Third Edition

The World

A History

Volume 1
To 1500

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Felipe Fernández-Armesto

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A History

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VOLUME ONE
to 1500

The World

Third Edition

A History

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Brief Contents

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Special Features

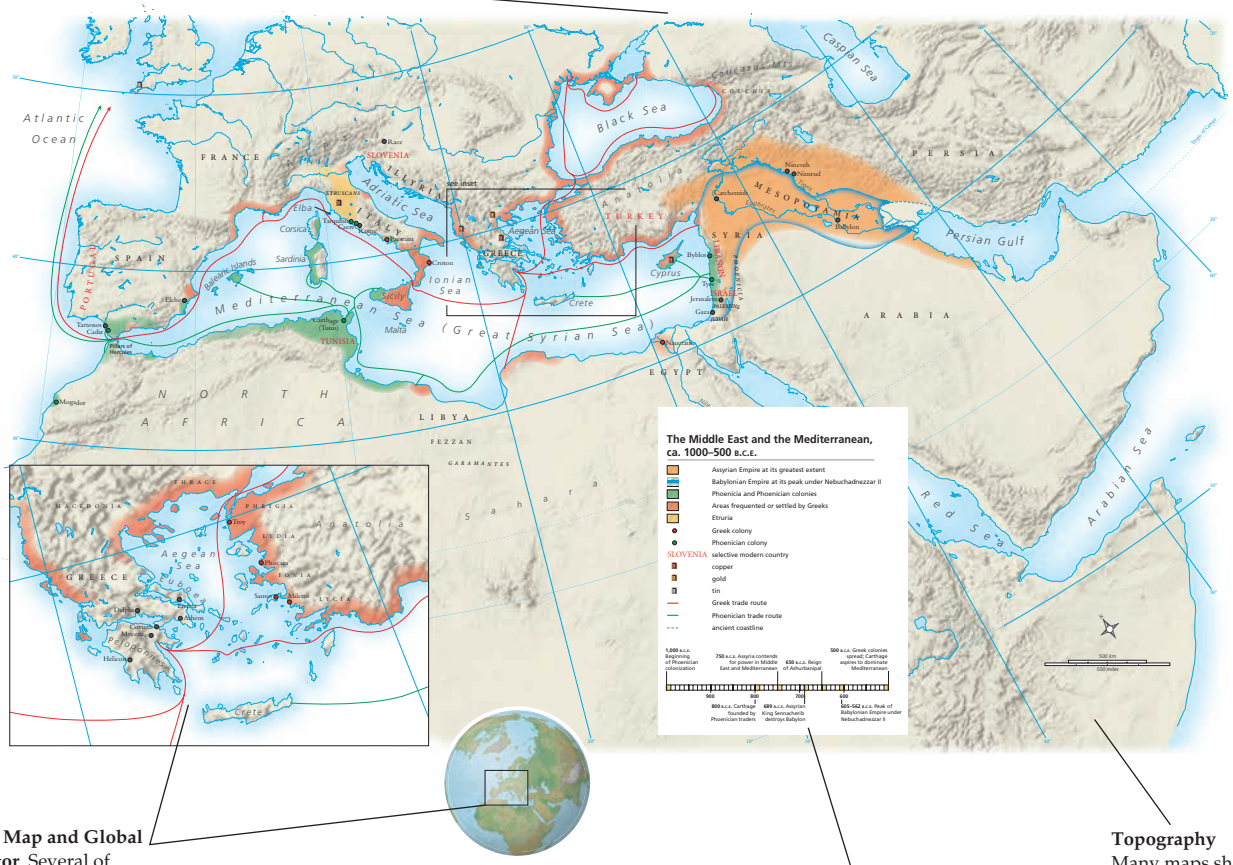
The Big Picture

A Closer Look

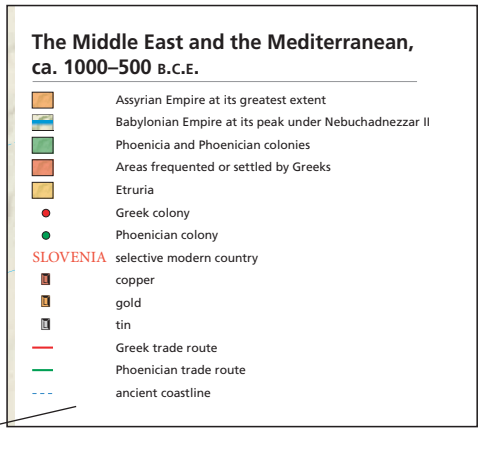
Getting the Most Out of the Maps in *The World*

Maps use a unique visual language to convey a great deal of information in a relatively simple form. The maps in this book use a variety of different projections—techniques used to show Earth's curved surface on a flat map—to trace the history of humans from about 150,000 years ago to the present. This brief guide explains the different features on the maps in *The World*, Third Edition and how to interpret the different layers of information embedded in them.

Projection
A map projection is used to portray all or part of the round Earth on a flat surface, which cannot be done without some distortion. The projections in *The World* show the Earth at global, continental, country, and city scale and vary with each map. The map shown here uses a Robinson projection, which uses curvature to provide a good balance between the size and shape of the lands being depicted. As any number of projections could have been selected for each map in *The World,* great care was shown in choosing projections that best serve the goals of the author.



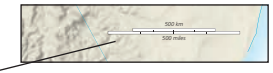
Inset Map and Global Locator Several of the maps in *The World* include inset maps that show in greater size and detail a region depicted on the main map. Many of the maps in *The World* also include global locators that highlight that portion of the Earth's surface that is being shown.



Map Key
Maps use symbols both to show the location of a feature and to give information about that feature. The symbols are explained in the key that accompanies each map.

Timeline
Many of the maps featured in *The World* are accompanied by timelines. Various important events and developments are plotted along a historical line, which shows the order in which they occurred during a certain period in history.

Topography
Many maps show relief—the contours of mountains and valleys. Topography is an important element in reading maps, because the size and scale of the physical terrain has served as a critical factor in shaping human history.



Scalebar
When using a map to work out what distances are in reality, it is necessary to refer to the scale of that particular map. Many of the maps in *The World* (such as the one shown here) use a linear scale. This only works on equal-area maps, where distances are true. On maps with projections that are heavily curved, a special "perspective-scale graphic" is used to show distance.

KEY TO MAP FEATURES IN THE WORLD, THIRD EDITION

Physical Features

- coastline
- ancient coastline
- river
- ancient river course
- canal
- glacier
- ancient lake
- marshland
- ice cap / sheet
- ice shelf
- elevation above sea level (mountain height)
- volcano
- pass

Latitude/Longitude

- equator
- lines of latitude / longitude
- tropics / polar circles
- 45° degrees of longitude / latitude

Borders

- international border
- undefined border
- maritime border
- internal border
- disputed border

Communications

- major road
- minor road
- major railway

Settlement / Possession

- settlement symbol
- colonial possession

Typographic Key

REGIONS

state / political region..... LAOS

administrative region within a state..... *HENAN*

cultural / undefined region / group..... *FERGHANA*

SETTLEMENTS

settlement / symbol location / definition..... Farnham

MISCELLANEOUS

tropics / polar circles..... Antarctic Circle

people / cultural group..... *Samoyeds*

annotation..... **1914** British protectorate

PHYSICAL FEATURES

continent / ocean..... *AFRICA*

INDIAN OCEAN

landscape features..... *Mekong*

Lake Rudolf

Tien Shan

Sahara

Major land borders are shown using a solid line.

Annotations provide additional explanatory information.

Political control is identified by color.

Thin arrows indicate journeys, trade routes, or campaigns.

Broad arrows indicate general movement or spread of ideas, crops, or goods.

Diffused colors are used to show a general region.

About Felipe Fernández-Armesto

Felipe Fernández-Armesto holds the William P. Reynolds Chair of Arts and Letters at the University of Notre Dame. He has master's and doctoral degrees from the University of Oxford, where he spent most of his teaching career, before taking up the Chair of Global Environmental History at Queen Mary College, University of London, in 2000, and the Prince of Asturias Chair at Tufts University (2005–2009). Dr. Fernández-Armesto is on the editorial or advisory boards of many periodicals, including *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, *The Medieval Globe*, *Journeys*, and *Journal of Global History.* Recent awards include Fellowship of the Academia Europea and the Cátedra Reina Victoria Eugenia of the Universidad Complutense, Madrid (2011), the World History Association Book Prize (2007), Spain's Premio Nacional de Gastronomía (2005, for his work on the history of food), and the Premio Nacional de Investigación (Sociedad Geográfica Española, 2004). Dr. Fernández-Armesto has had many distinguished visiting appointments, including a Fellowship of the Netherlands Institute of Advanced Study in the Humanities and Social Sciences and a Union Pacific Visiting Professorship at the University of Minnesota. He won the Caird Medal of the National Maritime Museum in 1995 and the John Carter Brown Medal in 1999 and has honorary doctorates from La Trobe University and the Universidad de los Andes. He has served on the Council of the Hakluyt Society, on the Committee of English PEN, and as Chairman of the PEN Literary Foundation. Dr. Fernández-Armesto's work in journalism includes regular columns in the British and Spanish press, and, among his many contributions to broadcasting, he was the longest-serving presenter of BBC radio's flagship current affairs program, *Analysis.* He has been short-listed for the most valuable literary prize in the United Kingdom.

Dr. Fernández-Armesto is the author, coauthor, or editor of 36 books and numerous papers and scholarly articles. His work has been translated into 28 languages. His books include *Before Columbus*; *The Times Illustrated History of Europe*; *Columbus*; *Millennium: A History of the Last Thousand Years* (the subject of a ten-part series on CNN); *Civilizations: Culture, Ambition, and the Transformation of Nature*; *Near a Thousand Tables*; *The Americas*; *Humankind: A Brief History*; *Ideas That Changed the World*; *The Times Atlas of World Exploration*; *The Times Guide to the Peoples of Europe*; *Amerigo: The Man Who Gave His Name to America*; *Pathfinders: A Global History of Exploration*; and *Our America: A Hispanic History of the United States.*

From the Author to the Reader

Dear Reader,

History is stories. There are hundreds of tales in this book about real, flesh-and-blood people—commoners and kings, sons and mothers, heroes and villains, the famous and the failed. I try to combine them in two narratives that crisscross throughout the book. One is the story of how people connect and separate, as cultures take shape and influence and change one another. Alongside this story, there is another one of how humans interact with the rest of nature—other species, the unstable natural environment, the dynamic planet.

History is global. The whole world stays in view in almost every chapter. Readers can compare and connect what was happening in every region and every continent in every period—like observers from another galaxy, gazing at the world from outer space and seeing it whole.

History is universal. This book tries to say something about every sphere of life—including science and art, suffering and pleasure, thought and imagination.

History is a problem-posing discipline. This book is full of provocations, contested claims, debated speculations, open horizons, and questions too complex and too interesting to answer easily. I employ facts not just for their own sake but also to make my readers—and myself—think.

History is evidence. Readers of this book confront the sources on every page—the words, images, and objects people really used in the past—to reveal vivid pictures of what history looked like and what it felt like to live in the past.

History enhances life. I believe that a textbook can be entertaining, even amusing, as well as instructive and accessible; challenging without being hostile; friendly without being cloying.

History isn't over. This book is about how the world got to be the way it is, confronting present problems and perspectives for the future—which is, after all, only the past that hasn't yet happened.

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Introducing the World

By the standards of astronauts, say, or science fiction writers, historians seem timid, unadventurous creatures who are only interested in one puny species—our species, the human species—on one tiny planet—our planet, Earth. But Earth is special. So far, we know of nowhere else in the cosmos where so much has happened and is happening today. By galactic standards, global history is a small story—but it's a good one.

Humans, moreover, compared with other animals, seem outward looking. Our concerns range over the universe, and beyond it, to unseen worlds, vividly imagined or mysteriously revealed. Not just everything we do but also everything that occurs to our minds is part of our history and, therefore, is part of this book, including science and art, fun and philosophy, speculations and dreams. We continually generate stories—new stories—at an amazing rate.

But the present passes instantly into the past. The present is always over, transformed into history. And the past is always with us, tugging at our memories, shaping our thoughts, launching and limiting our lives. Human history may seem narrowly self-interested, but it focuses on an undeniably riveting subject that is also our favorite subject—ourselves.

The Way of Humankind

Although the story of this book is a human story, it can never be merely human because, in isolation, humankind does not make perfect sense. Humans are animals, and to understand ourselves thoroughly and to know what, if anything, makes us unique, we have to compare ourselves with other animals. As with other animals, we are best studied in our habitats. We cannot begin to comprehend our own history except in context. Our story is inseparable from the climates where it takes place and the other life-forms that we depend on or compete with. We lord it over other species, but we remain linked to them by the food chain. We transform our environment, but we can never escape from it. We differentiate ourselves from nature—we speak loosely, for instance, of nature as if we were not natural creatures ourselves. We distance ourselves from our fellow animals by adopting what we think are unnatural behaviors—wearing clothes, for instance, cooking food, replacing nature with culture. In short, we do what is natural to us, and all the elaborate culture we produce generates new, intimate relationships with the environment we refashion and the life-forms we exploit.

We are exceptionally ambitious compared to other animals, consciously remodeling environments to suit our own purposes. We carve out fields, turn prairies into wheat lands, deserts into gardens, and gardens into deserts. We fell forests where we find them and plant them where none exist; we dam rivers, wall seas, cultivate plants, breed creatures, extinguish some species, and call others into being by selection and hybridization. Sometimes we smother terrain with environments we build for ourselves. Yet none of these practices liberates us from nature. As we shall see, one of the paradoxes of the human story is that the more we change the environment, the more vulnerable we become to ecological lurches and unpredictable disasters. Failure to establish the right balance between exploitation and conservation has often left civilizations in ruins. History becomes a path picked across the wreckage. This does not mean that the environment determines our behavior or our lives, but it does set the framework in which we act.

We are an exceptionally successful species in terms of our ability to survive in a wide range of diverse climates and landscapes—more so than just about any other creature, except for the microbes we carry around with us. But even we are still explorers of our planet, engaged in an ongoing effort to change it. Indeed, we have barely begun to change planet Earth, though, as we shall see, some human societies have devoted the last 10,000 years to trying to do it. We call ourselves lords, or, more modestly, caretakers of creation, but about 90 percent of the biosphere is too far underwater or too deep below the earth for us to inhabit with the technology we have at present: These are environments that humans have only recently begun to invade and that we still do not dominate.

If we humans are peculiarly ambitious creatures, who are always intruding in the life of the planet, we are also odd compared to other animals in the way we generate change among ourselves. We are an unpredictable, unstable species. Lots of other animals live social lives and construct societies. But those societies are remarkably stable compared to ours. As far as we know, ants and elephants have the same lifeways and the same kinds of relationships that they have had since their species first appeared. That is not to say animals never change their cultures. One of the fascinating discoveries in primatology is that apes and monkeys develop cultural differences from one another, even between groups living in similar and sometimes adjacent environments. In the forest region of Africa, chimpanzees have developed a termite-catching

technology. They "fish" with stripped branches that they plunge into termite nests but do not use tools to break open nuts. Chimps in neighboring regions are experts in nut-cracking, using rocks like hammers and anvils. In Sumatra in Indonesia, orangutans play a game—jumping from falling trees—that is unknown to their cousins in nearby Borneo. In Ethiopia in East Africa, males in some baboon groups control harems while others nearby have one mate after another. In some chimpanzee societies, hunting and meat-eating seem to have increased dramatically in recent times.

These are amazing facts, but the societies of nonhuman animals still change little compared with ours. So, alongside the theme of human interaction with the rest of nature is another great theme of our history: the ways our societies have changed, grown apart from one another, reestablished contact, and influenced one another in their turn.

The Way of This Book

This book, then, interweaves two stories—of our interactions with nature and of our relationships with each other. The environment-centered story is about humans distancing themselves from the rest of nature and searching for a relationship that strikes a balance between constructive and destructive exploitation. The culture-centered story is of how human cultures have become mutually influential and yet mutually differentiating. Both stories have been going on for thousands of years. We do not know whether they will end in triumph or disaster.

There is no prospect of covering all of world history in one book. Rather, the fabric of this book is woven from selected strands. Readers will see these at every turn, twisted together into yarn, stretched into stories. Human-focused historical ecology—the environmental theme—will drive readers back, again and again, to the same concepts: sustenance, shelter, disease, energy, technology, art. (The last is a vital category for historians, not only because it is part of our interface with the rest of the world, but also because it forms a record of how we see reality and of how the way we see it changes.) In the global story of human interactions—the cultural theme—we return constantly to the ways people make contact with each another: migration, trade, war, imperialism, pilgrimage, gift exchange, diplomacy, travel—and to their social frameworks: the economic and political arenas, the human groups and groupings, the states and civilizations, the sexes and generations, the classes and clusters of identity.

The stories that stretch before us are full of human experience. "The stork feeds on snakes," said the ancient Greek sage, Agathon, "the pig on acorns, and history on human lives." The only way to build up our picture of human societies and ecosystems of the past is to start with the evidence people have left. Then we reassemble it bit by bit, with the help of imagination disciplined by the sources. Anyone reading a history book needs to bear in mind that interpreting evidence is a challenge—half burden and half opportunity. The subject matter of history is not the past directly because the past is never available to our senses. We have only the evidence about it. This makes history an art, not a science, an art disciplined by respect for the sources, just as patterns impose discipline on poets or as the limitations of stagecraft discipline a play.

For a book like this, the sources set the limits of my imagination. Sometimes these are concrete clues to what people really did—footprints of their wanderings, debris of their meals, fragments of their technologies, wreckage of their homes, traces of diseases in their bones. Usually, however, the sources do not reflect the way things were but the way people wished to represent them in their arts and crafts and writings. In short, most sources are evidence of what happened only in the minds of those who made them. This means, in turn, that our picture of what went on in the world beyond human minds is always tentative and open to reinterpretation. The historian's job is not—cannot be—to say what the past was like, but rather, what it felt like to live in it because that is what the evidence tends to reveal.

One of the most admirable historians of the twentieth century, R. G. Collingwood, who was also a professor of philosophy at Oxford, said that "all history is intellectual history." He was right. History—even the environmental and cultural history that is the subject of this book—is largely about what people perceived rather than what they really saw, what they thought or felt rather than what happened outwardly, what they represented rather than what was real. Nineteenth-century philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer, one of the most pessimistic thinkers ever, who drew on Hindu and Buddhist writings for his inspiration, said that history's only subject was "humankind's oppressive, muddlesome dream." He thought that made history pointless. I think the dream makes it intriguing.

Because the evidence is always incomplete, history is not so much a matter of describing or narrating or question-answering as it is a matter of problem-posing. No one reading this book should expect to be instructed in straightforward facts or to acquire proven knowledge. The thrill of history is asking the right question, not getting the right answer. Most of the time, the most we can hope for is to identify interesting problems that stimulate debate. And we have to accept that the debate is worthwhile for its own sake, even if we have insufficient knowledge to reach conclusions.

There is no agreement among historians even about what are the right sorts of questions to ask. Some—including me—are interested in huge philosophical questions, such as how does history happen? What makes change? Is

it random or is it subject to scientific laws? Do impersonal forces beyond human control—environmental factors or economics or some world force called fate or evolution or God or progress—determine it? Or is change the externalization of ideas, which arise in minds and are projected onto the world through human action? And if it's a mixture, what's the balance?

At a slightly lower level of analysis, some historians ask questions about how human societies function. How and why do societies grow and fragment and take different forms? How do some people get power over others? How and why do revolutions happen and states and civilizations rise and fall?

Other historians like to pose problems about the present. How did we get into the mess we're in? Can we trace the causes of present dilemmas back into the past and, if so, how far? Why do we have a globally connected world without global governance? Why is peace always precarious? Why does ecological overkill menace our global environment? Having accounted—or failed to account—for the present, some historians like to focus on the future. They demand lessons from history about how to change our behavior or cope with recurrences of past difficulties. Others, again, search to make sense of the past, to find an overall way of characterizing it or narrating it that makes us feel we understand it.

Yet others—the majority, in the current state of historical fashion, and again including me—like to study the past for its own sake and try to identify the questions that mattered to people at the time they first asked them. This does not mean that the sort of history found in this book is useless (although I do not necessarily think it would be a bad thing if it were). For to penetrate the minds of people of the past—especially the remote past of cultures other than your own—you have to make a supreme effort of understanding. The effort has dividends for the person who practices it. It enhances life by sharpening responses to the streetscapes and landscapes, art and artifacts, laws and letters we have inherited from the past. And understanding is what we need most today in our multicultural societies and multicivilizational world.

How This Book Is Arranged

After finding the time, accumulating the knowledge, posing the questions, stiffening the sinews, and summoning the blood, the big problem for the writer of a global history textbook is organizing the material. The big problem for the reader is navigating it. It is tempting to divide the world up into regions or cultures or even—as I did in a previous book—into biomes and devote successive chapters to each. You could call that "world history," if you genuinely managed to cover the world. But "global history" is different: an attempt to see the planet whole, as if from an immense, astral height, and discern themes that truly transcend geographical and cultural boundaries. In this book, therefore, I try to look at every continent in just about every chapter (there are a couple of chapters that, for reasons described in their place, focus only on part of the world). Each chapter concentrates on themes from the two great global stories: how human societies diverge and converge, and how they interact with the rest of nature.

Because history is a story in which the order of events matters, the chapters are grouped into parts, arranged chronologically. No one should be misled into thinking the parts are more than devices of convenience. Events that happened in, say, 1850, are in a different part of this book from those that happened in, say, 1750. But the story is continuous, and the parts could equally well be recrafted to start and end at different moments.

At every stage, some regions are more prominent than others because they are more influential, more populous, more world-shaping. For great stretches of the book, China occupies a lot of space, not for reasons of political correctness, but because China has, for much of the past, been immensely rich in globally influential initiatives. In the coverage of the last couple of hundred years, Europe and the United States get plenty of attention: this is not "Eurocentrism" or "Westocentrism" (if there is such a word), but an honest reflection of how history happened. But I have tried not to neglect the peoples and parts of the world that historians usually undervalue: poor and peripheral communities sometimes have a stunning impact on the world. The margins and frontiers of the world are often where world-changing events happen—the fault lines of civilizations, which radiate seismic effects.

Learning Features for the Third Edition of *The World*

The pedagogical program for the Third Edition of *The World* has been carefully devised to complement the narrative, reinforce important concepts, and prompt students to ask questions and formulate arguments.

Chapter-opening vignettes use dramatic and unusual stories to put the main themes of each chapter in relief.

Learning Objectives are provided at the outset of each chapter within the chapter outline and at the start of every major section within.

Global Dimensions, a set of global learning outcomes, are included at the end of each chapter's opening vignette to prepare the readers to think about the main topics covered within the chapter.

Making Connections tables throughout the text help students see the global linkages behind important historical

developments. Praised by users of *The World*, every chapter includes at least one, and in some cases, as many as three, Making Connections tables. To further improve their visual efficacy, there are locator maps showing the regions examined in each Making Connections table.

A Closer Look sections, one per chapter, provide in-depth visual analysis of a specific cultural artifact. Praised by users for the way in which they connect the macro with the micro, detailed notes and tie lines draw the reader into close contact with the object, providing opportunities to pose larger questions. Users of *The World* have consistently cited the Closer Look sections as effective learning tools for their students. See page xvii for a complete listing.

Maps Widely hailed by users of the prior editions, the maps in *The World* employ innovative perspectives to help the reader see world history in a fresh and dynamic way. A range of different maps—from two-page thematic maps to spot maps that pinpoint specific events—connect with the discussion on a variety of different levels. Each map has been extensively checked for accuracy and/or redrafted to improve its graphical presentation. The Third Edition includes 35 full-size maps and 102 locator maps. See page xiii for a listing of the maps.

The Big Picture Building on the success of the map program for the prior editions, each of the nine parts in *The World* ends with "The Big Picture," a two-page map of the world that graphically highlights an important, pivotal development in global history. Accompanied by text and questions, each Big Picture map provides the reader with a visual snapshot of what the world looked like at key intervals in human history. Interactive versions of the Big Picture maps can be found on MyHistoryLab. Short video clips of the author discussing developments in global history related to the Big Picture maps are also available on the MyHistoryLab that accompanies the text.

Visual Sources Users of *The World* consistently rank its photo program as the best found in any textbook available today. Intimately connected to the narrative, each photo provides a compelling visual record, from mammoth huts to satellite images of Earth from space. Detailed captions, crafted by the author, explicate the meaning behind each visual source.

In Perspective sections conclude each chapter and do much more than summarize the preceding discussion. They put the developments covered in the chapter into historical perspective, and they make explicit for the student the process by which historians interpret the past.

Chronologies throughout each chapter arrange key historical developments in the order in which they occurred.

Key Terms are defined in the Glossary and set in boldface type in the text.

Changes to the Third Edition

The text of previous editions has been revised, corrected, shortened, and updated to reflect recent scholarship. A new opening chapter replaces former Chapters 1 and 2. New Chapters 27, 28, and 29 have been added to extend coverage of the twentieth century and to bring the narrative up to the second decade of the twenty-first century:

- Chapter 27: "Order Unraveled: The Trial of Empires, ca. 1898–ca. 1931"—NEW and EXPANDED coverage on World War I, Postwar Mindsets, and The Age of Extremism.
- Chapter 28: "The Anvil of War: Ideology and Violence, ca. 1931–ca. 1957"—NEW and EXPANDED coverage on The Origins of Global Conflict, World War II, and The Suspension of World Order.
- Chapter 29: "Paradise Postponed: Cold War between Planned Societies, ca. 1957–ca. 1980"—NEW and EXPANDED coverage on Globalization, Countercolonization and Social Change, Personal Freedom Resurgent, Life after Empires, Superpower Confrontation, and The Return of the Free Market.
- Chapter 30: "World Order and Disorder: Capitalist Convergence and Conflicts of Culture, ca. 1980–ca. 2010"—NEW and UPDATED coverage of The New World Order, Culture and Globalization, and Secularism and the Religious Revival.

New to This Edition

Revel™

Educational technology designed for the way today's students read, think, and learn

When students are engaged deeply, they learn more effectively and perform better in their courses. This simple fact inspired the creation of REVEL: an immersive learning experience designed for the way today's students read, think, and learn. Built in collaboration with educators and students nationwide, REVEL is the newest, fully digital way to deliver respected Pearson content.

Revel enlivens course content with media interactives and assessments—integrated directly within the authors' narrative—that provide opportunities for students to read about and practice course material in tandem. This immersive educational technology boosts student engagement, which leads to better understanding of concepts and improved performance throughout the course.

Learn more about REVEL

www.pearsonhighered.com/REVEL

Rather than simply offering opportunities to read about and study world history, REVEL facilitates deep, engaging interactions with the concepts that matter most. By providing opportunities to improve skills in analyzing and interpreting primary and secondary sources of historical evidence, for example, REVEL engages students directly and immediately, which leads to a better understanding of course material. A wealth of student and instructor resources and interactive materials can be found within REVEL. Some of our favorites are mentioned in the paragraphs that follow.

Interactive Maps

Custom-built interactive maps, with contextual hotspots, animated routes, chronological layers, and panning and zooming functionality, provide students with multiple ways of engaging with map visualizations.

World History Videos

Each chapter of the text contains videos selected from Pearson's World History video library that appear directly in line with the content narrative. Students are able to watch the videos right there without ever leaving the page, providing a richer explanation of key people and events, such as Alexander the Great, the Thirty Years' War, and Apartheid in South Africa.

A Closer Look

In REVEL, we have turned this feature into an interactive widget with hotspot locations, allowing students to examine photos, paintings, and other historical items of interest in detail. The feature allows students to closely examine the items with intricate detail. Each A Closer Look concludes with questions that encourage students to focus on important issues raised within the feature.

Integrated Writing Opportunities

To help students reason more logically and write more clearly, each chapter offers three varieties of writing prompts. The Journal prompt elicits free-form topic-specific responses addressing topics at the module level, and the Shared Writing prompt encourages students to address multiple sides of an issue by sharing and responding to each other's viewpoints, encouraging all to interpret a historical event or text as would people of the time. Finally, each chapter includes an Essay prompt from Pearson's Writing Space, where instructors can assign both automatic-graded and instructor-graded prompts.

For more information about all of the tools and resources in REVEL and access to your own REVEL account for *The World, Third Edition*, go to www.pearsonhighered.com/REVEL.

Support Materials

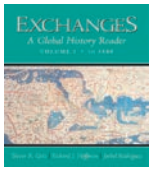
The World, Third Edition, comes with an extensive package of support materials for teachers and students.

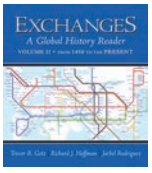
For Instructors

- **The Instructor's Manual/Test-Item File** includes chapter outlines, overviews, key concepts, discussion questions, teaching notes, map quizzes, and suggestions for audiovisual resources, as well as approximately 1,500 test items. Particular emphasis is placed on essay questions that test students' understanding of concepts across chapters.
- **Test Manager** is a computerized test management program for Windows and Macintosh environments. The program allows instructors to select items from the test-item file to create tests. It also allows for online testing.
- **The Instructor's Resource Center** (www.pearsonhighered.com) Text-specific materials, such as the instructor's manual, the test-item file, map files, digital transparencies and PowerPoint™ presentations, are available for downloading by adopters.

Popular Valuepacks for *The World*

- 
Connections: Key Themes in World History. Series Editor Alfred J. Andrea. Concise and tightly focused, the titles in the popular Connections Series are designed to place the latest research on selected topics of global significance, such as disease, trade, slavery, exploration, and modernization, into an accessible format for students. Available at a 50% discount when bundled with *The World*. For more information go to www.pearsonhighered.com.

- 



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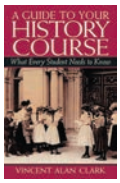
- 

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Extensively revised and updated, the **Primary Source: Documents in Global History DVD** is both a rich collection of textual and visual documents in world history and an indispensable tool for working with sources. Extensively developed with the guidance of historians and teachers, the revised and updated DVD version includes over 800 sources in world history—from cave art to satellite images of the Earth from space. More sources from Africa, Latin America, and Southeast Asia have been added to this revised and updated DVD version. All sources are accompanied by headnotes and focus questions, and are searchable by topic, region, or time period.

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Acknowledgments

Without being intrusive, I have tried not to suppress my presence—my voice, my views—in the text because no book is objective, other than by pretense, and the reader is entitled to get to know the writer's foibles and failures. In overcoming mine, I have had a lot of help (though there are sure still to be errors and shortcomings through my fault alone). Textbooks are teamwork, and I have learned an immense amount from my friends and helpers at Pearson Prentice Hall, especially my editors, Ed Parsons and Clark Baxter, and program manager, Deb Hartwell, whose indefatigability and forbearance made the book better at every turn. Wendy Albert, executive field marketer, and Jeremy Intel, product marketing manager, for their creativity. I also thank the picture researcher Lauren McFall, and the members of the production and cartographic sections of the team who performed Herculean labors: Denise Forlow, senior managing editor; Lynne Breitfeller, production project manager; and Kevin Lear, cartographer.

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Felipe Fernández-Armesto
Somerville, Massachusetts

A Note on Dates and Spellings

In keeping with common practice among historians of global history, we have used B.C.E. (before the common era) and C.E. (common era) to date events. For developments deep in the past, we have employed the phrase "years ago" to convey to the reader a clear sense of time. Specific dates are only given when necessary and when doing so improves the context of the narrative.

Recognizing that almost every non-English word can be transliterated in any number of ways, we have adopted the most widely used and simplest systems for spelling names and terms. The *pinyin* system of Chinese spelling is used for all Chinese words with the exception of such words as *Yangtze*, which are still widely referred to in its Wade-Giles form. Following common usage, we have avoided using apostrophes in the spelling of Arabic and Persian words, as well as words from other languages—thus, *Quran* and *Kaaba* instead of *Qu'ran* and *Ka'ba*, and *Tbilisi* instead of *T'bilisi.* Diacritical marks, accents, and other specialized symbols are used only if the most common variant of a name or term employs such devices (such as *Çatalhüyük*), if they are part of a personal noun (such as *Nicolás*), or if the inclusion of such markings in the spelling of a word makes pronouncing it easier (*Teotihuacán*).

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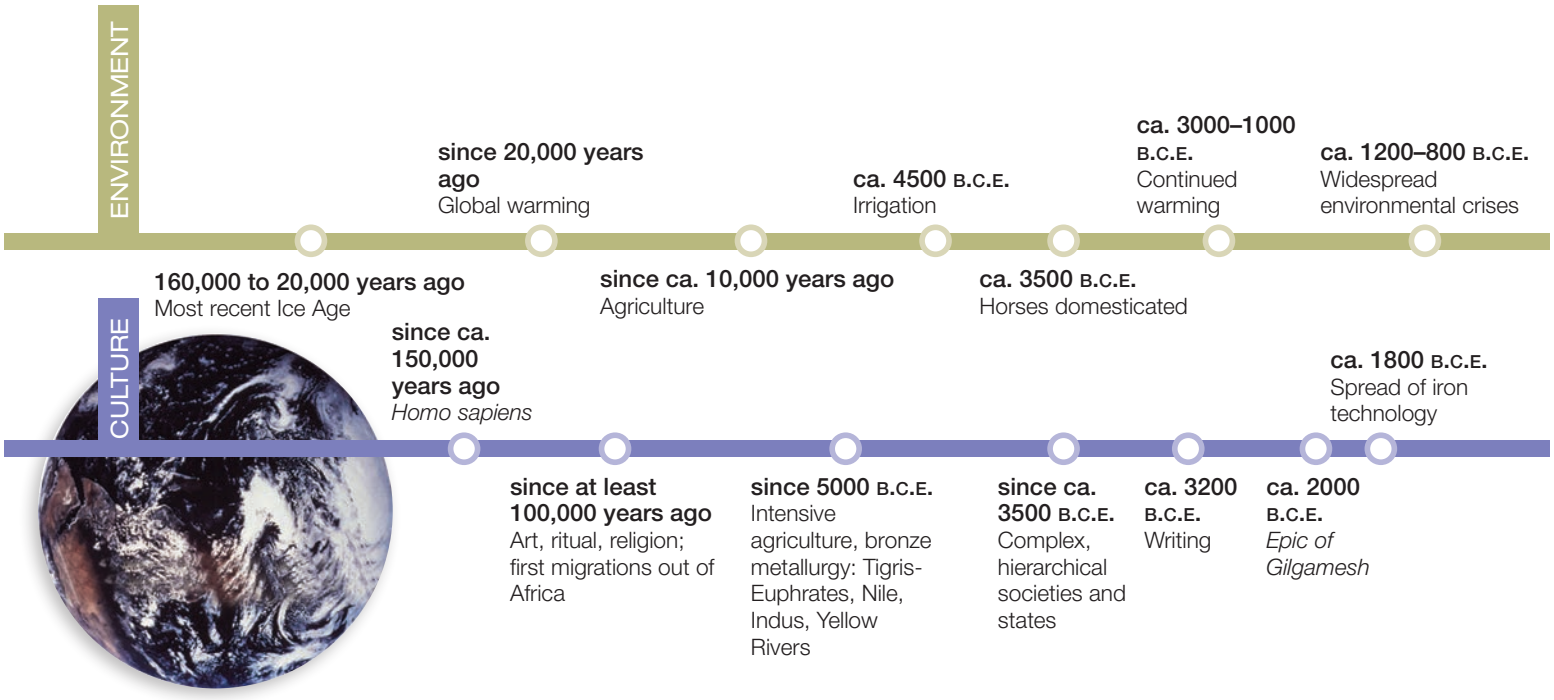
Part I

▲ **THE HUMAN IMPRINT.** Hand stencils—painted, scratched, or made by spraying with ocher, like this example from the Chauvet Cave on the south coast of France—are among the most common images in surviving Ice Age decorated caves. Chauvet, discovered in 1964, contains some of the earliest known examples. The practice of touching the rock surface with outstretched palm, and recording the visitor's presence in enduring form, lasted in the region for thousands of years: surviving examples cover a period of more than 12,000 years from about 30,000 B.C.E. This suggests remarkable continuities of belief and ritual among people who seem to have been trying to contact an immutable world of spirits inside the earth.

The Divergent Species

The Beginnings of Diversity
ca. 160,000 to ca. 3,000 Years Ago



Chapter 1

Of Ice and Mud:
From Africa to the World, from Foraging to Farming

▲ **BLOMBOS CAVE** in South Africa is one of the world´s most exciting archaeological sites, an archive of some of the earliest surviving evidence of the imaginative power of Homo sapiens. Blocks of blood-red ochre, decorated with checkered symbols, and beads made from Nassarius shells were products of intellect and imagination designed for ritual and display more than 70,000 years ago. Here workers check the depth of excavations to establish the relative antiquity of finds at different levels.

Chapter Outline & Learning Objectives

Near the remains of a butchered hippopotamus, three skulls lay: a child's and two adults'. Archaeologists found them in Herto, Ethiopia, in 2003, in the depths of a long East African valley, where earlier digs had turned up many remains of humans' ancestor species (see Map 1.1). The Herto specimens were about 160,000 years old. They looked like average human skulls today, except that they were slightly larger. Relatives, companions, or captors had stripped them of flesh and polished them after death, as if in some death-linked ritual.

The archaeologists were face to face with the earliest known surviving relics of ***Homo sapiens***—"wise" people, as we perhaps foolishly call ourselves.

Do older remains of our species await discovery? Probably not; at least, not much older, as genetic evidence tends to confirm that we—or creatures with the same small range of DNA that we now call human—have only been around for 200,000 years, at most—which gives us a good rough starting point for this text.

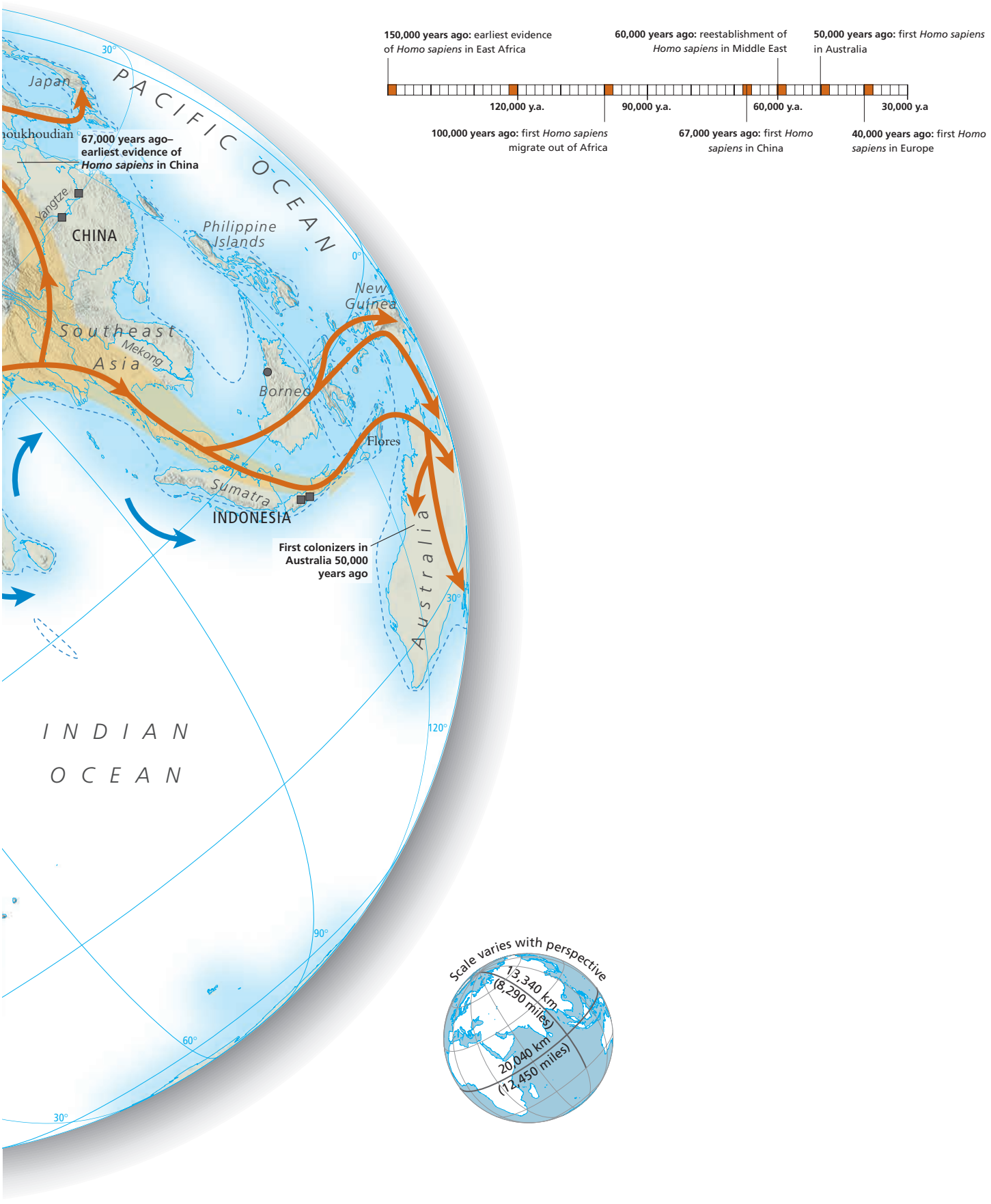
Depending on what you think "history" is, you could choose to start earlier, perhaps with the first known change in the cosmos—the "Big Bang," which, thirteen billion years ago, turned unimaginably dense matter into the expanding universe we inhabit. Or you could start at the formation of our planet about four and a half billion years ago, or at the emergence of life shortly afterward. You could even start with the first creatures with what we call **culture**—creatures who changed the way they lived not because biological laws drove them to, but because they discovered for themselves how to innovate and pass innovations on by teaching, learning, or imitation. Or you could start with the long, slow **evolution** of physical attributes or behaviors you think specially characteristic of humans.

There are, however, good reasons to focus on ourselves: No other surviving species has changed its lifeways so much, or, as far as we know, changed the planet it dwells on so much. We are animals, composed of the same matter as other animals, and ruled by the same need to feed and sleep and reproduce, but our peculiarities—our abundant thoughts and imaginings, the dazzling rate at which we project our

MAP 1.1

Migration 100,000–40,000 years ago

- *Earlier Homo erectus*, 1.75–1.25 million years ago
- *Homo sapiens*, 100,000–40,000 years ago
- Possible coastal migrations
- *Homo erectus* sites
- *Homo sapiens* sites
- GABON selective modern country
- ancient coastline
- ancient lake


150,000 years ago: earliest evidence of Homo sapiens in East Africa
60,000 years ago: reestablishment of Homo sapiens in Middle East
50,000 years ago: first Homo sapiens in Australia
120,000 y.a.
90,000 y.a.
60,000 y.a.
30,000 y.a
100,000 years ago: first Homo sapiens migrate out of Africa
67,000 years ago: first Homo sapiens in China
40,000 years ago: first Homo sapiens in Europe
PACIFIC OCEAN
Japan
67,000 years ago– earliest evidence of Homo sapiens in China
Yangtze
CHINA
Philippine Islands
New Guinea
Southeast Asia
Mekong
Borneo
Flores
Sumatra
INDONESIA
First colonizers in Australia 50,000 years ago
Australia
INDIAN OCEAN
30°
0°
30°
120°
90°
60°
30°
Scale varies with perspective
13,340 km (8,290 miles)
20,040 km (12,450 miles)

ideas onto the world around us—are, understandably, of supreme interest to ourselves. We are odd, by the standards of other animals. Our oddities are worth examining.

The biggest oddity, perhaps, is how various we are, how culturally divergent. Whereas most other cultural animals exhibit very limited differences of behavior, humans have thousands of ways of feeding, finding their way, worshiping their gods, fashioning their dwellings, managing their environments, communicating with each other, and organizing and ruling their communities. The great thread that runs through this book is how this dazzling divergence happened. The central problem is why.

Divergence accumulated slowly at first—hardly at all for the first 100,000 years of *Homo sapiens*. This chapter is an attempt to examine and understand how divergence started and why it gathered pace beginning about 100,000 years ago, through the tremendous accelerations recounted in the next two chapters.

Global Dimensions *What is culture? What, if anything, distinguishes humans from other animals? When and why did divergence begin to accelerate? What made Ice Age people affluent? What made them migrate?*

1.1 The Beginnings of Divergence: Migration

What changes resulted from early human migration?

At the time the Herto skulls parted from their bodies, a small number of fellow creatures—perhaps up to about 20,000 individuals—lived in the same region, practicing the same culture. In grassland and sparse woodland, they could, like predecessor species in the same circumstances, make up for their deficiency as climbers by standing erect to look out around them. They could set fires to manage the grazing of animals they hunted, and sharpen stones to butcher the carcasses. Though poorly equipped physically, in most respects, by comparison with competitor species—with inferior sight, smell, and hearing, slow movements, unthreatening teeth and nails, poor digestions, and weak bodies that confined them to the ground—they could sweat profusely over hairless skins to keep cool during long chases, and could ward off rival predators with relatively accurate throwing arms and well-coordinated eye–arm movements. In short, like most creatures, they fitted their habitat.

About 100,000 years ago, however, their descendants began to disperse over the globe (see Map 1.1). Such dispersal had happened before—or something like it had. Nearly a million years earlier, for instance, an ancestor species, *Homo erectus*, spread over most of what are now Africa and Eurasia (see Map 1.1). But neither theirs nor any other earlier dispersal led to the startling cultural divergence that came to constitute the history of our own species.

1.1.1 Peopling the Earth

To some extent, we can reconstruct where and when *Homo sapiens* traveled, though archaeological evidence is patchy, by, for example, measuring differences in blood type, genetic makeup, and language in different parts of the world. The best-informed research puts *Homo sapiens* in southern Africa and the Middle East by about 100,000 years ago (see Map 1.1, including for the migrations discussed in this paragraph). The latter colony failed, but newcomers reappeared about 60,000 years ago. Settlement proceeded along African and Asian coasts, probably in part by sea. The earliest agreed-upon archaeological evidence of *Homo sapiens* in China is about 67,000 years old (although digs have yielded puzzlingly earlier dates for similar remains). The first colonizers of Australia arrived over 50,000 years ago and must have used boats, because open sea was already in the way. *Homo sapiens* reached Europe only a little later, and northern Asia—isolated by daunting screens of cold—about 30,000 years ago.

For scholars, settlement of the Americas is the most contested phase of the story. Evidence scattered from the Yukon to Uruguay and from the Bering Strait to the Beagle Channel is so widespread, over so long a period, in so many different geological layers, and with such a vast range of cultural diversity, that one conclusion is inescapable: Colonists came at different times, by different routes, bringing different cultures with them.

Why did people move? And what made them so amenable to different environments? Most species stay where they are best adapted. Yet *Homo sapiens* relocated in challengingly different places: deep forests, where grassland habits were of limited use; deserts and seas, which demanded technologies humans had not yet developed; unfamiliar climates, which bred unaccustomed diseases. Still, people kept on moving. These surprising events highlight three key facts.

First, we are creatures of cold. The migrations coincided with the Ice Age, a period of cold climate, which, at its peak, about 20,000 years ago, spread ice in the northern hemisphere as far south as the present lower courses of the Missouri and Ohio rivers in North America and deep into what are now the British Isles (see Map 1.2). Ice covered what is today Scandinavia. Most of the rest of Europe was **tundra**—a treeless region with frozen subsoil—or taiga—coniferous forest; in central Eurasia, tundra reached almost to the present latitudes of the Black Sea (see Map 1.2). **Steppe**—dry plain with scrub grass—licked the shores of the Mediterranean (see Map 1.2). In the New World, tundra and taiga extended to where Virginia now is (see Map 1.2). Periods of the most intense cold, which each lasted for about 3,000 or 4,000 years—the first around 40,000 years ago, another some 16,000 years later—did not interrupt people's movements or creativity; if anything, the effect seems to have been stimulating.

Second, the people who traversed the ice-helmed world were conscious migrants, not just creatures whom biological and environmental imperatives impelled. They made artifacts associable with thoughts and sensibilities similar to our own: shell jewelry, incised slabs of ochre, and, in Blombos cave in South Africa about 100,000 years ago, shell crucibles and spatulas for mixing pigments. They had the mental equipment necessary to be able to imagine themselves in changed circumstances, to contemplate changes needed, and to attempt to realize them.

Finally, and perhaps most puzzlingly, the expansion of *Homo sapiens* implies an astonishing rate of population growth. We have no idea—beyond guesswork—of the numbers that migrated, but we can estimate a figure in the millions by the end of the process. As far as we know, everyone at the time lived by foraging. Because mothers cannot easily carry more than one or two infants, having large numbers of children is unsuited to foraging life. Consequently, foragers usually limit families. Long periods of lactation provided a means of contraception: Breastfeeding mothers are relatively infertile. The demographic growth that peopled the Earth is surprising, therefore, because it breaks the normal pattern of population stability in foraging communities.

1.1.2 Explaining Migration

The reasons for the migration remain unclear. Perhaps new stresses drove the migrants on, stresses such as food shortages or ecological disasters. But in every other case we know of population falls when food sources shrink. Warfare may be a more promising form of stress to consider. Among the four horsemen of the Apocalypse, plague, famine, and natural disaster tend to inhibit human action, whereas war spurs us to new responses. Archaeological data and inferences from anthropological case studies have encouraged speculation that warfare began—or, at least, entered a new, more

CHRONOLOGY: Early Human Migration

160,000 years ago	*H. sapiens*
100,000 years ago	*H. sapiens* migrates to southern Africa and to Middle East
67,000 years ago	*H. sapiens* in China
60,000 years ago	*H. sapiens* reestablishes colony in Middle East
50,000 years ago	*H. sapiens* in Australia
30,000 years ago	*H. sapiens* in Europe
15,000 years ago	*H. sapiens* in the Americas

(All dates are approximate)