

نمايه، كتابنامه و توضيحات  
كتاب انسان كزگونه

نيما:

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## توضیحات

### دیباچه: مغز انسان تغییر کرده است

1 ) Dehaene, 2009; Dehaene et al., 2010; Dehaene et al., 2015; Szwed et al., 2012; Ventura et al., 2013. The label “Letterbox” is from Dehaene, 2009.

1 ) Coltheart, 2014; Dehaene, 2014; Dehaene et al., 2015; Henrich, 2016; Kolinsky et al., 2011; Ventura et al., 2013

1 ) For a general discussion of the cognitive impact of literacy, see Huettig and Mishra, 2014.

1 ) There is a debate about subliminal priming (Kouider and Dehaene, 2007).

1 ) Henrich, 2016, Chapter 14

1 ) Becker and Woessmann, 2009, 2010; Buringh and Van Zanden, 2009.

1 ) Data from Buringh and Van Zanden, 2009

1 ) Dittmar and Seabold, 2016; McGrath, 2007

1 ) Becker and Woessmann, 2009.

1 ) Becker and Woessmann, 2009, 2010; McGrath, 2007

1 ) See Cantoni (2012) on the centrality of Wittenberg

for the spread of Protestantism, and Dittmar and Seabold (2016) for the importance of the printing press and the relevance of Mainz.

1 ) Becker and Woessmann, 2009).

1 ) Boppert, Falkinger, and Grossmann, 2014. The leaders of the Reformation in Zurich and

Geneva were Ulrich Zwingli and John Calvin, respectively. For work in China, see Bai and

Kung, 2015; Chen, Wang, and Yan, 2014.

- 1 ) Becker, Hornung, and Woessmann, 2011; Becker and Woessmann, 2009; Boppert et al., 2014.
- 1 ) Bai and Kung, 2015; Chen et al., 2014; Mantovanelli, 2014.
- 1 ) Nunn (2014)
- 1 ) see Mantovanelli, 2014; Nunn, 2014.
- 1 ) Becker, Pfaff, and Rubin, 2016
- 1 ) Becker et al., 2016; C. Young, 2009.
- 1 ) susceptible
- 1 ) (Clark, 2007a;
- Pinker, 2011). This is plausible given the research suggesting that empathy can be increased through training (van Berkout and Malouff, 2016).

## فصل اول: روان‌شناسی انسان کُرگونه؛ انسان در جامعه‌ی دمکرات، ژروتمند، روش‌فکر و تحصیلکرده‌ی غربی

- 1 ) Acemoglu and Robinson, 2012; Clark, 2007a; Diamond, 1997; Hibbs and Olsson, 2004; Landes, 1998; Mokyr, 2002; Morris, 2010.
- 1 ) Ma and Schoeneman, 1997.
- 1 ) Heine, 2016; Henrich, Heine, and Norenzayan, 2010a.
- 1 ) Hofstede, 2003; Tönnies, 2011; Triandis, 1994, 1995).
- 1 ) Heine, 2016; Hofstede, 2003; Triandis, 1989, 1994, 1995.
- 1 ) Hamilton and Sanders, 1992; Herrmann-Pillath, 2010).
- 1 ) (Gelfand et al., 2011; Hofstede, 2003; Triandis, 1994
- 1 ) Acemoglu, Akcigit, and Celik, 2013; Gorodnichenko and Roland, 2011; Talhelm et al., 2014).
- 1 ) Hruschka et al., 2014; Hruschka and Henrich, 2013a, 2013b
- 1 ) Campbell et al., 1996; Church et al., 2006; English and Chen, 2011; Heine, 2016; Heine and Buchtel, 2009; Kanagawa, Cross, and Markus, 2001.
- 1 ) Suh, 2002.
- 1 ) Campbell et al., 1996; Diener and Diener, 1995; Falk et al., 2009; Heine and Buchtel, 2009; Heine and Lehman, 1999.
- 1 ) Foster, 1967; Heine, 2016; McNeill, 1991; Nisbett, 2003.
- 1 ) Wallbott and Scherer, 1995.
- 1 ) Fessler, 2004; Martens, Tracy, and Shariff, 2012; Sznyceer et al., 2016, 2018; Tracy and Matsumoto, 2008; Wallbott and Scherer, 1995; Wong and Tsai, 2007.
- 1 ) Benedict, 1946; Elison, 2005; Fessler, 2007; Levy, 1973; Scheff, 1988; Tracy and Matsumoto, 2008; Vaish, Carpenter, and Tomasello, 2011; Wong and Tsai, 2007.
- 1 ) Bond and Smith, 1996. Thanks to Damian Murray for the data
- 1 ) Dohmen et al., 2015.

- 1 ) Casey et al., 2011; A. Diamond, 2012; A. Diamond and Lee, 2011; A. Diamond and Ling, 2016; Duckworth and Kern, 2011; Mischel, Shoda, and Rodriguez, 1989; Mischel et al., 2011; Strömbäck, 2017).
- 1 ) Chabris et al., 2008; Dohmen et al., 2015; Duckworth and Seligman, 2005; Falk et al., 2016; Kirby et al., 2002; Mischel et al., 1989; Moffitt et al., 2011.
- 1 ) Fisman and Miguel, 2007
- 1 ) Gächter and Schulz, 2016
- 1 ) Adapted from Gächter and Schulz (2016)
- 1 ) Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner, 1998
- 1 ) Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner, 1998. Thanks to Dan Hruschka for the data (Hruschka and Henrich, 2013b).
- 1 ) This map combines data from Algan and Cahuc (2013) and two surveys, the World Values Survey (Inglehart et al., 2014) and the Afrobarometer ([www.afrobarometer.org](http://www.afrobarometer.org)).
- 1 ) Johnson and Mislin, 2012
- 1 ) Thoni, 2017.
- 1 ) Alesina and Giuliano, 2010, 2013; Algan and Cahuc, 2010, 2013; Falk et al., 2018; Herrmann et al., 2008; Hruschka and Henrich, 2013b
- 1 ) Barrett et al., 2016
- 1 ) Hamilton and Sanders, 1992; Robbins, Shepard, and Rochat, 2017. (Kobayashi, Glover, and Temple, 2007).
- 1 ) Curtin et al., 2019; Gluckman, 1972a, 1972b.
- 1 ) For research on the Mapuche, see Faron, 1968; Henrich and Smith, 2004; Stuchlik, 1976
- 1 ) Miyamoto, Nisbett, and Masuda, 2006; Nisbett, 2003; Nisbett et al., 2001.
- 1 ) Chua, Boland, and Nisbett, 2005; Goh and Park, 2009; Goh et al., 2007; Goh et al., 2010; Masuda and Nisbett, 2001; Masuda et al., 2008; Miyamoto et al., 2006.
- 1 ) Falk et al., 2009; Heine, 2016; Nisbett, 2003.

## فصل دوم: برساخته شدن گونه‌ی فرهنگی

- 1 ) Barwick, 1984; Flannery, 2002; Gat, 2015; Morgan, 1852; Smyth, 1878.
- 1 ) Chudek and Henrich, 2011; Chudek, Muthukrishna, and Henrich, 2015; Chudek et al., 2013; Henrich, 2016; Henrich and Broesch, 2011; Henrich and Gil-White, 2001; Laland, 2004; Rendell et al., 2011.
- 1 ) Broesch, Henrich, and Barrett, 2014; Henrich, 2016, Chapters 4–5; Medin and Atran, 2004; Sperber, 1996.
- 1 ) Bauer et al., 2018; Moya, Boyd, and Henrich, 2015; Schaller, Conway, and

Tanchuk, 2002.

1 ) Giuliano and Nunn, 2017; Henrich, 2016; Hoppitt and Laland, 2013; Morgan et al., 2012; Muthukrishna, Morgan, and Henrich, 2016.

1 ) Berns et al., 2010; Engelmann et al., 2012; Garvert et al., 2015; Henrich, 2016, Chapter 14; Little et al., 2008; Little et al., 2011; Losin, Dapretto, and Iacoboni, 2010; Morgan and Laland, 2012; Zaki, Schirmer, and Mitchell, 2011. There's much debate about the function of the medialprefrontal cortex—see Euston et al. (2012) and Grossman et al. (2013) for recent reviews.

1 ) Henrich, 2016.

1 ) Jones, 2007.

1 ) See Henrich et al. (2015) for a review of the relevant analytical models and computer

simulations. For laboratory experiments on cultural evolution, see Derex and Boyd, 2016;

Derex, Godelle, and Raymond, 2014; Derex et al., 2013; Kempe and Mesoudi, 2014;

Muthukrishna et al., 2013

1 ) Garfield and Hewlett, 2016; Hewlett and Cavalli-Sforza, 1986; Hewlett et al., 2011; Salali et al., 2016; Terashima and Hewlett, 2015

1 ) Henrich, 2016, Chapters 3 and 7; Johns, 1986; Mann, 2012

1 ) Henrich, 2016; Horner and Whiten, 2005.

1 ) Here, we are using the diversity of contemporary foraging societies combined with archaeological, ecological, and genetic data to glean insights into the lifeways of Paleolithic peoples.

(Sikora et al., 2017).

1 ) Bhui, Chudek, and Henrich, 2019a; Henrich and Henrich, 2014.

1 ) Lewis, 2008; Schapera, 1930.

1 ) Henrich (2016)

1 ) Barnes, 1996; Flannery and Marcus, 2012; Gould, 1967; Hamilton, 1987; Henrich, 2016, Chapter 9; Lewis, 2008; Smyth, 1878)

1 ) Henrich, 2016. Note, I am using the older, and still more common, orthography for "Ju/'hoansi."

For the newer orthography, check out:  
[en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ju%27hoan\\_language](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ju%27hoan_language)

1 ) Bailey, Hill, and Walker, 2014; Chapais, 2009; Lee, 1979, 1986; Marshall, 1959; Walker and

Bailey, 2014. In 1964, men had a total of 36 different names, while women had 32 (Lee, 1986;

Marshall, 1959).

1 ) Chapais, 2009; Henrich, 2016

1 ) Dyble et al., 2018; Hamilton, 1987; Henrich, 2016; Wiessner, 2002.

1 ) Hill et al., 2011.

1 ) Henrich, 2016, Chapter 9.

- 1 ) Fessler and Navarrete, 2004; Lieberman, 2007; Lieberman, Fessler, and Smith, 2011;  
Lieberman, Tooby, and Cosmides, 2003.
- 1 ) Lee, 1986; Marshall, 1959, 1976.
- 1 ) Durkheim, 1995; Henrich, 2016, Chapter 9; Whitehouse and Lanman, 2014. Bieseles was quoted in Wade, 2009, endnote 107.
- 1 ) Alcorta and Sosis, 2005; Alcorta, Sosis, and Finkel, 2008; Henrich, 2016; Lang et al., 2017;
- Launay, Tarr, and Dunbar, 2016; Mogan, Fischer, and Bulbulia, 2017; Tarr, Launay, and Dunbar, 2014, 2016; Tarr et al., 2015; Watson-Jones and Legare, 2016; Wen, Herrmann, and Legare, 2015.
- 1 ) Carpenter, Uebel, and Tomasello, 2011; Chartrand and Bargh, 1999; Henrich and Gil-White, 2001; Over et al., 2013
- 1 ) Bastiaansen, Thioux, and Keysers, 2009; Brass, Ruby, and Spengler, 2009; Heyes, 2013;
- Laland, 2017; van Baaren et al., 2009
- 1 ) Marshall, 1999, p. 90.
- 1 ) Hamann et al., 2011
- 1 ) Some rituals offer ways to insert individuals into the kinship system or to create more binding ties within the kinship network (Lynch, 1986)
- 1 ) Flannery and Marcus, 2012; Henrich, 2016, Chapter 10.
- 1 ) Henrich, 2016; Reich, 2018.
- 1 ) Henrich, 2016, Chapter 11. As part of this coevolutionary process, we have also evolved to be especially good at spotting norm violations and identifying norm-violators (Cummins, 1996a, 1996b; Engelmann, Herrmann, and Tomasello, 2012; Engelmann et al., 2013; Fiddick, Cosmides, and Tooby, 2000; Nunez and Harris, 1998).
- 1 ) Bowles, Choi, and Hopfensitz, 2004; Swann and Buhrmester, 2015; Swann et al., 2012; Van Cleve and Akçay, 2014; Whitehouse et al., 2014).
- 1 ) Baron and Dunham, 2015; Buttelmann et al., 2013; Dunham, Baron, and Banaji, 2008; Henrich, 2016; Kinzler and Dautel, 2012; Moya, 2013; Moya et al., 2015; Shutts, Banaji, and Spelke, 2010; Shutts, Kinzler, and DeJesus, 2013; Shutts et al., 2009.
- 1 ) Frankenhuus and de Weerth, 2013; McCullough et al., 2013; Mittal et al., 2015; Nettle, Frankenhuus, and Rickard, 2013.
- 1 ) Alcorta and Sosis, 2005; Henrich and Boyd, 2016

## فصل سوم: طایفه‌ها و دولت‌ها؛ چرا نمی‌توان از آن به این رسید؟

- 1 ) Ferrero, 1967.
- 1 ) The basic point here is similar to that developed in Fukuyama, 2011.
- 1 ) Forge, 1972.
- 1 ) Tuzin, 1976, 2001..
- 1 ) Tuzin, 1976, 2001
- 1 ) Durkheim (1933) has long made this distinction, between “organic” and “mechanicalsolidarity
- 1 ) Buhrmester et al., 2015; Whitehouse, 1995; Whitehouse, 1996; Whitehouse and Lanman, 2014.
- Whitehouse (1996) coined the term “rites of terror.”
- 1 ) Tuzin, 1976, 2001.
- 1 ) Image by Beth Curtin
- 1 ) The Tambaran gods also punished people for breaking truces with surrounding communities
- 1 ) Tuzin, 2001, p. 83.
- 1 ) Grossmann et al., 2008; Tuzin, 1976, 2001.
- 1 ) For an overview of this approach, see Henrich, 2004, 2016; Richerson et al., 2016.
- 1 ) Bowles, 2006; Choi and Bowles, 2007; Keeley, 1997; Mathew and Boyd, 2011; Richerson et al., 2016; Soltis, Boyd, and Richerson, 1995; Turchin, 2015; Wrangham and Glowacki, 2012.
- 1 ) Knauft, 1985; Tuzin, 1976, 2001.
- 1 ) Boyd, 2001; Boyd and Richerson, 2002, p. 79; Harrison, 1987; Roscoe, 1989; Tuzin, 1976, p. 79; Wiessner and Tumu, 1998.
- 1 ) Smaldino, Schank, and McElreath, 2013.
- 1 ) Richerson and Boyd (2005). For a review of the work on religion and fertility, see Blume, 2009;Norenzayan, 2013.
- 1 ) (Tuzin, 1976, 2001). On matrilineal societies, see Ember, Ember, and Pasternack,1974; Jones, 2011.
- 1 ) Acemoglu and Robinson, 2012; Diamond, 1997, 2005. There's nothing unilineal, stagist, or progressive about this cultural evolutionary approach.
- 1 ) Baksh, 1984; Davis, 2002 (1); Johnson, 2003, 1978. Also see Rosengren and Shepard cited in Johnson, 2003.
- 1 ) Johnson, 2003
- 1 ) Johnson, 2003; Snell, 1964
- 1 ) Camino, 1977.
- 1 ) Baksh, 1984; Johnson, 2003, 1978
- 1 ) Ferrero, 1967; Johnson, 2003, pp. 34, 135.
- 1 ) Johnson, 2003, p. 168, observes, “The Matsigenka lack a sense of belonging to any group larger than the hamlet

- 1 ) Gardner, 2013; Henrich and Henrich, 2007; Johnson, 2003; Johnson and Earle, 2000
- 1 ) Richerson, Boyd, and Bettinger, 2001
- 1 ) Bowles, 2011; Bowles and Choi, 2013; Matranga, 2017.
- 1 ) Ashraf and Michalopoulos, 2015; Diamond, 1997
- 1 ) Bowles, 2011; Diamond, 1997; Matranga, 2017.
- 1 ) Godelier, 1986; Hill et al., 2011. The ancient Greeks may have had similar views on the hereditary contribution of mothers to their children (Zimmer, 2018).
- 1 ) Alvard, 2009; Daly and Wilson, 1998; Dunbar, Clark, and Hurst, 1995; Fukuyama, 2011; Miller, 2009; Palmstierna et al., 2017
- 1 ) Murdock, 1949.
- 1 ) Alvard, 2003; Alvard, 2011; Chapais, 2008; Ember et al., 1974; Murdock, 1949; Walker and Bailey, 2014; Walker et al., 2013.
- 1 ) Murdock, 1949).
- 1 ) Gluckman, 1972a, 1972b. Based on his experience in Ilahita, Tuzin argues that the greatest impact of the Euro-Australian court system, which was imposed in Papua New Guinea in 1975, involved a shift from a clan-based to an individual-centered notion of responsibility (Tuzin, 2001, pp. 49–50
- 1 ) Fox, 1967; Walker, 2014; Walker and Bailey, 2014; Walker and Hill, 2014.
- 1 ) Abrahams, 1973; Chapais, 2009; Fox, 1967.
- 1 ) Toren, 1990.
- 1 ) Baker, 1979; Lindstrom, 1990; Toren, 1990; Weiner, 2013
- 1 ) Jones, 2011; Murphy, 1957; Walker, 2014.
- 1 ) Walker and Hill, 2014
- 1 ) Fortes, 1953; Kelly, 1985; Murdock, 1949; Sahlins, 1961; Strassmann and Kurapati, 2016.
- 1 ) Adapted from Moscona, Nunn, and Robinson, 2017
- 1 ) Kelly, 1985; Sahlins, 1961; Vansina, 1990.
- 1 ) Moscona et al., 2017
- 1 ) Ahmed, 2013; Grosjean, 2011; Nisbett and Cohen, 1996.
- 1 ) Bernardi, 1952, 1985; Berntsen, 1976; Eisenstadt, 2016; Lienard, 2016; Ritter, 1980.
- 1 ) Bernardi, 1985; Berntsen, 1976; de Wolf, 1980; Fosbrooke, 1956
- 1 ) Godelier, 1986; Heizer, 1978; Johnson, 2003; Lee, 1979; Paine, 1971; Sturtevant, 1978
- 1 ) Earle, 1997; Flannery and Marcus, 2012; Johnson and Earle, 2000; Kirch, 1984; Toren, 1990
- 1 ) Flannery and Marcus, 2012; Harrison, 1987, 1990; Roscoe, 1989
- 1 ) Avatip's largest clan also controlled one of four hereditary ritual offices called Simbuks, which were passed to sons or younger brothers. Officeholders were in charge of

performing certain rituals, which related to everything from headhunting to yam growing  
1 ) Some prefer to call these “ranked societies” (Flannery and Marcus, 2012).  
1 ) Chiefdoms can exist without a chief, but not without ranked kin-based segments of society  
1 ) Diamond, 1997; Earle, 1997; Flannery and Marcus, 2012; Johnson and Earle, 2000; Marcus and Flannery, 2004.  
1 ) Carneiro, 1967; Fukuyama, 2011; Goldman, 1970; Kirch, 1984, 2010.  
1 ) Marcus, 2008; Redmond and Spencer, 2012; Spencer, 2010; Turchin, 2015; Turchin et al., 2017  
1 ) Earle, 1997; Flannery, 2009; Flannery and Marcus, 2012; Marcus, 2008; Redmond and Spencer, 2012; Spencer and Redmond, 2001.  
1 ) Bondarenko, 2014; Bondarenko and Korotayev, 2003; Fried, 1970  
1 ) Eisenstadt, 2016; Flannery, 2009; Gluckman, 1940.  
1 ) Bondarenko, 2014; Bondarenko and Korotayev, 2003; Kirch, 1984, 2010.  
1 ) Berman, 1983.  
1 ) Carneiro, 1970, 1988; Johnson and Earle, 2000; Richerson et al., 2016.  
1 ) Diamond, 1997; Diamond, 2005; Flannery and Marcus, 2012; Morris, 2014; Turchin, 2005,  
2010, 2015; Turchin et al., 2013.

#### فصل چهارم: بهوش باشید! خدایان ناظرند

- 1 ) Shariff and Norenzayan, 2007.
- 1 ) Shariff and Norenzayan, 2007
- 1 ) Shariff et al., 2016.
- 1 ) Thanks to Azim Shariff for supplying the data for this plot (Shariff and Norenzayan, 2007).
- 1 ) Duhaime, 2015.
- 1 ) Aveyard, 2014
- 1 ) Edelman, 2009; Malhotra, 2010.
- 1 ) Henrich, 2009; Sperber et al., 2010.
- 1 ) Gervais, 2011; Gervais and Henrich, 2010; McNamara et al., 2019a; Norenzayan, Gervais, and Trzesniewski, 2012; Willard, Cingl, and Norenzayan, 2020; Willard and Norenzayan, 2013
- 1 ) Chudek et al., 2017; Willard et al., 2019.

- 1 ) Atran and Norenzayan, 2004; Boyer, 2001, 2003
- 1 ) A parallel logic applies to rituals (Legare and Souza, 2012, 2014).
- 1 ) Barnes, 2010; Boehm, 2008; Murdock, 1934, p. 185; Radcliffe-Brown, 1964, p. 152; Willard and Norenzayan, 2013; Wright, 2009
- 1 ) Murdock, 1934, p. 253; Radcliffe-Brown, 1964, p. 168; Wright, 2009.
- 1 ) Lee, 2003; Marshall, 1962. Purzycki et al., 2019; Singh and Henrich, 2019.
- 1 ) Blume, 2009; Norenzayan et al., 2016a, 2016b; Strassmann et al., 2012.
- 1 ) Lang et al., 2019; Purzycki et al., 2016; Purzycki et al., 2017.
- 1 ) (Norenzayan et al. 2016a, 2016b; Shariff and Norenzayan, 2011
- 1 ) Data from Purzycki et al., 2016.
- 1 ) Lang et al., 2019
- 1 ) Lang et al., 2019)
- 1 ) Yilmaz and Bahçekapılı, 2016
- 1 ) Atran, 2002; Diamond, 1997; Munson et al., 2014; Rubin, 2017; Smith, 1917; Wright, 2009. Smith gives the number of 18 for prominent followers of Akbar's Divine Faith.
- 1 ) Norenzayan et al., 2016a, 2016b. For a simple experiment showing the capacity for religion to inspire harm, see Bushman (2007).
- 1 ) Handy, 1941; Hogbin, 1934; Lindstrom, 1990; Williamson, 1937.
- 1 ) Whitehouse et al. (2019)
- 1 ) Diamond, 1997; Goldman, 1958; Watts et al., 2015.
- 1 ) Hogbin, 1934, p. 263; Turner, 1859; Williamson, 1937, p. 251; Wright, 2009, p. 57
- 1 ) Goldman, 1955, 1970; Kelekna, 1998; Kirch, 1984, 2010; Wright, 2009.
- 1 ) Williamson, 1937; Wright, 2009, pp. 55–56.
- 1 ) Handy, 1927, p. 78
- 1 ) Aubet, 2013; Collins, 1994; Leick, 1991; Wright, 2009. There were also gods of adultery and thievery in Polynesia (Williamson, 1937, p. 19).
- 1 ) oracc.museum.upenn.edu/amgg/listofdeities
- 1 ) Aubet, 2013; Leick, 1991; Rauh, 1993
- 1 ) Mikalson, 2010, Rives, 2006
- 1 ) Mikalson, 2010; Norenzayan et al., 2016a, 2016b. Silver begins his Economic Structures of Antiquity (1995, p. 5)
- 1 ) Rives, 2006, pp. 50–52, 105–131.
- 1 ) Rauh, 1993. The Pausanias quotation is from Kemezis and Maher (2015, p. 317).
- 1 ) McNeill, 1991; O'Grady, 2013; Rives, 2006.
- 1 ) Gier and Kjellberg, 2004; Harper, 2013; McCleary, 2007; McNeill, 1991.
- 1 ) Barro and McCleary, 2003; McCleary and Barro, 2006.
- 1 ) Willard and Cingl, 2017
- 1 ) see Baier and Wright, 2001; Kerley et al., 2011; Stark and Hirschi, 1969
- 1 ) Alquist, Ainsworth, and Baumeister, 2013; Baumeister, Masicampo, and Dewall, 2009;
- Genschow, Rigoni, and Brass, 2017; Martin, Rigoni, and Vohs, 2017; Protzko, Ouimette, and

Schooler, 2016; Rigoni et al., 2012; Shariff et al., 2014; Srinivasan et al., 2016; Stillman and Baumeister, 2010; Vohs and Schooler, 2008.

1 ) Inglehart and Baker, 2000; Rai and Holyoak, 2013; Young and Durwin, 2013

1 ) Atkinson and Whitehouse, 2011; Norenzayan et al., 2016a; Whitehouse, 2000, 2004.

Whitehouse (1995) pioneered the distinction between “imagistic” and “doctrinal” rituals.

Norenzayan et al. (2016a)

1 ) Henrich, 2009, 2016; Kraft-Todd et al., 2018; Lanman and Buhrmester, 2017; Tenney et al., 2011; Wildman and Sosis, 2011; Willard, Henrich, and Norenzayan, 2016; Xygalatas et al., 2013; Singh and Henrich, 2019b.

1 ) Lanman, 2012; Willard and Cingl, 2017.

1 ) Baumeister, Bauer, and Lloyd, 2010; Carter et al., 2011; McCullough and Willoughby, 2009; Wood, 2017.

1 ) Aubet, 2013; Ekelund et al., 1996; Ginges, Hansen, and Norenzayan, 2009; Guiso, Sapienza, and Zingales, 2009; Hawk, 2015; Jha, 2013; Johnson and Koyama, 2017; Lewer and Van den Berg, 2007; Rauh, 1993; Watson-Jones and Legare, 2016; Wen et al., 2015.

1 ) [www.pewforum.org/2012/12/18/global-religious-landscape-exec](http://www.pewforum.org/2012/12/18/global-religious-landscape-exec).

### فصل پنجم: خانواده انسان کژگونه

1 ) Fukuyama, 2011; Murdock, 1949

1 ) I'm drawing here on the extended version of the Ethnographic Atlas called the Database of Places, Language, Culture, and Environment, at D-PLACE.org

1 ) Scheidel, 2009a, 2009b).

1 ) Bittles, 1998, 2001; Bittles and Black, 2010. See Baker (1979) on Chinese kinship.

1 ) These data were compiled by Jonathan Schulz by augmenting the data compiled by Alan Bittles and colleagues (Bittles, 1998; Bittles and Black, 2010).

1 ) Ember, 1967; Hoff and Sen, 2016; Shenk, Towner, Voss, and Alam, 2016.

1 ) Berman, 1983; Fukuyama, 2011; Gluckman, 2006; Greif, 2006a, 2006c; Greif and Tabellini, 2010; Marshall, 1959.

1 ) ([www.pewforum.org/2011/12/19/global-christianity-exec](http://www.pewforum.org/2011/12/19/global-christianity-exec))

- 1 ) Mitterauer and Chapple, 2010.
- 1 ) Goody, 1983; Mitterauer and Chapple, 2010; Ubl, 2008.
- 1 ) Amorim et al., 2018; Anderson, 1956; Ausenda, 1999; Berman, 1983; Burguiere et al., 1996; Charles-Edwards, 1972; Goody, 1983; Greif, 2006a, 2006c; Greif and Tabellini, 2010; Heather, 1999; Herlihy, 1985; Karras, 1990; Loyn, 1974, 1991; Mitterauer and Chapple, 2010; Ross, 1985; Tabellini, 2010.
- 1 ) Anderson, 1956
- 1 Berman, 1983; Diamond, 2012b; Glick, 1979;
- Gluckman, 1972a, 1972b; Goody, 1983; Greif, 2006a, 2006c; Grierson, 1903; Kroeber, 1925;
- Curtin et al., 2019
- 1 ) Anderson, 1956; Berman, 1983; Charles-Edwards, 1972; Goody, 1983; Greif, 2006a, 2006c;
- Heather, 1999; Herlihy, 1985; Karras, 1990; Mitterauer and Chapple, 2010; Ross, 1985
- 1 ) Brundage, 1987; Burguiere et al., 1996; Goody, 1990; Shaw and Saller, 1984.
- 1 ) Following what became a standard protocol, the monks encouraged the newly converted king to view himself as a divinely ordained protector and to develop a written code of laws. They likely sought to influence what got codified into written law.
- 1 ) Berman, 1983; Brundage, 1987; Goody, 1983; Higham, 1997; Ross, 1985
- 1 ) Brundage, 1987; Goody, 1983; Ross, 1985.
- 1 ) Brundage, 1987; Harper, 2013. For “prostitute” in Latin, see Brundage, 1987, p. 25.
- 1 ) Lynch, 1986
- 1 ) Goody, 1969; Silk, 1987. For pre-Christian adoption practices among European tribes, see Lynch, 1986, p. 180
- 1 ) Chapais, 2009; Fox, 1967; Goody, 1996; Korotayev, 2000, 2004
- 1 ) Herlihy, 1990, p. 1
- 1 ) See Appendix A for sourcing
- 1 ) Smith and Cheetham, 1880
- 1 ) Kuper, 2010)
- 1 ) Goody, 1983; Mitterauer, 2015; Schulz et al., 2019; Smith and Cheetham, 1880; Ubl, 2008
- 1 ) The exception to this pattern is the Christian Roman emperors who had experimented, unsuccessfully, with imposing the death penalty for incest
- 1 ) Ekelund et al., 1996; Smith, 1972.
- 1 ) Ausenda, 1999; Heather, 1999; Miller, 2009.

- 1 ) Ekelund et al., 1996; Miller, 2009. In Iceland, after the Fourth Lateran Council reduced the constraints on cousin marriage, cousins could marry with a payment of one-tenth of their property.
- 1 ) Anderson, 1956; Mitterauer and Chapple, 2010; Schulz, 2019
- 1 ) Anderson, 1956, p. 29
- 1 ) Mitterauer, 2011, 2015.
- 1 ) Harper, 2013; Mitterauer, 2011, 2015; Smith and Cheetham, 1880.
- 1 ) Mitterauer, 2011, 2015.
- 1 ) Ubl, 2008.
- 1 ) Korotayev, 2004; Mitterauer, 2011, 2015; Smith and Cheetham, 1880; [www.iranicaonline.org/articles/marriage-next-of-kin](http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/marriage-next-of-kin).
- 1 ) Ambrose, 1881, pp. 351–54
- 1 ) Henrich, 2016
- 1 ) Mitterauer, 2011, 2015.
- 1 ) Goody, 1969, 1983.
- 1 ) Goody, 1983; MacFarlane, 1978.
- 1 ) Ausenda, 1999; Ekelund et al., 1996; Goody, 1983; Heather, 1999; Herlihy, 1985; Mitterauer and Chapple, 2010; Ross, 1985.
- 1 ) Goody, 1983; Smith, 1972.
- 1 ) Ekelund et al., 1996
- 1 ) Brown, 2012
- 1 ) Brown, 2012.
- 1 ) Ausenda, 1999; Ekelund et al., 1996, locs 137, 258; Goody, 1983, pp. 105, 124
- 1 ) Berman, 1983; Goody, 1983; Greif, 2006a, 2006b, 2006c; Heather, 1999; Mitterauer and Chapple, 2010. On the Franks, see Goody, 1983, p. 118
- 1 ) Ekelund et al., 1996; Goody, 1983, pp. 127, 131; Heldring, Robinson, and Vollmer, 2018
- 1 ) Henrich, 2016; McElreath, Boyd, and Richerson, 2003
- 1 ) D'Avray, 2012; Ekelund et al., 1996; Mitterauer and Chapple, 2010; Smith and Cheetham, 1880; Ubl, 2008
- 1 ) Ekelund et al., 1996; Heather, 1999; Mitterauer and Chapple, 2010
- 1 ) Hajnal, 1965; Macucal, 2013;
- Shepherd, 1926; Speake, 1987; the Editors of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2018).
- 1 ) Hajnal, 1982; Herlihy, 1985; Mitterauer and Chapple, 2010; Toubert, 1996.
- 1 ) Berman, 1983; Ember, 1967; Greif and Tabellini, 2010; Mitterauer and Chapple, 2010;
- Silverman and Maxwell, 1978
- 1 ) Higham, 1997; Mitterauer and Chapple, 2010
- 1 ) Brundage, 1987; Charles-Edwards, 1972; Clark, 2007a; Goody, 1983;

- Greif, 2006; Greif and Tabellini, 2010; Herlihy, 1985; Laslett, 1984; Laslett and Wall, 1972; MacFarlane, 1978;
- 1 ) Baker, 1979; Goody, 1990; Lynch, 2003
- 1 ) Van Zanden and De Moor, 2010.
- 1 ) Lee and Feng, 2009; Van Zanden and De Moor, 2010
- 1 ) MacFarlane, 1978; Silverman and Maxwell, 1978; Lynch, 2003.
- 1 ) Mitterauer and Chapple, 2010
- 1 ) Bartlett, 1993; Cantoni and Yuchtman, 2014; Greif, 2006a, 2006c; Herlihy, 1985; Kleinschmidt, 2000; Lilley, 2002; Lopez, 1976; MacFarlane, 1978.
- 1 ) Kleinschmidt, 2000, p. 25.; Lynch, 2003
- 1 ) Herlihy, 1985; Ross, 1985
- 1 ) Andersen et al., 2012; Bartlett, 1993; Berman, 1983; Ekelund et al., 1996; Kleinschmidt, 2000; Mokyr, 2002; Woods, 2012.

### فصل ششم: تفاوت‌های روان‌شناسی، خانواده و کلیسا

- 1 ) Bahrami-Rad et al., 2017.
- 1 ) This map combines data from the Ethnographic Atlas with the current distribution of ethnolinguistic groups around the world (Schulz et al., 2019).
- 1 ) Enke, 2017, 2019; Schulz et al., 2019).
- 1 ) The correlations on the plots are Spearman correlations.
- 1 ) Data from Gelfand et al., 2011
- 1 ) (Enke, 2017, 2019).
- 1 ) Data from Bond and Smith, 1996; Murray, Trudeau, and Schaller, 2011. See Gelfand et al. (2011)
- 1 ) Elison, 2005; Fessler, 2004; Wallbott and Scherer, 1995
- 1 ) Enke, 2017, 2019; Jaffe et al., 2014; Stephens-Davidowitz, 2018; Wong and Tsai, 2007.
- 1 ) Enke, 2017; Schulz et al., 2019
- 1 ) Ahmed, 2013, pp. 21–23; Hilton, 2001.
- 1 ) Tuzin, 1976, pp. 22–23
- 1 ) Enke, 2017; Schulz et al., 2018. The trust data come from the World Values Survey (Inglehart et al., 2014).
- 1 ) Chua et al., 2008, 2009; Enke, 2017; Greif and Tabellini, 2015; Schulz et al., 2019
- 1 ) Enke, 2017; Schulz et al., 2019.
- 1 ) The Passenger's Dilemma data are from Schulz et al., 2019; Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner, 1998
- 1 ) Enke, 2017; Haidt, 2012; Haidt and Graham, 2007.

- 1 ) Enke, 2017, 2019  
1 Bowles, 2004; Henrich and Henrich, 2007.  
1 ) Bowles and Gintis, 2002; Fehr and Gächter, 2000, 2002; Herrmann et al., 2008  
1) Herrmann et al., 2008; Schulz et al., 2019.
- 1 ) Schulz et al., 2019  
1 ) Schulz et al., 2019  
1 ) Schulz et al., 2019.  
1 ) Gächter, Renner, and Sefton, 2008  
1 ) Gächter and Herrmann, 2009; Herrmann et al., 2008  
1 ) Bhui et al., 2019a; Henrich and Henrich, 2014)  
1 ) Enke, 2017, 2019).  
1 ) Barrett et al., 2016; Gluckman, 1972a, 1972b, 2006; Harper, 2013; Moore, 1972.  
1 ) Barrett et al., 2016; Curtin et al., 2019. Thanks to Clark Barrett, Alyssa Crittenden, Alex Bolyanatz, Martin Kanovsky, Geoff Kushnick, Anne Pisor, and Brook Scelza  
1 ) Curtin et al., 2019; Gluckman, 1972a, 1972b  
1 ) Berman, 1983; Drew, 1991, 2010a, 2010b; Gurevich, 1995; Harper, 2013  
1 ) Varnum et al., 2010.  
1 ) Schulz et al., 2018.  
1 ) Barry, Child, and Bacon, 1959; Berry, 1966; Liebenberg, 1990; Witkin and Berry, 1975; Witkin et al., 1977.  
1 ) Diamond, 1997; Enke, 2017; Hibbs and Olsson, 2004  
1 ) Puttermann and Weil, 2010; Schulz et al., 2019  
1 ) Schulz et al., 2019.  
1 ) De Jong, 1998; Enke, 2017; Schulz et al., 2018; Ubl, 2008.  
1 ) Schulz et al., 2019

## فصل هفتم: اروپا و آسیا

- 1 ) Schulz et al., 2019  
1 ) Schulz et al., 2019  
1 ) Schulz et al. (2019) re-analyzed data from Guiso, Sapienza, and Zingales, 2004.  
1 ) Schulz et al. (2019) re-analyzed data from Guiso, Sapienza, and Zingales, 2004  
1 ) Akbari, Bahrampour, and Kimbrough, 2016; Schulz, 2019; Schulz et al., 2018  
1 ) Schulz et al., 2019. Also see Enke, 2017, 2019  
1 ) Alesina and Giuliano, 2010; Alesina et al., 2015; Enke, 2017; Fernández

and Fogli, 2009;  
Giuliano, 2007.

- 1 ) Bray, 1984; Greif and Tabellini, 2015; Talhelm et al., 2014.  
1 ) Greif and Tabellini, 2010, 2015; Mitterauer and Chapple, 2010.  
1 ) Of course, this isn't a purely environmental factor, because the ecological effects are dependent upon farmers possessing (1) the technical know-how for paddy rice agriculture and (2) the appropriate varieties of domesticated rice. Fortunately, these elements spread quickly compared to kin-based institutions  
1 ) Henrich, 2014; Talhelm et al., 2014.  
1 ) Adapted from Talhelm et al., 2014.  
1 ) Greif and Tabellini, 2010, 2015  
1 ) Kitayama et al., 2009; Talhelm et al., 2014  
1 ) Knight and Nisbett, 2007; Varnum et al., 2008  
1 ) Talhelm et al., 2014).  
1 ) They did an instrumental variable regression with rice suitability as their instrument (Talhelm et al., 2014  
1 ) Talhelm et al., 2014,  
1 ) Boggle, 2017  
1 ) Baker, 1979  
1 ) Hango, 2006; Li, Hamamura, and Adams, 2016; Lun, Oishi, and Tenney, 2012; Mann, 1972;  
Oishi and Talhelm, 2012; Oishi et al., 2013; Oishi et al., 2015; Park and Peterson, 2010; Sato et al., 2008; Su and Oishi, 2010; Yuki et al., 2013.

## فصل هشتم: چند همسری انسان کزگونه

- 1 ) Motolinia, 1973  
1 ) Toribio wrote extensively about the customs and beliefs of those he aimed to convert and used his influence to protect and defend indigenous peoples when and where he could  
1 ) Jankowiak, 2008, pp. 172–73.  
1 ) Jankowiak, 2008, p. 165. Also see Jankowiak, Sudakov, and Wilreker, 2005.  
1 ) Peculiar” is the term used by the historian Walter Scheidel (2009) in characterizing monogamous marriage in the ancient world  
1 ) Henrich, 2016; Muller, Wrangham, and Pilbeam, 2017; Pilbeam and Lieberman, 2017. On

- polyandry, see Starkweather and Hames, 2012
- 1 ) Buss, 2007.
- 1 ) Henrich, Boyd, and Richerson, 2012; Hewlett and Winn, 2014
- 1 ) Henrich, Boyd, and Richerson, 2012; Levine and Silk, 1997
- 1 ) Henrich, Boyd, and Richerson, 2012; Hewlett, 1996, 2000; Marlowe, 2003, 2004
- 1 ) Betzig, 1982, 1993; Henrich, Boyd, and Richerson, 2012; Scheidel, 2008, 2009.
- 1 ) Bergreen, 2007; Betzig, 1982, 1986, 1993; Motolinía, 1973; Scheidel, 2008, 2009a, 2009b.
- 1 ) Henrich, Boyd, and Richerson, 2012; Scheidel, 2009a, 2009b. On the Indian Supreme Court,  
see [www.ibtimes.co.uk/india-bans-polygamy-muslims-not-fundamental-right-islam-1487356](http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/india-bans-polygamy-muslims-not-fundamental-right-islam-1487356).
- 1 ) This is my version of Craig Jones's coinage, "polygamy's math problem." Polyandry doesn't have a math problem.
- 1 ) Fenske, 2015; Field et al., 2016; Marlowe, 2000, 2003, 2005, 2010.
- 1 ) Henrich, Boyd, and Richerson, 2012.
- 1 ) See the supplemental materials of Henrich, Boyd, and Richerson, 2012
- 1 ) The rooster image was adapted from one taken by Muhammad Mahdi Karim, found at commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=5507626.
- 1 ) Beletsky et al., 1995; Wingfield, 1984; Wingfield et al., 1990; Wingfield, Lynn, and Soma, 2001.
- 1 ) Gettler et al., 2011. For a recent review, see Grebe et al., 2019.
- 1 ) Alvergne, Faurie, and Raymond, 2009; Booth et al., 2006; Burnham et al., 2003; Fleming et al., 2002; Gettler et al., 2011; Gray, 2003; Gray and Campbell, 2006; Gray et al., 2002; Mazur and Booth, 1998; Mazur and Michalek, 1998; Storey et al., 2000.
- 1 ) These data are from Gettler et al. (2011).
- 1 ) Beletsky et al., 1995
- 1 ) Gray, 2003; Gray and Campbell, 2006; Gray et al., 2002; Muller et al., 2009.
- 1 ) Muller et al., 2009
- 1 ) Sellen, Borgerhoff Mulder, and Sieff, 2000.
- 1 ) Betzig, 1992; Harper, 2013.
- 1 ) Ellison et al., 2002
- 1 ) Henrich, 2016, Chapter 14.
- 1 ) Salvador, 2005; Salvador and Costa, 2009
- 1 ) For reviews of testosterone and status, see Booth et al., 2006; Eisenegger, Haushofer, and Fehr, 2011; Mazur and Booth, 1998
- 1 ) Kouri et al., 1995; Pope, Kouri, and Hudson, 2000.

- 1 ) (Mehta, Wuehrmann, and Josephs, 2009  
1 ) Data from Mehta, Wuehrmann, and Josephs, 2009.  
1 ) Bos et al., 2010;  
Hermans, Putman, and van Honk, 2006; van Honk, Terburg, and Bos, 2011).  
For the follow-up work on the connection to the amygdala, see Bos et al., 2012.  
1 ) Mehta and Josephs, 2010; Storey et al., 2000.  
1 ) Booth, Johnson, and Granger, 1999; Booth et al., 2006; Mazur and Booth, 1998; Soler, Vinayak, and Quadagno, 2000.  
1 ) Becker and Huselid, 1992; Bothner, Kang, and Stuart E., 2007; Frick and Humphreys, 2011; Taylor, 2003  
1 ) Arantes et al., 2013; Block and Gerety, 1995; Blondel, Lohéac, and Rinaudo, 2007; Cohn, Fehr, and Marechal, 2014; Hanoch, Gummerum, and Rolison, 2012; Khadjavi and Lange, 2013; Pratt and Cullen, 2000; Reynolds, 2006; Wichary, Pachur, and Li, 2015.  
1 ) Henrich, Boyd, and Richerson, 2012; Sampson and Laub, 1993; Sampson, Laub, and Wimer, 2006.  
1 ) Duncan, Wilkerson, and England, 2006; Farrington and West, 1995; Horney, Osgood, and Marshall, 1995  
1 ) Jin et al., 2010.  
1 ) The actual policy is more complex than simply one child per couple. For example, the policy was amended to permit rural couples to have a second child if their first child was a girl.  
Whatever these complexities, the bottom line is that the pressure to have boys shifted the sex ratio.  
1 ) Edlund et al., 2007, 2013  
1 ) Edlund et al., 2007, 2013).  
1 ) Liu, Li, and Feldman, 2012  
1 ) Bacon, Child, and Barry, 1963; Burton and Whiting, 1961  
1 ) Henrich, Boyd, and Richerson, 2012  
1 ) Fleisher and Holloway, 2004; Sahlins, 1961; White, 1988  
1 ) Herlihy, 1985.  
1 ) Despite actively and energetically promoting the Church's incest taboos, both Merovingian and Carolingian rulers were polygynous. Charlemagne had 10 known primary and secondary wives  
1 ) Herlihy, 1995; Todd, 1985

## فصل نهم: در باب تجارت و تعاون

- 1 ) For the Montesquieu and Paine quotations, see Hirschman, 1982.
- 1 ) Henrich, 1997; Henrich and Henrich, 2007.
- 1 ) For an introduction to behavioral economics, see Camerer (2003). The game-theoretical analysis also assumes that individuals believe that everyone else is a rational selfish maximizer, too
- 1 ) Ensminger and Henrich, 2014; Henrich et al., 2004
- 1 ) (Henrich, 2000; Henrich and Smith, 2004).
- 1 ) Henrich, 2000; Henrich and Smith, 2004
- 1 ) Henrich and Henrich, 2007; Johnson, 2003; Johnson and Earle, 2000.
- 1 ) Henrich et al., 2004; Henrich et al., 2005
- 1 ) Ensminger and Henrich, 2014; Henrich et al., 2004; 2005.
- 1 ) Ensminger and Henrich, 2014; Henrich, Ensminger et al., 2010.
- 1 ) Bolyanatz, 2014; Tracer, 2003, 2004; Tracer, Mueller, and Morse, 2014
- 1 ) Henrich, Ensminger et al., 2010
- 1 ) Ensminger and Henrich, 2014; Henrich, Ensminger et al., 2010.
- 1 ) Ensminger and Henrich, 2014; Henrich, 2016.
- 1 ) Kosfeld and Rustagi, 2015; Rustagi, Engel, and Kosfeld, 2010.
- 1 ) Of course, it's still possible that something about the towns besides their markets increased people's conditional cooperation
- 1 ) Data are drawn from Rustagi et al., 2010.
- 1 ) I'm drawing these numbers from the instrumental variable regression in Rustagi et al., 2010.
- 1 ) Rustagi, Engel, and Kosfeld, 2010.
- 1 ) Al-Ubaydli et al., 2013
- 1 ) Vohs, 2015; Vohs, Mead, and Goode, 2006, 2008
- 1 ) Bowles, 1998; Fourcade and Healy, 2007; Hirschman, 1982
- 1 ) Falk and Szech, 2013
- 1 ) Plattner, 1989.
- 1 ) On exchange in Aboriginal Australia generally, see McBryde, 1984; McCarthy, 1939; Smyth, 1878; Stanner, 1934. For discussions of trade and markets, see Cassady, 1974; Grierson, 1903; Hawk, 2015
- 1 ) The History of Herodotus (Book IV), at [classics.mit.edu/Herodotus/history.3.iii.html](http://classics.mit.edu/Herodotus/history.3.iii.html)
- 1 ) Grierson, 1903; Hawk, 2015; Woodburn, 1982, 1998.
- 1 ) Cassady, 1974; Grierson, 1903

- 1 ) See Plattner (1989) for a discussion of large apple shipments
- 1 ) Greif, 2006b, 2006c; Greif and Tabellini, 2010, 2015
- 1 ) Aubet, 2013; Hawk, 2015. For another example, see Greif's work on the Maghribi merchants of the 11th century in the Mediterranean (Greif, 1989, 1993, 2006c).
- 1 ) Ma, 2004 (p. 269), 2007.
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## فصل دوازدهم: قانون، علم و دین

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### فصل چهاردهم: ماده‌ی تاریک تاریخ

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- 1 ) Durham, 1991; Henrich, 2016
- 1 ) Beauchamp, 2016; Flynn, 2007; Kong et al., 2017; Nisbett, 2009; Okbay et al., 2016. The numerical estimates come from Beauchamp
- 1 ) Dincecco and Onorato, 2018; Ogilvie, 2019; Winter, 2013.
- 1 ) Dincecco and Onorato, 2018; Winter, 2013.
- 1 ) Gershman, 2015; Nunn and De La Sierra, 2017. For the ghost statistic, see [www.economist.com/graphic-detail/2018/10/31/pagan-beliefs-persist-in-the-new-world](http://www.economist.com/graphic-detail/2018/10/31/pagan-beliefs-persist-in-the-new-world). For the elves, [www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2013/10/why-so-many-icelanders-stillbelieve-in-invisible-elves/280783](http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2013/10/why-so-many-icelanders-stillbelieve-in-invisible-elves/280783).