

# **Celestial Enlightenment: Eclipses, Curiosity and Economic Development among Pre-Modern Ethnic Groups**

---

Anastasia Litina

Èric Roca Fernández

5th July, 2022

University of Macedonia

Université Clermont-Auvergne

# Motivation

- Growth determinants in Unified growth theory:
  - Human capital,
  - Technological change.
- Limited evidence in the long run.
  - Voigtländer and Squicciarini (2015), Mokyr (2018), Özak (2018), Chen et al. (2020)
  - Many papers document persistence but not a direct effect.
- Multiple deeply-rooted determinants of growth:
  - Geographical factors, caloric availability and agriculture, climatic variability.

# This Paper

## **Underlying research question**

Was human capital related to economic growth in Malthusian times?

## **Contribution**

Propose that curiosity precedes human capital.

Exploit inexplicable events as a natural trigger of human curiosity.

Societies more exposed to inexplicable phenomena score higher in

- Curiosity, Human capital, Technology, Development.

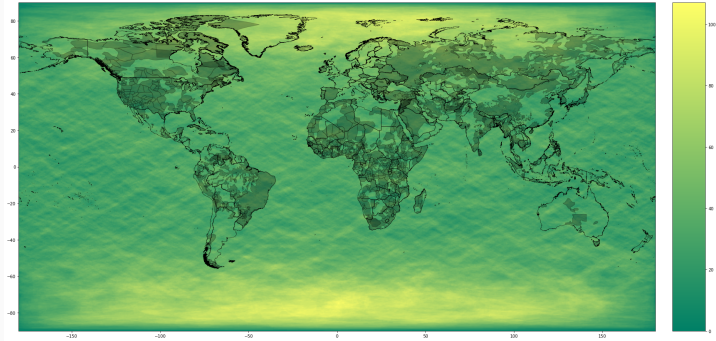
# Main Idea: Curiosity and Human Capital

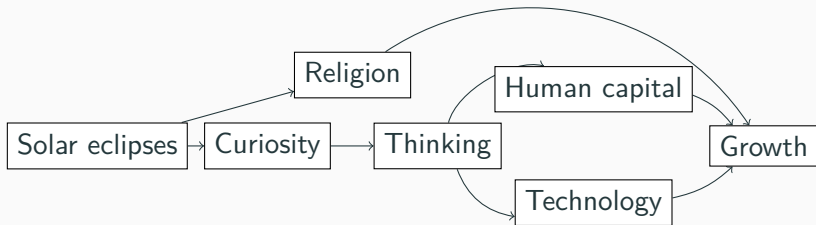
- Curiosity: precursor of human capital.
  - Smith (1821, p. 22): “[w]onder [...] is the first principle which prompts mankind to the study [...]”.
  - Mokyr (p. 15-16, 2004).
- Explaining rare phenomena: intellectual endeavor (Ludwig et al. (2007)).
- More rare phenomena → Comparative advantage in thinking.
- Examples:
  - Japanese people and earthquakes (Ludwig et al. (2007)).
  - Maya people and solar eclipses (Dvorak (2017)).

## Main Idea: Curiosity and Human Capital, continued

- We exploit eclipse frequency to explain economic prosperity.
- Solar eclipses are impressive even today, and more so during the past.
- Eclipses are superior to other events. Other events
  - Day turns into night, temperature drops, animals change behavior, winds change direction.
- For pre-modern groups: increase the demand for explanations:
  - Smith (1821, p. 21): “renders them [people...] more desirous to know”.
  - Iwaniszewski (2014) and Barale (2014).
- Eclipses in economics:
  - Boerner et al. (2019,2021): solar eclipses → scientific curiosity.
  - Miao et al. (2021).

# Eclipses





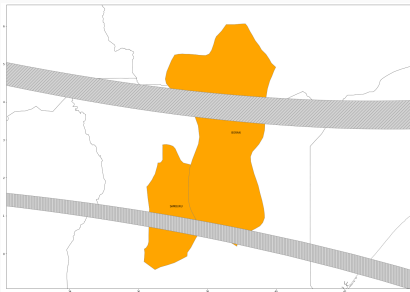
# Data: Outcome Variables

- Multiple databases:
  - Ethnographic Atlas: **ethnic groups** (Waho, Maidu, Ngäbe),
  - Seshat: **polities** (Kediri Kingdom, Susa I, Han Empire),
  - Michalopoulos and Xue (2021): folk tales, linked to EA,
  - Ashraf and Galor (2011): countries,
  - Wikidata: **people**
- Variables:
  - **Growth proxies:** Population density, settlement patterns, social complexity.
  - **Human capital:** Strategy games, writing, eclipse understanding, calendars, importance of thinking, text complexity, geometry.
  - **Technology:** Tasks, technology, money, infrastructure.
  - **Curiosity:** Eclipse and curiosity importance, scientific occupations.



## Data: Total Solar Eclipses

- Intersect eclipse paths with ethnic homelands.
- Time frame: 2000BCE to 1500CE.
- Count the number of total solar eclipses visible from ethnic homelands.



# Empirical Strategy

- Different strategies depending on the data:
  - Simple cross-section,

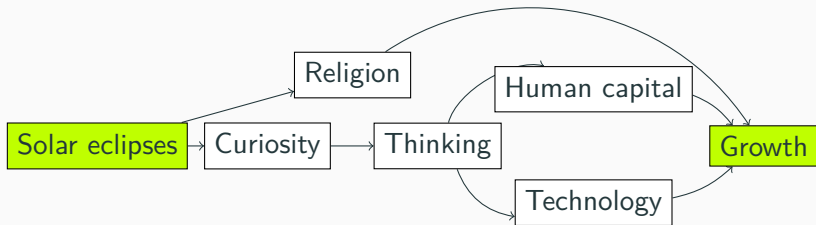
$$Y_i = f(\alpha_1 E_i + \gamma_1 \mathbf{1}_i + \delta_i + \varepsilon_i)$$

- Panel data regression (Seshat)

$$Y_{i,t} = \sum_{k=0}^1 \beta_{t-k}^E E_{i,t-k} + \sum_{k=0}^1 \beta_{t-k}^V V_{i,t-k} + \sum_{y \neq Y \in \mathcal{Y}} \beta^y y_{i,t-1} + \beta^A A_{i,t} + \sum_{y \in \mathcal{Y}} \gamma^y y_{-i,t} + \delta_i + \kappa_t + \epsilon_{i,t}.$$

- Panel data regression (Ashraf and Galor, 2011)

$$Y_{i,t} = f(\beta^E E_{i,t} + \beta^V V_{i,t} + \delta_i + \kappa_t + \epsilon_{i,t}) .$$



# Results: Population density and settlement patterns

	Ethnographic Atlas						Seshat	
	Population Density			Settlement Patterns			Population Density	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Solar ec. (log)	0.217 (0.147)	0.618 (0.231)***	0.682 (0.194)***	-0.292 (0.166)*	0.578 (0.143)***	0.678 (0.123)***	0.049 (0.076) [0.065]	0.164 (0.089)* [0.090]*
Dist. volc. (log-km)		-0.110 (0.056)**	-0.084 (0.061)		-0.062 (0.059)	-0.074 (0.060)		
Dist. fault (log-km)		0.127 (0.033)***	0.130 (0.039)***		-0.040 (0.019)**	-0.064 (0.031)**		
Volc. eruptions (log)							0.028 (0.249) [0.212]	0.357 (0.503) [0.438]
Fixed effects	Continent	Continent	Continent	Continent	Continent	Continent	Polity	Polity
Time Fixed Effects	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Geography	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	No
Ethnic	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No
Controls Seshat	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
$R^2$ /Pseudo- $R^2$	0.074	0.158	0.198	0.067	0.147	0.196	0.980	0.844
Observations	568	466	466	1133	932	932	334	475

<sup>1</sup> Continent fixed effects: indicators for Asia, Europe, Africa, North America, South America and Oceania. Geographic controls: average temperature, precipitation and cloud coverage; distance to the coast, to waterways, to the closest volcano and fault line and terrestrial distance to Addis Ababa; terrain ruggedness, elevation; malaria prevalence; soil potential caloric yield; absolute latitude, south indicator, major habitat type indicator and homeland size decile indicators. Ethnic controls: major crop type indicator. Controls Seshat: past and distance-weighted values for population density, administrative levels, hierarchical complexity, writing and text types, geometrical measurements, the use of calendars and money and infrastructure types. Additional controls for area and past values of eclipses and volcano eruptions. Regressions using the Seshat present the standard errors clustered at the polity level in brackets and accounting for time and spatial autocorrelation (1000 years and 5000 km) in square brackets.

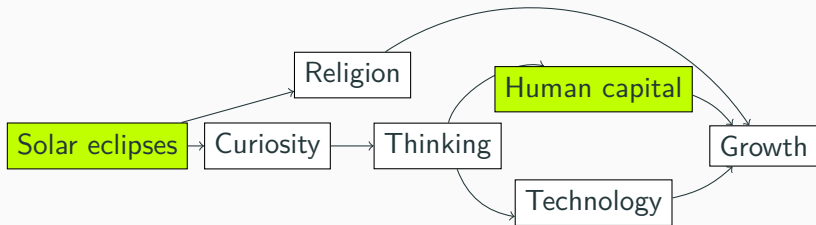
<sup>2</sup> \*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

# Results: Social complexity

	Ethnographic Atlas			Seshat			
	Juris. Hier.	Class Strat.	Pol. Int.	Adm. Levels		Juris. Hier.	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Solar ec. (log)	0.537 (0.146)***	0.566 (0.191)***	0.542 (0.236)**	0.035 (0.036) [0.033]	0.357 (0.110)*** [0.101]***	0.056 (0.037) [0.033]*	0.264 (0.072)*** [0.075]***
Dist. volc. (log-km)	0.059 (0.056)	-0.120 (0.052)**	0.116 (0.060)*				
Dist. fault (log-km)	-0.008 (0.047)	-0.006 (0.048)	-0.018 (0.092)				
Volc. eruptions (log)				0.115 (0.304) [0.274]	0.494 (0.273)* [0.196]**	0.081 (0.200) [0.187]	0.355 (0.210)* [0.156]**
Fixed effects	Continent	Continent	Continent	Polity	Polity	Polity	Polity
Time Fixed Effects	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Geography	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No
Ethnic	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No
Controls Seshat	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
$R^2$ /Pseudo- $R^2$	0.236	0.160	0.223	0.992	0.858	0.989	0.872
Observations	933	846	265	334	478	334	478

<sup>1</sup> Continent fixed effects: indicators for Asia, Europe, Africa, North America, South America and Oceania. Geographic controls: average temperature, precipitation and cloud coverage; distance to the coast, to waterways, to the closest volcano and fault line and terrestrial distance to Addis Ababa; terrain ruggedness, elevation; malaria prevalence; soil potential caloric yield; absolute latitude, south indicator, major habitat type indicator and homeland size decile indicators. Ethnic controls: major crop type indicator. Controls Seshat: past and distance-weighted values for population density, administrative levels, hierarchical complexity, writing and text types, geometrical measurements, the use of calendars and money and infrastructure types. Additional controls for area and past values of eclipses and volcano eruptions. Regressions using the Seshat present the standard errors clustered at the polity level in brackets and accounting for time and spatial autocorrelation (1000 years and 5000 km) in square brackets.

<sup>2</sup> \*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

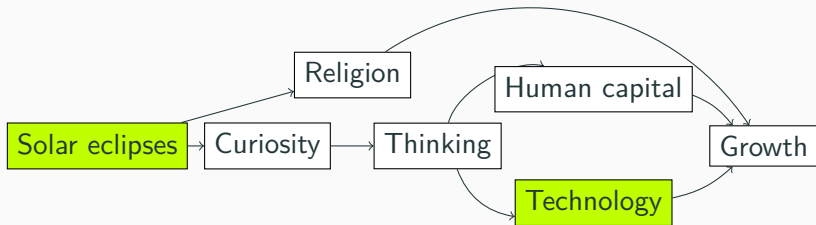


# Results: Human Capital

	Ethnographic Atlas		Folklore			Seshat			
	Strat. Games	Writing	Ec. Exp.	Cal. Rel.	Think Rel.	Writing	Texts	Calendar	Geom. Meas.
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Solar ec. (log)	0.219 (0.065)***	0.396 (0.137)***	0.301 (0.126)**	0.331 (0.090)***	0.244 (0.082)***	0.013 (0.029) [0.026]	0.028 (0.010)*** [0.011]**	0.030 (0.018) [0.017]*	0.020 (0.007)** [0.008]**
Dist. volc. (log-km)	-0.000 (0.022)	0.044 (0.044)	-0.034 (0.056)	-0.101 (0.034)***	-0.031 (0.031)				
Dist. fault (log-km)	-0.002 (0.014)	-0.001 (0.046)	0.166 (0.061)***	0.069 (0.041)*	0.135 (0.039)***				
Volc. eruptions (log)						-0.098 (0.081) [0.071]	-0.041 (0.027) [0.023]*	-0.024 (0.043) [0.038]	0.147 (0.073)* [0.060]**
Fixed effects	Continent	Continent	Continent	Continent	Continent	Polity	Polity	Polity	Polity
Time Fixed Effects	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Geography	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No
Ethnic	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No
Controls Seshat	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
$R^2$ / Pseudo- $R^2$	0.654	0.527	0.090	0.102	0.100	0.915	0.931	0.923	0.920
Observations	346	122	918	918	918	478	478	478	442

<sup>1</sup> Continent fixed effects: indicators for Asia, Europe, Africa, North America, South America and Oceania. Geographic controls: average temperature, precipitation and cloud coverage; distance to the coast, to waterways, to the closest volcano and fault line and terrestrial distance to Addis Ababa; terrain ruggedness, elevation; malaria prevalence; soil potential caloric yield; absolute latitude, south indicator, major habitat type indicator and homeland size decile indicators. Ethnic controls: major crop type indicator. Controls Seshat: past and distance-weighted values for population density, administrative levels, hierarchical complexity, writing and text types, geometrical measurements, the use of calendars and money and infrastructure types. Additional controls for area and past values of eclipses and volcano eruptions. Regressions using the Seshat present the standard errors clustered at the polity level in brackets and accounting for time and spatial autocorrelation (1000 years and 5000 km) in square brackets.

<sup>2</sup> \*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .



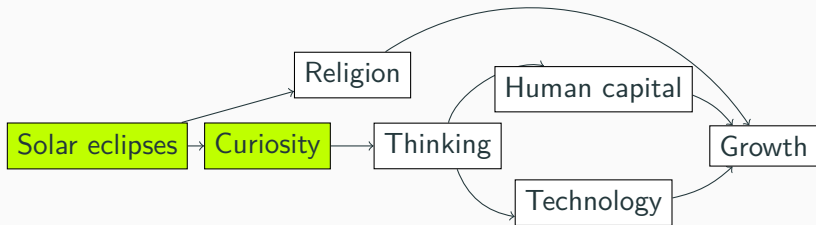


# Results: Technology

	Ethnographic Atlas		Seshat		Ashraf and Galor, 2011				
	Tasks	Tech.	Money	Infra.	Tech. Index	Non-agri. Tech. Index	Comm. Tech.	Ind. Tech	Trans. Tech.
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Solar ec. (log)	0.078 (0.040)**	0.072 (0.037)*	0.195 (0.079)** [0.069]***	0.051 (0.011)*** [0.011]***	0.125 (0.034)***	0.162 (0.041)***	0.683 (0.132)***	0.879 (0.360)**	0.047 (0.041)
Dist. volc. (log-km)	-0.015 (0.012)	-0.009 (0.019)							
Dist. fault (log-km)	-0.016 (0.007)**	0.008 (0.018)							
Volc. eruptions (log)			-0.832 (0.512) [0.469]*	0.058 (0.046) [0.039]	-0.087 (0.019)***	-0.110 (0.024)***	-0.320 (0.082)***	-0.631 (0.194)***	-0.111 (0.028)***
Fixed effects	Continent	Continent	Polity	Polity	Country	Country	Country	Country	Country
Time Fixed Effects	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Geography	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
Ethnic	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
Controls Seshat	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
$R^2$ / Pseudo- $R^2$	0.098	0.646	0.894	0.884					
Observations	738	112	478	478	292	292	292	292	292

<sup>1</sup> Continent fixed effects: indicators for Asia, Europe, Africa, North America, South America and Oceania. Geographic controls: average temperature, precipitation and cloud coverage; distance to the coast, to waterways, to the closest volcano and fault line and terrestrial distance to Addis Ababa; terrain ruggedness, elevation; malaria prevalence; soil potential caloric yield; absolute latitude, south indicator, major habitat type indicator and homeland size decile indicators. Ethnic controls: major crop type indicator. Controls Seshat: past and distance-weighted values for population density, administrative levels, hierarchical complexity, writing and text types, geometrical measurements, the use of calendars and money and infrastructure types. Additional controls for area and past values of eclipses and volcano eruptions. Regressions using the Seshat present the standard errors clustered at the polity level in brackets and accounting for time and spatial autocorrelation (1000 years and 5000 km) in square brackets.

<sup>2</sup> \*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .



# Results: Curiosity

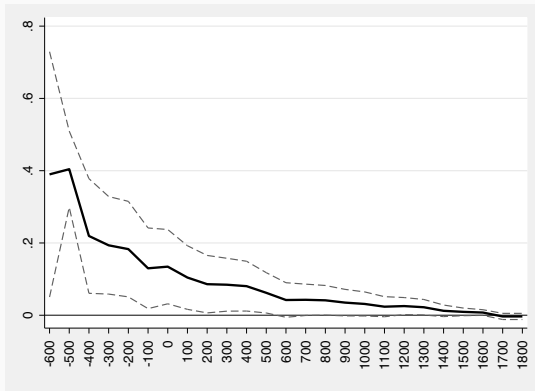
	Folklore		Wikidata	
	Eclipse Rel.	Curious Rel.	Scientific occ.	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Solar ec. (log)	0.384 (0.072)***	0.342 (0.142)**		
Dist. volc. (log-km)	-0.029 (0.026)	0.008 (0.040)		
Dist. fault (log-km)	0.041 (0.041)	0.167 (0.070)**		
Solar ec. (0/1)			0.036 (0.019)*	0.024 (0.012)**
Volc. eruptions (0/1)			0.057 (0.120)	0.010 (0.068)
Fixed effects	Continent	Continent	City	City
Time Fixed Effects	No	No	Yes	Yes
Geography	Yes	Yes	No	No
Ethnic	Yes	Yes	No	No
Weights	No	No	Sample	Population
$R^2$ / Pseudo- $R^2$	0.081	0.153	0.471	0.319
Observations	918	918	129010	129010

<sup>1</sup> Continent fixed effects: indicators for Asia, Europe, Africa, North America, South America and Oceania. Geographic controls: average temperature, precipitation and cloud coverage; distance to the coast, to waterways, to the closest volcano and fault line and terrestrial distance to Addis Ababa; terrain ruggedness, elevation; malaria prevalence; soil potential caloric yield; absolute latitude, south indicator, major habitat type indicator and homeland size decile indicators. Ethnic controls: major crop type indicator.

<sup>2</sup> \*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

# Results: scientific occupations, by century

**Figure 1:** Solar eclipses and curiosity.



# Robustness

- The results are generally robust to:
  - Using lunar eclipses
  - Simultaneous introduction of solar and lunar eclipses.
  - Replacing distance to fault lines with mentions of earthquakes in folk tales.
  - Dividing the sample above and below average (human capital outcomes).
  - In regressions using the Ethnographic Atlas:
    - Dropping top and bottom 5% larger groups.
    - Using k-means.
    - Controlling for area.
    - Running quantile regressions.
    - Dropping one ethnic group at a time.
    - Dropping one continent at a time.
- Placebo regressions.
- Tackle the role of religion.

## Concluding Remarks

- We study human capital and growth for pre-modern societies.
- Our results suggest that:
  - Exposure to inexplicable phenomena is related to economic growth.
- We provide evidence compatible with:
  - Human capital accumulation.
  - Technological progress.

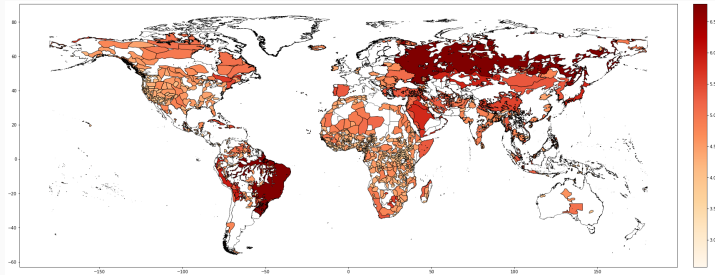
# Competing Natural Events

- Alternative curiosity-catching phenomena have problems:
  - Cause massive destruction: retard growth.
    - Volcano eruptions, earthquakes, floods and tsunamis.
  - Are less impressive, harder to notice and more common:
    - Lunar and partial eclipses.
  - Affect the whole Earth:
    - Supernovae, comets.
- However, solar eclipses:
  - Do not destroy physical nor human capital.
  - Impressive effects: obscurity, wind, temperature.
  - Narrow area of effect: provides local variation.

- Pre-modern ethnic groups represent the distant past:
  - Traditional societies,
  - Farmers, foragers, hunter-gatherers,
  - Lived undisturbed, isolated on the same place for centuries.
    - Rapa Nui (Easter Island), Cherokee, Ithi (Australia), etc.
- Abundant anthropological information about them.
  - Social organization, activities, marriage customs, etc.



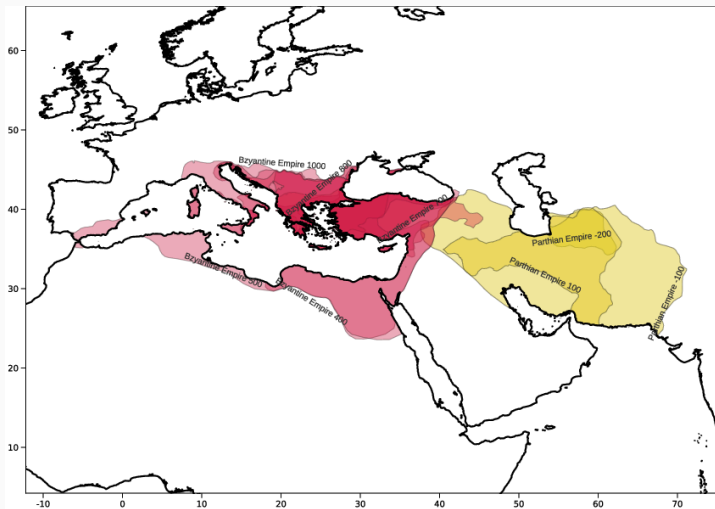
**Figure 2:** Number of total solar eclipses (log) at the ethnic level.



# The Seshat

- Focuses on all societies that have inhabited certain well-delimited areas.
- It can be seen as a panel.
- Manually computed the extent of each society for different periods of time.
- Heavy focus on military aspects.
- Main concern:
  - The original authors of the database interpolated data.

**Figure 3:** Seshat database.



- Use data from people listed on Wikipedia.
  - Birthdate,
  - Birthplace,
  - Occupation.
- born between -500 and 1800.
- Estimate the effect of having seen a total solar eclipse between the ages 5 and 15
- on the probability of becoming a scientist.

$$Y_{i,t,c} = \beta E_{i,t,c} + \gamma_c + \theta_t + \epsilon_{i,t,c}$$

## Last concerns, I

- Rule out that results are due to luck.
  - Placebo regressions.
  - Concepts unrelated to growth, social complexity, etc.
    - Meteorological phenomena, inanimate objects, colors.
    - Caveats: some colors can reflect interest in the sky.
    - Red sunsets, blue sky, black if interested in the night sky.

## Results: Placebo regressions

	Folklore					
	Meteorology		Inanimate		Colours	
	Clouds (1)	Lightning (2)	Rock (3)	Sand (4)	White (5)	Purple (6)
Solar ec. (log)	−0.254 (0.194)	0.379 (0.122)***	−0.045 (0.133)	0.026 (0.170)	0.202 (0.180)	0.064 (0.105)
Fixed effects	Continent	Continent	Continent	Continent	Continent	Continent
Geography	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Ethnic	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Pseudo- $R^2$	0.199	0.122	0.088	0.250	0.207	0.132
Observations	918	918	918	918	918	918

<sup>1</sup> Continent fixed effects: indicators for Asia, Europe, Africa, North America, South America and Oceania. Geographic controls: average temperature, precipitation and cloud coverage; distance to the coast, to waterways, to the closest volcano and fault line and terrestrial distance to Addis Ababa; terrain ruggedness, elevation; malaria prevalence; soil potential caloric yield; absolute latitude, south indicator, major habitat type indicator and homeland size decile indicators. Ethnic controls: major crop type indicator.

<sup>2</sup> \*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

## Last concerns, II

- Frequent eclipses → emergence of religious-political leaders.
- Religion may interact with development.
  - Provide cohesion, facilitate large works (Norenzayan (2013)).
  - Negative impact of religion on growth (Squicciarini (2020)).
  - Mitigation:
    - Investigate the relationship between eclipses and religion.
    - In general, no effect.
- Leaders can rationalize events → reduce thinking.
  - More so for destructive events: demand for soothing.
  - Mitigation:
    - Separate regressions for ethnicities with and without leaders.
    - Eclipses increase thinking and curiosity, regardless of leaders.
    - Earthquakes only when leaders are absent.

# Results: Religion I

	Ethnographic Atlas	Folklore			Wikidata	
	High gods	Religious rel.	Religion rel.	Pray rel.	Religious occ.	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Solar ec. (log)	0.643 (0.152) <sup>***</sup>	0.331 (0.326)	−0.385 (0.276)	0.218 (0.337)		
Solar ec. (0/1)					0.008 (0.013)	0.004 (0.010)
Fixed effects	Continent	Continent	Continent	Continent	City	City
Time Fixed Effects	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Geography	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
Ethnic	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
Weights	No	No	No	No	Sample	Population
Pseudo- $R^2$	0.265	0.623	.	0.294	0.444	0.385
Observations	599	918	918	918	129010	129010

<sup>1</sup> Continent fixed effects: indicators for Asia, Europe, Africa, North America, South America and Oceania. Geographic controls: average temperature, precipitation and cloud coverage; distance to the coast, to waterways, to the closest volcano and fault line and terrestrial distance to Addis Ababa; terrain ruggedness, elevation; malaria prevalence; soil potential caloric yield; absolute latitude, south indicator, major habitat type indicator and homeland size decile indicators. Ethnic controls: major crop type indicator.

<sup>2</sup> \*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .



# Results: Religion II

	Folklore							
	No Shaman		No Healer		Shaman		Healer	
	Think rel.	Curious rel.	Think rel.	Curiosity rel.	Think rel.	Curiosity rel.	Think rel.	Curious rel.
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Solar ec. (log)	0.408 (0.127)***	0.846 (0.303)***	0.490 (0.162)***	0.817 (0.391)**	0.211 (0.104)**	0.197 (0.133)	0.247 (0.097)**	0.214 (0.118)*
Earthquake rel.	0.183 (0.101)*	-0.155 (0.244)	0.177 (0.106)*	0.030 (0.242)	-0.115 (0.051)**	-0.469 (0.114)***	-0.128 (0.048)***	-0.450 (0.125)***
Fixed effects	Continent	Continent	Continent	Continent	Continent	Continent	Continent	Continent
Geography	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Ethnic	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
$R^2$ / Pseudo- $R^2$	0.084	0.174	0.057	0.144	0.145	0.187	0.155	0.175
Observations	508	508	444	444	410	410	474	474

<sup>1</sup> Continent fixed effects: indicators for Asia, Europe, Africa, North America, South America and Oceania. Geographic controls: average temperature, precipitation and cloud coverage; distance to the coast, to waterways, to the closest volcano and fault line and terrestrial distance to Addis Ababa; terrain ruggedness, elevation; malaria prevalence; soil potential caloric yield; absolute latitude, south indicator, major habitat type indicator and homeland size decile indicators.

Ethnic controls: major crop type indicator.

<sup>2</sup> \*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .