



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

The Agency of Empire: personal connections and individual strategies in the shaping of the French Early Modern Expansion (1686-1746)

Heijmans, E.A.R.

Citation

Heijmans, E. A. R. (2018, March 22). *The Agency of Empire: personal connections and individual strategies in the shaping of the French Early Modern Expansion (1686-1746)*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/61078>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/61078>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/61078> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Heijmans, E.A.R.

Title: The Agency of Empire: personal connections and individual strategies in the shaping of the French Early Modern Expansion (1686-1746)

Issue Date: 2018-03-22

Glossary¹¹⁴⁴

Acquérats: Enslaved Africans of the French fort of Ouidah.

Agou: Interpreter in the Hueda administration.

Akhigan: Official responsible for the trade in the Dahomey administration.

Aldée: From the Portuguese word *aldeia*; a village or small rural community.

Aplogan: (*gan* meaning chief) high officials of the Hueda administration.

Arrack: Liquor or spirit, commonly distilled from coconut palm sap, rice or sugarcane.

Bétel: pepper plant whose leaves are consumed in Asia.

Bonyon: principal royal merchant under Dahomey.

Chamber of Justice: French sovereign tribunal or commission of the Royal Council temporarily established to search out those who have embezzled royal funds.

Chaudrie: Court in Pondicherry ruling on disputes between Indian inhabitants.

Chetty: A South Indian merchant caste, divided over years into several subcastes, each functioning as a separate caste.

Cockavo: The highest military officer in Ouidah in the Dahomey administration.

Coki: Principal royal merchant under Dahomey.

Diwan: Provincial revenue farmer and administrator, usually Mughal.

Dubash: Literally “two languages”; interpreter; translator.

Fanam: Southern Indian currency, gold or silver coin.

Farman: literally “command”; imperial grant, patent, charter.

Faujdar: literally “army-holder”; head of tributary military or police force, usually Mughal.

Ferme générale: consortium of tax-farmers collecting indirect revenues and the revenues of the royal domain in France.

Financier: fisco-financial administrator for the French monarchy, the function combined collecting royal revenue and providing credit to the king.

Gogan: High official of the Hueda administration.

¹¹⁴⁴ Arasara, p. 389-394 ; Kaepelin p. 663-667; Stern, p. 286-288 ; slave coast, and rowlands

CURRENCIES

Guinées: Thin cotton textiles mainly produced on the Coromandel Coast.

Marakkayar: A subdivision of Tamil Muslims of Coromandel.

Mehu: High official of the Dahomey administration.

Migan: High official of the Dahomey administration.

Nayak: Southern Indian ruler, often a tributary state under Vijayanagara empire.

Nawab: A Mughal provincial governor or viceroy.

Pagoda: Southern Indian currency, gold or silver; also a Hindu temple.

Pīshkash: Offering, tribute, gift, most often to a government official.

Quèche: small French ship of 200 to 500 *tonneaux*.

Receveur général: Function in the French fiscal system in charge of collecting direct taxes from the *receveurs* locally and transferred it to the royal treasury or kept it available for the royal administration in the provinces.

Rupee: Mughal currency, silver coin.

Salempouris: white or blue cotton textiles from the Coromandel Coast.

Topaz: mestizo Indo-Portuguese soldier.

Vellalar: A Tamil agricultural caste.

Yevogan: (*yev* meaning white) the official responsible for all dealing with Europeans in the Hueda and Dahomey administration.

Currencies¹¹⁴⁵

1 livres tournois = 20 sous; 1sol = 12 deniers

1 écu = 3 livres

1 pagoda = 8 livres tournois and 10 sous

1 fanam = 4 sous

1 Pondicherry rupee = 30-33 sous

¹¹⁴⁵ Paul Kaepelin, *La Compagnie des Indes orientales et François Martin: étude sur l'histoire du commerce et des établissements français dans l'Inde sous Louis XIV (1664-1719)* (Paris: Challamel, 1908), 540–41.

Sources and bibliography

1. Manuscript sources

Archives nationales d'outre-mer (Aix-en-Provence):

ANOM Série B correspondance au départ:

- ANOM B//24: *Arrest qui nomme Pontchartrain directeur pour le Roy dans la compagnie de l'Assiente*, 19 October 1701.
- ANOM B//28: letter of Pontchartrain to Bernard, 3 March 1706.
- ANOM B//30: letter of Pontchartrain to the the East India Company directors; letter of Pontchartrain to Dulivier, 16 January 1709.
- ANOM B//31: letter of Pontchartrain to the directors of the Asiento Company, 2 May 1708.
- ANOM B//34: letter of Pontchartrain to Hébert, 19 September 1712.
- ANOM B//35: letter of Pontchartrain to the East India Company directors, 6 January 1713.
- ANOM B//36: letter of Pontchartrain to Ducoulombier, 29 June 1714.

ANOM Série C2 administration en France:

- ANOM C2 9 (1701-1705)
- ANOM C2 12 (1706-1707)
- ANOM C2 13 (1708-1711)
- ANOM C2 14 (1708-1718)

ANOM Série C2 correspondance à l'arrivée:

- ANOM C2 63 (1674-1691)
- ANOM C2 64 (1692-1698)
- ANOM C2 65 (1699-1700)
- ANOM C2 66 (1701-1702)
- ANOM C2 67 (1703-1705)
- ANOM C2 68 (1705-1708)
- ANOM C2 69 (1710-1716)
- ANOM C2 70 (1715-1718)
- ANOM C2 71 (1718-1720)

ANOM Série C6 Sénégal ancien:

- ANOM C6 25 Ouidah (1716-1768)

ANOM Série E personnel colonial ancien (XVIIe-XVIIIe)

- ANOM E 43: Bouchel
- ANOM E 140: Dubord
- ANOM E 145: Ducoulombier

SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ANOM E 152: Dulivier
- ANOM E 186: Fontanieu
- ANOM E 214: Guestard
- ANOM E 285: Levesque

ANOM Série F documents divers: F2a7-11 Compagnies de commerce

- F2a7 Compagnie de l'Assiente (1701-1707)
- F2a8 Compagnie de l'Assiente (1708-1716)
- F2a9 Compagnie de l'Assiente (1717-1771)
- F2a11 Compagnie de Guinée and Compagnie des Indes (1685-1786)

Archives nationales (Paris)

AN Série B fonds de la Marine:

- AN MAR/B/1/9: Letter of Bouchel to the Council of the Navy, 9 November 1715.
- AN MAR/B/1/19: Council of the Navy, 1717.
- AN MAR/B/3/175: Council of the Navy, 31 December 1709.
- AN MAR/B/3/264: Council of the Navy, 1720.
- AN MAR B/3/280: Bigot de la Mothe to the Council of the Navy, 19 February 1722.
- AN MAR/B/3/439: Council of the Navy, 11 September 1745.

AN série E Conseil du Roi:

- AN E//569/A: Arrêt du conseil d'État, 5 July 1687.
- AN E//649/A: Arrêt du conseil d'État, 17 March 1696.
- AN E//673/A: Arrêt du conseil d'État, 4 March 1698.
- AN E//721/A: Arrêt du conseil d'État, 13 June 1702.
- AN E//738/B - 739: Arrêt du conseil d'État, 27 November 1703.
- AN E//775/B: Arrêt du conseil d'État, 28 December 1706.

AN minutier central des notaires

- MC//ET/CV/915: Direction de Vitry la Ville, 24 March 1787.

Archives départementales:

Archives départementales Loire-Atlantique (Nantes):

- C739-742 Cours et Jurisdiction d'Ancien Régime

Archives départementales Ile-et-Vilaine (Rennes):

- 1 F 1897 Correspondence Magon de la Balue (12 September 1717 to 19 March 1719)
- 11J3 Correspondence Magon de la Balue (17 August 1711 to 15 March 1717)

Bibliothèque nationale (Paris):

Département des manuscrits:

- ms. fr. 7584: "Déclarations des personnes sujettes à la chambre de justice de 1716".

SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ms. fr. 24 223: “*Compagnie des Indes. L’Expedition. Journal de navigation du voyage de Guinée, isles de l’Amérique par le Chevalier Desmarchais*”.

Collection des actes royaux

- n°756, *Edit ... pour l’établissement de la Compagnie des Indes occidentales.*
- n° 767, *Déclarations du Roy l’une, portant établissement d’une compagnie pour le commerce des Indes Orientales.*

Conseil d’Etat

- n°891: *Arrêt du conseil d’Etat qui ordonne que les Srs Morel de Boistiroux et Mesnager [...]*

The National Archives (London):

Treasury Records:

- TNA T70/6, abstracts of letter received from Whydah (1705-1732)
- TNA T70/1475, letters of William Baillie, Whydah (1716-1719)
- TNA C 113/262, correspondence of William Baillie (1718-1721)

British Library (London):

Indian Office Records:

- IOR/G/19/35, Public Proceedings Fort Madras (1703-1704)
- IOR/P/ 239/ 84, Public Proceedings Fort Madras (1707-1708)
- IOR/P/ 239/ 85, Public Proceedings Fort Madras (1708-1709)
- IOR/P/ 239/ 86, Public Proceedings Fort Madras (1712-1715)

Collection Area Western Manuscripts:

- BM Add MSS 19560: “*Journal de navigation du voyage de la coste de Guinée, [...]* par le sieur Desmarchais 1704-1706”
- BM Add MSS 22842, Letter Book of Thomas Pitt, Fort St George (21 October 1699 to 26 June 1700)
- BM Add MSS 22843, Letter Book of Thomas Pitt, Fort St George (10 March 1700 to 25 September 1701)
- BM Add MSS 22846, Letter Book of Thomas Pitt, Fort St George (7 July 1702 to 19 February 1702/3)
- BM Add MSS 22850, Letter Book of Thomas Pitt, Fort St George (26 January 1706/7 to 21 October 1709)

Nationaal archief (Den Haag):

Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie archief:

- NL-HaNA, VOC 1.04.02. inv. no. 8373.
- NL-HaNA, VOC 1.04.02 inv. no 8919.

Nederlandse bezettingen:

- NL-HaNA, Kust van Guinea (1658-1872) 1. 05. 14, inv. no. 89.

Stadsarchief Amsterdam (Amsterdam)

- SAA, NA 3375, testament of Pierre Testas, 16 August 1697.
- SAA, NA 7982/93, obligation to Pierre Testas, 13 May 1719.
- SAA, NA 7997/227, notarial deed in French about raw sugar sent from Bordeaux to Pierre Testas, 20 May 1721.
- SAA, NA 8009/1367, notarial deed in English about Pierre Testas' shares in the South Sea Company, 18 February 1724.
- SAA, NA 8789, notarial deed about a contract of employment by Pierre Testas, 10 January 1741.
- SAA, NA 11283/10, notarial deed giving Pierre Testas & zonen power of attorney for the French East India Company, 4 October 1743.
- SAA, NA 11310/40, notarial deed in French about Pierre Testas & zonen giving power of attorney to a Nantes merchants over a shipment of sugar and indigo, 14 November 1747.

2. Published sources

- Atkins, John. *A Voyage to Guinea, Brasil and the West Indies*. London, 1735.
- Bluteau, Raphael. *Vocabulario Portuguez e Latino*. Vol. 8. Coimbra, 1712.
- Bonnan, Jean-Claude. *Jugements du tribunal de la chaudrie de Pondichéry: 1766-1817*. Vol. 1. Pondichéry, 1999.
- Dalzel, Archibald. *The History of Dahomey, an Inland Kingdom of Africa*. London, 1793.
- Dapper, Olfert. *Naykeurige Beschrijvinge Der Afrikaensche Gewesten*. 2nd ed. Amsterdam, 1676.
- Davenant, Charles. *Reflections upon the Constitution and Management of the Trade to Africa, through the Whole Course and Progress [...]*. Vol. III. London, 1709.
- Dernis. *Recueil ou collection des titres, édits, déclarations, arrêts, règlements et autres pièces concernant la Compagnie des Indes orientales établie au mois d'août 1664*. 4 vols. Paris, 1755.
- Doublet, Jean. *Journal du corsaire Jean Doublet de Honfleur, lieutenant de frégate sous Louis XIV*. Edited by Charles Bréard. Paris: Perrin, 1887.
- Dufresne de Francheville. *Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes avec les titres de ses concessions et privilèges*. Paris, 1738.
- Encyclopédie méthodique: Jurisprudence*. Vol. 2. Paris: Panckoucke, 1783.
- Forbes, Frederick Edwyn. *Dahomey and the Dahomans*. London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1851.
- Guyon, Abbé. *Histoire des Indes orientales, anciennes et modernes*. Paris: Chez la veuve Pierres, 1744.
- Labat, Jean-Baptiste. *Voyage du chevalier Desmarchais en Guinée et isles voisines et a Cayenne. Fait en 1725, 1726 et 1727*. Paris, 1730.
- ‘Liste alphabétique des noms des chevaliers reçus et non reçus, des officiers commandeurs et des officiers non commandeurs de l’ordre du Saint-Esprit’. *Annuaire-bulletin de la Société de l’histoire de France*, no. 2 (1863): 137–214.
- Manucci, Niccolao. *Storia Do Mogor, or, Mogul India, 1653-1708*. Translated by William Irvine. 4 vols. Calcutta: Indian Editions, 1965.
- Martin, François. *Mémoires de François Martin, fondateur de Pondichéry (1665-1696)*. 3 vols. Paris: Société d’éditions géographiques, maritimes et coloniales, 1931.

- Martineau, Alfred. *Lettres et conventions des gouverneurs de Pondichéry avec différents princes hindous, 1666 à 1793*. Pondichéry: Société de l'Histoire de l'Inde Française, 1911.
- , ed. *Résumé des actes de l'État civil de Pondichéry. 1, De 1676 à 1735*. Pondichéry: Société de l'Histoire de l'Inde française, 1917.
- Mettas, Jean. *Répertoire des expéditions négrières françaises au XVIIIe siècle*. Vol. 2. Bibliothèque d'histoire d'outre-mer. Nouvelle série, Instruments de travail ; 1-2. Paris: Société Française d'Histoire d'Outre-mer etc, 1979.
- Norris, Robert. *Memoirs of the Reign of Bossa Akadee, King of Dahomy*. London, 1789.
- Procès-verbaux des délibérations du Conseil Souverain de Pondichéry*. Pondichéry: Société de l'Histoire de l'Inde Française, 1913.
- Roussier, Paul. *L'établissement d'Issigny, 1687-1702. Voyages de Ducasse, Tibierge et d'Amon à la côte de Guinée. Publiés pour la première fois et suivis de la relation du voyage du royaume d'Issiny du P. Godefroy Loyer*. Paris: Larose, 1935.
- Savary Des Bruslons, Jacques. *Dictionnaire universel de commerce : contenant tout ce qui concerne le commerce qui se fait dans les quatre parties du monde...* Vol. 3. Paris: Veuve Estienne, 1741.
- Smith, William. *A New Voyage to Guinea*. London, 1744.
- Snelgrave, William. *A New Account of Some Parts of Guinea and the Slave-Trade*. London, 1734.
- Villault de Bellefond, Nicolas. *Relations des Costes d'Afrique appelées Guinée; avec la description du pays, moeurs et façons de vivre des habitants, des productions de la terre et des marchandises qu'on en apporte, avec les remarques historiques sur ces costes, le tout remarqué par le Sieur Villau (...) dans le voyage qu'il a fait en 1666 et 1667*. Paris, 1669.

3. Bibliography

- Aalbers, J. *Rijcklof van Goens, commissaris en veldoverste der Oost-Indische Compagnie, en zijn arbeidsveld, 1653/54 en 1657/58*. Groningen: Wolters, 1916.
- Adelman, Jeremy. *Sovereignty and Revolution in the Iberian Atlantic*. Princeton, N.J., [etc.]: Princeton University Press, 2006.
- Agmon, Danna. *An Uneasy Alliance: Traders, Missionaries and Tamil. Intermediaries in Eighteenth-Century French India*. University of Michigan: Unpublished PhD dissertation, 2011.
- . 'Striking Pondichéry: Religious Disputes and French Authority in an Indian Colony of the Ancien Régime'. *French Historical Studies* 37, no. 3 (20 June 2014): 437–67.
- . 'The Currency of Kinship: Trading Families and Trading on Family in Colonial French India'. *Eighteenth - Century Studies* 47, no. 2 (2014): 137–155.
- Akinjogbin, Isaac A. *Dahomey and Its Neighbours: 1708-1818*. Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1967.
- Algazi, Gadi. 'Doing Things with Gifts'. In *Negotiating the Gift: Pre-Modern Figurations of Exchange*, edited by Gadi Algazi, Valentin Groebner, and Bernhard Jussen, 9–27. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003.
- Amat, Roman d'. *Dictionnaire de biographie française*. Vol. 9. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1961.
- Ames, Glenn Joseph. 'Colbert's Indian Ocean Strategy of 1664-1674: A Reappraisal'. *French Historical Studies* 16, no. 3 (1990): 536–59.
- Anderson, Matthew Smith. *The War of the Austrian Succession, 1740-1748*. London [etc.]: Longman, 1995.
- Anderson, Perry. *Arguments within English Marxism*. London: NLB and Verso, 1980.
- Antunes, Cátia. 'Free Agents and Formal Institutions in the Portuguese Empire: Towards a Framework of Analysis'. *Portuguese Studies* 28, no. 2 (2012): 173–85.
- Antunes, Cátia, and Jos Gommans. *Exploring the Dutch Empire: Agents, Networks and Institutions, 1600-2000*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015.
- Antunes, Cátia, and Amelia Polónia, eds. *Beyond Empires: Global, Self-Organizing, Cross-Imperial Networks, 1500-1800*. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2016.

- Arasaratnam, S. 'Indian Merchants and Their Trading Methods (circa 1700)'. *The Indian Economic & Social History Review* 3, no. 1 (1 March 1966): 85–95.
- Arasaratnam, Sinnappah. *Merchants, Companies, and Commerce on the Coromandel Coast, 1650-1740*. Delhi etc: Oxford University Press, 1987.
- Asher, Catherine B., and Cynthia Talbot. *India before Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Aslanian, Sebouh. *From the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean. The Global Trade Networks of Armenian Merchants from New Julfa*. California World History Library. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011.
- Banks, Kenneth. 'Financiers, Factors and French Proprietary Companies in West Africa, 1664-1713'. In *Constructing Early Modern Empires: Proprietary Ventures in the Atlantic World, 1500-1750*, edited by Bertrand Van Ruymbeke and L. H. Roper, 79–116. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Barbiche, Bernard. *Les institutions de la monarchie française à l'époque moderne: XVIe-XVIIIe siècle*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1999.
- Barry, Boubacar. *Senegambia and the Atlantic Slave Trade*. African Studies Series ; 92. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Bay, Edna G. *Wives of the Leopard Gender, Politics, and Culture in the Kingdom of Dahomey*. ACLS Humanities E-Book. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1998.
- Bayard, Françoise. *Le monde des financiers au XVIIe siècle*. Nouvelle bibliothèque scientifique. Paris: Flammarion, 1988.
- Benton, Lauren. *Law and Colonial Cultures: Legal Regimes in World History, 1400-1900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Berbain, Simone. *Études sur la traite des Noirs au golfe de Guinée. Le comptoir français de Juda au XVIIIe siècle*. Paris: Larose, 1942.
- Berg, Maxine. 'In Pursuit of Luxury: Global History and British Consumer Goods in the Eighteenth Century'. *Past & Present*, no. 182 (2004): 85–142.
- Bhargava, Meena. *The Decline of the Mughal Empire*. Oxford in India Readings. New Delhi, India: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Bloch, Marc. 'Pour une histoire comparée des sociétés européennes'. *Revue de synthèse historique*, no. 46 (1928): 15–50.
- Bonnassieux, Pierre. *Les grandes compagnies de commerce*. Paris: Plon, 1892.
- Bosher, John Francis. 'Chambres de Justice in the French Monarchy'. In *French Government and Society 1500-1850: Essays in Memory of Alfred Cobban*, edited by Alfred Cobban and John Francis Bosher, 19–40. London: Athlone Press, 1973.
- Boulle, Pierre H. 'French Mercantilism, Commercial Companies and Colonial Profitability'. In *Companies and Trade: Essays on Overseas Trading Companies during the Ancien Régime*, edited by Leonard Blussé, Femme S. Gaastra, and Pierre H. Boulle, 97–117. The Hague: Leiden University Press, 1981.
- Brauner, Christina. 'Connecting Things: Trading Companies and Diplomatic Gift-Giving on the Gold and Slave Coasts in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries'. *Journal of Early Modern History* 20, no. 4 (5 July 2016): 408–28.
- . *Kompanien, Könige und caboceers, Interkulturelle Diplomatie an Gold- und Sklavenküste im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*. Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2015.
- . 'To Be the Key for Two Coffers: A West African Embassy to France (1670/1)'. *IFRA-Nigeria e-Papers Series*, no. 30 (2013): 1–27.
- Brescius, Meike von. *Private Enterprise and the China Trade: British Interlopers and Their Informal Networks in Europe, c. 1720-1750*. University of Warwick: Unpublished PhD Dissertation, 2016.
- Burke, Peter. *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*. 3rd ed. Farnham: Ashgate, 2009.
- Candido, Mariana P. 'South Atlantic Exchanges: The Role of Brazilian-Born Agents in Benguela, 1650-1850'. *Luso-Brazilian Review* 50, no. 1 (29 October 2013): 53–82.
- Carlos, Ann M., and Stephen Nicholas. "'Giants of an Earlier Capitalism": The Chartered Trading Companies as Modern Multinationals'. *The Business History Review* 62, no. 3 (1988): 398–419.
- Chanson, J. *Une famille de négociants nantais à l'époque moderne: les Montaudouin. Monographie familiale*. Université de Nantes: Unpublished Master Thesis, 1977.

- Chaudhury, Sushil, and Michel Morineau, eds. *Merchants, Companies and Trade: Europe and Asia in the Early Modern Era*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Chaussinand-Nogaret, Guy. *Les financiers de Languedoc au XVIII^e siècle*. Paris: SEVPEN, 1970.
- Chidambaram S. Srinivasachari. *A History of Gingee and Its Rulers*. Annamalainagar: University of Annamalainagar, 1943.
- Cipolla, Carlo M. *The Fontana Economic History of Europe. 2: The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. London: Collins/Fontana, 1974.
- Claeys, Thierry. *Dictionnaire biographique des financiers en France au XVIII^e siècle*. Paris: SPM, 2011.
- . *Les institutions financières en France au XVIII^e siècle*. Paris: SPM, 2011.
- Cole, Charles Woolsey. *Colbert and a Century of French Mercantilism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1939.
- Coornaert, Emile. 'European Economic Institutions and the New World; the Chartered Companies'. In *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe from the Decline of the Roman Empire*, edited by E. Rich and C. Wilson, 4:220–74. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967.
- Cross, Elizabeth. 'L'Anatomie d'un scandale: l'Affaire de la Compagnie des Indes révisitée (1793-1794)'. In *Vertu et politique: les pratiques des législateurs*, edited by Michel Biard, Philippe Bourdin, and Hervé Leuwers, 251–66. Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2015.
- Curtin, Philip D. *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Curto, José C. *Enslaving Spirits: The Portuguese-Brazilian Alcohol Trade at Luanda and Its Hinterland, c. 1550-1830*. Leiden Boston: Brill, 2004.
- Dari-Mattiacci, Giuseppe, Oscar Gelderblom, Joost Jonker, and Enrico C. Perotti. 'The Emergence of the Corporate Form'. *CEPR Discussion Paper*, no. DP11062 (January 2016): 1–45.
- Das Gupta, Ashin. 'India and the Indian Ocean in the 18th Century'. In *India and the Indian Ocean 1500-1800*, edited by Michael Pearson and Ashin Das Gupta. Calcutta: Oxford University Press, 1987.
- Delaunay, Karine. *Voyages à la Côte de l'Or (1500-1750): étude historiographique des relations de voyage sur le littoral ivoirien et ghanéen*. Paris: AFERA, 1994.
- Delcourt, André. *La France et les établissements français au Sénégal entre 1713 et 1763. La Compagnie des Indes et le Sénégal. La Guerre de la gomme*. Mémoires de l'Institut français d'Afrique Noire. Dakar: IFAN, 1952.
- Deloche, Jean. *Le vieux Pondichéry (1673-1824) revisité d'après les plans anciens*. Pondichéry-Paris: Institut Français de Pondichéry ; École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 2005.
- Dessert, Daniel. *Argent, pouvoir et société au Grand Siècle*. Paris: Fayard, 1984.
- . 'Finances et société au XVII^e siècle : à propos de la chambre de justice de 1661'. *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 29, no. 4 (1974): 847–82.
- Dessert, Daniel, and Jean-Louis Journet. 'Le lobby Colbert: un royaume ou une affaire de famille?' *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 30, no. 6 (1975): 1303–36.
- Dodwell, Henry. *Dupleix and Clive: The Beginning of Empire*. London: Methuen, 1920.
- Drayton, Richard. 'Masked Condominia: Pan-European Collaboration in the History of Imperialism, c. 1500 to the Present'. *Global History Review* 5, no. N/A (December 2012): 308–31.
- Durand, Yves. *Les fermiers généraux au XVIII^e siècle*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1971.
- Eltis, David. *Extending the Frontiers. Essays on the New Transatlantic Slave Trade Database*. New Haven ; London: Yale University Press, 2008.
- Erikson, Emily. *Between Monopoly and Free Trade: The English East India Company 1600-1757*. Princeton, N.J., [etc.]: Princeton University Press, 2016.
- Fatah-Black, Karwan. *White Lies and Black Markets: Evading Metropolitan Authority in Colonial Suriname, 1650-1800*. Atlantic World, Volume 31. Leiden: Brill, 2015.
- Ferreira, Roquinaldo. 'From Brazil to West Africa: Dutch Portuguese Rivalry, Gold Smuggling, and African Politics in the Bight of Benin'. In *The Legacy of Dutch*

- Brazil*, edited by Michiel Van Groesen, 77–101. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Flynn, Dennis O. ‘Arbitrage, China, and the World Trade in the Early Modern Period’. In *European Entry into the Pacific: Spain and the Acapulco-Manila Galleons*, edited by Dennis O. Flynn, Arturo Giráldez Rivero, and James Sobredo, 261–80. Aldershot [etc.]: Ashgate Variorum, 2001.
- . ‘Silver in a Global Context, 1400–1800’. In *The Construction of a Global World, 1400–1800 CE, Part 2: Patterns of Change*, edited by Jerry H. Bentley, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, and Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, 6:213–39. The Cambridge World History. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Flynn, Dennis O., and Arturo Giráldez. ‘Born with a “Silver Spoon”: The Origin of World Trade in 1571’. *Journal of World History* 6, no. 2 (1995): 201–21.
- Frioux-Salgas, Sarah. *Les Français dans les conflits géo-politiques de la Côte des Esclaves à la fin du XVIIe siècle début du XVIIIe siècle (Les compagnies françaises dans le royaume de Juda de 1671 à 1733)*. Université Panthéon Sorbonne: Unpublished Master Thesis, 1999.
- Fuchs, Barbara. ‘Imperium Studies: Theorizing Early Modern Expansion’. In *Postcolonial Moves - Medieval through Modern*, edited by Patricia C. Ingham and Michelle R. Warren, 71–90. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.
- Furber, Holden. ‘Asia and the West as Partners Before “Empire” and After’. *The Journal of Asian Studies* 28, no. 4 (1969): 711–21.
- . *Bombay Presidency in the Mid-Eighteenth Century*. London: Asia Publishing House, 1965.
- . *Rival Empires of Trade in the Orient, 1600–1800*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1976.
- Games, Alison. *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion, 1560–1660*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Goldner, Erik. ‘Corruption on Trial: Money, Power, and Punishment in France’s “Chambre de Justice” of 1716’. *Crime, Histoire & Sociétés / Crime, History & Societies* 17, no. 1 (2013): 5–28.
- Gordon, Stewart. *The Marathas 1600–1818*. The New Cambridge History of India. 2, Indian States and the Transition to Colonialism ; 4. Cambridge [etc.]: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Gottmann, Felicia. ‘French-Asian Connections: The Compagnie Des Indes, France’s Eastern Trade, and New Directions in Historical Scholarship’. *The Historical Journal* 56, no. 2 (June 2013): 537–52.
- Grafe, Regina. ‘On the Spatial Nature of Institutions and the Institutional Nature of Personal Networks in the Spanish Atlantic’. *Culture & History Digital Journal* 3, no. 1 (2014).
- Grafe, Regina, and Alejandra Irigoin. ‘A Stakeholder Empire: The Political Economy of Spanish Imperial Rule in America’. *The Economic History Review* 65, no. 2 (1 May 2012): 609–51.
- Granovetter, Mark S. ‘The Strength of Weak Ties’. *American Journal of Sociology* 78, no. 6 (1973): 1360–80.
- Green, Toby. *Brokers of Change: Atlantic Commerce and Cultures in Precolonial Western Africa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Greenwald, Erin M. *Marc-Antoine Caillot and the Company of the Indies in Louisiana: Trade in the French Atlantic World*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2016.
- Greif, Avner. ‘Contract Enforceability and Economic Institutions in Early Trade: The Maghribi Traders’ Coalition’. *The American Economic Review* 83, no. 3 (1993): 525–48.
- . *Institutions and the Path to the Modern Economy Lessons from Medieval Trade*. Political Economy of Institutions and Decisions. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Habib, Irfan. *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire: Political and Economic Maps with Detailed Notes, Bibliography and Index*. Delhi [etc.]: Oxford University Press, 1982.
- Hancock, David. ‘The Trouble with Networks: Managing the Scots’ Early-Modern Madeira Trade’. *Business History Review* 79, no. 3 (October 2005): 467–91.

- Hatakar, V.G. *Relations between the French and the Marathas (1668-1815)*. Bombay: T.V. Chidambaram Register University of Bombay, 1958.
- Hatfield, April Lee. *Atlantic Virginia: Intercolonial Relations in the Seventeenth Century*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007.
- Haudrère, Philippe. *La Compagnie française des Indes au XVIIIe siècle*. 2e éd. 2 vols. Paris: Les Indes Savantes, 2005.
- . ‘La monnaie de Pondichéry au XVIIIe siècle’. In *Les relations entre la France et l’Inde de 1673 à nos jours*, edited by Jacques Weber, 39–47. Paris: Les Indes savantes, 2002.
- . *L’aventure coloniale de la France - L’Empire des Rois, 1500-1789*. Paris: Denoël, 1997.
- . ‘Les actionnaires de la première Compagnie française des Indes orientales, 1664-1684’. In *Les Français dans l’océan Indien (XVIIe-XIXe siècles)*, edited by Philippe Haudrère, 31–36. Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2014.
- . ‘L’origine du personnel de direction générale de la Compagnie française des Indes, 1719-1794’. *Revue française d’histoire d’Outre-Mer* 67, no. 248–249 (1980): 339–71.
- Havard, Gilles. *Empire et métissages : Indiens et Français dans le Pays d’en Haut 1660-1715*. Syllery-Paris: PU Paris-Sorbonne, 2003.
- Heijer, Hendrik Jacob den. ‘Met Bewillinghe van de Swarte Partij: Nederlands Recht Op de Goudkust in de Zeventiende Eeuw’. *Pro Memorie: Bijdragen Tot de Rechtsgeschiedenis Der Nederlanden* 5, no. 2 (2003): 350–63.
- Heijer, Henk den. *De geotrooieerde compagnie: de VOC en de WIC als voorlopers van de naamloze vennootschap*. Amsterdam : Deventer, 2005.
- . *Goud, ivoor en slaven: scheepvaart en handel van de Tweede Westindische Compagnie op Afrika, 1674-1740*. Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1997.
- Heijmans, Elisabeth, Cátia Antunes, and Julie M. Svalastog. ‘Comparer les Compagnies de commerce européennes: Les compagnies néerlandaise, anglaise et française sur la côte occidentale d’Afrique au cours du XVIIe siècle’. In *Le monde des compagnies. Les premières compagnies dans l’Atlantique 1600-1650 I. Structures et mode de fonctionnement*, edited by Eric Roulet, 161–87. Aachen: Shaker Verlag, 2017.
- Hirsch, Jean-Pierre, and Philippe Minard. ‘“Laissez-nous faire et protégez nous beaucoup” : pour une histoire des pratiques institutionnelles dans l’industrie française (XVIIIe-XIXe siècle)’. In *La France n’est-elle pas douée pour l’industrie?*, edited by Louis Bergeron and Patrice Bourdelais, 135–58. Paris: Belin, 1998.
- Homer, Sidney. *A History of Interest Rates*. 2nd ed. New Brunswick, N.J: Rutgers University Press, 1977.
- Hopkins, Anthony G. *An Economic History of West Africa*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1973.
- Hrodej, Philippe. *L’amiral Du Casse: l’élévation d’un Gascon sous Louis XIV*. Vol. 2. Paris: Librairie de l’Inde, 1999.
- Johnson, Walter. ‘On Agency’. *Journal of Social History* 37, no. 1 (2003): 113–24.
- Jolin, Nicolas. *Répertoire des capitaines négriers de la période 1717-1738*. Vol. 1. Université de Nantes: Mémoire de Maîtrise sous la direction de Guy Saupin, 1998.
- Julien, Élise. ‘Le comparatisme en histoire’. *Hypothèses* 8, no. 1 (1 December 2008): 191–201.
- Kaepelin, Paul. *La Compagnie des Indes orientales et François Martin: étude sur l’histoire du commerce et des établissements français dans l’Inde sous Louis XIV (1664-1719)*. Paris: Challamel, 1908.
- Kelly, Kenneth. ‘Controlling Traders: Slave Coast Strategies at Savi and Ouidah’. In *Bridging the Early Modern Atlantic World: People, Products, and Practices on the Move*, edited by Caroline A. Williams, 151–71. London-New York: Routledge, 2009.
- Kobayashi, Kazuo. *Indian Cotton Textiles and the Senegal River Valley in a Globalising World: Production, Trade and Consumption, 1750- 1850*. London School of Economics: Unpublished PhD Dissertation, 2016.
- Kocka, Jürgen. ‘Comparative History: Methodology and Ethos’. *East Central Europe* 36, no. 1 (1 May 2009): 12–19.
- . ‘Comparison and Beyond’. *History and Theory* 42, no. 1 (1 February 2003): 39–44.

- Labernadie, Marguerite V. *Le vieux Pondichéry, 1674-1815: histoire d'une ville coloniale française*. Pondichéry: Imprimerie Moderne, 1936.
- Lambton, Ann. 'Pishkash: Present or Tribute?' *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 57, no. 1 (February 1994): 145–58.
- Lamikiz, Xabier. *Trade and Trust in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World: Spanish Merchants and Their Overseas Networks*. Royal Historical Society Studies in History. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013.
- Launay, Adrien. *Histoire des missions de l'Inde*. Vol. 1. Paris: Indes savantes : Missions étrangères de Paris, 2000.
- Law, Robin. 'Finance and Credit in Pre-Colonial Dahomey'. In *Credit, Currencies and Culture. African Financial Institutions in Historical Perspective*, edited by Endre Stiansen and Jane I. Guyer, 21–44. Stockholm: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 1999.
- . *Ouidah: The Social History of a West African Slaving 'Port', 1727-1892*. Ohio University Press. Oxford, 2004.
- . 'Royal Monopoly and Private Enterprise in the Atlantic Trade: The Case of Dahomey'. *The Journal of African History* 18, no. 4 (1977): 555–77.
- . 'Slave-Raiders and Middlemen, Monopolists and Free-Traders: The Supply of Slaves for the Atlantic Trade in Dahomey c. 1715-1850'. *The Journal of African History* 30, no. 1 (1989): 45–68.
- . 'The Evolution of the Brazilian Community in Ouidah'. *Slavery & Abolition* 22, no. 1 (1 April 2001): 21–41.
- . *The Slave Coast of West Africa, 1550-1750: The Impact of the Atlantic Slave Trade on an African Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Lespagnol, André. 'Cargaisons et profits du commerce indien au début du XVIIIe siècle - Les opérations commerciales des Compagnies Malouines 1707-1720'. *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'Ouest* 89, no. 3 (1982): 313–50.
- . *Messieurs de Saint-Malo: Une élite négociante au temps de Louis XIV*. Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 1997.
- . 'Négociants et commerce indien au début du XVIIIe siècle: l'épisode des "Compagnies malouines" 1707-1719'. *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'Ouest* 86, no. 3 (1979): 427–57.
- Lévy, Claude-Frédéric. *Capitalisme et pouvoirs au siècle des Lumières, t. 1: les fondateurs, des origines à 1715*. Paris-Den Haag: Mouton, 1969.
- Lüthy, Herbert. *La banque protestante en France de la révocation de l'Edit de Nantes à la Révolution*. 2 vols. Paris: SEVPEN, 1959.
- Ly, Abdoulaye. *L'évolution du commerce français d'Afrique noire dans le dernier quart du XVIIe siècle: la compagnie du Sénégal de 1673 à 1696*. Bordeaux; Metz: Karthala, 1955.
- Manning, Catherine. *Fortunes à faire: The French In Asian Trade, 1719-48*. Aldershot [etc.]: Variorum, 1996.
- Mantienne, Frédéric. 'Le commerce intra-asiatique français au 17e et 18e siècles'. In *Les relations entre la France et l'Inde de 1673 à nos jours*, edited by Jacques Weber, 49–69. Paris: Les Indes savantes, 2003.
- Margoline-Plot, Eugénie. 'Les circuits parallèles des toiles de l'océan Indien'. *Histoire urbaine*, no. 30 (1 September 2011): 109–25.
- Marquet, Julie. 'Le rôle des intermédiaires dans l'implantation coloniale française: L'exemple de la famille de Tiruvengadam à Pondichéry au XVIIIe siècle'. *Encyclo. Revue de l'école doctorale*, 2014, 17–42.
- Martin, Gaston. *Nantes au XVIIIe siècle: l'ère des négriers (1714-1774)*. 2nd ed. Paris: Karthala Editions, 1993.
- Martineau, Alfred. *Dupleix: sa vie et son oeuvre*. Paris: Société d'éditions géographiques, maritimes et coloniales Paris, 1931.
- Matthias, Peter. 'Risk, Credit and Kinship'. In *The Early Modern Atlantic Economy*, edited by John J. McCusker and Kenneth O. Morgan. Cambridge [etc.]: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Melo, João. 'Seeking Prestige and Survival: Gift-Exchange Practices between the Portuguese Estado Da Índia and Asian Rulers'. *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 56, no. 4–5 (1 January 2013): 672–95.

- Ménard-Jacob, Marie. *La première Compagnie des Indes (1664-1704) : Apprentissages, échecs et héritage*. Rennes: PU Rennes, 2016.
- Mentz, Søren. *The English Gentleman Merchant at Work: Madras and the City of London 1660-1740*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, University of Copenhagen, 2005.
- Metcalf, Alida C. *Go-Betweens and the Colonization of Brazil, 1500-1600*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2005.
- Meyer, Jean. *L'armement nantais dans la deuxième moitié du XVIIIe siècle*. Paris: Éditions de l'École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1969.
- Meyer, Jean, Jacques Thobie, Jean Tarrade, and Annie Rey-Goldzeiguer. *Histoire de la France coloniale*. Paris: Armand Colin, 1990.
- Mims, Stewart L. *Colbert's West India Policy*. Yale Historical Publications. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1912.
- Mulich, Jeppe. 'Microregionalism and Intercolonial Relations: The Case of the Danish West Indies, 1730–1830'. *Journal of Global History*, no. 8 (1) (2013): 72–94.
- Nardin, Jean-Claude. 'Que savons-nous du chevalier Des Marchais'. In *De la traite à l'esclavage: Actes du colloque international sur la traite des Noirs*, edited by Serge Daget, 1:325–45. Paris: Société Française d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer, 1988.
- Nierstrasz, Chris. 'In the Shadow of Companies: Empires of Trade in the Orient and Informal Entrepreneurship'. In *Beyond Empires: Global, Self-Organizing, Cross-Imperial Networks, 1500-1800*, edited by Cátia Antunes and Amélia Polónia, 188–211. European Expansion and Indigenous Response ; v. 21. Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2016.
- . *In the Shadow of the Company: The VOC (Dutch East India Company) and Its Servants in the Period of Its Decline (1740-1796)*. Leiden: Brill, 2012.
- North, Douglas C. 'Institutions, Transaction Costs, and the Rise of Merchant Empires'. In *The Political Economy of Merchant Empires*, edited by James D. Tracy, 22–41. Studies in Comparative Early Modern History. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Northrup, David. *Africa's Discovery of Europe: 1450-1850*. New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Odegard, Erik. *Colonial Careers. Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen, Rijckloff Volckertsz. van Goens and Career-Making in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Empire*. Leiden University: Unpublished PhD Dissertation, 2017.
- Ogilvie, Sheilagh. *Institutions and European Trade Merchant Guilds, 1000-1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Osei-Tutu, John Kwadwo, and Victoria Ellen Smith. *Shadows of Empire in West Africa: New Perspectives on European Fortifications*. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2017.
- Pagden, Anthony. 'Introduction'. In *Theories of Empire, 1450-1800*, edited by David Armitage, xv–xxxiii. An Expanding World ; Vol. 20. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998.
- . *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain, and France c.1500-c.1800*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.
- Panossian, Razmik Stephan. *The Armenians: From Kings and Priests to Merchants and Commissars*. London: Hurst, 2006.
- Parthasarathi, Prasanna, and Giorgio Riello. 'The Indian Ocean in the Long Eighteenth Century'. *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 48, no. 1 (2014): 1–19.
- Pétré-Grenouilleau, Olivier. *Nantes au temps de la traite des noirs*. Paris: Hachette, 1998.
- Pirenne, Henri. 'De la méthode comparative en histoire'. *Compte rendu du Ve Congrès international des science historiques*, 1923, 19–23.
- Pluchon, Pierre. *Histoire de la colonisation française. T. 1: Le premier empire colonial : des origines à la Restauration*. Paris: Fayard, 1991.
- Polanyi, Karl. *Dahomey and the Slave Trade: An Analysis of an Archaic Economy*. Seattle: Washington U.P, 1966.
- Polónia, Amélia. 'Understanding the Role of Foreigners in the Portuguese Overseas Expansion through the Lenses of the Theories of Cooperation and Self-Organisation'. *Storia Economica* 18, no. 2 (2015): 385–415.
- Polónia, Amélia, and Jack B. Owens. 'Cooperation-Based Self-Organizing Networks in Portuguese Overseas Expansion in the First Global Age, 1400-1800', n.d. <http://www.dyncoopnet-pt.org/working-papers/104-cooperation-based-self->

- organizing-networks-in-portuguese-overseas-expansion-in-the-first-global-age-1400-1800.
- Polónia, Amélia, Ana Sofia Ribeiro, and Daniel Lange. 'Connected Oceans: New Pathways in Maritime History'. *International Journal of Maritime History* 29, no. 1 (1 February 2017): 90–95.
- Price, Jacob M. *France and the Chesapeake: A History of the French Tobacco Monopoly, 1674-1791*. Vol. 1. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1971.
- Ramaswami, N. S. *Political History of Carnatic Under the Nawabs*. New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1984.
- Ray, Aniruddha. *The Merchant and the State: The French in India, 1666-1739*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 2004.
- Richards, John F. 'European City-States on the Coromandel Coast'. In *Studies in the Foreign Relations of India: Prof. H.K. Sherwani Felicitation Volume*, edited by P.M. Joshi and M.A. Nayeem, 508–21. Hyderabad: State Archives, 1975.
- . 'The Hyderabad Karnatik, 1687—1707'. *Modern Asian Studies* 9, no. 2 (March 1975): 241–60.
- . *The Mughal Empire*. The New Cambridge History of India. 1, The Mughals and Their Contemporaries ; 5. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Richardson, David, and Filipa Ribeiro da Silva. *Networks and Trans-Cultural Exchange: Slave Trading in the South Atlantic, 1590-1867*. Atlantic World : Europe, Africa and the Americas, 1500–1830, Volume 30. Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2015.
- Riello, Giorgio, and Tirthankar Roy, eds. *How India Clothed the World: The World of South Asian Textiles, 1500-1850*. BRILL, 2009.
- Rinchon, Dieudonné. *Les armements négriers au XVIIIe siècle d'après la correspondance et la comptabilité des armateurs et des capitaines nantais*. Bruxelles: J. Duculot, 1956.
- Rossum, Matthias van. *Werkers van de wereld: globalisering, arbeid en interculturele ontmoetingen tussen Aziatische en Europese zeelieden in dienst van de VOC, 1600-1800*. Hilversum: Verloren, 2014.
- Rowlands, Guy. *Dangerous and Dishonest Men: The International Bankers of Louis XIV's France*. Palgrave Studies in the History of Finance. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.
- Ruggiu, François-Joseph. 'India and the Reshaping of the French Colonial Policy (1759-1789)'. *Itinerario* 35, no. 2 (August 2011): 25–43.
- Rushforth, Brett, and Christopher Hodson. *Discovering Empire: France and the Atlantic World from the Crusades to the Age of Revolution*. Oxford University Press, forthcoming.
- Scelle, Georges. *La traite négrière aux Indes de Castille. Contrats et traités d'Assiento*. Paris: Larose et Tenin, 1906.
- Schaffer, Simon. *The Brokered World: Go-Betweens and Global Intelligence, 1770-1820*. Sagamore Beach, MA: Science History Publications, 2009.
- Searing, James F. *West African Slavery and Atlantic Commerce: The Senegal River Valley, 1700-1860*. African Studies Series ; 77. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Seshan, Radhika. *Trade and Politics on the Coromandel Coast: Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries*. Delhi: Primus Books, 2012.
- Smith, Stefan Halikowski. 'No Obvious Home: The Flight of the Portuguese "Tribe" from Makassar to Ayutthaya and Cambodia During the 1660s'. *International Journal of Asian Studies*, no. 7 (1) (January 2010): 1–28.
- Steensgaard, Niels. 'The Companies as a Specific Institution in the History of European Expansion'. In *Companies and Trade: Essays on Overseas Trading Companies during the Ancien Régime*, edited by Pierre H. Boulle, Leonard Blussé, and Femme S. Gaastra, 246–64. Comparative Studies in Overseas History ; Vol. 3. The Hague: Leiden University Press, 1981.
- Stein, Burton. *Vijayanagara*. The New Cambridge History of India. Cambridge [etc.]: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Stein, Robert Louis. *The French Slave Trade in the Eighteenth Century: An Old Regime Business*. Madison ; London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1979.

- Steiner, Benjamin. *Colberts Afrika: Eine Wissens- und Begegnungsgeschichte in Afrika im Zeitalter Ludwigs XIV.* Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2014.
- Stern, Philip J. *The Company-State Corporate Sovereignty and the Early Modern Foundation of the British Empire in India.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. 'Between a Rock and a Hard Place'. In *The Brokered World: Go-Betweens and Global Intelligence, 1770-1820*, edited by Simon Schaffer et. al., 429–40. Sagamore Beach, MA: Watson Publishing International, 2009.
- . 'Friday's Child: Or How Tej Singh Became Tecinkurajan'. *The Indian Economic & Social History Review* 36, no. 1 (1 March 1999): 69–113.
- . 'Trade and Politics in the Arcot Nizamat (1700-1732)'. In *Writing the Mughal World: Studies on Culture and Politics*, edited by Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 339–95. New York: Columbia University Press, 2012.
- Svalastog, Julie M. *The Transatlantic Slave Trade Database: Qualitative Possibilities and Quantitative Limitations.* King's College London: Unpublished Master Thesis, 2012.
- Talbot, Michael. *British-Ottoman Relations 1661-1807: Commerce and Diplomatic Practice in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul.* Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2017.
- Thornton, John. *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800.* 2nd ed. Studies in Comparative World History. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Trivellato, Francesca. 'Is There a Future for Italian Microhistory in the Age of Global History?' *California Italian Studies* 2, no. 1 (1 January 2011). <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/0z94n9hq>.
- . *The Familiarity of Strangers: The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period.* Reprint edition. New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, 2012.
- Trivellato, Francesca, Leor Halevi, and Catia Antunes, eds. *Religion and Trade: Cross-Cultural Exchanges in World History, 1000-1900.* Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Van Meersbergen, Guido. 'Dutch and English Approaches to Cross-Cultural Trade'. In *Beyond Empires: Global, Self-Organizing, Cross-Imperial Networks, 1500-1800*, edited by Cátia Antunes and Amelia Polónia, 69–87. Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2016.
- . *Ethnography and Encounter. Dutch and English Approaches to Cross-Cultural Contact in Seventeenth-Century South Asia.* University College London: Unpublished PhD Dissertation, 2015.
- Vanneste, Tjil. *Commercial Culture and Merchant Networks: Eighteenth-Century Diamond Traders in Global History.* European University Institute: Unpublished PhD Dissertation, 2009.
- . *Global Trade and Commercial Networks: Eighteenth-Century Diamond Merchants.* London: Pickering and Chatto, 2015.
- Verger, Pierre. *Flux et reflux de la traite des nègres: entre le golfe de Bénin et Bahia de Todos os Santos du XVIIe au XIXe siècle.* Paris-Den Haag: Mouton, 1968.
- Vieira Ribeiro, Ana Sofia. *Merchanisms and Criteria of Cooperation in Trading Networks of the First Global Age. The Case Study of the Simon Ruiz Network, 1557-1606.* University of Porto: Unpublished PhD Dissertation, 2011.
- Vincent, Rose. 'Relations franco-anglaises avant 1754 de l'amitié à l'affrontement'. In *Les relations entre la France et l'Inde de 1673 à nos jours*, edited by Jacques Weber, 73–79. Paris: Les Indes savantes, 2003.
- Walvin, James. *Atlas of Slavery.* Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2014.
- Weber, Jacques. 'Les comptoirs, la mer et l'Inde au temps des compagnies'. In *La percée de l'Europe sur les océans vers 1690 - vers 1790: actes du colloque du Comité de documentation historique de la Marine*, edited by Étienne Taillemite and Denis Lienne, 149–96. Paris: Pu de Paris-Sorbonne, 1997.
- , ed. *Les relations entre la France et l'Inde de 1673 à nos jours.* Paris: Les Indes savantes, 2003.
- Werner, Michael, and Bénédicte Zimmermann. 'Penser l'histoire croisée : entre empirie et réflexivité, Thinking history from contrastive views: between empiry and reflexivity'. *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 58e année, no. 1 (1 February 2003): 7–36.

SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

- West, S. A., A. S. Griffin, and A. Gardner. 'Social Semantics: Altruism, Cooperation, Mutualism, Strong Reciprocity and Group Selection'. *Journal of Evolutionary Biology* 20, no. 2 (2007): 415–432.
- Whaley, Joachim. *Germany and the Holy Roman Empire: Volume II: The Peace of Westphalia to the Dissolution of the Reich, 1648-1806*. Vol. 1. Oxford Scholarship Online, 2012.
- White, Richard. *The Middle Ground Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*. 2nd ed. Studies in North American Indian History. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Wimmler, Jutta. 'Material Exchange as Cultural Exchange: The Example of West African Products in Late 17th and Early 18th Century France'. In *Cultural Exchange and Consumption Patterns in the Age of Enlightenment: Europe and the Atlantic World*, edited by Veronika Hyden-Hanscho, Renate Pieper, and Werner Stangl, 131–51. Bochum: Verlag Dr. Dieter Winkler, 2013.
- Windler, Christian. *La diplomatie comme expérience de l'autre: consuls français au Maghreb (1700-1840)*. Genève: Librairie Droz, 2002.

Curriculum vitae

Elisabeth Heijmans was born on the 20th of March 1989 in Tournai, Belgium. In 2008, she started the bachelor in History at Namur University in Belgium followed by the Master in history at the Catholic University of Louvain that she combined with a teaching diploma. As part of her education, Elisabeth studied at the University of Salamanca, Spain for six months. Based on her Master's thesis, she published 'Le projet d'une dévotion à l'échelle mondiale, l'exemple de La Josephina de Gracián de la Madre de Dios (1545-1614)' in *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, Leuven Louvain-la-Neuve, 3-4, 2015.

In 2013, Elisabeth started her PhD in the ERC funded project *Fighting Monopolies, Defying Empires 1500-1750* entitled 'The Agency of Empire: Personal Connections and Individual Strategies in the Shaping of the French Early Modern Expansion (1686-1746)' at Leiden University, institute for history under the supervision of prof. dr. Catia Antunes and prof. dr. Silvia Marzagalli. During her PhD, she completed the N.W. Posthumus Institute Graduate Training Program and taught Bachelor and Master Research Seminars at Leiden University. After her PhD, Elisabeth started as a postdoctoral researcher in the NWO-funded project *Resilient Diversity: the Governance of Racial and Religious Plurality in the Dutch Empire, 1600-1800*.