

## INDEX

Abolition Act of 1807, 251-264 interconnectedness increasing Abolition of Slavery Act of 1833, under, 73 251-264 military approach of, 63 abolitionism, 254, 256, 258-260, 265 Persian and Macedonian power absolute sovereign rights, 262, 384-385 unified under, 72–73 absolute war, 315-316 Persian court practices and, 71-72 absolutist court, 195-196 Seneca on, 93-94 absolutist state, 195, 213, 219-220. See we-feeling and, 72-73 Alexius I, 140-141 also political absolutism abstract harm, 406-407 Alfonso of Aragon, 174 Abu Ghraib, 337-338 altruism, limited, 289 accountability, 405-406, 409-410, 419 ambassadors, 166, 171-172, 188, 218, Adams, John, 417-418 220-221 Address to the People of Great Britain ambivalence of interests, 292, 293, (Fox), 256 318 - 319advice-books, 163-165, 178-179, American Civil War, 320-321, 322-323 211 - 212Americas, Spanish invasion of, 231 aerial bombardment, 20-21, 331-332, amicitia, 80-81, 109-110 333, 334-337, 338 Amnesty International, 431-432 Anaxarchus, 66-68 Aeschylus, 34-35, 41-42 Ancient Greece African political systems, 238–239 African societies, European contacts compassion in, 41-42 with, 245-246 genocide in, 17-18, 39, 48 akolasia, 33-34 international relations in, 23 Aktion T-4, 348 mass destruction in, 23 Alexander the Great, 18, 35, 43, 58-59, ancient states-systems, 25-26, 264-265 68 - 74,210Angell, Norman, 439-440 as absolute monarch, 72-73 anger atrocities committed by armies of, 69 attitudes to, 93-94 battle management approach, 63, good and bad, 126 89-90 knight's displays of, 125 as civilizer, 69-71 strategic uses of, 124-125 on civilizing process, 62-63 annihilation units, 11-12, 428 cosmopolitanism and, 69-70, 72-73 anticipatory pity, 419-420 court of, 66-68 anticipatory remorse, 419-420 cultural integration under, 90 anti-colonial movements, 260-261, 445-446 decision to conquer Persia, 68



INDEX 539

anti-imperial emancipation struggles, 445–446	discourse of barbarism used by, 35 growth of power of, 37–38
anti-modernism, 355–356	
Antiochus III, 79–80	honour codes and, 29 King's Peace and, 38
Antiphon, 36	laws of war violated by, 30–31
anti-Semitism, 345, 349–350, 356–357,	
	Melos and, 23, 39, 41–42, 46, 48–49, 50
363–364, 368–369 Anti Slavery Society, 260	
Anti-Slavery Society, 260	Mytilene and, 49–50
anti-Western social movements, 444–445	punishment in, 40–41
	Scione and, 50
Antoninus Pius, 97	violence and political necessity in,
apprentice scheme, 259–260	50-51
Ardaugh, John, 260–261	warfare frequency of, 38–39
Arendt, H., 367–368	wartime behaviour of, 39
aristocratic age, 313	Atlantic slave trade, 20, 234, 246,
aristocratic code, 224–225, 312, 355	248–250
aristocratic honour code, 308–309	abolition of, 265, 320
aristocratic self-restraint, 86	campaigns against, 251–264
aristocratic wars, 308–309, 311, 313–314	Concert of Europe and, 320
aristocratic we-feeling, 312	opposition to, 251–264
aristocratic we-identity, 391	Spanish laws and, 250
Aristophanes, 41–42	atomic bombs, 333–334, 335–336
Aristotle, 35, 40–41, 46, 155–156	Augustus, 87–88, 93, 100
armed force, monopolizing, 201-207	Auschwitz, 367–368, 370–371,
Armenians, 395–396	377
armies	authoritarian regimes, 374–375
absolutist states and, 213	
autonomy in para-military Rome,	balance of power, 216–217
101–102	collapse in Italy of, 174–175
civilizing of, 211–212	diplomacy and, 171
fiscal burden of, 202–203, 204, 205–206	global harm conventions and, 459–460
increasing discipline of, 309	in great powers relations, 174,
increasing sizes of, 202–203	184–185
living off land, 186–187, 204, 223	in Hellenistic states-system, 75–76
looting by, 133–134	institutionalization of, 437–438
mass, 308	inter-city cooperation maintaining,
mixed, 173	172–173
political dangers of, 203–204	moral sensibilities and, 266–267
professional, 186–187	pacification role of, 216
reserve forces, 326–327	rationality in, 173
Roman organization of, 89–90	shifts in, 470
standing, 170, 202, 204–206, 211–212	short and long-term perspectives in,
volunteer, 325	411
Arrian, 63, 65–68	in state formation, 407
assassination, 312, 323	balance of terror, 430–431, 459–460
Athens, 17–18, 23, 24–25, 31, 35,	Balkan Wars of 1875–78, 321–322
40–41, 45	banality of evil, 344, 367–368
assault on Mycalessus by, 52–53	banditry, 93



540

INDEX

barbarism, 33-34, 35, 229-230 Celts and depictions of, 235-236 discourse of, 35 movement towards civilization from, 278 Nazis and, 381 portrayals of Persians and, 36 regressions to, 345 slavery and slave trade as, 257-258 state power preventing collapse to, 301-302 war leading to, 53 Barbarossa, Frederick, 156 Barbarossa decree, 364-365 Bard, Ralph, 335-336 Bartolus of Sassoferato, 155-156 battle management, 63, 73, 89-90 Battle of Chaeronea, 38-39 Baudri of Bourgueil, 140-141 bellicism, 300-301 Berlin Act of 1885, 262-263 Bernard of Clairvaux, 129-130 Bismarck, O., 326-327, 436-437 black African sexuality, 247 blackness, 247 Bodin, 389-391 Bohr, Niels, 335-336 Book of the Courtier (Castiglione), 177 - 178Book on Curtseye (Caxton), 201 booty, 43-47 Bovet, Honoré, 130-131 Brandt, Karl, 372-373, 399 breakdown of civilization, 355, 357-358, 359 da Brescia, Albertano, 154 Britain abolition of slavery in, 251-264 abolitionism in, 259-260 apprentice scheme in, 259-260 radical Enlightenment in, 273-274 slave laws, 251 British Enlightenment, 273-274 Bruni, Leonardo, 155-156 Buckle, Francis, 320 Burckhardt, J., 150-151 bureaucratic rationalization, 346-347 Burke, E., 310-311, 312, 325

bystander phenomenon, 344, 371-372, 374-375 Caesar, 93 Calgacus, 99 Callières, François, 217-222, 223-224, 292-293 Calvinism, 215-216 capital punishment, 120-121, 158 capitalism, 408-409, 410 capitalized-coercion states, 205-206 captives, massacres of, 48 Carolingian empire, 108-109 Carolingian Renaissance, 151-152 Carolingian wars, 148 Carthage, 33-34, 79, 80, 81-82 Castiglione, 177-178, 292-293 Caxton, W., 201 Celts, 235-236 Chalcidian League, 54-55 Charlemagne, 108-109 Charles V, 242-243, 244-245 Charles VII, 132-133 chattel slavery, 20 children violence against, 401 as war captives, 46 chivalry, 127, 461-462 control of violence and, 136-137 in court society, 147 crusading warfare and, 140-141 laws of war and, 147 looting and, 133-134 national, 146, 147 nationalization of, 202 religious transformation of, 129-130 social status and, 132 standards of restraint, 130-131 standards of violence and, 129-130 Christian conversion, 115, 242-243 Christian international society, 228, 230 - 231Christian Prince (Erasmus), 208-209 Christian ruler ethic, 126-127 Christian universalism, 227 Church anti-Semitism in, 349-350 Christianity spread by, 230-231



INDEX 541

civilizing processes shaped by,	diplomacy and, 101, 177, 217–218
114–115	global, 338–341
control mechanisms used by,	humanism and, 177
115–116	in Italian city-states system, 183
crusading warfare promoted by,	in modern states-system, 435
118–119	slavery and, 253–254
knights and, 114–115, 117	social preconditions developing for,
pacification by, 136, 148	126
slavery and, 245–246	sovereign states and, 307–308
trial by battle opposed by, 113–114	statecraft and, 207–216
violence restrained by, 115–116,	war and, 221
135–136, 141–142	civilization
warriors tamed by, 112, 125–126, 148	breakdown of, 355, 357–358, 359
Cicero, 34, 66–68, 78–79, 85, 86, 88, 92,	in colonial era, 20, 231
94–96, 98–99, 126–127, 154,	commercial relations and, 292–293
176	compassion and, 41–42
cities	court society and, 217–218, 222,
changes in autonomy of, 156	269
civilizing process in, 164–165	diplomacy and, 222
growth of, 154	domestic pacification and, 422
pacifying, 162–163	economic activity and, 410–411
vacuum theory and, 155–156	Enlightenment conceptions of, 304
city-state system	European conceptions of, 227
competition within, 37–38	genocide and states of, 348
countryside dominated by, 161–162	geographical remoteness and, 286
diplomacy and, 19	global market, 387
emotional identification in, 35–36	Holocaust and, 353–354
great powers and, 19	imperial rule promoting, 94–95
Hellenic, 23, 24, 38–39	international ethics and, 323–324
Hellenistic states-system and, 76–77	international society and, 468-469
inter-city relations, 55	Kultur and, 352
as international society, 32–33	laws of war and, 393–394, 395–396
kinship ties in, 31–32	market, 451–452
mass destruction in warfare among, 39	movement from 'barbarism' to, 278
progress undone by, 26–27	primitivist critique of, 278–279
Sumerian, 30	reversal of Hellenic, 25
warfare frequency in, 38–39	singular and plural, 463–464
civic nationalism, 325	sovereign rights and responsibilities
civic virtues, 176	and, 392–393
civil wars, 51, 52–53, 320–321, 322–323	sovereignty and, 421–424
civilians	standards of, 13–14
changing meaning of, 309	treatment of 'uncivilized' peoples by,
civilizing process and, 462–463	12-13
public concern for, 451	violence in name of, 353–354
war and, 204–205, 462–463	war crimes and, 393–400
civilitas, 94, 115	Western conceptions of violence
civilité, 195	relationship to, 13–14
civility	world politics and, 264–267, 426–433
in colonial era, 20	civilized identities, 460-461



542 INDEX

civilized/barbarian distinction, 33, 35, 36 civilizing forces, 382-383 civilizing missions, Enlightenment and, 275 civilizing process, 3, 14, 189-190. See also decivilizing process; global civilizing process Alexander initiating, 70-71 all societies having, 7-8 attitudes to violence and, 4, 122-123 attitudes towards women and, 96-97 Church shaping, 114-115 civilians and, 462-463 collective emotions in, 119 colonial era and, 20 colonial mentalities shaping, 233-234 colonialism and, 226-227 common laws in, 28 conceptions of non-European societies and, 232-233 continuing progress and, 342-343 control of conflict and, 271 court rationality and, 268-269 court society as part of, 4-5, 19-20, 434 crusading warfare and, 139-140, 142 emotional identification and, 326 empire as instrument of, 265 established-outsider distinctions and, 231-232 ethos of courtliness and, 127-128 in Europe, 107, 109, 221 euthanasia and, 359-362 external restraints in, 457 genocide and, 5, 363-376 global harm conventions and, 461-462 Hellenic, 47-48, 55-57 in Hellenic city-state system, 24-25 in Hellenistic and Roman worlds, 103-105 Holocaust and, 346-347 identification with humanity and, 293-294 imperial, 101, 260 interactions with subject peoples and, 5

interconnectedness and, 88, 420 international anarchy and, 111-112 international criminal law and, 385 international relations and, 22 international society and, 433-435 in Italian Renaissance, 160 iust war doctrine and, 127 in Latin Christendom, 18-19 Macedonian, 62-63, 64 mass killings and, 359-360, 364 modern diplomacy and, 4-5 monopoly mechanism in, 433-434 morality and, 223 national sovereignty and, 21-22 Nazi genocides and, 357-359 in Pax Romana, 91-92 Peloponnesian Wars and, 49 pleasure in violence and, 427-428 political absolutism and, 196 privatization of bodily functions and, 378 problem of distance in, 288-289 psychogenic dimensions of, 216 psychological dimensions of, 47-48 religious violence and, 138 reversal of, 357-358 self-control in, 457 self-restraint developed in, 9 social roles and, 198 social taboos in, 360 standard of civilization and, 443 standard-setting roles in, 228 state formation and, 457-458, 469-470 universal, 410 Clausewitz, 312, 313-316, 338 Cleitus, 65-66 clemency, 98-99 Cleon, 49-50 clergy-knights-peasants model of social organization, 112-113 climate change, 454-455 Code Noir, 250-251 coercive labour, 243-244 collateral damage, 337 collective emotions, 119, 428-430 collective fantasies, 429 collective guilt, 375 collective hostility, 313



> INDEX 543

connected self, 419-420 collective identity, 148-149 collective learning, 429-430 conquistadores, 239-240 collective responsibility, 305 conscience formation, 7-8, 325-326, collective security, 167 369 - 370collective social learning, 25-26 325, 326-327 colonial administration, 443 colonial era Corcyra, 52-53 civilization in, 20, 231 civilizing process and, 20 international ethics of, 233-234 state reach in, 244-245 464-465 colonial genocide, 354-355 colonial mentalities, 233-234 460-461 colonialism, 234, 306-307 civilizing process and, 226-227 internal, 235, 244-245 Nazi genocides and, 20 opposition to, 281, 419-420 religious, 235-245 415 social gradient in, 443 447-451 values imposed through, 280-281 we-feeling and, 284 The Command of the Air (Douhet), restraint, 426 331-332 commercial relations civilizing potential of, 292-293 moderating effect of, 447-448 peace through, 293 commercial societies individual self-regulation and, 291 297-298 military values and, 300-301 non-violent interaction in, 289-290 common laws of Hellas, 28, 32-33 comparative sociology, process Kant on, 271 sociology and, 4-5 compassion, 293 Christian ruler ethic and, 126-127 civilization and, 41-42 in crusading warfare, 139 divinely caused setbacks and, 45-46 The Complaint of Peace (Erasmus), 208 complex responsibility, 255-256, 374, 453-454 Concert of Europe system, 318-321, 323-324, 390-391 concrete harm, 406-407 condottieri, 168-170, 203-204 Congress of Vienna, 318 court etiquette, 94

conscription, 203-204, 307-308, 309, Constantine, 103, 137-138 corporate social responsibility, 408 cosmopolitan citizenship, 387-388, cosmopolitan harm conventions, cosmopolitan harm principle, 15 cosmopolitan ideals, 298-303 cosmopolitan law, 295-296 cosmopolitan morality, 98-99 cosmopolitan sovereign responsibility, cosmopolitan standards of restraint, cosmopolitan standards of social cosmopolitan subjectivity, 376-377 cosmopolitanism, 60, 90-91 Alexander and, 69-70, 72-73 civilizing role of, 454 compassionate, 287-298 duty to refrain from harm in, emotional ties and, 294-295 in Enlightenment, 279-280, 306-307 after French Revolution, 325 global order and, 414 of ordinary virtues, 375-376 refraining from unnecessary suffering and, 323 totalizing nation-state and, 325-326 universal history and, 302-303 Council of Arles, 115-116 Council of Charroux, 115-116 Council of Clermont, 130 Council of Elne, 115-116 Council of Le Puy, 115-116 Council of Nablus, 143 counter-hegemonic movements, 445-446, 454-456



544

court rationality, 164-165, 188, 218, 221, 268-269, 308-309 court society absolutist, 195-196 under Alexander, 66-68 bourgeoisie incorporated into, 352-353 chivalry and, 147 Christianization of, 102-103 civilization and, 217-218, 222, 269 civilizing process and, 4-5, 19-20, 434 diplomacy and, 219-221 Hellenistic, 63-64 in Italian Renaissance city-states, 159 medieval, 107 pacific influences in, 209-210 Persian, 71-72 supranational, 75-76, 434, 458 courtesy books, 127-128, 163-164 courtliness, civilizing process and, 127-128 courtoisie, 127, 128, 195, 219-220 Crimean War, 318, 320, 321 crimes against humanity, 393-394, 395 crimes against the peace, 393-394 crusades, 136

prisoners of war in, 143
religious buildings destroyed in, 144
sexual conduct in, 143
standards of violence and, 129–130
use of violence in, 140
violence exported through, 136
crusading warfare, 112, 138, 311
chivalry and, 140–141

First, 116, 140-141

civilizing process and, 139–140, 142 compassion for foes, 139 harm conventions and, 142–143 just war and, 138–139 knights' enthusiasm for, 118–119 promotion of, 144–145

we-I balance and, 141-142 Cugoano, O., 257-258

Curtius, 63, 66–68 Cynicism, 77

Daniel of Beccles, 127–128 Darius, 43, 66–68 INDEX

Darwin, Erasmus, 299 David I of Scotland, 235-236 De civilitate morum peurilium (Erasmus), 199 De Officiis (Cicero), 88 death camps, 339, 377-378 decivilizing process, 47, 360 Clausewitz on, 313-314 collective emotions in, 119 frontier, 244-245, 280-281 harm conventions and, 51-52 in Hellenic city-state system, 24-25 in Latin Christendom, 18-19 of mercenaries, 170 modernity and, 344 Nazi genocides and, 349, 374 Peloponnesian Wars and, 49 in Roman imperial expansion, 87-88 self-restraint and, 51-52 social habitus and, 360, 364-365 war and, 359 Declaration of the Eight Powers of 1815, 258 decolonization, 228-229, 234, 450-451 Delian League, 38 Della Vita Civile (Palemieri), 151-152 Delphic amphictyony, 31 democratic accountability, 409-410 democratic government, 4, 401-402, 417-418 democratization, 415 Demosthenes, 40-41, 43 detachment, 282-283, 299 devotional warfare, 140-142 Diaz del Castillo, Bernal, 240 Dieitrephes, 52 Diodotus, 49-50 diplomacy absolutist state and, 219-220 balance of power and, 171 city-states system and, 19 civility and, 101, 177 civilizing process and modern, 4-5 continual negotiation in, 221–222 court civilization and, 222 court rationality and, 218

court society and, 219-221

humanism and, 177-178

Hellenistic, 75-76



INDEX 545

inter-city dispute resolution and, 172 interconnectedness and, 171, 292 liberal harm principle in, 21-22 nobility serving in, 220-221 power politics and, 217-218, 221 statecraft and civility in, 217-218 direptio, 82 disciplina Romana, 86 discourse of barbarism, 35 Discourses (Machiavelli), 179-180 distance, fighting from, 331 Doctors' Trial at Nuremberg, 361-362 Doctrine of Discovery, 69 Dodd, Thomas, 372-374 domestic pacification, 1-2, 422 double standard of morality, 3, 340-341 double-bind process, 429, 459 Douglass, Frederick, 257-258 Douhet, G., 331-332 Dresden bombing, 334-335, 336-337 drone warfare, 337 Du Rosier, Bernard, 171 duelling, 159–160, 161, 200–201 aristocratic warfare as, 313-314 duty to refrain from harm, 97-98, 99, 294-295, 297-298, 377-379 East India Bill, 262 East India Company, 205-206, 262-263, 286 ecologically responsible statehood, 408 economic war criminals, 370-371 economy liberalized, 408-409 monetarization of, 192-193 Edward, the Black Prince, 133-134

East India Bill, 262
East India Company, 205–206, 262–263, 286
ecologically responsible statehood, 408
economic war criminals, 370–371
economy
liberalized, 408–409
monetarization of, 192–193
Edward, the Black Prince, 133–134
Eichmann, Adolf, 345–346, 367–370
eirene, 36–37
Elias, Norbert, 14
on attitudes to genocide, 4
on attitudes to violence, 122–124
on court society and civilization, 269
on development of civilization, 4–5
on high levels of self-restraint, 10
on international relations, 1–2, 426–427
on mass killing, 45
on monopolization of state powers, 188

normative inquiry and, 14 on nuclear era, 430-431 on pacification, 10 on realism, 428-429 on ruling elite use of force, 10 on Second World War, 3 on strategic use of anger, 124-125 on we-I balance, 7 on world politics, 425-426 emancipation measures, 258-259 emancipation struggles, 445-446, 463-464 emotional identification, 35, 470 in city-state system, 35-36 civilizing process and, 326 cosmopolitanism and, 294-295 Enlightenment concepts of, 313 ethics and, 293-294 with Hellas, 40 in Latin Christendom, 108, 144-145 Nazi attitudes and, 355-356 with other societies, 279-280 with polis, 35-36, 56 punishment and, 122 scope of, 6, 307-308 slavery opposition and, 254 us-them distinctions and, 365-366 widening scope of, 453-454 emotional responses to suffering, 38-43, 233-234, 403-404 emotional responses to warfare, 201 empires. See also imperialism; specific empires corruption of, 287 growth and collapse of, 58-59 as instrument of civilizing process, 265 opposition to, 419-420 states-systems and, 18 encomienda, 240-241, 242-243 English imperialism, 235 English School, 2-3, 6 Eliasian analysis integration with, 15 Frankfurt School critical theory integration with, 15 international society analyses, 4, 425-426 on state formation, 433-434



546

Enlightenment. See also radical Enlightenment; Scottish Enlightenment central features of, 268-269 civilization conceptions of, 304 civilizing missions and, 275 conceptions of future in, 20-21 cosmopolitanism in, 279-280, 306-307 critical spirit of, 275 criticism of, 303-304 emotional identification expectations of, 313 gender relations and, 274 global civilizing legacy of, 303-305 human perfectibility and, 269-270, 272 imperialism debated in, 285-286 laws of war and, 323-324 moderate, 273 moral progress and, 274 multiple, 272, 273 optimism of, 313 political absolutism and, 269 political ambitions of, 272-273 political processes and, 349 process-thinking in, 297 self-restraint expectations of, 313 social processes explored in, 275-276 totalizing images of, 272, 273 environmental citizenship, 387-388, 464-465 environmental harm, 15, 416-417, 452 - 453Epictetus, 66-68 Epicureanism, 77 Epicurus, 97–98 Erasmus, D., 19-20, 199, 207, 208-211 Eratosthenes, 33-34 established-outsider distinctions. 231-232 ethic of responsibility, 414-421 ethics. See also international ethics human equality and individual rights, 11-12

interconnectedness and, 223-224,

in international law, 405-406

INDEX

Kant and Smith differences in. 293-294 sovereignty as boundary in, 421-422 transcultural, 464 widening of horizons of, 417 ethnic nationalism, 325 ethnocentrism, 33-34, 279-280 eunoia, 42-43, 53-54 Euripides, 41-42, 47 Europe African society contact with, 245-246 civilizing process in, 4-5, 107, 109, 221 conceptions of civilization of, 227 international society outgrowing, representations of outsiders in, 231-232 self-images, 226-227 self-restraint and relations with other peoples, 233 standards of civilization and, 228-229 state formation in, 109, 191-195 euthanasia, 348, 349, 361-362 civilizing process and, 359-362 emotional attitudes and, 360 humanitarianism and, 369-370 medical personnel and, 360-361, 363 propaganda in support of, 362 evil banality of, 344, 367-368 gradient of, 370 use of concept of, 367-368 excommunication, 118-119 extraterritoriality, 385-386 fascism, 228-229, 330-331, 356

fascism, 228–229, 330–331, 356

The Federalist Papers, 417–419
feminism, imperial, 254
Fenton, Roger, 320–321
Ferdinand of Spain, 245–246
Ferencz, Benjamin, 398
feritas, 91–92
feudal courts, 196
feudal society
 dispute settlement in, 113–114
 industrialization and, 353–354
 international politics in, 117–118

264-265



INDEX 547

feudalization, 193 fighting, as purpose in life, 114-115 First Crusade, 116, 140-141 First Lombard League, 156 First World War, 228-229, 311, 326, 327-328, 338, 339 crimes against humanity and, 395 Germany after, 353 reactions to, 329-330 scale of, 328-329, 330-331 soldier's experiences of, 328 totality of, 329-330 forced labour, 260, 317-318 foreign policy civilization process changing, 431-432 honour codes and, 29 human equality and, 462 interdependence and constraints on, 438 Forster, Georg, 278-280, 285-286 Fortuna, 178-179, 180-182, 314-315 Fourth Hague Convention, 392-393 Fox, William, 256 France absolutist court in, 195-196 slave laws, 250-251 Franco-Prussian War of 1871, 326-327, 328-329 Frankfurt School, 15, 370-371 Frederick II, 156-157, 269 free companies. See mercenaries free market ideologies, 409-410 French National Assembly, 316–317 French Revolution, 20-21, 274, 307-318, 325 French revolutionary wars, 308-318 nationalism and, 316-317 we-I balance and, 316-317 frontier decivilizing processes, 244-245, 280-281 gas chambers, 360-361

gas chambers, 360–361 gender relations, 274 Geneva Convention, 223, 399–400 Geneva Protocols, 393–394 genocide, 1, 23. *See also* Nazi genocides in Ancient Greece, 17–18, 39, 48 civilizing process and, 5, 363–376

colonial, 354-355 gradient of evil in, 370 modern attitudes to, 4 modernity and, 344 nationalism and, 145-146 Gerald of Jerusalem, 142-143 gladiatorial games, 96-97 global business enterprises, 415 global civility, 338-341 global civilizing process, 312, 313, 404-405, 446-447 ethical responsibility and, 414-421 explaining, 456-466 Nuremberg Trials and, 397-398 planned, 380-383 Western-driven, 447-451 global commerce, 292, 439 global economic justice, 454 global economic planning, 407-408 global environmental citizenship, 387-388 global establishment, 415 global ethical responsibility, 387-388 global harm conventions, 15, 415 balance of power and, 459-460 civilizing process and, 461-462 military necessity weakening, 447-448 self-restraint and, 449 global interconnectedness, 282-287 global market civilization, 387, 410, 411, 413-414, 423-424, 426 global political associations, 432 global responsibility, 404-414, 464-465 global standards of self-restraint, 466-467 global steering mechanisms, 407-408, 438-439 Glorious Revolution, 273-274 Goebbels, J., 311, 369-370 Great Chain of Being, 231-232 Great Depression, 349-350 great powers balance of power in relations of, 174, 184 - 185city-states system and, 19 civilization of relations between, 441-442 dominant harm conventions and, 414-415



548	INDEX
great powers (cont.) peace settlements after major conflicts between, 437–438 taming of, 11–12, 404–405, 426,	Thucydides on, 49 uses of force distinguished in, 129–130 weakening of respect for, 48, 49
436-441	Harmon Doctrine, 405-406
Great War. See First World War	Harris, Arthur, 334–335
Greek Enlightenment, 43	Hastings, Warren, 262-263
Gregory IX (Pope), 117, 142–143	Hawkwood, John, 170
Gregory VII (Pope), 140–141	hegemonic global law, 409-410
Grotius, 211–212, 238	hegemonic principle, 184–185
group pride, 6–7	hegemonic wars, 189, 216-217, 430,
guest-friendship, 32-33, 40	437–438
gypsies, 349, 355-356	Hellenic city-states system, 23
	civilizing process in, 24–25
Hague Conventions, 223, 323–324,	competition within, 37–38
392–394	mass destruction in warfare among,
Hague Peace Conference of 1899,	39
260–261	Rome and, 60–61
Hannibal, 80	war frequency in, 38–39
harm	we-feeling in, 31–32
avoiding, 290–291	Hellenic civilizing process, 26, 47,
environmental, 15, 416–417,	55–57
452–453	attitudes about, 36
Marx and forms of, 406–407	common laws of Hellas in, 28 external relations and, 27
non-violent, 452–453, 463	•
omissive, 372	kinship's role in, 31 Peloponnesian Wars and, 49
power to capacity for, outpacing	piracy and looting in, 27–28
self-restraint, 15	psychological dimensions of, 47–48
duty to restrain, 97–98, 99	right of self-assertion in, 28–29
evolution of, 302	self-restraint in, 28
increasing capacity for, 339	Hellenic international society, 17–18,
sociological examination of	25–38
problem of, 15	Hellenic laws of war, 30–31
responsibility to prevent, 412–413	Hellenic states-system, 17–18
structural, 413	Hellenic we-identity, 35
harm conventions, 15, 31, 43-47	Hellenistic court society, 63-64
civilizing roles of, 214	Hellenistic diplomacy, 75–76
cosmopolitan, 460-461	Hellenistic states-system, 74-79
crusading warfare and, 142–143	balance of power in, 75-76
decivilizing process and, 51-52	city-states under, 76–77
global, 415	decline of, 80
great powers dominating, 414-415	Henry V, 131-132, 134-135
international, 434-435, 460-461	Henry VII, 156
military necessity weakening,	Herodotus, 26–27, 31, 32–33
447–448	heroism, nationalism and, 326
process sociology on, 189-190	Himmler, 350, 356, 359–360, 367,
punishment and, 120-121, 157-158	369–370, 373–374
Roman, 79, 85	Hippocratic Oath, 360–362, 363



INDEX 549

Hippocratic School, 36, 53-54	on restraint in war, 209-210
Hiroshima, 333, 335-336, 339	restraint of power and, 185
Histoire Philosophique, 284, 287	humanitarian intervention, 263–264,
historical materialism, on medieval	385, 386–387, 402, 450–451
international politics, 117-118	humanitarian movements, 323-324
historical sociology, 16-17	humanitarian responsibilities, 460-461
history	463
providential, 299	humanitarianism, 96, 233-234,
stadial conception of, 279, 300	303–304, 361–362, 369–370
universal, 298-303, 411-412	humanitas, 78–79, 88, 91–92, 95–96,
Hitler, A., 346, 348, 350, 355, 359–362,	103, 176–177
372–373, 374–375, 395–396	humanity, identification with, 293-294
Holocaust, 1, 342-344	Hume, D., 271, 278, 288-289, 292-293
bystander phenomenon in, 371-372,	298–299, 300–301, 325
374–375	Hundred Years' War, 131-132,
civilization and, 353-354	133–134, 146, 169, 193
civilizing process and, 346-347	hybris, 28, 42–43
evil and, 367-368	
modernity and, 344, 345-359,	<i>Iliad</i> (Homer), 28–29
376–377, 381	Illyrians, 80
secrecy of, 364	imperial civilizing process, 260
societal structure and, 345-346	imperial feminism, 254
holy war, 138-139	imperial rule
Homer, 27, 28–29, 33	freedom of action of governments in
homonoia, 70-71	60-61
honour codes, 29, 30, 461-462	resistance to, 260-261
hoplite warfare, 43-44	rights and wrongs of, 20
Hostiensis, 145–146	self-restraint in, 61-62
human development	imperialism, 21–22, 235, 326–327,
controlling violence and, 9	380
historical inquiry of, 299-300	civilization promoted through,
human equality, 11-12	94–95
foreign policy and, 462	civilizing processes and, 101
international relations and, 449	corrupting effects of, 280-281
human perfectibility, 269-270, 272	Enlightenment debates over,
human rights, 12-14, 228-229,	285–286
340-341, 401	violence in, 20, 353-354
human trafficking, 254	wealth appropriated through, 75
humaneness, principle of, 340, 449–450	impersonal violence, 331–338
humanism, 151–153, 164–165, 176,	inadvertent harm, 290-291
377-378	Indians
civil ideology analysed by, 211-212	conquistadores treatment of,
civilizing process of, 176–177	239–240
diplomacy and, 177-178	conversion of, 242-244
ethical divides in, 210-211	cultural reactions to discovery of,
kingly rule and, 208-209	237–238, 277–278
Machiavelli criticism of, 181–182	encomienda and, 240-242
ordinary virtues and, 379	enslavement of, 240
princely rule and, 165	universal society ideas and, 238-239
- •	*



550 INDEX

individual liberties, social obligations international ethics, 1, 304-305, and, 412-413 323-324, 382-383, 393-394, individual rights, 11-12, 462-463 industrial killing, 21, 330-331, 338, of colonial era, 233-234 339-340, 342-343, 369-370 encomienda and, 241-242 industrialization, 353-354 in medieval age, 18-19 industrialized warfare, 329-330 in modern period, 2 infanticide, 33-34 international harm conventions, Innocent II (Pope), 130 434-435, 460-461 Innocent III (Pope), 118-119, 138-139, international humanitarian law, 152-153 403-404 Innocent IV (Pope), 238, 244-245 international institutions, 406, 438 Innocent VIII (Pope), 245-246 international justice, 452-453, 464-465 insider-outsider dualisms, 145-146 international law, 384-385, 393-394 integration conflicts, 420 ethical principles in, 405-406 integration-disintegration tensions, 11 hegemonic systems of, 404 Inter-Allied Conference on the liberal harm principle in, 21-22 Punishment of War Crimes, restraints on force in, 385-386 397-398 international order, construction of, interconnectedness, 11, 295-296 437 under Alexander, 73 International Red Cross, 308, 321-322 ambiguities of global, 282-287 international regulatory bodies, 415 international relations, 2 civilizing processes and, 88, 420 diplomacy and, 171, 292 in ancient Greece, 23 ethical sensibilities and, 223-224, civilizing process and, 22 264-265 civilizing role of cosmopolitanism in, human understanding improved 454 through, 283 Elias on, 1-2, 426-427 moral imagination and, 288-289 human equality and, 449 nationalism and, 329-330 inter-state rivalry explanations in, pacification and, 189 428-429 self-restraint standards and, 15 nuclear era changing, 430-431 sovereignty and, 387 process-thinking in, 297 realism versus humanitarianism in, state formation and, 420 233-234 of states-systems, 171 survival units and, 432, 465-466 shared beliefs and, 3 use of force and sense of, 223-224 social processes in, 429-430 interdependence, 172, 295-296, 438 Western ideas of, 13-14 inter-generational learning processes, Wight on, 1-2 432-433 international responsibility doctrine, internal colonialism, 235, 244-245 318-319, 463 internal pacification, 389-390, 422 international society, 4, 21-22 international anarchy, 83-84, 111-112, Christian, 228, 230-231 116-117 city-states as, 32-33 International Commission on civilization and, 468-469 Intervention and State civilizing effect of, 5 Sovereignty, 403 civilizing process and, 433-435 international criminal law, 375-376, constitutional frameworks for, 385, 386-387, 393, 398, 447-448 212 - 213



INDEX 551

contrasts in, 443-444 democratization of, 401-402, 415 dual conception of, 238, 244-245 English School analyses of, 4, 425-426 ethical commitments in, 11-12 expansion of, 426, 441-447, 464 greater equality in, 446-447 Hellenic, 17-18, 25-38 humanitarian intervention and. 450-451 liberalization of, 415 normative expectations of, 389 outgrowing Europe, 442 pluralist and solidarist images of, 6, 386-388, 403, 422-423 reintegrating to, after wars, 214 Rome political ideals as antithetical to. 82 sovereignty and, 386-387, 421-424 suffering reduced by, 12-13 we-I balance and, 7, 402-403, 420-421 Western principles in, 13-14 international trusteeship, 260-261, 262-263 Isocrates, 64-65 Italian city-states autonomy of, 156 balance of power maintained by, 172 - 173balance of power system in, 174-175 centralization of power in, 169 civility within, 183 court societies in, 159 external powers used by, 167-168 factionalism in, 157 French and Spanish invasions, 174 - 175hegemonic principle and, 184-185 international political environment and, 167-168 mercenaries and, 168 origins of, 154 pacifying urban spaces in, 162 public order in, 157 reduction in number of, 173, 174 taxation in, 169-170 Italian League, 167-168

Italian Renaissance, 109–110 civilizing process in, 160 conceptions of past, 151–152 great power restraint in, 437 humanism in, 151–153, 176, 177–178 Middle Ages concept created in, 150 modern era and, 150–151 political innovation in, 157 restraint of power in, 185 state formation in, 159–160 taxation in, 159–160 tolerance of violence in, 19

Jaspers, Karl, 367-368, 371-372

Laws

Jews. See also Holocaust; Nuremberg

in Germany, 350, 351 highly assimilated, in Germany, 349-350 Hitler and, 346, 348 massacre of, in Poland, 365-366 Nazi propaganda and, 356-357 violence against, 142 John XXII (Pope), 130 Jozefow, Poland, 365-367 iust wars civilizing process and, 127 crusades and, 138-139 formulation of, 137-138 religious conversion and, 138-139 right to preach and, 242-243 Rome and, 84-85, 88

297–298, 301, 302–303, 306, 411–412
Kellogg-Briand Pact, 395–396
kingly rule
humanism and, 208–209
restraints on, 65–66
kings
political roles of, 194–195
restricting power of, 215–216
King's Peace, 38, 128–129
knights
anger displays by, 125
Church and duties of, 114–115
Church attempts to restrain,

115-116, 117

Kant, I., 271, 278, 283, 293-296,



552

knights (cont.) crusading warfare motivations of, 118-119 feminizing, 128

political power and social importance of, 113

restrictions on force used by, 130 - 131

self-restraint of, 127

violence against women by, 134

we-I balance and, 114-115 we-identity between, 132

Knights of the Templar, 129-130, 138 Kristallnacht, 350, 374-375

Kultur, 323-324, 327-328, 352, 391, 393-394

de Las Casas, Bartolome, 239-240, 242-245

Las Siete Partidas, 250

Latin Christendom, 106

emotional identification with, 108,

144-145

levels of violence in, 116-117

political topography of, 107 regional differences transcended by,

144-145

we-I balance in, 106, 107-108 law. See also international criminal law; international law

cosmopolitan, 295-296

hegemonic global, 409-410

justice and, 399-400

natural, 390

necessity and, 181-182

slave laws, 250-251

types of, 400, 402

Laws of Burgos, 241-243

Laws of Jamaica, 1826, 251

laws of war, 12-13, 304-305, 318, 321, 349, 384-385, 449

Athenian violations of, 30-31

chivalry and, 147 civilization and, 393-394, 395-396

early, 322-323

Enlightenment ideas in, 323-324 Hellenic, 30-31

self-restraint and, 394-395

League of Corinth, 38, 53-54, 64-65

INDEX

League of Nations, 228-229, 260,

262-263, 318-319, 329-330

Leahy, William, 335-336

Leeward Islands Act of 1798, 251

LeMay, Curtis, 335-336

Leo IX (Pope), 140-141

A Letter to a Member of the National Assembly (Burke), 312

levée en masse decree, 311-312

Levi, P., 377-379

liberal democracies, 386-387, 440-441,

449

liberal harm principle, 21-22, 398,

412-413, 447-448

liberal hegemonic culture, 404

liberal peace, 20

liberalization, 415

liberalized economies, 408-409

liberalism, 2, 419-420, 447-448,

449-450

Lieber Code, 322-324, 392-393

Livy, 82

Lombard League, 156-157

long-distance warfare, 331-338

long-term responsibility, 416-417

Lorimer, James, 228-229

Louis XIV, 195-196, 222

Lull, Ramon, 239-240

Lysistrata (Aristophanes), 41-42

Macedon, 18, 25, 38, 39, 48, 54-55

formation of state, 62-68

growth and collapse of, 58-59

growth of, 59-60

as hegemon, 65

monarchy attitudes of, 62-63, 65-66

Rome and, 79-80

tribal roots of, 63

Macedonian civilizing process, 62-63,

Machiavelli, 151-152, 168-169,

178-182, 183, 210-212,

390-391

Madagascar Plan, 356-357

malnutrition, 453-454

Mandates System, 260, 262-263

Marcus Aurelius, 93

market civilization, 451-452, 454-455

Marshall, S. L. A., General, 332-333



INDEX 553

Martens, Feodor, 323-324	military conquest, global commerce
Martens Clause, 392-393	and, 439
Marx, 406-407, 408-409	military necessity, 447-448
masculinity, 34, 160	military power
Machiavelli on, 180	centralization of, 169
in self-help systems, 162	concentration of, 173, 174
mass killings, 344. See also genocide	diplomacy and balance of, 171
civilizing process and, 359-360, 364	pacification and external, 26-27
in Macedonian expansion, 69	projection over distance of, 48
in medieval war, 131-132	specialization of, 93
participation in, 365-367	military values, commercial society
soldiers becoming attuned to, 328	and, 300-301
state-administered, 346	moderate Enlightenment, 273
mass mobilization, 311-312	modern era
massacres, 1, 39, 45, 48, 338	Italian Renaissance as start of,
Medici, Cosimo, 174, 183	150–151
Medici, Lorenzo, 172-173	medieval age relationship to, 148
medieval age	violence forms unique to, 343-344
international ethics in, 18-19	modern ethical sensibilities, 304-305
licit and illicit uses of force in,	modern states-system, 22
129–130	ancient states-systems differences
mass killings in war, 131-132	from, 25–26, 264–265
modern age relationship to, 148	balance of social and political
violence representations in, 117	tendencies within, 432-433
warfare in, 117	civility in, 435
medieval courts, 107	civilized-barbaric contrast weakened
Melos, 23, 39, 41-42, 46, 48-49, 50	in, 443–444
Menexenus (Plato), 35	emergence of, 109
de Menthon, François, 396	integration-disintegration tensions
de Mercado, Tomas, 254-255	in, 11
mercenaries, 131–133, 168–170, 367–368	level of order in, 433-434
in early modern Europe, 203-204	massacres in, 338
state formation and, 192-193	medieval elimination contests and,
mercy, Christian ruler ethic and,	187
126–127	modernization theory, 263-264
Methodists, 252–253	modernity, 342-343
Michelet, J., 150	balance of power between parts of,
Middle Ages	352
attitudes towards violence in, 122-124	civilizing process and, 343-344
changing principles of political life,	decivilizing process and, 344
111–112	genocide and, 344
creation of idea of, 150	Holocaust and, 344, 345-359,
insecurity causing emotional swings,	376–377, 381
124	Marx on, 407
level of violence in, 110–111	Nazi genocides and, 357-359
social units in, 107–108	Nazis and, 343–344, 355–356,
violence against women in, 134	357–358
Milgram, S., 366–368	newly-independent societies and,
militarism, 326–328, 330–331, 438–439	450–451



INDEX

554

de Molina, Luis, 210 monopolization process, 193, 194 de Montesinos, Antonio, 241-242 Montesquieu, 279-280, 282, 291-292, 300-301 moral attitudes balance of power and changes in, 266-267 civilization process and, 381-382 social and political forces changing, 266-267 social conditions and, 426 moral concern, gradients of, 288-289 moral indifference, 286 moral progress, 274 moral responsibilities, 372-373, 416, 417 - 418morality civilization and world politics and, 264 - 267civilizing process and, 223 cosmopolitan, 98-99 of global market civilization, 413 long-term consequences in, 416-417 shortcomings of conventional, 416 universal principles of, 414 More, Thomas, 207, 210-212 Munich Agreement, 373 Musa, Mansa, 238-239 mutilation of bodies, 33-34 mutual restraint, 130-131, 197 Mycalessus, 52-53 Mytilene, 40-41, 49-50

Nagasaki, 335–336, 339
Napoleonic Wars, 214, 258, 308, 317–318, 319–320, 339, 436–438
natio-centric socialization, 432
national chivalry, 146, 147
National Security Strategy of the United States of America (2002), 404
national self-images, 259–260
National Socialism. See Nazis national sovereignty, 21–22
nationalization of suffering, 307–308, 325–331
nationalism, 228, 307–308, 309, 335–336
anti-Semitism and, 350

aristocratic we-identity and, 391 civic and ethnic, 325 early, 145-146 French revolutionary wars and, 316-317 heroism democratized by, 326 interconnectedness and, 329-330 Marx and, 406-407 sovereignty and, 423 nation-in-arms, 20-21, 329-330 natural law, 390 natural slavery, 35, 236-237 naval warfare, 206-207 Nazi genocides, 21, 346, 353-354, 361-362, 380, 381-382 business corporation involvement, 370 - 371civilizing process and, 357-359 colonialism and, 20 decivilizing process in, 349, 374 gradient of evil in, 370 humanitarianism and, 361-362 modernity and, 357-359 participation in, 364-365 personal involvement in, 370 political responses to, 382-383 racism and, 20 social conditions and, 348 Nazis, 330-331, 345, 347-348, 353-354, 367, 368-369. See also Nuremberg Trials anti-Semitism of, 350, 356-357 barbarism and, 381 business corporations and, 371-372 civilized societies and, 381-382 emotional identification and attitudes of, 355-356 modernity and, 343-344, 355-356, 357-358 propaganda used by, 356-357, 362 religious opposition to, 351-352 split with modern civilization, 380 utopian themes of, 363-364 women and, 356 neo-liberal international institutions, 406 neoliberalism, 407-408, 409-410

neo-medievalism, 107



INDEX 555

neo-realism, 111-112, 116-117 ordinary virtues, 375-376, 379 on global harm conventions, organized irresponsibility, 426, 189 - 190451-456 human motivation in, 118-119 on medieval international politics, pacification, 10 117 - 118balance of power role in, 216 neo-Stoicism, 211-212 balance of terror and, 430-431 Neuman, Franz, 370-371 by Church, 136, 148 New International Economic Order, of cities, 162-163 407-408 civilization and domestic, 422 Nicholas V (Pope), 245-246 in court society, 209-210 nobility external controls and, 198-199 armed, 111 external military power and, 26-27 interconnectedness and, 189 diplomats recruited from, 220-221 fighting as purpose in life for, internal, 301-302, 422 114-115 international, 301-302 merchant-banker, 162-163 liberalism and, 2, 449-450 military services from, 192-193 multilateral, 36-37 relations between, 218-219 organized irresponsibility and, royal authority and, 194-195 454-455 survival units of, 162 self-restraint and, 198-199 violence levels among, 158-159, societal differences and, 426-427 sovereignty and internal, 389-390 162 specialization of military and, 93 'noble savage' concept, 278-279 non-combatants, 135-136, 146 state power and, 11-12 non-governmental organizations, 415, territorial concentration of power 431-432, 462-463 and, 186 non-state actors, 409-410, 415 pacifism, 137-138, 300-301 normative inquiry, 10, 14, 17 Pact at Bologna, 156 nuclear weapons, 333-334, 335-336, Palemieri, Matteo, 151-152 339, 430-431, 440-441 Panaetius, 88, 92 Nuremberg Laws, 346-347, 349, 351, Panegyricus (Isocrates), 64-65 354-355, 374-375 Pan-Hellenic political cooperation, Nuremberg Trials, 372-373, 393, 54-55 395-396, 400 pan-Hellenism, 35-36 global civilizing process and, pankration, 23-24 397-398 parliamentary democracy, 353 indictments in, 396-397 Parthamasirius, 100-101 as triumph of reason and justice, Parthia, 100-101 398-399 Paul III (Pope), 245 Pax Romana, 61-62, 91-92, 208-209 Odo of Chateauroux, 138-139 peace collective desire for, 36-37 On the Misery of Human Life (Innocent III), 152-153 commerce and, 293 On the Process of Civilization (Elias), 14 Kant vision of perpetual, 302, 306 Oration on the Dignity of Man (Pico peace conferences, 438 della Mirandola), 152-153 peace movements, 323-324

Oration to Philip (Isocrates), 64-65

Ordericus Vitalis, 128

Peace of Augsburg, 212-213, 388-389

Peace of Constance, 156



556 INDEX

Plutarch, 65-66 Peace of God, 115-116, 128-129, podesta, 162, 164 135-136, 140-142, 144-145, 148 pogroms, 142, 369-370 Peace of Lodi, 167-168, 174 polemos, 32-33, 35 Peace of Westphalia, 109, 212-213, 389, polis 437-438 emotional identification with, 35-36, peace organizations, 320-321 56 peace settlements, 437-438 loyalty to, 56 public life of, 78 Peloponnesian Wars, 24-25, 30-31, 37-38, 39, 43, 45, 47-55, 76, 311 traditional assumptions about, 37-38 Persia, 26-27, 31, 33, 34-35 political absolutism, 196, 211-212, 269, Alexander deciding to conquer, 68 389-390 atrocities in Macedonian invasion of, political realism, 24-25, 315-316, 402 Politics (Aristotle), 155-156 court practices, 71–72 Polybius, 76, 81-82, 90-91, 92 Isocrates attitudes towards, 65 popular militarism, 326-328 King's Peace and, 38 popular sovereignty, 423 Philip ambitions towards, 64-65 post-colonial states, 446 portrayals as barbarians, 36 post-national emotions, 432 Sassanid Persians, 101 post-national political associations, second invasion of Greece, 45 465-466 The Persian Letters (Montesquieu), post-Western society of states, 453 279-280, 291-292 power. See also balance of power Persian wars, 33, 38-39, 65 evolution of, 302 The Persians (Aeschylus), 34-35, 39 lack of higher monopoly on, 426-427 Peter Lombard, 139 long-term implications of exercise of, Petrarch, 165 419-420 philanthropia, 103 projection over distance of, 48 philhellenism, 81 state monopoly on, 11-12, 21-22, Philip II of Macedon, 38, 48, 59, 62-63 188-189, 457-458 territorial concentration of, 170, 186, attitude towards allies, 64-65 foreign policy perspective of, 64 309-310 restraints on kingly rule and, 65-66 precautionary principle, 411-412 The Prince (Machiavelli), 180-181 Philip of Macedon, 35 prisoners of war Philip V, 79-80 Phillip II, 210 in crusades, 143 Physiocrats, 269-270 enslavement of, 254 Piccinino, Niccolo, 169-170 exchanges of, 309, 459-460 Pico della Mirandola, Giovanni, killing, 131-132, 143, 204-205 152 - 153ransoming, 130-131 pike infantry, 173 restraints on violence and, 459-460 piracy, 26, 27-28, 93 in Second World War, 364-365 pity, 40-43 problem of distance, 288-289, 297-298 planned global civilizing process, process sociology, 16, 17-18 380-383 on civilizing process in contemporary society, 22 Plato, 35 Pliny, 95-96 comparative sociology and, 4-5 plunder, 186-187, 223, 314-315, on global harm conventions, 317-318 189-190



> INDEX 557

> > revolutionary warfare, 308-318

normative inquiry and, 17 on nuclear era, 430-431 research-theorizing in, 17 proskynesis, 71-72 Protestantism, 202-203 proximity accountability and, 419 social moralities and, 416-417 public cruelty, 96, 120-121, 122-123 punishment, 40-41 art depicting, 158 capital, 120-121, 158 emotional identification and, 122 harm conventions and, 120-121, 157-158 public, 120-121, 122-123 slavery and methods of, 252-253 systems of, 120-121 Quakers, 252-253, 255-256

race Atlantic slave trade justification and, slavery and, 245-251 racism, 20, 326-327, 335-336, 363-364 radical Enlightenment, 20, 273-274, 281, 463-464 radical Islamist groups, 444-445 ragione, 180-182 raison d'état, 181-182, 214-216 ransom, 130-131, 136-137 realism Elias's variant on, 428-429 humanitarianism frustrated by, 233-234 realpolitik, 45, 352-353, 423

reciprocal moderation, 214 Red Crescent, 321-322 Reformation, 202-203 regional political associations, 432 religious colonialism, 235-245 religious violence, 138 repartimiento, 240-241, 242-243 The Republic (Plato), 35 Requirement (Rubios), 239 Reserve Peace Battalion 101, 365-367 restraints on force, 385-386 restraints on kingly rule, 65-66

Richelieu (Cardinal), 221-222 Rome, 18, 54-55 alliance management by, 79-80 army autonomy in, 101-102 army support in, 82-83 battle management approaches, 89-90 Christianization of imperial court, 102 - 103collapse of Western empire, 102 cultural integration under, 90 duty to refrain from harm in, 99 expansion of, 59-60, 79-80, 87-88 foreign policy of, 82 frontier as 'moral barrier', 91-92 Greeks' view of, 81-82 growth and collapse of, 58-59 harm conventions, 79, 85 Hellenic world interactions with, 80 - 81Hellenic-Hellenistic system incorporated by, 60-61 imperial era, 84-85 international context for violence of, international political ideals, 83 just wars and, 84-85, 88 military constraints, 87 military recruitment, 82-83 military specialization in, 93 as para-military state, 101-102 Parthia and, 100-101

piracy combatted by, 93 public cruelty attitudes of, 96 public representations of violence in,

reputation for violence, 81-82 restrained government and, 61 self-restraint, 61-62, 84-85 Stoicism and, 78-79 submission demanded by, 82, 83 unrestrained violence used by, 79-80 view of Greeks, 81 violence exported to periphery by, 99 violence of warfare by, 88 war as normal state, 99-100 Roosevelt, Theodore, 229-230 Rousseau, J. J., 302, 325



558

Royal African Company, 254 Rubios, Palacios, 239 Russell, William Howard, 320–321

Sassanid Persians, 101
Savanarola, 181–182
Scottish Enlightenment, 235–236, 271, 279, 288–289, 300–301
Second Athenian Confederacy, 38, 53–54
Second Cold War, 430

Second Persian invasion, warfare changes and, 45 Second World War, 1, 228–229, 338,

aerial bombardment in, 334–336 attitudes to force in, 3 civilization efforts after, 339–340 global steering arrangements after,

438–439 prisoners of war in, 364–365 sexual violence in, 360 social inhibitions weakened in, 334–335

victors' self-restraint after, 436–437 Seleucids, Rome and, 79–80 self-assertion, 28–29, 36–37 self-control, 66–68, 93–94, 442–443, 457

self-distancing, 279–281, 291–292, 299–300

self-help systems, 27, 119, 162 self-limitation of sovereignty, 393 self-regulation, 291

self-reliance, 418-419, 426-427 self-restraint

aristocratic, 86 capacity to harm outpacing, 15 changing importance of, 301–302 chivalric standards of, 130–131 civil war and loss of, 52–53 civilizing process developing, 9 decivilizing processes and, 51–52 Enlightenment expectations for, 313

European relations with other peoples and, 233 global harm conventions and, 449 global standards of, 466–467 in Hellenic civilizing process, 28 INDEX

in imperial rule, 61–62 interconnectedness and, 15 internalization of standards of, 417 of knights, 127 laws of war and, 394–395 mutual, 197 pacification and, 198–199 scale of destructive capacity requiring, 466–467 of slave owners, 97 social constraints towards, 6, 55–56 social standards of, 5, 7–8, 9–10,

51–52, 86, 470 unevenness of standards of, 410 of victors after Second World War, 436–437

web of, 198

Seneca, 66–68, 96, 97–99, 126–127, 154

on Alexander, 93–94 on gladiatorial games, 96 de Sepulveda, Juan Gines, 242–243 Seven against Thebes (Aeschylus), 41–42 sexual conduct, during crusades, 143

sexual conduct, during crusades, 143 sexual violence, 46–47, 122–123, 134–135, 360

sexuality, black African, 247 Sforza, Ludivoco, 167–168 shame, 30, 199–200 Shawcross, Hartley, 396 Short Treatise About Ambassadors (Du

Rosier), 171 siege warfare, 45, 46–47, 142–143 Sigebert of Gembloux, 140 signori, 164–165 slave revolts, 260–261

slave wars, 248–249, 251 slavery, 20, 234, 284–285, 306–307 abolition campaigns, 254

abolition of, 260, 265 apprentice scheme as alternative to, 259–260

as barbarism, 257–258 blackness and, 248 boycotts of products of, 255–256 branding and, 46 Britain abolishing, 251–264 campaigns against, 251–264



INDEX 559

changing attitudes to, 258 Christian doctrine and, 251-264 Church and, 245-246 civilizing measures, 253-254 Concert of Europe and, 320 emancipation measures, 258-259 emotional identification and opposition to, 254 Indians and, 240 justification of, 246, 248 laws of, 250-251 natural, 35, 236-237 political opposition to, 281 prisoners of war and, 254 public sympathy and, 256-257 punishment and, 40-41, 252-253 race and, 245-251 reform efforts, 254 religious conversion and, 245 Roman warfare and, 81-82 self-restraint of owners, 97 Stoics and, 96 warfare and, 39, 43-47, 254 women opposed to, 254 Smith, Adam, 66-68, 288-290, 291, 292, 293-294, 300, 419-420 social attitudes to suffering, 423-424 to use of force, 200-201 social attunement, 197-198 social constraints, self-restraint and, 6, 55-56 Social Darwinism, 326-327, 391 social existence, as process, 297 social habitus, 355 decivilization process and, 360, 364-365 of modern warfare, 333-334 mutual dependence and, 324 social inhibitions, war weakening, 334-335 social interaction, enlarging boundaries of, 183 social moralities, long-term consequences in, 416-417 social processes, 275-276 in international relations, 429-430 social restraints cosmopolitan standards of, 426

shame and stigma preserving, 30 sovereign authority and, 426 social standards of internal and external relations, 352 - 353pacification and, 426-427 of restraint, 447-448 of self-control, 442-443 of self-restraint, 5, 7-8, 51-52, 86, 470 self-restraint varying by, 9-10 of warrior code, 352-353 Society for the Promotion of Permanent and Universal Peace, 320 society of states anti-colonial struggles and, 445-446 civil dispositions of constitutive parts and, 435 expansion of, 441-442 harm conventions and, 434-435 post-Western, 453 Socrates, 35 Solon, 40-41, 371-372 sophrosyne, 28, 33-34, 52-53, 86 de Soto, Domingo, 254-255 sovereign authority, standards of social restraint and, 426 sovereign equality principle, 214 sovereign responsibility, 422-423 broadening concept of, 405-406 cosmopolitan, 415 enlarging scope of, 400-404 extensions of, 417 sovereign rights and responsibilities, 388-393, 422 sovereign states, civility within, 307-308 sovereign states-system, 109, 227 sovereignty, 13-14 absolute rights and, 384-385 accountability and, 405-406 as boundary of ethical principles, 421-422 civilization and, 421-424 external, 390 global interconnectedness and, 387 human rights conventions and, 401 internal pacification and, 389-390, 422



560 INDEX

state formation, 109, 189-190, 191-195, sovereignty (cont.) international society and, 386-387, 244-245 421-424 balance of power in, 407 civilizing process and, 457-458, in Latin Christendom, 107 law-making power and, 389-390 469-470 national, 21-22 English School on, 433-434 national interest and, 390-391 interconnectedness and, 420 nationalism and, 423 mercenaries and, 192-193 over 'inferior' peoples, 262 monopolizing armed force in, 201-207 pluralist conception of, 386-387, 402-403 power monopolies and, 193 popular, 423 royal household and, 192 self-limitation of, 393 sovereignty and, 384, 421 solidarist conception of, 386-387, taxation changes in, 192-193 402-403 use of force changes in, 192-193 standards of civilization and, state of nature, 296 385-386 state sovereignty, 391-392 state-administered mass killings, 346 state, 391-392 state formation and, 384, 421 state-building, 21-22, 179-180, 325-326, 434 taming, 391-392 territorial, 421-422 statecraft Westphalian, 389, 408 civility and, 207-216 diplomacy and, 217-218 Spain encomienda and, 240-241 restrained, 218 Indian enslavement and, 240 violence and, 208, 210-211 invasion of Americas, 231 states slave laws, 250 absolutist, 195, 213, 219-220 slave trade and, 248-249 as annihilation units, 11-12 Sparta, 17-18, 23, 24-25, 31, 35, 37-38, capitalized-coercion, 205-206 39, 40-41, 45, 50 collapse of, 455-456 Speer, Albert, 372-374 colonial era and reach of, 244-245 The Spirit of the Laws (Montesquieu), cost of bureaucracies of, 205-206 293 formation of, 19-20, 159-160, St Augustine, 139 188 - 189St Bernard, 138 monopoly of power, 11-12, 21-22, St Francis, 120 188-189, 457-458 St Petersburg Declaration of 1868, monopoly on force, 11-12 322-324, 393-394 royal household separating from, 192 standards of civilization, 228-229 as survival unit, 11, 206-207 civilizing process and, 443 states-systems. See also Hellenistic former colonies and, 263-264 states-system; modern sovereignty and, 385-386 states-system comparative study of, 4-6 standards of propriety, 199-200 standards of restraint, cosmopolitan, consultative mechanism in, 318-319 447-451 differences between ancient and standing armies, 132-133, 170, 202, modern, 25-26, 264-265 211-212 empires and, 18 stasis, 32-33, 35 Hellenic, 17-18



INDEX 561

Tacitist perspective, 211-212 interconnected, 171 modern differences from classical Tacitus, 99 antiquity, 2 Tahiti, 278-279 role of harm conventions and, 15 Tarn thesis, 69-71 sociology of, 2-3 taxation, 11-12 sovereign, 109, 227 in Italian city-states, 159-160, we-feeling in societies of, 7 169 - 170we-I balance and, 10 state formation and, 192-193 state monopoly over, 5, 186, 388 sterilization programmes, 363-364 temperantia, 34 Stoicism, 61-62, 66-68, 77, 78-79, 94-95, 96 territorial sovereignty, 213, 384-385, duty to refrain from harm in, 97-98 386-387, 421-422 terror bombing, 335 humanists inspired by, 208-209 Smith influenced by, 292 Thebes, 45 on war as aberration from norm, Thirty Years War, 203-204, 212-213, 98\_99 316-317, 437-438 Thoughts Upon Slavery (Wesley), world citizenship conception of, 293 structural harm, 413 256-257 Three Orders doctrine, 117 structural realism, 111-112, 117-119 Thucydides, 17-18, 24-25, 30-31, 36, suffering attitudes towards, 120-121 40-41, 42-43, 47, 311 cosmopolitanism and refraining on assault on Mycalessus, 52-53 on causes of Peloponnesian Wars, from, 323 emotional responses to, 38-43, 37 - 38233-234 on civil war and moral order, 51 nationalization of, 307-308, 325-331 on civilizing and decivilizing processes, 49 public spectacles of, 120-121 remorse for causing, 42-43 on evolution of Hellas, 53-54 social attitudes to, 423-424 on harm conventions weakening, 49 Sumerian city-state system, 30 on military power and pacification of societies, 26-27 supranational court society, 75-76, 434, 458 on Mytilene, 49-50 survival units, 6-7, 11-12, 24-25, on piracy, 26 206-207 on projection of military power, 48 on raiding and piracy, 27-28 after Frankish empire disintegration, 108-109 on violation of truces, 32-33 interconnectedness changing scope on war and barbarism, 53 of, 432 time, conceptions of, 298-299 Tokyo Tribunal, 395-396, 400 interconnectedness outpacing changes in, 465-466 torture, 337-338 lack of higher physical power over, total warfare, 20-21, 23, 307-308, 428 310-311, 329-330, 380, in Latin Christendom, 106 381-382, 398 rapid change and, 324 military technology and, 326-327 in self-help systems, 162 strategic thinking and, 313-314 totalizing nation-state, 325-326, 339 we-feeling and, 10 we-I balance and, 10, 324 Trail Smelter decision, 405-406, symbolai, 76-77 411-412 sympathy, 288-289, 292, 293 transcultural values and ethics, 464



562 INDEX

transnational advocacy networks, 415, 419-420 Trapp, Wilhelm, 365-366 Treaty of Münster, 212-213 Treaty of Osnabruck, 212-213 Treaty of Utrecht, 213, 390-391, 437-438 Treaty of Verdun, 108-109 The Tree of Battles (Bouvet), 146 trench warfare, 327-328 trial by battle, 113-114 trials of ordeal, 116 Trojan War, 34-35 The Trojan Women (Euripides), 47 Truce of God, 115-116, 135-136, 140-141, 148 trusteeship, 262-263 Turner, Nat, 257-258 United Nations, 263-264, 318-319, 403 universal civilizing process, 410 universal conscription, 307-308 universal history, 298-303, 411-412 universal human rights culture, 12-14, 228-229, 304-305, 340, 385, 400, 447-448 universal jurisdiction, 402-403 universal moral principles, 414, 423-424, 464 universal society, 238-239 universalism, 148-149 universalistic thinking, 306-307 Urban II (Pope), 140-142, 349 Urbanus (Daniel of Beccles), 127-128 use of force, 2 Clausewitz on, 314-315 distinguishing licit and illicit, 129 - 130interconnectedness and sensibilities around, 223-224 intra-societal restraints on, 10

Second World War attitudes

shift in Western attitudes towards,

social attitudes towards, 200-201

state formation and, 192–193 state monopoly over, 5, 192–193

towards, 3

337

vacuum theory of state, 155-156 verecundia, 86 Versailles Settlement, 330-331, 353 Versailles Treaty, 395, 442 Vietnam, 332-333 A View of the Past and Present State of Jamaica, 253-254 violence art depicting, 158 against children, 401 chivalry and control of, 136-137 Church attempts to restrain, 115-116, 135-136, 141-142 civilizing process and attitudes towards, 4, 122-123 Clausewitz on use of, 314-315 in collapse of Western Roman empire, 102 in crusades, 140 dampening of impulses of, 332-333 human evolution and controlling, 9 in imperialism, 20, 353-354 impersonal, 331-338 increasing capacity to commit, 339 inflicting from distance, 428 at international and societal levels, 301-302 intra-societal restraints on, 10 Italian Renaissance tolerance of, 19 Latin Christendom levels of, 116-117 medieval representations of, 117 in Middle Ages, 110-111, 122-124 modern era forms of, 343-344 in name of civilization, 353-354 need to control, 338 nobility and, 111, 158-159 pleasure in, 427-428 political necessity and, 50-51 public representations of, 82 religious, 138 religious opposition to, 135-136 restraints on, 3, 12-13, 459-460 Roman Empire and, 79-80, 81-82, 88, 99 sacralization of, 136 sensitivity to, 328 sexual, 46-47, 122-123, 134-135 standards of, 23-24, 129-130



INDEX 563

state monopoly over, 186, 388 statecraft and, 210–211 in warrior and civilized societies, 313 Western conceptions of civilization relationship to, 13–14 against women, 134, 401 world politics and, 426–433 vir virtutis, 152–153 virtus, 85, 86, 165 Visconti, Giangaleazzo, 170 Vladimiri, Paulus, 145–146 Voltaire, 287, 325 volunteer armies, 325 von Papen, Franz, 372–374 von Trotha, Lothar, 260–261

war. See also crusading warfare; laws of war; total warfare absolute, 315-316 aristocratic, 308-309, 311, 313 artistic representations of, 320-321 Athenian departures from laws of, 30-31 Atlantic slave trade and, 248-250 barbarism in times of, 53 booty and, 43-47 between Christians, 209-210 civilians and, 204-205, 462-463 civility and, 221 civilized society and, 439-440 classical age practices, 30 Clausewitz on, 314-315 dampening of violent impulses and, 332-333 decivilizing process and, 359 emotional responses to, 201 financing through conquest, 317-318 French Revolution modes of, frequency among Greek city-states, 38 - 39Henry V ordinances of, 134-135 hoplite, 43-44 industrialized, 329-330 just, 88, 137-138 long-distance, 331-338 masculinity and, 34

mass destruction in, 39 mass killings in, 131-132 medieval, 117 as pathway to wealth, 75 peace settlements after, 437-438 psychological effects of, 427-428 public discourses about, 53-54 revolutionary, 308-318 rising costs of, 205-206 slavery and, 43-47, 248-249, 254 social habitus of, 333-334 social inhibitions weakened in, 334-335 social transformation of, 20-21 sport and, 23-24 Stoics on, 98-99 as substitute for diplomacy, 313-314 violence against women in, 134-135 wealth accumulated through, 46 women as spoils of, 46-47 war crimes, 393-400 War of Spanish Succession, 213 war photography, 321 warrior codes, 28-29, 352-353 warrior societies, violence in, 313 warriors Christianization of, 137-138 Church taming, 112, 125-126, 148 commerce taming, 292-293 feminizing, 128 fighting as purpose in life of, 114-115 Wars of Religion, 204 Wars of Succession, 74-75 wealth appropriation through imperialism, violent appropriation of, 46 war as pathway to, 75 we-feeling, 6-7 Alexander and, 72-73 colonialism and, 284 decline of aristocratic, 312 in Hellenic city-state system, 24-25, 31 - 32mutual restraint from, 130-131 self-interest and, 289-290 survival units and, 10



564

INDEX

we-I balance, 6, 7, 22, 35, 387-388, 470-471 crusading warfare and, 141-142 French revolutionary wars and, 316-317 in Hellenic city-state system, 24-25 international societies and, 7, 402-403, 420-421 knights and, 114-115 in Latin Christendom, 106, 107-108 self-reliance and, 418-419 shifting from Hellas to cities, 32-33 survival units and, 10, 324 we-identity, 6-7, 22, 470 Hellenic, 35 Herodotus on, 32-33 between knights, 132 nationalism and, 391 temporality and, 299-300 welfare internationalism, 453, 454 Wesley, John, 256-257 Western state formation, 188-189 Western-driven global civilizing process, 447-448 Westphalian sovereignty, 389, 408 Wiesel, Elie, 371-372 Wight, Martin, 1 on Delphic amphictyony, 31

on international relations, 1-2 on Second World War. 3 on shared culture, 4 William of Malmesbury, 235-236 women civilizing role of, 41-42 male attitudes towards, 96-97 Nazi attitudes to, 356 opposition to slavery by, 254 siege warfare and, 46-47 as spoils of war, 46-47 violence against, 134-135, 401 as war captives, 46 world citizenship, 293, 464-465 world politics civilization and, 264-267, 426-433 control of conflict changing, 271 Elias on, 425-426 non-violent harm in, 452-453 problem of harm in, 15 violence and, 426-433 world wars. See First World War; Second World War

Xenophon, 34 Xerxes, 33

Yamashita, Doctrine, 399-400