunzi bingfa on, 90, 93
  of Wei, 92
                                                 implements in agricultural tools, 61
  Wuzi on, 92
                                                 weapons, 95
  of Zhao, 93
guoren, see self-strengthening reforms
                                               juridical equality, 194
                                               justice, 48, 168, 170, 172, 173, 182, 187,
                                                    188, 220, 227; see also law; legal
hegemony
  hegemonic rise and decline, 25, 52, 236
                                                   protection
  hegemonic stability, 234
  Qi-Qin co-hegemony, 64, 66, 72, 85, 110
                                               late development
  Qi's, 63, 66, 68, 72
                                                 advantage of backwardness, 80
  Qin's, 72, 85
                                                 Brandenburg-Prussia as late developer,
  Wei's, 62, 68, 70
hezong (balancing) alliance, 68, 226-227
                                                 Qin as late developer, 80
  comment by Han Fei, 74, 77-78, 79
                                                 and strong state, 144
  comment by Xunzi, 74
                                               law
  controversy over hezong and lianheng
                                                 fa as model institutions in Confucianism,
    alliances, 67, 78
  definition of, 67
                                                 fa as penal codes in Legalism, 182
  effectiveness of, 68, 76, 87; see also
                                                 legal positivism facilitated domination,
    rationality
                                                   181-182
```



Index 289

Qin Law, 103, 180-181, 184 countervailing or checking, 2, 11, 55, 224; see also logic of balancing rule by law, 181, 183 rule of law, 181 definition of causal mechanism, 8 Wei's Canon of Law, 81, 172 of rising costs of administration or see also justice; legal protection expansion, see rising costs legal protection, 172-173; see also justice; and universal laws, 8, 9 law medieval constitutionalism, 196 Legalism comparison of estate-based assemblies and absolutism, 200 and geographically based assemblies, in imperial China, 220 and state power, 18, 181–182 convention of entire guoren as hui in lianheng strategy feudal Zhou, 202 definition of, 67, 76 estatization of capital holders, 170 feudal customs as checks on the exercise Han Fei on, 78, 79 logic of balancing of power, 181, 198, 200 feudal customs in Zhou, 196 definition of, 11, 225 in international politics, 24-26, 54, medieval assemblies in Brandenburg-Prussia, 198–199 226; see also balance of power; medieval assemblies in Castile, 199 rising costs medieval assemblies in the Dutch in state formation, 41-42, 226; see also provinces, 143 resistance; rising costs; state-society bargains medieval assemblies in England, 201 logic of domination medieval assemblies in Europe, 41, 198, definition of, 11, 33-34, 225 and Hobbesian metaphor, 38 medieval assemblies in France, 199-200 in international politics, 26-34, 54, 159; origins in fiscal crises, 202; see also fiscal see also divide and conquer; self-strengthening reforms; stratagem; three social orders in medieval Europe, strategy 202-203 in the modern world, 235 worthiness of medieval assemblies, 202 in state formation, 42-47; see also divide see also feudalism; state-society bargains and rule; self-strengthening reforms method, 7-10 weakness of in early modern Europe, alternative explanations, 52-53, 111, 166-167 ceteris paribus assumption, 7, 8, 50 common foundations, 7, 8 Mandate of Heaven, 176-177, 220 comparability of ancient China and early minben (people as roots), 176 modern Europe, 5, 7, 111 as popular sovereignty, 176, 197 Son of Heaven, 176, 220 computer simulation, 10, 37, 51, 149 tyrannicide, 176, 177 counterfactual China, 10 material bargains counterfactual Europe, 10 in ancient China, 168, 171 critical junctures, 21, 22 in Brandenburg-Prussia, 193 deviant case, 8-9, 183 historical contingency, 2, 32, 35, 51, in the Han Dynasty, 219 in the Leviathan, 171 230-231 as substitutes for political bargains, historical institutionalism, 8, 20, 51 45-46, 48, 187, 189, 227 initial and environmental conditions, 2, mechanism 8, 51, 52, 111, 139-142, 169 of balance of power or resistance, see methodological individualism, 15, 19 balance of power; resistance path dependence, 8, 21, 51 coercive, 2, 224; see also logic of punctuated equilibrium, 21, 22, 60, 179, domination retrospective and prospective competing or opposite, 2; see also

perspectives, 9, 196

strategic interaction



290 Index

method (cont.) in Jin, 58 symmetric (both Eurocentric and in Louis XIV's France, 121 military capability not a function of Sinocentric) perspectives, 9-10, 11, 52, army size, 89-90 in Qin, 80-81 timing, 8, 51, 85, 140, 141 uncommon foundations, 2, 8 in Russia, 147 military conscription in Wu, 58 cantonal system in Russia, 147 in Zhao, 73, 86 cantonal system in Sweden, 147, 194 see also asymmetrical warfare; military Compagnies d'Ordonnance in Valois conscription; military entrepreneurs; France, 112, 140, 200 strategy; stratagems in Hungary, 146 military technologies Kantonsystem in Brandenburg-Prussia, in ancient China, 95-96; see also iron 145, 146, 192 in early modern Europe, 161 levée en masse in Revolutionary and military organization more important Napoleonic France, 128, 130, 133, than weapons, 161, 162 military revolution, 161 143, 161, 194 and lower relative costs of war, 150-151 monetization, 141 Machiavelli on, 128, 140 and commercialization of public as a qiangbing-oriented or military-based functions, 141 self-strengthening model, 143 credit instruments, 141, 143, 209 Roman model, 147 level of, 51 tercio in the United Habsburgs/Habsburg scutage (money payment in lieu of knight Spain, 113-114, 115, 117, 118 service), 141 universal conscription, state-society motivation bargains, and direct rule, 178, 194, fear and harsh punishments, 182 heterogeneous human motivations, 11, universal conscription and its abolition in the Han Dynasty, 221 passions and emotions, 13 universal conscription in Warring States see also norms; rationality mutual constitution China, 35, 83 military entrepreneurs and mercenary of international competition, state formation, and self-strengthening troops, 32, 36, 128, 129, 162 in Brandenburg-Prussia, 146 reforms, 2, 23, 30-32, 42, 48, 169, and costs of war, 36, 112, 118, 141 of self-weakening expedients and state in France, 112, 122, 140 Machiavelli on, 36, 37, 128, 140-141, deformation, 49, 169 of states and system, 19, 20-21, 23 as the most self-weakening expedient, nationalism, 128, 175 146, 229 mutiny, 117, 119, 123 norms, 13, 17-18 as the root cause for state deformation, in the conduct of war and diplomacy, 17, 18, 26, 111 and state-society bargains in early Confucian-Mencian, 157 modern Europe, 192 democratic, 18, 234, 235 in Sweden, 147 international commerce provided in the United Habsburgs/Habsburg material incentives for moral Spain, 114, 115, 117 commitment, 233 military measures just war, 157 as organized hypocrisy, 159 in England, 126 generalship of Frederick the Great, in social structure, 17, 46 generalship of Napoleon, 129-130, in society of states, 158 territorial sovereignty norm, 154, 237



```
violation of in ancient China, 157-158
                                                  in Confucianism, 18
  violation of in early modern Europe,
                                                  convergence and divergence of individual
     158-159
                                                    interests and national interests, 15,
  Zhou rites, 157
                                                    105, 107, 119, 120, 189; see also state:
  see also motivation; rationality
                                                    as unitary actor
                                                  convergence and divergence of long-term
offense-defense balance, 52, 111, 159-160
                                                    and short-term, 105
                                                  convergence and divergence of rulers'
  as cost ratio
                                                    personal interests and national
  as ease of conquest, 159
                                                    interests, 15, 106, 175, 221
  and ease of conquest in ancient China,
                                                  convergence of national interests and the
  see also conquest; geography; military
                                                    common interest in the modern world,
    technologies; rising costs
                                                    233, 234, 237
"one country, two systems" in early Han,
                                                  and effectiveness of balance of power, see
                                                    balance of power
opportunistic expansion, 24, 28, 32, 35, 38
                                                  and effectiveness of stratagems, see
  in ancient China, 79, 86, 252
                                                    stratagem
  British restraint in, 232
                                                  as enlightened self-interest, 231
  definition of, 14, 32
                                                  in Han feizi, 19, 82, 105
  in early modern Europe, 111, 113, 131,
                                                  material incentives of rewards and
                                                    punishments, 48, 80-81, 82, 107, 182,
    139
  by Qin, 65
                                                    187, 227
  by the United States, 234
                                                  as narrow self-interest, 13, 17, 26, 38,
  see also piecemeal expansion
                                                    231
                                                  and the Prisoners' Dilemma, 16–17, 18
peaceful transformation in the modern era,
                                                  and rent-seeking activities, 119-120
                                                  in Shang jun shu, 19, 80, 107
    232-235
perceptual shock, 77
                                                  in Sunzi bingfa, 19, 80
piecemeal expansion, 28, 76, 94, 160
                                                  see also balance of power; divide and
  and consolidation of conquests, 99
                                                    conquer; divide and rule;
  and costs, 94
                                                    opportunistic expansion
  Fan Sui on, 100
                                               rebellions
  and weaker balance of power, 76-77, 94
                                                  Catalonian revolt, 118
  see also opportunistic expansion
                                                  in the Chunqiu and Zuo zhuan, 185
public credit, 37, 50, 143, 146
                                                  Dutch revolt, 116, 118, 144
  definition of, 124-125
                                                  in the Han Dynasty and subsequent
  as a fuguo-oriented or fiscally-based
                                                    dynasties, 219, 221, 222
    self-strengthening model, 143, 193
                                                  Portugese revolt, 118, 121
  and parliamentary oversight, 193, 230
                                                  in the Qin Dynasty, 216, 217-218
  see also fiscal crisis; medieval
                                                  Spanish rebellion, 132-133, 134
    constitutionalism; monetization;
                                                  tax rebellions in early modern Europe,
    self-strengthening reforms;
                                                    122, 188
    self-weakening expedients; trade
                                                  see also revolution
                                               regime defection, 43, 218
qiangbing, see military measures
                                               religion, 53
                                                  the Church and administrative model,
rationality
  as benign self-interest, 17
                                                  the Church and state-society bargains,
  as calculation of costs and benefits, 13,
                                                  and resistance in early modern Europe,
     18, 19, 20, 75, 105
  and cheating, 14-15
                                                    203-204
                                                  and the trading class, 204, 210
  and the collective action problem, 15-18,
     23, 33, 46, 77, 138, 224, 226
                                                  see also resistance
```

292 Index

resistance, 40-41, 44, 170, 184-185 Wuzi on, 88 communal land use and likelihood of, see also conquest; offense-defense 47, 185 balance; opportunistic expansion; guerrilla, 132, 135, 204 self-strengthening reforms; Huguenot doctrine of, 197, 200, 204 self-weakening expedients rightful, 188 social basis for, 46-47, 48, 185, 186, 222 self-help, 30, 101; see also see also logic of balancing; norms; self-strengthening reforms rationality; rebellions; religion; self-interest, see rationality state-society bargains self-strengthening reforms revenues and ascendance in relative capability, in Brandenburg-Prussia, 145 commercial taxes in ancient China, compelled by international competition, 210-211 controversy over self-strengthening commercial taxes in Europe, 141, 147, reforms in Qi and Jin in the early 2.TT contributions from the Dutch and Italian Spring and Autumn period, 57, 58 possessions to the United definition of, 29-32, 79, 228 and domination in international Habsburgs/Habsburg Spain, 114, 141 in England, 124, 126, 131 competition, 34, 35, 50, 110-111, 122, extractive capacity of early modern 135, 228, 229-230 and domination in state-society European states, 119, 140, 141, 145, relations, 42-44, 47 income tax in England, 131 and extension of military service and influx of silver, 51, 113, 114, 116, 141 land tax from *guoren* (feudal warriors) land taxes, 58, 60, 179, 210, 211 to yeren (subject populations) in ancient China, 39, 58, 172, 179-180, in Louis XIV's France, 122, 126, 127 in Qin, 81 subsidies, 121, 126, 137, 147 Han Fei or Han Feizi on, 79 in the United Habsburgs/Habsburg as industrialization in the modern world, Spain, 114, 115, 199 in Valois France, 112, 140, 200 and the intensity of international competition in ancient China, 38, 146, war chest, 145, 146 revolt, see rebellions 149, 227-228 revolution and the intensity of international French Revolution, 127, 188, 194 competition in early modern Europe, Glorious Revolution, 123, 125, 193, 201 36-37, 167 rising costs of administration and the intensity of international and self-strengthening reforms, 43 competition in the modern world, in state formation, 42, 184 231-232 rising costs of expansion and the logic of domination, 44, 50, in international competition, 24-25, 29, 197-198, 225, 228 Machiavelli on, 29, 35 for Napoleonic France, 132, 134, 135 in the People's Republic of China, 223 for Qin (Warring States period) and in postwar Germany and Japan, 235 efforts to minimize them, 88-90, 227; in the Qing Dynasty, 29, 223 see also divide and conquer; resistance to reforms, 21, 102, 125, 127, stratagem; strategy 155; see also institutional stasis for the Qin Dynasty, 216-217 and state capacity, 31-32, 215, 225, 234 and self-strengthening reforms, 29, 79 and state domination in ancient China, Sunzi bingfa on, 87-88, 157 48, 169, 179, 190, 227 for the United Habsburgs/Habsburg and state domination in early modern Europe, 50, 192-193, 204, 216 Spain, 114, 116-117



Index 293

a systemic phenomenon in ancient sovereign territorial states in ancient China, 58, 84, 85–86, 104 China, 1, 3 three models in early modern Europe, state autonomy, 215 state capacity, 215 111, 143, 207-208 and the uniformity of state formation state strength, 214 survival and death of states, 153, 156; see processes in ancient China, 213-214 see also administrative and bureaucratic also conquest measures; economic measures; military survival and death of states in ancient measures; mutual constitution; rising China, 96, 153-154, 156, 157 survival and death of states in early costs; state self-weakening expedients modern Europe, 154, 155-156 definition of, 32-33, 34, 228 survival and death of states in Sunzi and disjuncture of state capacity and bingfa, 153 state autonomy, 215-216, 222 as unitary actor, 15, 105, 107, 119, 120 and diversity of state formation Weberian state as a balance between the processes in early modern Europe, 214 logic of balancing and the logic of domination, 50; see also strategic in the Han Dynasty and subsequent dynasties, 221-222 interaction Zhongguo (central states), 1, 5, 39, 55, and the intensity of international competition in early modern Europe, 64, 74, 75, 78, 90, 97, 163, 222 38, 149, 154, 159, 166, 229 see also self-strengthening reforms; and the likelihood of domination in self-weakening expedients; sovereignty international competition, 34, 36, 110, state-society bargains, 42, 43, 168 in ancient China, 1, 7, 48, 168, 171, 226; 122, 228-229 see also freedom of expression; justice; and the logic of balancing, 50 as a vicious cycle, 120 legal protection; Mandate of Heaven; and more extensive state-society bargains material bargains in early modern Europe, 49, 229 benevolent rule as self-strengthening and shadow of a self-weakened past, 37, 131, oppressive rule as self-weakening, 80, 136, 167, 230 157, 174, 177 citizenship as an abortive development in and state deformation in early modern Europe, 48-49, 169, 190, 229; see also ancient China, 178 citizenship rights, 41, 168, 177 mutual constitution citizenship rights and property rights, see also fiscal expedients; military entrepreneurs; monetization 44–45, 187 and civil wars, 205-206 sovereignty concessions to societal actors, 170, 179, anarchical conception of, 154 186, 214 markers of territorial in ancient China, consolidation of citizenship rights in as mutual respect for territorial integrity, early modern Europe as a historically contingent phenomenon, 169, 195, I54 as right of war, 154 Zuo zhuan on, 153 in early modern Europe, 41, 234; see also see also state self-weakening expedients state erosion in the Han Dynasty and distinction between the state and the subsequent dynasties, 219-220, 222 erosion in Qin, 178, 189-190 evolution of guo in ancient China, 3-6, military basis of citizenship and democracy, 41, 47, 168, 170, 198 197, 207 failure at state building in the Third right of exit (freedom of movement), World, 236–237 see also logic of balancing; resistance; Greek polis, 202 predatory state, 15 rising costs

294 Index

stratagem, 28-29 grand strategy, 33, 101, 104; see also logic of domination assassination, 101, 136 bribery, 59, 72, 86, 87, 101, 120 indirect strategy, 59; see also brutality, 28 asymmetrical warfare and costs of expansion, 29, 89; see also and meritocracy, 32 scorched earth tactic, 133, 135, 147 rising costs deception, 28, 70-71, 104 yuanjiao jingong (befriending faraway effectiveness of, 28, 105, 106, 107 states and attacking nearby states), 94, 135; see also piecemeal expansion lijian (estrangement), 29, 69, 73, 100, 104, 106, 107, 134 Machiavelli on, 28 totalitarianism, 184, 216 trade, 1, 51, 141, 144, 208 mass killing of defeated armies, 62, in ancient China, 208-209 86-87, 135, 152 British trading empire, 233 reliance on allies as a disincentive against and diversity of state formation the use of, 135 processes, 208 unorthodox tactics and the cavalry, 73 social status of the trading class in unorthodox tactics by Qin, 67, 70, 79, ancient China, 210, 212 unorthodox tactics in the Sunzi bingfa, social status of the trading class in Europe, 209-210 28, 174 and state-society bargains, 203 use of stratagems a rare phenomenon in suppression of in Qin, 212-213 early modern Europe, 109, 136 suppression of as self-strengthening in use of stratagems a systemic phenomenon in ancient China, 104 ancient China, 212 use of stratagems in the twentieth timing of expansion, 211-212 century, 232 as codified norms, 158 see also strategy involved multiple parties, 139 strategic interaction between competing strategies and Machiavelli on, 158 as temporary stratagems, 158, 253 mechanisms, 11-13 between domination-seekers (states or rulers) and targets of domination war weariness, 231 (other states or societal actors), 2, wars involving great powers, 64, 65, 11-12, 40, 224 between the logic of balancing and the in ancient China, 150–151, 242–248 in early modern Europe, 149-150, logic of domination, 11, 26, 33-34, 42, 136, 139, 169, 178, 225 239-241 operational criteria, 249-256 multiple equilibria, 2, 13, 34 rough or uneasy balance between the wars of unification, 66, 99-101 logic of balancing and the logic of brutish measures to control conquered domination in early modern Europe, populations, 217-218 against Chu, 90, 134 50, 169, 193, 205, 230 see also feedback effect ease of unification, 100; see also conquest: ease of coercive, 2; see also logic of domination against Zhao, 73, 134 competing or opposite, 2; see also strategic interaction yeren, see self-strengthening reforms countervailing, 2; see also logic of balancing zhongguo, see state