

## Global Entrepreneurial Culture in the Premodern World

### GLENCULT

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**Obs:** This draft is the result of a grant proposal to the European Research Council written some time ago. I am looking for feedback, suggestions and improvement avenues for future submission. I am particularly discontent about the relevance raised about religion for in the European context *vis-à-vis* the lighter focus for other continents. All suggestions are welcome as they will contribute for my re-framing of the whole endeavour (be free to be harsh and direct!). Please do not circulate without permission.

#### **Abstract:**

This project will take the perspective of global history to examine **how and why entrepreneurial culture developed in different societies in the premodern world**. In doing so, it will chart the rise of global entrepreneurial culture (defined as a simultaneous, rather than diffused or connected, worldwide and hence global process), explain the development of entrepreneurial culture as a complex social phenomenon rather than an exclusive economic occurrence, and account for entrepreneurial culture's transformation during and after moments of contact and exchange. GLENCULT will build on and challenge current scholarly assumptions: first the assumption that global history is a 'grab bag' subdiscipline lacking methodological and theoretical modelling, by applying a global methodological analysis to primary historical sources so as to generate a model of global entrepreneurial culture; second that the history of entrepreneurship serves only to explain economic growth, by proposing that entrepreneurial culture is a broad social concept comprising all roles (cultural, economic, religious, political/administrative and social) played by entrepreneurs in a given society; and third that historical entrepreneurs were trapped in institutional environments partly defined by religion that determined their efficiency as agents and sources of economic prosperity, by investigating the added value entrepreneurs generated in their own societies, irrespective of their economic contribution to modern economic growth.

GLENCULT will position, compare and contrast the historical trajectories of entrepreneurs in Africa, America, Asia and Europe and analyse their roles in their societies or origin. Although influenced by institutional environments, entrepreneurs in these continents shared a common social space by playing socially significant roles determined as much by the self and the community as by exchanges locally, regionally, internationally and globally.

## Section a. State-of-the-art and objectives

### *State-of-the-Art*

In 1997, the European Commissioner responsible for Enterprise Policy, M. Christos Papoutsis, addressed the UNICE 5<sup>th</sup> Annual 'SME' Conference in Brussels with a speech that underlined the need for '*developing entrepreneurship and an enterprise culture in the European Union*'. His proposal was simple. A unified entrepreneurial culture would facilitate exchanges, create employment and increase wealth, while at the same time preparing the EU to deal with outside competition in a time of accelerated globalization.

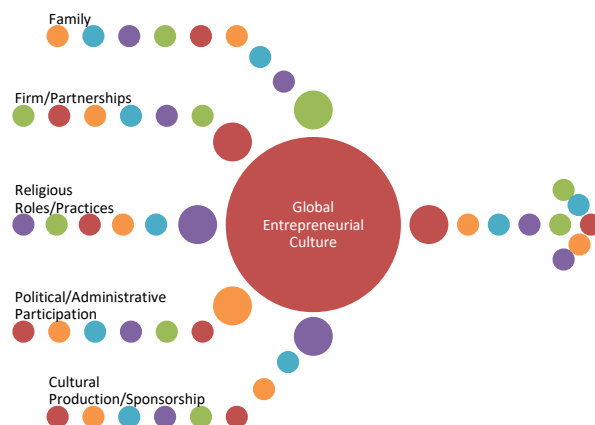
This associating of entrepreneurial culture with economic prosperity is not, however, new. Economic historians, and new economic institutionalists in particular, have identified the important role entrepreneurship plays in economic growth, albeit only when payoffs are significant (Baumol 2010). The significance of these payoffs depends on the quality, efficiency and modernity of the institutions in which entrepreneurs operate (North 1990; North & Weingast 1989). In this way, and not surprisingly, new economic institutionalists have inadvertently reduced the need to investigate the role of entrepreneurship to its direct connection to generating (modern) economic growth (Ricketts 2006). At the same time, new economic institutionalism has also sought to account for differences in the institutional environments that influenced premodern entrepreneurs in their economic role, with the consensus being that the main cultural determinant for the development of premodern institutions is religion and that, as such, belief systems determine whether entrepreneurs contributed to (modern) economic growth in specific societies. Usually, the link between religion, quality, efficiency and modernity of institutions and entrepreneurship is still anchored on the Weberian-Tawney paradigm (Munro 2010; Weber 1930; Tawney 1926), whereby Christians, especially Protestants and more precisely Calvinists, were seen as the best equipped to excel in entrepreneurial behaviour, while Protestant societies in general were also seen as particularly competent in generating the best premodern institutions (Vries 2015; Gelderblom 2013; Allen 2011 & 2009; Vries & Van der Woude 1997). This body of historiography has gone to great lengths to explain how Muslim societies and Jewish entrepreneurial groups seemed unable to compete against competent, efficient and institutionally well-organized forms of Christian entrepreneurship (Kuran 2010, 2005 & 2003; Greif 2010, 2006 & 1994), preferring not to engage with the scholarship that has demonstrated healthy entrepreneurial behaviour in various religious diasporas (Trivellato 2012; Aslanian 2011; Kagan & Morgan 2009; McCabe *et al* 2005) and non-Christian groups outside North-Western Europe and the Mediterranean (Chaffee 2018; Foltz 2018; Chaudhury 2015; Lydon 2009; Shimbo & Hasegawa 2009; Nishikawa & Amano 2009; Saitô & Tanimoto 2009; Toby 2009; Cândido 2007; Faroqi & Veinstein 2008; Behrendt & Graham 2003; Girshick, Ben-Amos & Thornton 2001; Roberts 1998; Lufrano 1997; Risso 1995; Hirschmeier & Yui 1975). The reason for avoiding these two strains of scholarship is that they both indisputably position entrepreneurs (often traders) at the core of successful local, regional and international businesses, even though they do not seem to have contributed to macro-economic growth in the long run, or to have become bolts that led the societies they lived in to modern economic growth.

Even if new economic institutionalists recognize that entrepreneurship existed in premodern societies considered institutionally impaired (everything but Western Europe, and so mostly the Dutch Republic and England), they see it as of little consequence to economic growth and thus uninteresting to study, except for the purposes of pointing out the institutional shortcomings of such

societies (Kuran 2003). Indeed, some go so far as to state that entrepreneurship in certain parts of the world (usually Africa) is so insignificant that it merits reduced scholarly attention (Landes 2010, 4), even though historians of Africa and Asia contend otherwise (Yuan, Macve & Ma 2015; McDermott 2013; Chan 2010; Lydon 2009; Faroqhi & Veinstein 2008; Cândido 2007; Ahmed 2006; Özcan and Çokgezen 2006; Girshick & Thornton 2005; Zelin 2005; Finnane 2004; Behrendt & Graham 2003; Abdhullah 2001; Kuran 2001; Pomeranz 2000; Nyazee 1999; Gunder Frank 1998; Chan 1998; Smith 1998; Hanna 1998; Roberts 1998; Lufrano 1997; Çizakça 1996; Hansen 1995; Risso 1995; Levathes 1994; Morikawa 1992; Sadeq 1990; Wong 1985; Ng 1983; Chan 1982; Aghassian and Kévonian 1989; Mann 1987; Chaudhury 1985; Hourani 1983; Siddiqi 1979; Chan 1977; Hirschmeier & Yui 1975; Roberts 19973; Cohen 1970; Udovitch 1970; Hirschmeier 1964; Sayigh 1958).

In this context of divided ideas about the economic role played by entrepreneurs in premodern societies, GLENCULT proposes to answer the questions of **how and why global entrepreneurial culture developed in different societies in the premodern world**, despite adverse institutional environments and religious restrictions. The answers to these questions depart from the premise that an entrepreneur is someone who takes risks (Knight 1921) in matters of trade, production and the deployment of violence and rent-seeking activities, in what William J. Baumol defines as ‘redistributive entrepreneurship’, typical of premodern societies (Baumol 2010, X). Premodern entrepreneurs, similar to their modern counterparts, introduced innovations (Audretsch and Keilbach 2006; Baumol 2003; Schumpeter 1939), made decisions based on information that others did not possess, and searched for opportunity when and where most perceived risk (Casson 2010; Casson & Della Giusta, 2007; Casson 2003). They did so from within their extended families (De Roover 1963), the firms they managed or co-administered (McCabe 1999) and the networks they belonged to (Hancock 2005, Seland 2013), regardless of the geographical region they operated from. GLENCULT proposes that premodern entrepreneurs fulfilled a social role that exceeded their contribution to modern economic growth and was rooted in deep cultural (Smith 1998), religious (Cohen 1970) and political/administrative (Häberlein 2012; Subrahmanyam & Bayly 1988) roles. In this project, entrepreneurship is considered a broad social phenomenon as entrepreneurs were heads of families; partners in firms and shareholders in collective endeavours (corporations and others); members of multiple networks; administrators acting in the name of a polity; diplomatic representatives of kings, princes and emperors; worshipping religious members of congregations and intellectually engaged subjects as producers or sponsors of what is commonly called ‘the arts’. These roles not only define entrepreneurs well beyond their contribution to economic growth, but also entail an entangled rich daily life of potential contradictions and confronted loyalties.

Illustration 1. The Entrepreneur in the Premodern World: An Analytical Grid



In order to analyse the rise, development and transformation of premodern entrepreneurship worldwide, GLENCULT will adopt the premises (rather than the practices) of current global history. Rather than arising from a need to claim to belong to the current trend that we *'are all global historians'* (Ittersum & Jacobs 2012), this choice stems from the practical impossibility of studying entrepreneurial culture, as a result of the entrepreneur's *social* role in premodern societies, from a local or regional perspective, and an intellectual refusal to adhere to neo-Rankian types of history (Vries 2019) and its current political and societal uses (Ferguson 2011 & 2003). These developments stand in sharp contrast to the refreshing intellectual proposal of the *Journal of Global History* upon its foundation in 2006, where global history was seen as the answer to an *'increasing concern about the segmentation of their [historians'] discipline's scholarly expertise into discrete compartments, whether defined by place, period, theme or sub-discipline'* and where the journal consequently had the ambition of *'helping to overcome (...) fragmentation in historiography, while avoiding pitfalls that have emerged in earlier attempts to achieve this goal'* (Clarence-Smith, Pomeranz & Vries 2016, 1).

The criticism of global history as it is currently practised can be summarized under three main headings. The first criticism arises from those claiming that global history has been emptied of meaning and has seen its scholarly added value disappear by becoming a 'grab bag' (Adelman 2017) or buzzword, instead of a conceptually strong and enquiry-driven exercise. The second criticism arises from global historians themselves, who seem to accept that the core of global history entails a comparative approach to specific subjects and has as its main goal the prescriptive elaboration of grand narratives, with these perceived by some as a response to *'people ... yearning for grand narratives that can better explain our times'* (Bayly 2006, 1457), as if the main task of historians is to *'remain relevant to public debate'* (Beckert 2006, 1451) rather than to develop explanatory models that may clarify specific worldwide phenomena following a global enquiry (Osterhammel 2016, 41-42). The third criticism arises from micro/local historians who see the incompleteness and generalization sins of the grand narratives elaborated by global historians as a sign of an unforgivable methodological mistake of developing historical work on the basis of secondary literature, usually in Western languages and preferably in English, instead of through artisanal and professional collections, heuristics and analyses of primary sources (Antunes 2019; Ginzburg 2015; Trivellato 2011).

GLENCULT will respond to these three criticisms by defining global history as a set of enquiries (or prospects) (Belich *et al* 2016) seeking to explain rather than describe the rise, development and transformation of worldwide phenomena and processes by privileging phenomena/processes common to different societies in different times and spaces and phenomena/processes that arose in specific societies and were adopted by other societies through a process of exchange and/or diffusion. This definition necessarily entails the consequence that while grand narratives are still welcome and possible, they should encompass a methodological approach favouring the development of explanatory models whose intrinsic value elucidates how and why different societies were able to generate similar phenomena independently, or how and why societies became receptive to external phenomena and moved towards adaptation and/or rejection. Various methodological approaches are possible as they should include more than solely comparative history. GLENCULT will test the only methodology so far defined by Belich *et al*. The advantage of privileging a specific methodology is the ability to develop an analytical grid to apply to primary sources worldwide, thus effectively building a bridge between micro-contextualized regional history and a global historical enquiry in an attempt to return to the core of what Marc Bloch defined

as the *métier d'historien* (Bloch, 1993). Global enquiries, methodological definitions, an analytical grid and interpretation of primary sources form the skeleton for developing the missing interpretative models in global history and thus hold the potential to permanently alter the core of global history. Simultaneously the methodology will provide the explanatory framework to elucidate how entrepreneurship arose across the world, and why entrepreneurs fulfilled similar social roles across all societies and thus shared a similar cultural protagonism. These phenomena and processes translate into a global entrepreneurial culture that, at different moments in time, expanded or retracted as a result of contact, entanglement and cross-pollination (Antunes, 2017).

### *The Objectives*

This project therefore has two main goals: firstly to demonstrate that global history is a sub-discipline of history, with a conceptual setting and a methodology, and able to generate explanatory models for historical interpretation; secondly, to transform entrepreneurial history from a (cliometric) economic factor that may have determined the rise of modern economic growth into a broad, global and social phenomenon that arose in different societies and whose importance extends well beyond economic prosperity alone. To achieve this goal, GLENCULT will examine how and why entrepreneurial culture developed in premodern societies in Africa, America, Asia and Europe. While economic historians see the Industrial Revolution as marking the beginning of the modern world, this project's global intake hypothesizes that continuities persisted in the social roles that entrepreneurs played both before and after the first signs of modern economic growth, and thus proposes a non-linear and non-path-dependent analysis of global entrepreneurship.

The central question is informed by three distinct observations. First, the view held by critics of global history who see the discipline as nonsensical on the grounds that it lacks methodological and theoretical framing, and as an antithesis to microhistory. GLENCULT will consequently define global history as a set of enquiries that explains rather than defines the rise, development and transformation of phenomena and processes worldwide by stressing the importance of what was common to different societies in different times and spaces, on the one hand, and of what arose in a specific society and was adopted by other societies through exchange and/or diffusion, on the other hand. This project proposes to test the methodology proposed by James Belich, John Darwin and Chris Wickham (Belich *et al* 2016), applied to multiple typologies of sources, in various languages and across four continents.

Second, new economic institutionalism shows an interest in entrepreneurship when it results in payoffs, which are usually synonymous with modern economic growth in Western societies and encapsulated in the 'Rise of the West' and the 'Great Divergence' debates. This project hypothesizes, instead, that entrepreneurship is a global social phenomenon that arose in diverse societies in different times and spaces. Entrepreneurs' social significance lies in the relevant roles (cultural, religious, political/administrative and social) they played in society, rather than in their contribution to economic growth alone.

Third, the assumption prevails that religious values/principles translate into constraints on or stimuli of entrepreneurial behaviour by partly determining the make-up of institutions regulating entrepreneurial activity. Non-Christian and non-Calvinist societies, so the argument goes, tend to develop institutions that hinder entrepreneurial activity, and hence economic growth. While GLENCULT recognizes religion as an important factor in the development of institutions, it proposes that, regardless of religious hindrance, a difference exists between the ethos (discourse of religious

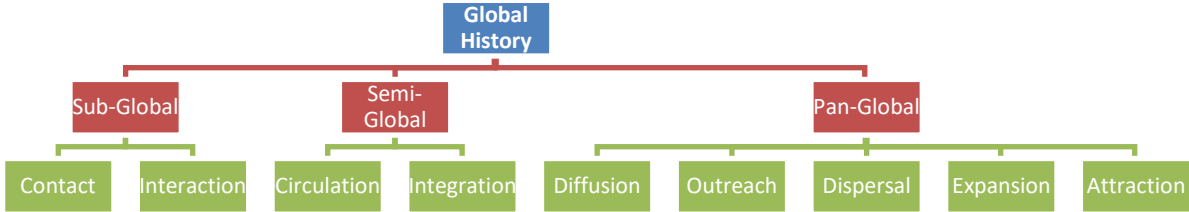
postures regarding economic/entrepreneurial matters) and praxis (daily behaviour) of entrepreneurs. We consider this difference essential for framing the social role of entrepreneurs independently of their contribution to macro-economic growth.

In short, GLENCULT is innovative and ground-breaking because of its defining of global history as a sub-discipline of history with a specific methodology conducive to the development of explanatory models, because of its testing the global historical methodology as applied to the case of global entrepreneurial culture and because of its using primary sources (mostly written) from different parts of the world and across different cultural and language spectra to test the hypothesis that entrepreneurs played a significant social role in their societies and a role that extended beyond their contribution to economic growth, and that these roles were similar across time and space, in different continents and within different socio-religious matrixes.

**Section b. Methodology**

This project combines a global historical enquiry, thus conceptually defining the contours of entrepreneurial culture as a global phenomenon, with a methodological framework, as recently elaborated by James Belich, John Darwin and Chris Wickham (Belich *et al* 2016, 1-32), in order to ground global history as a mature sub-discipline. In their methodological proposal, Belich *et al* provide the following summarized grid:

Illustration 2. Categories and Vectors of Globalization



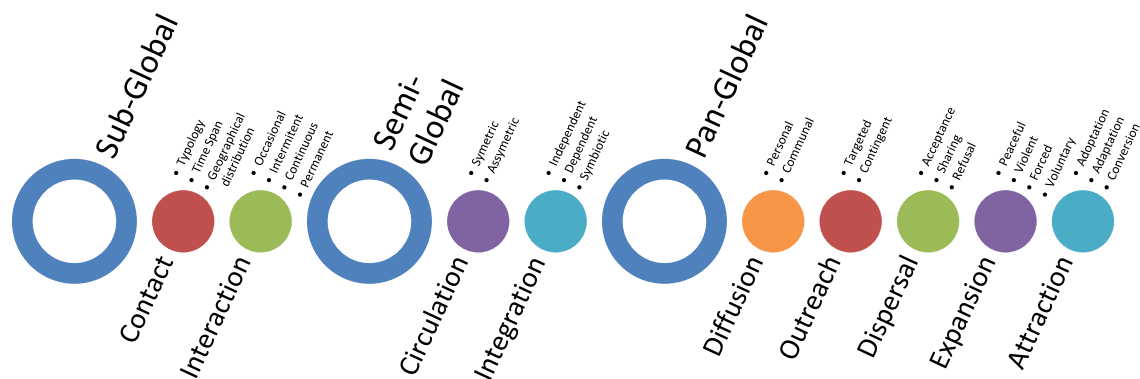
Source: Belich *et al*, 2016, 1-32.

This methodological proposal will be tested from a bottom-up, actor-based approach that analyses primary sources through close, in-depth reading, thus responding to the research question from the perspective of the entrepreneur, the system and the global (in that order). This methodological exercise questions the contradiction often perceived between micro/local history and global history, where these are seen as two irreconcilable historiographical approaches. GLENCULT is also vested in a methodological **decentralization** of knowledge away from Europe ('de-Eurocentralization'), with primary sources produced locally in Africa, Asia, America and Europe being at the forefront of the investigation. Sources produced by Africans, Asians and 'Americans' working for European institutions will be innovatively paired with locally produced sources outside the European-controlled spheres of knowledge and information exchange. Private commercial letters, contracts, manuals, legislation and ethno-geographic descriptions are available in African, Asian, American and European

archives. Part of this de-Eurocentralization is attainable only through the **recentralization** of non-European languages and archival/library resources.

This project proposes a three-stage analytical process, starting with the mapping and characterization of the rise of entrepreneurship at the sub-global level, and examining the clusters of family, firm and societal roles (cultural, economic, religious, political/administrative). The next stage encompasses the mapping and construing of the development of entrepreneurship at the semi-global level, with a special focus on the circulation and integration of practices within a specific society, political unit or geographical system. The final stage seeks to explain the transformation of entrepreneurship at the sub-global and semi-global levels and how this impacted on the pan-global, i.e. the change of entrepreneurial culture globally over time. In accounting for this interpretative proposal, we will follow the evaluative framework below (see Illustration 2).

Illustration 3. Global History Methodology Applied to Entrepreneurial Culture



This methodological de-Eurocentralization, framed by a global historical enquiry privileging an actor-based approach, follows the suggestion by Oscar Gelderblom and Francesca Trivellato that *'the time is ripe to put the business history of the preindustrial world back on the agenda of global (...) history. (...) we suggest empirical and methodological venues through which we might produce an integrated business (...) history that matters for comparisons on a global scale'* (Gelderblom & Trivellato 2018, 2).

### *Expected Outputs*

The expected outputs include 5 monographs, 4 edited volumes, 4 special issues, 4 dissertations, 28 articles and 10 book chapters. These include single- and co-authored works, both within the team and with other scholars, and will be regionally focused, comparative, holistic and diachronic. The intellectual responsibilities and outputs depend upon the academic maturity of the participants, as Table 1 suggests.

The collective works (edited volumes and special issues) form the basis for two very specific scientific goals:

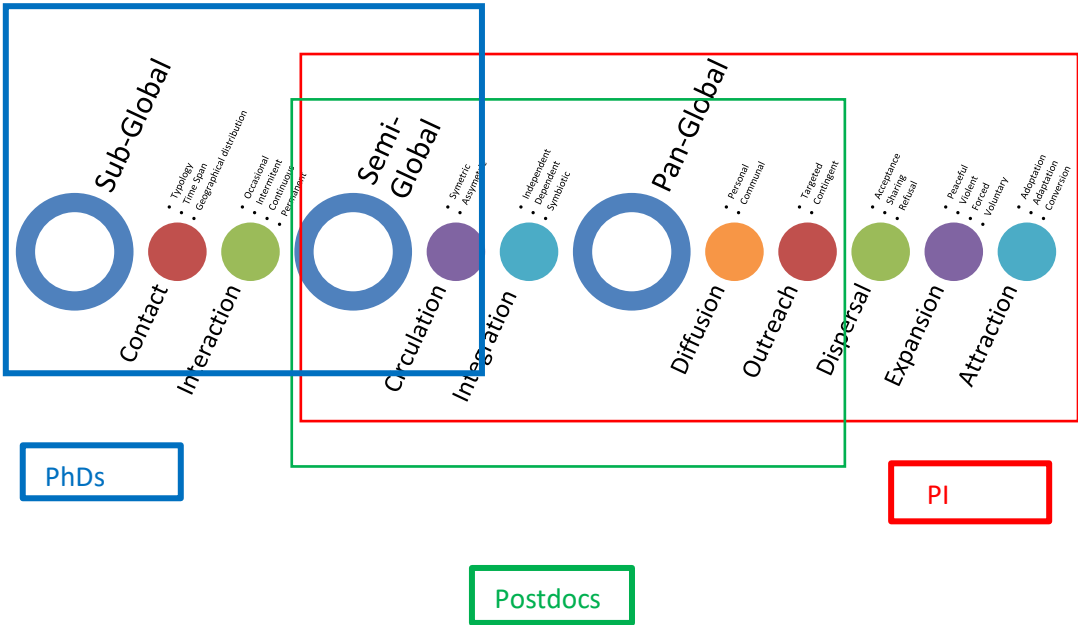
1) Recentralization of local knowledge in Africa, Asia and America about entrepreneurship in a contextualized and comparative manner. That is why the edited volumes will be the result of the local workshops, conferences and summer schools the team intends to organize as an itinerant group of knowledge exchange (see *Activities* below);

2) The special issues will reflect the comparative, holistic, non-path-dependent and theoretical results of the team’s collective achievements in comparison and contrast with different strains of scholarly production that will collaterally influence and be influenced by this project, with the *history of (merchant) capitalism, long-distance exchanges, Early Modern globalization and history of contact (zone)* being but a few cases in point.

*The Team and Individual Projects*

The team is organized around three axes: 1) Global Entrepreneurial Culture – Pan-Global (PI and Postdocs); 2) Entrepreneurial Culture within Regions – Semi-Global (Postdocs); 3) Entrepreneurial Culture of Specific (Religious) Groups – Sub-Global (PhDs) (see Illustration 3 below).

Illustration 4. Methodological and Evaluative Distribution within the Team



The methodology and evaluative framework will be applied to specific collections and typologies of sources by all the team members. My previous experience has demonstrated that teams of this magnitude and multicultural background/approach benefit from having pockets of intellectual freedom to suggest, formulate and develop individual inputs. In this context, the PI has prepared a



series of archives and collections that contain significant materials for developing the different individual projects. Team members will be free to peruse those collections and archives before taking a final decision regarding the focus of their individual contributions. They will also be able to suggest a collection of their choosing, not listed in the options below. I hope that this will contribute to team members choosing to work on materials that correspond to their abilities, skills, tastes and intellectual passions. Differences in content and typologies will be accommodated within the evaluative framework, thus contributing to the enrichment of the project and, ideally, to the team members' satisfaction.

The research question guiding each of the sub-projects and the selected and suggested body of sources that accompanies it are set out below.

**PI:** How and why did entrepreneurial culture develop in different societies in the premodern world?

Sources: Overview of the source base of the project, with a specific focus on the following collections:

- 1) European notarial collections (Amsterdam, Lisbon, Rouen). A broad spectrum of this material is already in the PI's possession.
- 2) Chinese private contract collection (largely comparable to European notarial deeds) under the curatorship of Prof Zhenzhong Wang, Fudan University, Shanghai, China.
- 3) Private firms' ledgers and correspondence from Europe, India, America and Africa, based on four representative examples
- 4) Collections of criminal and civil court cases (different national archives worldwide)

**Postdoc Africa:** How and why did entrepreneurial culture arise, develop and become transformed in Africa in the premodern time?

Sources - Option 1: South-East Africa, Island of Mozambique and the trans-Atlantic and trans-Indian Ocean context (Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino Lisbon, National Archive of Mozambique and private collection of papers and *varia* of the Nascimento and Vale families (Mozambique citizens willing to allow research in their private homes)).

Sources - Option 2: What are generally referred to as the Timbuktu materials, supported by or independently sourced from the collections regarding Qasr Ibrim, Chinguetti, Walata, Oudane, Kano and Agadez. This choice implicates a careful selection of documents as they are extremely precious and valuable for the institutions and still held by private persons. Sensitivity and synergy with local populations and scholars will be of the essence. Specific contacts with researchers in Mali and Ethiopia have initiated the process of obtaining access to some of these materials.

Sources - Option 3: Local/Regional archive of Casamance (present-day Senegal), especially the collection relating to the 'Lords of Zinguinchor', large traders and regional producers in and around Casamance, Cacheu, Geba and Buda. Some documents for this region are also kept at the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino and National Archive in Lisbon, as well as at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

**Postdoc Asia (Indian Ocean):** How and why did entrepreneurial culture arise, develop and become transformed in the Indian Ocean in the premodern time?

Sources - Option 1: Deployment of networks from Batavia and Macau (Euro-Asians *et al*)

Sources - Option 2: Persian entrepreneurs in the British (EIC), Dutch (VOC) and Portuguese (Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino) colonial archives, as well as private collections located in or coming from Mombasa, Malindi and Kilwa. This requires knowledge of Swahili and Arabic (for later documents).

Sources - Option 3: Local archives of Madagascar, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino Lisbon and National Archives of Mozambique.

**Postdoc Asia (Far East):** How and why did entrepreneurial culture arise, develop and become transformed in the Far East in the premodern time?

Sources - Option 1: Private contracts from Southern China; archive collection curated by Prof Zhenzhong Wang, Fudan University, Shanghai, China.

Sources - Option 2: Municipal court records from Nagasaki for commercial and production cases (database developed, updated and explored by Jurre Knoest).

Sources - Option 3: Descriptions, 'contracts' (agreements) and commercial letters of merchants and producers supplying and exchanging in Dzungar markets (multiple provenances and languages), including reference to nomadic entrepreneurs (mostly traders). This will demand previous archaeological knowledge and skills in interpreting archaeological reports (based on developing work by Lisa Hellmann).

Sources – Option 4: records of 'overseas' Chinese (Batavia), Koreans (Japan and China ) and Japanese (Ayutthaya, Vietnam and further afield)

**Postdoc Atlantic (America & Caribbean):** How and why did entrepreneurial culture arise, develop and become transformed in America in the premodern time?

Sources - Option 1: Hope & Co (North America *comptoir*).

Sources - Option 2: Silva de Oliveira papers (Minas Gerais, Buenos Aires, Lima, Maranhão, Luanda, London and Amsterdam).

Sources - Option 3: Dispersed papers of the N.W. Soci  t   (later North-West Company) de Montr  al in the archives of Montreal, Biblioth  que Nationale de France and Hudson Bay Company papers.

**PhD1: Jewish Entrepreneurship in Europe:** What were the main features of Jewish entrepreneurial behaviour in Europe and how did this behaviour translate into an entrepreneurial culture that transferred to other parts of the world and in turn was transformed by practices elsewhere?

Sources - Option 1: The archive of the Portuguese Sephardic Community of Amsterdam (Amsterdam City Archives) and private collections of their members, trial records of local and provincial

courts (Amsterdam City Archives and National Archive in The Hague) with particular interest for Francisco de Schonenberg.

Sources - Option 2: The archive of the Portuguese Sephardic Community of London (London City Archives) and private collections of their members in England, Barbados and Jamaica.

Sources - Option 3: The archive of the Ashkenazim Community of Amsterdam (Amsterdam City Archives) and trial records of local and provincial courts.

Sources - Option 4: Specific communities in the Polish 'Commonwealth' (various and multiple local archives).

Sources - Option 5: Jewish community in Ragusa (Historical Archives of Dubrovnik). Some documentation is also available in the State Archives of Venice and the Ottoman Archives in Istanbul.

**PhD2:** Muslim Entrepreneurship in Europe: What were the main features of Muslim entrepreneurial behaviour in Europe and how did this behaviour translate into an entrepreneurial culture that transferred to other parts of the world and in turn was transformed by practices elsewhere?

Sources - Option 1: Muslim/Ottoman community in Amsterdam (Amsterdam City Archives, especially notarial deeds) and the National Archive in The Hague (with large body of sources about Muslim entrepreneurial activities in North-Western Europe in the LIAS and Levantse Compagnie collection)

Sources - Option 2: Muslim/North African or Ottoman community in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris). Prospecting still on-going for the archives in Toulon, Rouen, Marseille and Bordeaux

Sources - Option 3: Muslim (traders) in Italian city states. Throughout Italy, there is a wealth of archival materials from the Middle Ages well into the 19<sup>th</sup> century

Sources - Option 4: Muslim groups in Vienna (National Archives of Austria and the Provincial and City Archives of Vienna)

**PhD3:** Christian Entrepreneurship in Asia: What were the main features of Christian entrepreneurship in Asia and how did this behaviour translate into an entrepreneurial culture that was influenced by autochthonous societies?

Sources - Option 1: Archives of specific 'Catholic' religious congregations and orders in the Vatican and locally, particularly the Jesuits and Dominicans. The list is too extensive for listing here

Sources - Option 2: Archives of Christian missions in Batavia, Madras, Bombay and China. These missions were mostly Protestant, led by British, American and Dutch colonial powers. Each mission has an archive of its own, partially in Europe (archives of the companies) and the United States, partially locally. The list is too extensive to list here.

Sources - Option 3: Armenian communities have left a trail of records within the VOC and EIC archives, especially in official documents and trial records. Some communities (mostly traders) also have personal records scattered across various local archives, mainly in India.

**PhD 4:** Christian Entrepreneurship in Africa: What were the main features of Christian entrepreneurship in Africa and how did this behaviour translate into an entrepreneurial culture that was influenced by autochthonous societies?

Sources - Option1: Archives of specific ‘Catholic’ religious congregations and orders in the Vatican and locally. The Order of Friars Minor Capuchin and the Portuguese Inquisitorial Archives are of particular importance.

Sources - Option 2: Archives of Christian (Protestant) missions in South Africa (Archives of the Congregation in London or church elders in the Dutch VOC archive), Namibia (German South-West Africa) (Archives of the Congregation locally and in Germany).

Sources - Option 3: Entrepreneurs of Luanda (National Library of Luanda, collection of manuscripts, Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino Lisbon), entrepreneurs of Cabo Verde and Guinea (Arquivo Nacional de Cabo Verde, Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon), traders on the Island of Mozambique (Arquivo Nacional de Moçambique and Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon), Company of Merchants Trading to Africa (own archive and partly miscellaneous National Archive in Kew, London), Dutch Guinea partnership (National Archive in The Hague, Amsterdam Notarial Archives and Rotterdam Notarial Archives).

**Table 2. Distribution of Content and Concomitant Goals**

Member of the Team	Research Question	Goal
<b>PI</b>	How and why did entrepreneurial culture develop in different societies in the premodern world? → Global Entrepreneurial Culture in the premodern world	Theoretical framework to explain Global Entrepreneurial Culture
<b>Postdoc Africa</b>	How and why did entrepreneurial culture arise, develop and become transformed in Africa in the premodern time?	Map out a typology of African entrepreneurs and explain their social role in African societies (including Muslim and non-Muslim Africa)
<b>Postdoc Asia (Indian Ocean)</b>	How and why did entrepreneurial culture arise, develop and become transformed in the Indian Ocean in the premodern time?	Map out a typology of Asian entrepreneurs and explain their social role in Indian Ocean societies (including Muslim and non-Muslim entrepreneurs)
<b>Postdoc Asia (Far East)</b>	How and why did entrepreneurial culture arise, develop and become transformed in the Far East in the premodern time?	Map out a typology of Chinese, Korean and Japanese entrepreneurs and explain their social role in a ‘Sinocentric’ context
<b>Postdoc America (America and the Caribbean)</b>	How and why did entrepreneurial culture arise,	Map out a typology of American and Caribbean

	develop and was transformed in America in the premodern time?	entrepreneurs and explain their social role (choice and combination of areas depend on skills and interests of the postdoc)
<b>PhD 1: Jewish Entrepreneurship in Europe</b>	What were the main features of Jewish entrepreneurial behaviour in Europe and how did this behaviour translate into an entrepreneurial culture that transferred to other parts of the world and in turn was transformed by practices elsewhere?	Inventory of the main features of Jewish entrepreneurial behaviour in Europe and how that behaviour was accompanied by specific social roles. Assessment of how Jewish entrepreneurship in Europe influenced and was influenced by practices outside Europe
<b>PhD 2: Muslim Entrepreneurship in Europe</b>	What were the main features of Muslim entrepreneurial behaviour in Europe and how did this behaviour translate into an entrepreneurial culture that transferred to other parts of the world and in turn was transformed by practices elsewhere?	Inventory of the main features of Muslim entrepreneurial behaviour in Europe and how that behaviour was accompanied by specific social roles. Assessment of how Muslim entrepreneurship in Europe influenced and was influenced by practices outside Europe
<b>PhD 3: Christian Entrepreneurship in Asia</b>	What were the main features of Christian entrepreneurship in Asia and how did this behaviour translate into an entrepreneurial culture that was influenced by autochthonous societies?	Inventory of the main features of Christian entrepreneurial behaviour in Asia and how that behaviour was accompanied by specific social roles. Assessment of how Christian entrepreneurship in Asia influenced and was influenced by practices outside the region (choice of particular context depends on skills and interests of PhD)
<b>PhD4: Christian Entrepreneurship in Africa</b>	What were the main features of Christian entrepreneurship in Africa and how did this behaviour translate into an entrepreneurial culture that was influenced by autochthonous societies?	Inventory of the main features of Christian entrepreneurial behaviour in Africa and how that behaviour was accompanied by specific social roles. Assessment of how Christian entrepreneurship in Africa influenced and was influenced by practices outside the continent