2. Global History, World History, and Wallerstein's World-Systems Theory as Definitional Caesuras

Frank Jacob

World and global history are often used interchangeably, and a concrete definition is usually lacking. The use of Wallerstein's world-systems theory could, however, help provide clearer definitional categories for the two historical subdisciplines or theoretical approaches toward the study of pre-world-system and post-world-system history. In 2021, Norwegian historians Leidulf Melve and Eivind Heldaas Seland published What is Global History? (Hva er globalhistorie), in which they provide a short introduction to this field and discuss the question of what global history actually is. 1 While the book is particularly beneficial for students approaching the subfield of global history for the first time, some of its theoretical aspects deserve more discussion. Melve and Seeland correctly argue that "we are living in a global age, and it is important to understand the past as well as the present from a global vantage point"² when we discuss history, which, as a scientific discipline, has often served national demands since the 19th century.³ When the two authors therefore argue that "we shall return to global narratives,"4 they seem to refer to an older historiographic tradition that, for a long time, considered larger parts of the world or even the whole world at once.⁵ Regardless of these claims, there are still some issues concerning the definition of global history, even though it has been discussed

Leidulf Melve and Eivind Heldaas Seland, Hva er globalhistorie (Oslo: Universitetsforlag, 2021).

² Ibid., 8–9.

For a Norwegian perspective, see Steinar Aas, "Nationalism, Populism, and Norwegian Historiography," in Nationalism and Populism: Expressions of Fear or Political Strategies? eds. Carsten Schapkow and Frank Jacob (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2022), 191–210.

⁴ Melve and Seland, Hva er globalhistorie, 14.

⁵ Daniel Woolf, A Global History of History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 233–280. See also Matthias Middell, Weltgeschichtsschreibung im Zeitalter der

in numerous volumes. 6 Melve and Seeland state that global history is a form of "transcending history" not only with regard to "national and chronological boundaries, but also theoretical and methodological [ones]."7 What they do not provide, however, is a clear definition of world history in abstraction to global history. For the two authors, the former is "essentially a teaching subject." This statement needs more refinement and better definitions of world, global, and transnational history, and in this regard, Wallerstein's world-system can help to provide a theoretical framework that allows clearer and probably more accurate definitions of world and global history alike. This chapter will try to provide these necessary definitions and intends to show 1) that world history is more than just a "teaching subject," although world history has been a prominent teaching subject for decades now, 2) that global history is modern and transnational in nature and has to be studied accordingly, and 3) that transnational history exists within regional and global realms, although not before the existence of Wallerstein's capitalist world-system and/or the modern nationstate, which determine the limits this particular kind of history needs to transcend. The chapter should therefore not be considered overly critical of Melve and Seland, whose work in a way stimulated the following thoughts; instead, it intends to offer theoretical reflections that add to their perspective. Furthermore, it aims to stimulate further discussion about global history and the disciplinary implications this field of study possesses for the historical discipline at large and Wallerstein's world-systems theory in particular.

World History, World-Systems Theory, and the World before the Global Age

World history is *not* global history, although the two terms are often and falsely used interchangeably without a distinction being made between the two. Some scholars speak of global history in time periods, during which the globe as such

Verfachlichung und Professionalisierung: Das Leipziger Institut für Kultur- und Universalgeschichte 1890–1990, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2005).

⁶ Sebastian Conrad, Globalgeschichte: Eine Einführung (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2013); Sebastian Conrad, What is Global History? (Princeton, N): Princeton University Press, 2016).

⁷ Melve and Seland, Hva er globalhistorie, 12.

⁸ Ibid., 9.

existed but was neither fully explored and connected nor imagined in its actual form. However, world history is much more than a name for educational courses that have gained popularity in US curricula and, as a consequence, in other parts of global academia. Despite this trend, world history is not global history, although it leads toward the possibility of studying the latter. To put it quite frankly: There is no global history without world history; the latter is the *conditio sine qua non* to reach a global world that can be studied along the theoretical lines of global history.

This relationship should be explained in more detail. Regardless of the fact, to quote American historian Bruce Mazlish, that "the implication seems to be that world history is 'the whole history of the whole world,' thus offering no obvious principle of selection,"10 one of the shared assumptions about it appears to emphasize that "interactions between peoples participating in largescale historical processes to be one of the principal concerns of world history."11 World history itself should be understood in abstraction from global history, and the caesura between the two approaches toward the study of a globalizing world and a globalized world was marked by the establishment of Wallerstein's capitalist world-system. According to this view, world history is understood, as mentioned before, as the necessary precondition for global history, meaning that the global system, which should be understood along the lines of Wallerstein's capitalist world-system, is established through the steady connection of regions through trade and other forms of cultural exchange. However, a global system has not been fully established. Global history is therefore only a possible result of worldwide developments that world history should be inclined to study. Eric Vanhaute argued with regard to this twofold perspective on Wallerstein's world-systems theory and the study of world and global history that

Dawid W. Del Testa, ed., Global History: Cultural Encounters from Antiquity to the Present, vol. 1 (London: Routledge, 2003); Michael Scott, Ancient Worlds: A Global History of Antiquity (New York: Basic Books, 2016).

Bruce Mazlish, "Comparing Global History to World History," The Journal of Interdisciplinary History 28, no. 3 (1998): 385. Sometimes histories that cover historical events in all parts of the world during the same or multiple time periods are referred to or refer to themselves as global history. See, for example, Francis D. K. Ching, Mark Jarzombek, and Vikramaditya Prakash, A Global History of Architecture, 3rd ed. (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 2017).

¹¹ Jerry Bentley, review of Bruce Mazlish and Ralph Buultjens, eds., Conceptualizing Global History (Boulder, CO, 1993), cited in Mazlish, "Comparing Global History to World History," 385.

"[w]orld and global history [on the one hand] deconstruct world-making processes and construct new world-making narratives [on the other]." If we connect world and global history to world-systems theory, this would mean that the establishment of the system that consists of core, periphery, and semiperiphery is studied as world history, while its eventual existence and functionality are understood as global history. For example, during the expansion and exploration of trade networks, the world was steadily globalized, yet trade was based on short-distance and mid-distance trade routes, e.g., the tea, horse, and silver trade from and to Yunnan Province in medieval and early modern China, for the early trade in Manila that connected mid-distance trade routes from China, Japan, and Spanish America with long-distance trade routes to Europe. It was, in addition, not impossible that trade goods from East Asia,

¹² Eric Vanhaute, "Immanuel Wallerstein's Lasting Impact on the Field of World History: A Historian's View," *Socio* 15 (2021): 93–103.

¹³ Immanuel Wallerstein, "From Feudalism to Capitalism: Transition or Transitions?" Social Forces 55, no. 2 (1976): 273–283. Nevertheless, there have also been debates among world-system scholars about chronological periodization. See, for example, Andre Gunder Frank and Barry K. Gills, eds., The World System: Five Hundred Years or Five Thousand? (New York: Routledge, 1992).

For an introduction to Wallerstein's world-systems analysis, see Immanuel Wallerstein, Welt-System-Analyse: Eine Einführung (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2019). On the functionalities or positions of specific regions that could be compared within the theoretical frame of the fully established capitalist world-system, see Immanuel Wallerstein, "Africa in a Capitalist World," Issue: A Journal of Opinion 10, no. 1/2 (1980): 21–31; Immanuel Wallerstein, "The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis," Comparative Studies in Society and History 16, no. 4 (1974): 387–415.

¹⁵ Chinese traders were often referred to in European sources as "dear friends of silver."

Juan de Medina, Historia de los Sucesos de la Orden de N. Gran P. S. Agustín de Estas Islas Filipinas, Desde Que se Descubrieron y no Poblaron por los Españoles: Con las Noticias Momorables (1630) (Manila: Tipo-Litografía de Chofré y Comp, 1893), 69.

¹⁶ Bin Yang, "Horses, Silver, and Cowries: Yunnan in Global Perspective," *Journal of World History* 15, no. 3 (2004): 281–322.

¹⁷ Birgit Tremml-Werner, Spain, China, and Japan in Manila, 1571–1644: Local Comparisons and Global Connections (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2015). For contemporary reports about the Manila trade, see Pedro Chirino, SJ, Relación de las Islas Filipinas i de lo que en ellas an trabaiado los padres de la Compañía de lesvs (Rome: Esteban Paulino, 1604); Diego de Aduarte, Historia de la Provincia del Santo Rosario de Filipinas, Japón y China del Sagrado Orden de Predicadores, vol. 1 (Manila: Colegio de Santo Tomás, por Luís Beltrán, 1640).

e.g., silk, would reach the Roman Empire or even Scandinavia in antiquity or later time periods. However, this was more related to an insecure connection of many trade possibilities that sometimes only came into existence or could solely be facilitated through the movement of pastoralist societies that connected the geographical edges of such trade routes with each other. Direct trade connections based on existent, known, and actively used long-distance trade routes, e.g., the Silk Road(s), "the long and middle-distance land routes by which goods, ideas, and people were exchanged between major regions of Afro-Eurasia, did not cover the globe before the formation of Wallerstein's world-system theory had been completed. Connections and economic and cultural exchanges before the existence of a clear image and a solid interconnectedness of most parts of the globe would therefore be studied as world history or pre-world-system history. That said, this would also mean limiting the study periods of interest for world history mostly until the saddle time (Sattelzeit) that marked the transition between the early modern and modern periods.

Of course, this would lead to a conceptional problem and possible debates, as global history could no longer be used as a concept or theoretical approach

Berit Hildebrandt, ed., Silk: Trade and Exchange Along the Silk Roads Between Rome and China in Antiquity (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2016); Hyun Jin Kim, Samuel N. C. Lieu, and Raoul McLaughlin, eds., Rome and China: Points of Contact (London: Routledge, 2021); Samuel N.C. Lieu and Gunner B. Mikkelsen, eds., Between Rome and China: History, Religions and Material Culture of the Silk Road (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015); Raoul McLaughlin, The Roman Empire and the Silk Routes: The Ancient World Economy & the Empires of Parthia, Central Asia & Han China (Barnsley: Pen & Sword, 2016); Marianne Vedeler, Silk for the Vikings (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2014); Marianne Vedeler, "Silk Trade to Scandinavia in the Viking Age," in Textiles and the Medieval Economy: Production, Trade, and Consumption of Textiles, 8th-16th Centuries, eds. Angela Ling Huang and Carsten Jahnke (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2015), 78–85.

¹⁹ David Christian, "Silk Roads or Steppe Roads? The Silk Roads in World History," *Journal of World History* 11, no. 1 (2000): 1–26.

²⁰ Ibid., 3.

²¹ Reinhart Koselleck, "Einleitung," in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe*, vol. 1, eds. Otto Brunner, Werner Conze and Reinahrt Koselleck (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1979), xv. One could argue about this temporal separation between the two disciplinary approaches, especially since the exploration and expansion of some parts of the world has continued in the modern period. Naturally, one would therefore speak of an overlap, especially with regard to the parts of the world that have not yet been fully integrated into the existent global world-system.

for those who study ancient, medieval, or (early) modern history, as these periods had not yet witnessed a fully globalized world. Regardless of this dilemma, historians with a research focus on these periods have done significant work in the field of world history, helping to explain how the world became connected by more and more transregional and long-distance networks of exchange, be they cultural, economic, political, or social. At the same time, however, such a clear demarcation between world and global history would allow the understanding of the two theoretical approaches and frameworks to be less confusing, which could help with the additional necessary definitions within the field. Wallerstein's theoretical considerations about the world-system could consequently mark a watershed within the historical process.

Global History: An Explanation of Modernity and the Functionality of the Modern World-System

Global history, in relation to the world-system, is supposed to explain the latter's functionality, although different aims and perspectives have been discussed with regard to its interpretation. The existence of the world-system seems to be the essential precondition for any process, network-building, exchange of ideas, etc. to be considered global in nature in the first place. Regardless of this consideration, global history has been widely understood as either a "history of everything," the history of exchange between networks and the history of transregional (in the modern context, transnational) connections, or an integrative approach that embeds national histories into their global context. However, the systematized connections and dependencies that cause or impact the course of history in the modern period are especially relevant for the study of and research approaches related to global history. These connections and dependencies are nevertheless created by the formation of a capitalist world-system. Wallerstein defined such a system as

²² Conrad, What is Global History? 6–11.

²³ Immanuel Wallerstein, "Dependence in an Interdependent World: The Limited Possibilities of Transformation within the Capitalist World Economy," African Studies Review 17, no. 1 (1974): 1–26. See also Immanuel Wallerstein, "Development: Lodestar or Illusion?" Economic and Political Weekly 23, no. 39 (1988): 2017–2019 and 2021–2023. Another scholar who emphasized the role of European expansion to create dependencies through underdevlopment was Walter Rodney. See Walter Rodney, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa (London: Bogle-L'Ouverture, 1972). Rodney's book can be used for stud-

a concrete singular historical system which I shall call the 'capitalist world-economy,' whose temporal boundaries go from the long sixteenth century to the present. Its spatial boundaries originally included Europe (or most of it) plus Iberian America but they subsequently expanded to cover the entire globe. I assume this totality is a *system*, that is, that it has been relatively autonomous of external forces; or to put it another way, that its patterns are explicable largely in terms of its internal dynamics.²⁴

Once the expansion and establishment of the global world-system are completed, it can only be studied within its global context, analyzing the relationships between the core, the periphery, and the intermediate sphere between the two: the semiperiphery. As all three spheres are closely linked to each other—core exploits periphery, periphery intends to become semiperiphery, semiperiphery struggles to become core and avoid falling back to the periphery—their relationships must be at the center of the study of global history. Of course, there have been different opinions since a truly global world existed. To name just one example, Hans Kohn argued in *The Age of Nationalism: The First Era of Global History* (1962)²⁵ that the first global age was achieved in the mid-20th century. Others disagreed with this evaluation and instead, as Wallerstein suggested, put it in the 16th century. Ultimately, however, it is hard to define a clear moment in time, especially one that would be universally fitting with regard to the variety of topics and regions that need to be included to reach a "universal global age."

In 1991, Nathan Douthit tried to shed some light on the problems of nomenclature related to global history, stating that

There seem to be two current definitions of global history. One treats global history as synonymous with world history, a history that encompasses all

ies of world and global history alike, since he describes Africa before and after the establishment of the world-system. The pan-African scholar also had the chance to exchange ideas with Wallerstein at Binghamton University, where he was invited to serve as visiting professor after he was denied a position in Guyana. On Rodney's work and impact, see Frank Jacob, Walter Rodney: Black Power and Revolution (Marburg: Büchner, 2022).

²⁴ Immanuel Wallerstein, "The Three Instances of Hegemony in the History of the Capitalist World-Economy," in Immanuel Wallerstein, The Essential Wallerstein (New York: The New Press, 2000), 253.

²⁵ Hans Kohn, The Age of Nationalism: The First Era of Global History (New York: Harper, 1962).

the major civilizations and their interactions. Let's call this the general definition of global history. However, if one refers to "the era of global history," then one means the recent period of intensified global interconnections which has followed western expansion since 1500. Let's call this the special definition of global history.²⁶

Douthit's attempt shows that what global history meant and how it should be approached by or incorporated into the traditional discipline of historical research remained relatively vague for a long time. If one applied Wallerstein's world-system as a factor that, in a way, created a chronological caesura, global history would follow the mentioned special definition, albeit with a later time frame, and demand a genuine interest in the system's totality, i.e., the functionality and impact of its existence.

Such an approach matched the global historian Sebastian Conrad's statement that "[t]he case for global history is thus also a plea to overcome such fragmentation, and to arrive at a more comprehensive understanding of the interactions and connections that have made the modern world." The "core concerns" of global history are, according to Conrad, "mobility and exchange, ... processes that transcend borders and boundaries. It takes the interconnected world as its point of departure, and the circulation and exchange of things, people, ideas, and institutions are among its key subjects." The latter often represent transnational elements, i.e., people and ideas that cross borders and become influential in different regions of the world, and were studied from a global perspective. Consequently, global intellectual histories, 29 and global bi-

²⁶ Nathan Douthit, "The Dialectical Commons of Western Civilization and Global/World History," The History Teacher 24, no. 3 (1991): 296.

²⁷ Conrad, What is Global History? 5. I agree with Conrad here, yet I would rather use "determined" instead of "made," since the creational perspective is related to world history if one applies the theoretical approach this article advocates.

²⁸ Ibid. The "interconnected world" is one in which a world-system has already been established, while the "circulation and exchange of things" refers to the networks that link core to semiperiphery and periphery.

²⁹ Some recent exemplary studies include Johannes Feichtinger, Jan Surmann, and Franz L. Fillafer, eds., The Worlds of Positivism: A Global Intellectual History, 1770–1930 (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018); Eric Heillener, The Neomercantilists: A Global Intellectual History (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2021). For a discussion of theoretical approaches toward a global intellectual history, see Samuel Moyn and Andrew Sartori, eds., Global Intellectual History (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013).

ographies³⁰ in particular, seem to provide insight into the history of the world's connectedness in times when such exchanges could take place on a broader scale.³¹

Eventually, the nation—as something particularly modern and, first and foremost, related to the world-system's core, where it stimulated imperialism, and to its semiperiphery, where it stimulated revolutionary processes³²—added another modern aspect to the world-system and helped to characterize global history as something that, with regard to its functionality and impact, transcends national borders.³³ However, the relationship between global and transnational history should also be taken into more detailed consideration.³⁴

³⁰ Laura Almagor, Haakon Ikonomou, and Gunvor Simonsen, eds., *Global Biographies: Lived History as Method* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2022).

This exchange could take place in different forms and could be stimulated by a physi-31 cal border crossing, the permanent migration of people, or the exchange of published books, journals or newspapers, to name just a few aspects that have been studied with regard to global networks, e.g., anarchist or socialist networks. Relevant works to the latter include, among others, Constance Bantman, "Internationalism without an International? Cross-Channel Anarchist Networks, 1880–1914," Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire, 84, no. 4 (2006): 961-981; Constance Bantman and Bert Altena, "Introduction: Problematizing Scales of Analysis in Network-Based Social Movements," in Reassessing the Transnational Turn: Scales of Analysis in Anarchist and Syndicalist Studies, eds. Constance Bantman and Bert Altena (London/New York: Routledge, 2014), 3-22; Constance Bantman, "The Dangerous Liaisons of Belle Epoque Anarchists: Internationalism, Transnationalism, and Nationalism in the French Anarchist Movement (1880–1914)," in Reassessing the Transnational Turn: Scales of Analysis in Anarchist and Syndicalist Studies, eds. Constance Bantman and Bert Altena (London/New York: Routledge, 2014), 174-192; Frank Jacob and Mario Keßler, "Transatlantic Radicalism: A Short Introduction," in Transatlantic Radicalism: Socialist and Anarchist Exchanges in the 19th and 20th Centuries, eds. Frank Jacob and Mario Keßler (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2021), 1-20; James Michael Yeoman, Print Culture and the Formation of the Anarchist Movement in Spain, 1890-1915 (Edinburgh: AK Press, 2022).

³² See Frank Jacob's chapter on revolutions and the world-system in this volume.

David Washbrook, "South Asia, the World System, and World Capitalism," The Journal of Asian Studies 49, no. 3 (1990): 481.

³⁴ For a broader analysis see Akira Iriye, Global and Transnational History: The Past, Present, and Future (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

Global and Transnational History: Only Sometimes Related

World history is without any doubt transregional, as basic forms of expansion³⁵ usually cause some form of intrusion into one so far relatively unknown spatial realm and thereby begin the process that ultimately leads to the establishment of a world-system. Empire-building wars of expansion, total migration as a consequence of wars or natural catastrophes, mass migration by individuals who decide to seek better living opportunities or freedom from political or religious oppression, steady border colonization, settler colonialism, or base networking that connects important geostrategic trade or military cities to each other all expand the existent spatial environment of those who move and integrate different parts of the world into a realm that will eventually turn into a global world-system. Therefore, world history is and always must be transregional in nature, although it is not yet transnational - the latter needs the nation-state as a categorial base. Global history, on the other hand, can be transregional if the nation-state does not yet fully exist as a spatial determination, but it will become transnational once the latter has been established. Ernest Renan emphasized that the nation is something modern because it is based on a shared history and its peoples' consensus to live together within a union in the present and future.³⁶ Mazlish, therefore, correctly emphasized with regard to the relation of global history to the nation that

[a]lthough global history is mainly transnational in its object of study, it would be a grave error to neglect the study of the nation as well. National history merits reexamination in light of how the forces of globalization have affected the nation-state and vice-versa. Nations will not be going away. They are still the preferred settings for large numbers of people to organize in behalf of common ends – protection of territory and property, economic production, and, last but not least, group identity.³⁷

Regardless of this emphasis, the nation is often nothing more than the starting point for transnational studies, which are often comparative in nature

Jürgen Osterhammel, Kolonialismus: Geschichte, Formen, Folgen, 5th ed. (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2006), 8–15.

³⁶ Ernest Renan, "A Lecture Delivered at the Sorbonne, 11 March 1882: 'Qu'est-ce qu'une nation'," in *Oeuvres Completes*, vol. 1 (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1947), 887–907.

³⁷ Mazlish, "Comparing Global History to World History," 393.

and search for the effects and impacts of transnational events on the national level or global similarities in certain situations occurring in culturally and geographically different regions, depending on the format of the comparative study.³⁸ The latter can search analytically for similarities but is not bound to such an approach and might sometimes look for the exact opposite. Differences might actually be more interesting and offer possibilities for de-nationalized – which often means non-Eurocentric – reflections about historical developments on a global scale.³⁹

Global history is consequently always transnational in nature, especially since the nation-state is as much a modern study unit as the globalized worldsystem; transnational history, on the other hand, does not have to be global but can be limited to regional studies, e.g., the role or impact of specific historical events in a closely connected region. The comparative case study must consequently be transnational and transregional alike to be able to be considered fully global. Ideally, one would suggest a comparison of historically and culturally different regions, especially if one is interested, beyond any Eurocentric bias in particular, to see if reactions towards a certain transnational phenomenon are generically similar, regardless of the historical or cultural determination of the cases taken into consideration. The determination of whether something is both transnational and global needs to be taken into careful consideration when thinking about possible study approaches in the theoretical realm related to global history. Not everything transnational is automatically qualified to be considered global history, but any study related to global history in the modern period must be transnational as a precondition to fall into this category.

³⁸ On the historical comparison, see Hartmut Kaelble, Der historische Vergleich: Eine Einführung zum 19. und 20. Jahrhundert (Frankfurt am Main/New York: Campus, 1999); Hartmut Kaelble and Jürgen Schriewer, eds., Vergleich und Transfer: Komparatistik in den Sozial-, Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften (Frankfurt am Main/New York: Campus, 2003).

Jürgen Osterhammel, "Sozialgeschichte im Zivilisationsvergleich: Zu künftigen Möglichkeiten komparativer Geschichtswissenschaft," Geschichte und Gesellschaft 22, no. 2 (1996): 143–164.

Concluding Remarks

To sum up the previous reflections, one can apply the following basic considerations to answer the initial question about the nature of global history in relation to world-systems theory. If, as suggested here, one uses Wallerstein's world-system as a chronological caesura between a period studied according to the theoretical approaches or conceptual frame of world history and one studied as global history, it makes sense to categorize them as follows:

- World history is interested in a pre-world-system analysis of the expansion or growing of the global connectedness between core, periphery, and semiperiphery. It is, therefore, necessarily transregional in nature but not yet transnational.
- 2. Global history is interested in a post-world-system analysis of the connectedness and functionality of historical processes within an existent capitalist world-system that shapes the interactions between core, periphery, and semiperiphery. It is, therefore, necessarily transregional in nature and is, due to its modern existence, very often transnational as well.
- 3. Consequently, transnational history cannot be a form of analysis related to world history but only to global history; however, if it is not transregional, it would not qualify as a suitable approach for a study in the field of global history either.

If these aspects are seriously considered for the future designation of global history, it would also mean that global history as a discipline could only be located in space-time continuums that were considered to be modern in the sense that a world-system, as described by Wallerstein and others, had been fully established. Ancient, medieval, and (early) modern histories would consequently still have global perspectives to study, although the latter would be expressed first and foremost through the study of pre-modern world history.

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