

Abstracts

Protagonists of Production.***Staging male and female entrepreneurs, craftspeople, and workers in preindustrial Spanish and European economic tracts, literature and press (1700-1800)***

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Deirdre Nansen McCloskey (Chicago), KEYNOTE: The Bourgeois Revaluation and the Rise of Liberalism, 1648-1848

Liberalism emerged in eighteenth-century Scotland and East Prussia and some of the salons of Paris – the shocking political program in which no one was to have a master, what Kant called “autonomy”, self-governing. It made the modern world, the riches, the equality of respect and of permission. It remakes it still, against threats from nationalism, socialism, and National Socialism. Liberal values had long characterized some of the ‘Bürgertum’, expressing an egalitarianism natural in trade. Yet liberalism generalized, becoming the ideology of the age, and the enricher of the poor by 3,000 percent, once in Holland and especially Britain, or in China and especially India. Why and how? Professor McCloskey tells the tale with economic and literary evidence. The change was a matter of ideas as much as material conditions. It was as much literary and philosophical as economic and material, though with massive material results.

Klaus-Dieter Ertler (Graz): Entrepreneurs in the moral press of the “Spectators”

The moral press of the English *Spectators* (1710-1712; 1714) edited by Joseph Addison and Richard Steele had an enormous impact on the European cultural landscape. These new forms of communication contributed to the construction of a modern reader public, where protestant morality and behavior moved to the center of discourse. The “Spectators” developed basic discourses that not only fostered the emerging epistolary novel, but also tales about economic improvement in the preindustrial European societies. The novel *Robinson Crusoe* by Daniel Defoe is an indirect result of this discursive dynamics. In my contribution, I will study the spectatorial productions of Romance speaking cultures in order to get a picture of the protagonists of this upcoming economic development.

Carmen García Cela (Salamanca): Female Authorship and Production Patterns through the 18th Century Press in France

The issue of the *Journal des Dames* (1759-1777) is often considered as the birth of journalism aimed at a female audience in France. However, female authorship in French language press emerged years before. Between June and October 1703, Charles Perrault’s niece, Marie-Jeanne L’Héritier de Villandon (1664-1734), published three issues of *L’érudition enjouée*. In the same decade, in 1710, Anne-Marguerite Dunoyer (1663-1719) wrote two issues of *Le Nouveau Mercure galant des cours de l’Europe* and since 1711, she was in charge of *La Quintessence des Nouvelles* (1689-1730). The success of Addison and Steele’s *Spectator* in Britain would also give rise to female versions like *La Spectatrice* (1728-1729), a bi-monthly anonymous journal narrated by a female voice. Two other journals, owed to male authors, also include female narrators: *La Spectatrice danoise, ou l’Aspasie moderne* (1748-1750) – written by Laurent Angliviel de La Beaumelle (1726-1773) and published in Copenhagen –, and *Les Chiffons, ou Raison Mélanges et de Folie* (1786-1787), by Jacques Mague de Saint-Aubin (1746-1824) in the years that preceded the French Revolution of 1789.

Despite its diversity, the corpus reflects women's occupations throughout the 18th century, and the tensions generated by either expected or imposed female roles, particularly those related to writing production and reception. The aim of this study is to analyse the relationship between the female authorship model and the underlying production patterns through the 18th century French female press.

María Jesús García Garrosa (Valladolid): De comerciantes y menestrales en el teatro dieciochesco español / Of Merchants and Craftspeople in Eighteenth Century Spanish Theatre

The aim of this paper is to study dramatic texts which are sentimental in nature, focused on the work of merchants, manufacturers and craft workers, and placed in a theatrical context. The primarily literary approach allows one to analyse whether the lesson of works of a particularly ideological character, centred on promoting the dignification of such activity and those engaged in it, made an impact on spectators, and if so, in what manner. Its success on stage, its critical repercussions and the multiplicity of editions offer an initial source of information, which, in addition to the close study of salient aspects of the works themselves, throws light on the public acceptance in late eighteenth-century Spain of reformist social and economic plans.

Andreas Gelz (Freiburg): The Nation as economic agent in Spanish Eighteenth Century apologetic texts

The apologetic literature of the Spanish 18th century aims to present an image of Spain that counters the often ideologically motivated popular stereotype of an unproductive, idle and backward-oriented nation by praising recent economic and socio-political achievements as well as the dynamic of modernization of the country. The intention to analyze this discursive strategy in the context of our conference leads us to shift the focus from the individual entrepreneurs, craftspeople, and workers to a rather collective dimension of entrepreneurship and to ask for the productivity of the nation. Our overview of this 'genre' insists on the rhetorical and logical strategies that ensure the transition from an individual to an aggregated, macroeconomic and political figure. What are the key aspects of its economic activity and how do they respond to existing intercultural prejudices?

David T. Gies (Virginia): Two Women, Two Ways: Economy and Theater in Enlightenment Spain

While Spanish eighteenth-century theater is replete with examples of women who waste money and squander resources on frivolous items such as fashion, hairdos, jewelry or silly pastimes including shopping and dance, we have very few depictions of women who work, or of women who have some say in the control and disbursement of funds. The economy was generally considered to be a masculine enterprise, one in which women participated rarely, if at all. Depictions of domestic work, which of course went uncompensated, appear with some frequency, but domestic work, always coded as feminine, normally appeared associated with concepts such as honor, abnegation, or familial duty. Economic agency was still withheld from most women. Yet two examples from the eighteenth-century theater repertory – Francisco Durán's *La industriosa madrileña y el fabricante de Olot, o Los efectos de la aplicación* (1790) and María Rosa Galvez's *La familia a la moda* (1805) – reveal cracks in this closed system

and may suggest that by the end of the eighteenth century, some (few) men and some (few) women were beginning to recognize, and push for, the emergence of female agency in the economic sphere.

Nils Goldschmidt (Siegen) and Hermann Rauchenschwandtner (Salzburg): Robinsonades in Literature and Economics

Robinson Crusoe – and the discourse it engenders, ranging from Böhm-Bawerk to Derrida, Marx, Blumberg, and Moretti to name just a few – is the cradle in which economic knowledge is situated. It entails a genealogy and simultaneously receives support from Defoe, constituting the economic narrative par excellence and which makes up a part of “textbook” economics. In Defoe’s work, economical principles are formed, beginning with encyclopedic knowledge of “projecting age” (Foe, Defoe). These principles are derived from the following questions: Why does Crusoe work so much, even though there isn’t any competition on the island? Does a different Robinson – Tournier’s Robinson – enjoy idleness? Which preferences emerge after the “economic problem” (Keynes) of survival is solved? (Interestingly, Robinson begins praying *after* work is completed.) Does Crusoe, who alleges to be a “fool to my own interest”, only become rational when he begins lecturing Friday (and by extension the reader)? Is self-assertion (*conservatio sui*) on the island only possible because it is a narrative? Which institutions and rules minimize transaction costs on the island following his return to the island? Which role does probability play, in the sense that Bayesian probability now dominates economics? Why does Crusoe depart the plantation, even though a colony is associated with highest rates of extraction of wealth (Branko Milanovic)? Does the construction of a colony need to be both *demonstrated* and *narrated* in order to be able to extract even more wealth?

Different perspectives of economic discourse leading to crucial propositions will be expounded on in the presentation: savings as an intertemporal decision, frugal production and exchange, comparative advantage. All in all, one can infer that the richness of projects around 1700 did not yet have an anthropological-economical basis. Only the dawn of *homo oeconomicus*, which is revealed in *Robinson Crusoe*, provides the dependable foundation on which economics is built: economics as frugality and time, a sparing type of thought which is *analytically* both philosophy and economics.

Kurt Hahn (Munich): Productivity and sentimental governance: Considerations on the socio-economic role of the father in French and Spanish Enlightenment theatre

In his “Discours sur l’économie politique” (1755), originally composed for the *Encyclopédie*, Jean-Jacques Rousseau postulates a significant relation between efficient leadership, individual wealth, and exemplary fatherhood. In other words, according to the Genevan philosopher, politics, economics, and family affairs are intricately intertwined, even if they aren’t always driven by the same factors. However, in the age of Enlightenment, of social differentiation, and of the full impact of the Cartesian *cogito*, productivity and prosperity (as manifestations of the idea of *perfectibilité*) emerge as guiding principles which have to be redefined in order to reconcile common good and private interests as well as reason and feeling. Both aspects are perfectly embodied in the emblematic character of the *pater familias* – in his new bourgeois yet continued patriarchal version – who is able to bring sense and sensibility into accord, a diligent work ethic and an empathetic intersubjective agency. The proposed talk will first give an overview of the intrinsic reciprocity between these two competencies and show how they determine what we might call the literary construction of ‘affective economies’. Furthermore, concrete case studies from the French *drame bourgeois* and the Spanish *comedia sentimental* will demonstrate how the eighteenth-century theatre in particular provides a perfect stage for male protagonists whose productivity is crucially based

on paternity and hence combines material/entrepreneurial achievements with biological reproduction and sentimental control.

**Ana Hontanilla (Greensboro): Maja's Labors' Lost in Ramón de la Cruz's *Sainetes*.
The Micro Aggressions of Everyday Life**

Women's labor is crucial to the functioning of families, neighborhoods, businesses, and manufacturing enterprises. This is true today as it was true in eighteenth-century Spain. Yet any attempts to trace women's contributions in the historical archive, through corporate or municipal records, yield little fruit. Many factors have contributed to render the work of women invisible, among them cultural imaginings. How did the culture of the Enlightenment contribute to erase women's work from the spaces of productive labor? This paper focuses on the micro aggressions surrounding representations of the *maja*, the eighteenth-century working-class female prototype, in the one-act play (span.: "sainete") titled *Las castañeras picadas* by playwright Ramon de la Cruz.

To highlight the *sainete's* theatrical aggressions, I propose a reading centered on how the moral discourse with regards to women and the political economy discourse relating to the working-class men intersect and simultaneously structure the figure of the *maja*, the working-class woman. An intersectional view helps me locate the *maja* at the juncture of these two interlocking systems of violence and control. By placing the *maja* at the crossroads of the moral and the political economy discourses, I do not provide an account of the identities (servant-master, mother-daughter-sister-wife-friend-neighbor, reader-writer, seamstress-street vendor, actress) according to which real women might have shaped their lives. My focus is to explore how the *sainete's* employment and dramatization of conflict aimed to delegitimize the presence on the street and the labors of the *maja*, the prototype of the working-class female.

Annika Nickenig (Berlin): Idyllic Industries. Natural vs. human productivity in Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's *Paul et Virginie*

One of the components that constitute the paradisiac setting of *Paul et Virginie* (1788) is the repeatedly exhibited distance of the 'petite société' from the mercantile corruptions of the European continent. Far from fortune and any striving for possession and wealth, the two families, excluded from their homeland due to social and economic norms, create an idyllic counter-economy based on renouncement, charity, and a life in complete harmony with nature. In this pastoral setting, the dominant protagonist of production is nature itself – while man merely cultivates what nature has given of its own accord in great abundance.

Many studies have focused on the contradictions and ambivalences of the novel, highlighting, among other things, the presence of corruption, class distinction and racism within the small society, which all refute the image of an idyll and almost necessarily lead to its tragic ending. In my reading of the text, I would like to emphasize the connection between these ambivalences and the coexistence of various economic models included in the idyllic scenario. Above all, it is the physiocratic idea of nature as major source of production, conceiving the farmer as most productive strength within society, which dominates the relation between the characters and the nature surrounding them. This constellation interferes, however, with other, distinct economic ideas. It will be shown to what extent nature-related concepts of productivity, such as fertility and reproduction, collide with mercantile ones, such as international trade.

Joaquín Ocampo Suárez-Valdés (Oviedo): Del *otium* al *nec-otium* o la “cascada del desprecio”: oficios viles, empresarios y negocios en la literatura económica de la Ilustración / From *otium* to *nec-otium*, or the ‘flood of contempt’: *oficios viles*, entrepreneurs and trade in Economic Enlightenment Literature

In preindustrial agrarian societies, the social elites provided themselves with a *weltanschauung* legitimizing their preeminence. Thereby, they wanted to secure the reproduction of the social and economic relations their power was built on. Grounding themselves on rather diverse doctrinal sources (moral, economic, and political ones), they tried to evade the relativism of becoming and presented themselves “not as a the product of an ever changing reality, but as a canon serving to control change” (Grossi 1992: 31ssq.). From the texts of the “religions of the book” to patristic literature, passing through Greek and Latin philosophy and medieval scholastic, this philosophy, while operating in an increasing and accumulative manner, achieved to culminate in a specific vision of society and economics. It expanded into multiple fields: a) into a codification of social hierarchies – the theory of the three “orders” or “statuses” – that maintained itself until the upcoming of the liberal state and class society; b) into a normative or ‘moral economy’ of money, the market, prices, usury, and property right; c) into a moral philosophy that engaged with leisure, commerce, luxury or the social esteem of the entrepreneur; d) into a political philosophy not only concerned with power, with legitimizing itself or with access to citizenship, but also with providing the juridical and institutional framework for the division of *artes “liberales”* and *artes “mecánicas”*, legal dishonor, the exigencies of nobility or the “purity of blood” required in order to get access to an official post. Nothing, actually, of what could impact on the articulation or stabilization of social order was free from “evaluation” or judgement by the withholders of the essence of an orthodoxy founded on an authority represented by tradition or religion.

Nonetheless and in spite of its claim to immutability, this canonical *weltanschauung* could not evade to get cracks caused by facts and ideas, and which lead to the questioning of its solidity, its acceptance and its universality. The ‘social’ and ‘commercial revolution’ of Italy and Holland, the mercantile and colonial expansion, the protestant reform, amongst others, were to deepen those cracks, building up an alternative orthodoxy. This process was accelerated from the seventeenth century onwards, when rationalist natural law and liberal constitutionalism provided the transition from the Ancient Regime to liberalism with a new legitimizing juridical philosophy. The new political economy also kept the appointment and escorted the transition from feudalism to capitalism by using its whole doctrinal arsenal to serve the liberal cause. This was the hour of concepts like “self-interest”, “perfect propriety”, of the “invisible hand” of the market, of the *nec-otium* against *otium*, of “class confusion” and of class society.

It is obvious that the subject of my talk, grounding itself on the process of secularization, is very broad as well as comprising in the many analytical variables it incorporates. Its weakness resides, possibly, in its ambition and in its obligation to select information. Thus, one could always object that certain subjects and or sources are not or only partially considered. As a discharge or as an excuse, even, we can only bring up the underlying aim of this study: To sort existing investigations and to offer a state of research that might serve as a departing point for going into details that were up to now hardly considered.

Claire Pignol (Paris): Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* and Rousseau's *Emile*. Two characters reluctant to entrepreneurship

The contribution focuses on the relation to labour and entrepreneurship of two characters, Emile and Wilhelm Meister. This relation is influenced by their education. Rousseau’s treatise on education (1762) and Goethe’s *bildungsroman* (1796) both exhibit the main characters as young men coming from the bourgeoisie or the aristocracy. Both must be educated and trained, both must gain experience in order to practise a profession. The authors write in the context of rising capitalism, a system into which individuals are integrated through certain types of

work. Two issues will be addressed. The first one concerns the expected requirements of the characters in terms of temper, awareness of the self and the other, as well as the skills and knowledge they achieve concerning the social world. Which intentions motivate them in their education and early experiences, planned by their parents or tutor? How are these intentions affected by the social upheaval of rising capitalism? The second issue concerns the questions, doubts, social, and moral values at stake in the choice of an education and a profession. By letting the narrators and characters be concerned with economic issues and by using the voices of Emile's tutor and Wilhelm himself, Rousseau and Goethe draw attention to the reasons for being recalcitrant and even hostile towards the values of commercial society and entrepreneurship.

Natalie Roxburgh (Siegen): Defoe, Locke, and the Emergence of Economically Constructed Property

This paper will provide a counter-intuitive reading of *Robinson Crusoe* next to what historians Robert Brenner, Ellen Meiksins Wood, and Michael McKeon have discussed as a transition from politically to economically constructed property. While Locke would ground his theory of property rights on the productive use of land, Defoe would model a new sort of property owner that deals in credit rather than land as the basis of value. This paper will analyze selected passages in *Robinson Crusoe* next to ones from *Moll Flanders*, *The Compleat English Tradesman*, and *An Essay on Public Credit* in order to illuminate the way that, for Defoe, the protagonist of production is the character who has made his or her credibility productive: the subject of credit rather than the user or bearer of land, in other words. This, I will argue, may be related to the differences between politically constructed property and economically constructed property, and thus comparing Lockean and Defoevean protagonists of production is telling of a historical shift.

Susanne Schlünder (Osnabrück): On the (Un)Productivity of Agriculture – Human-Environment Relations and Concepts of Nature in 18th Century Spain

This paper aims to investigate different proposals for the reform of agriculture and land use during Spanish Enlightenment, from Feijoo and Campillo y Cossío to Olavide, Jovellanos, Dámaso Generés and others. It thus addresses a sector with a widely acclaimed unproductiveness that has become a topos in pre-industrial Spain. The analysis is concerned with discussing the various proposals for increasing productivity in the horizon of the emerging agricultural sciences (Jethro Tull, among others) and putting them in relation to contemporary economic models (mercantilism, physiocracy, liberalism). Particular attention will be paid to the underlying human-environment relations in order to draw conclusions about implicit concepts of nature and their political, religious and affective content. Against this background, the paper also sees itself as a contribution to the historical semantics of the concept of nature.

Esther Schomacher (Friedrichshafen): Work it, Baby! Goldoni's Women as Entrepreneurs on the Marriage Market

The Italian playwright, theatrical director, manager and actor Carlo Goldoni (1707-1793) has long been credited with creating 'strong' female characters. Drawing on the examples of two plays written at different stages of Goldoni's turbulent career, *La Locandiera* (1752) and *La Trilogia della villeggiatura* (1761), this paper will investigate one particular aspect of this strength which, to modern eyes, might appear as a weakness at first glance: The tendency to view emotional attachment, and more specifically love, as an investment, and to manage

emotions (more or less successfully) according to the elaborate rules of the contemporary 'marriage market' in order to increase one's social standing and economic power. Rather than viewing this as a proto-capitalist alienation of 'authentic' emotions, or as a "commodification" of love in the vein of Eva Illouz's works, e.g. *Emotions as Commodities* (2017), this paper will, in a first step, view this intrinsic connection of love and economy as a refraction of the entangled cross-fertilization and cross-referencing of economic thinking and anthropology / natural history in the eighteenth century times: As a refraction, that is, of the common history of 'economic' notions and concepts of the (animal and human) body and its emotions, and the early hygienic theories of their regulation and control (see Arikha, 2007; Hirschman, 2013; Pence/Swaim, 2017; Sarasin, 2001; Schabas, 2003 and 2005).

In a second step, focusing more closely on the contrary examples of Mirandolina (in *La Locandiera*) and Giacinta (in *Trilogia della villaggiatura*), this paper will show how successful economic 'management' of emotions does, in fact, enhance the agency of the female characters – making them true "entrepreneurs" *avant la lettre* – whereas instances of 'losing control' of emotions not only lead to emotional as well as financial damage, but also to significant restrictions regarding the possibility of acting on their own behalf.

Beatrice Schuchardt (Münster): From 'Civil Heroes' to Male and Female 'Protagonists of Production'

In the second half of the eighteenth century, the economic and theatrical reform pushed forward by the Spanish Bourbon state and its ministers leads to the creation of a new type of hero occurring both in economic tracts and in theatre: the 'civilian hero', a term coined by Peter Jehle in his comparative analysis of seventeenth century French and eighteenth century Spanish theatre (2010). Unlike the conqueror type of hero raging on sixteenth and seventeenth century stages, that is: an 'Old-Christian' hot-tempered aristocrat reluctant to work, the civilian hero created by the reformed theatre of neoclassicism is characterized by his professional activity. He is virtuous and virile, a patriarch benevolently watching over his family and business, but also over the moral and economic behavior of his compatriots. This new type of hero is incarnated by the honorable merchant or the entrepreneur. He is a 'brainworker', and he is essentially male. Unlike neoclassic comedy, like e.g. Trigueros' *Los menestrales* (1784), a piece that, following a royal decree of 1783, allegedly estimates craftspeople, but actually puts them back in their functional working-class place, late eighteenth century sentimental comedy written by popular authors such as Comella, Durán or Valladares put the virtuous heroism of both male and female characters onto stage that incarnate physical labour: peasants, weavers, charcoal burners and ragpickers. This is the hour of birth of our 'protagonists of production'. The talk focuses on the didactic function of these characters in the context of an enlightened political and moral economy.

Elena Serrano (Berlin): Gender, Useful Knowledge, and Literary Female Natural Philosophers in the Madrid Economic Society c. 1780

During the 18-century, economic societies mushroomed all over Europe. Gathering noblemen, landed gentry, clergymen and sometimes learned artisans, these societies aimed to improve local economies through the production and circulation of 'useful knowledge'. Useful knowledge included multifarious practices that ranged from experimenting with farming and rural economy, to quantifying industrial productions, to the meticulous observation of nature. Their fellows often referred to themselves as improvers or friends of the country. Women were admitted only occasionally. Yet, in 1787 after heated public debates, the Madrid Economic society set up a female branch, the *Junta de damas de Honor y Mérito* (Bolufer, 2008; Stapelbroek and Marjanen, 2012; Serrano, 2014; Mokyr, 2016; Roberts, 2017; Stewart & Whitmer, 2018). However, while the *Junta* might be a local Spanish crystallization of the

improvement movement, its members shared a broader European ethos of public utility, of how upper-class women could be of service to the emergent nation-state. My paper draws attention to a relevant contemporary female literary model that was mentioned in the debates. In particular, the protagonist of one of the great European best-sellers today forgotten, the *Spectacle de la Nature* (1732-1750), in order to show how her character helped to legitimize women as producers of useful knowledge.

Felix Sprang (Siegen): Baldwin's *Airopaidia* (1786) and Harrington's *Treatise on Air* (1791): Aerial Studies, Leisure, and Knowledge Production

Despite Johnson's *The Invention of Air* (2009), the contribution of aerial studies for the differentiation of leisurely and professional endeavours in the long eighteenth-century is still poorly understood. I will reflect on Harrington's and Baldwin's treatises as explorations of the element air, and I will suggest that they can facilitate our understanding of how knowledge about air is produced in a Gentlemanly and leisurely context. In doing so I will challenge readings of Baldwin's seminal description of a balloon excursion as a treatise that establishes the perspective of aerial views. While this re-orientation of perspective is definitely a landmark in the art of projection and the emerging science of geodesy, I claim that the impact of the treatise, and ballooning generally, on conceptions of how to use the element air for both leisure and scientific endeavour has been undervalued. I will suggest a critical contextualization of Baldwin's treatise in the larger debates about the element air as well as about leisure and knowledge production in the long eighteenth century.

Christoph Strosetzki (Münster): The *Dictionnaire universel de commerce* (1723) and its Translation by Carl Günther Ludovici

The *Dictionnaire* written by the Savary brothers is the first encyclopedic dictionary of commerce in France. It was published in the context of the doctrines of mercantilism and the anti-mercantilist physiocrats, both of which plea for the state to intervene in economy. The question is now how this work is received in Germany, where cameralism is the prevailing economic doctrine. It is thus to be asked which role the philosophy of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz and Christian Wolff plays in the translation and in the continuation of the *Dictionnaire* by Carl Günther Ludovici, and how the German cameralist Paul Jakob Marperger dealt with mercantilism. These questions will be answered by means of some key concepts.

Manfred Tietz (Bochum): La pobreza entre dignidad y criminalización en las Luces francesas y españolas / Poverty between dignity and criminalization in Enlightenment France and Spain

The antagonists and – at least to a great deal – the victims of the ‘protagonists’ of economic ‘production’ has been the multifaceted ‘class’ of the ‘poor’. With the immense economic boom of post-medieval Europe, philosophers, theologians and political leaders realized the each time more massive and more visible reality of the sociological phenomena of poverty and mendicity, and the possible danger they represented for social peace. This is what gave rise to a series of ideological debates on the phenomenon of poverty, its causes, and the possibilities of neutralizing the problem by either giving the poor alms or (by making them) work, or by even locking them away.

In this contribution we will sketch the different proposals that were given – from the times of late Baroque until the end of the Enlightenment movement – to solve this severe problem that European societies had to deal with in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. In order

to show the traditional (religious) proposal we will have a look at the sermon *De l'éminente dignité des pauvres* by the French bishop Jacques Bénigne Bossuet (1627-1704). The secular and philanthropic proposal given by the *filósofos* will be analyzed by looking at texts written by two prominent representatives of Spanish Enlightenment, *El Discurso de la situación y división interior de los hospicios con respecto a su salubridad* by the jurist, politician and writer Gaspar Melchor Jovellanos (1744-1811) and the *Discurso sobre la mendigüez* by the jurist and poet Juan Meléndez Valdés (1754-1817).

Christian von Tschilschke (Münster): Between State-Managed Reforms and Private Utopia: The Entrepreneurial Projects of Pablo de Olavide

If we were to define entrepreneurship as an act of creative destruction that recombines natural, human and financial resources in an innovative way, always involving the will to take risks, Pablo Antonio José de Olavide y Jáuregui (1725-1803) would perhaps appear to be one of the most emblematic, and probably best known incarnations of an entrepreneur in the Age of Spanish Enlightenment outside Spain. However, instead of dealing with the new enlightened economic habitus of the individual Olavide, this paper concentrates more on the transformations and continuities existing between the texts that inspired his famous reform project of the colonization of Sierra Morena in 1767, the *Informe sobre el proyecto de colonización de Puerto Rico y América del Sur* (1766) as well as the *Informe sobre la Ley Agraria* (1768), and the utopian parts of his widely read Christian treatise *El Evangelio en triunfo, o Historia de un filósofo desengañado* (1797-1798), which he composed shortly before his death.

Urs Urban (Berlin): The Literary Genealogy of the Working Man: Protagonists of Production in Spanish- and French-speaking Pretexts of Robinson Crusoe (Inca Garcilaso de la Vega and François Leguat)

In the year 1719, a man appears in literature who, in order to be able to make a living, sees himself constrained to work, and he is doing so in a historically and socially more or less undetermined space (or, rather, a space marked as such): Robinson Crusoe is living and working on an island completely unaffected by (his) civilization. Due to these ideal conditions, he soon awoke the interest of economical theorists, e.g. Karl Marx who, in *The Capital*, reflects on Robinson and what he undertakes in order to gain insights into the modalities of the making and handling of tools for the cultivation or exploitation of natural resources, and for the production of durable goods, a reading Joseph Vogl accuses of having sustainably promoted the fiction of alternativelessness of capitalism. Be it as it may: Having only just arrived on the island, Robinson starts immediately and establishes a sort of household. The novel precisely depicts the conditions under which he manages to do so. In this regard work, especially in the very beginning of the novel, is of great importance. It only seems to be imaginable, thinkable, sayable in the following manner: One can only relate to work as an activity if it is imagined outside the context of (one's own) civilization.

In my contribution I propose to put the focus on the literary genealogy of this idea. Departing from Defoe's novel, I intend to deduce its continuities and discontinuities by then having a look at the precursors Robinson has in roman literatures. They also deal with protagonists that end up on an uninhabited island, and that are also constrained to make a living, yet, without necessarily solving this problem by working. Some of them do work, such as Pedro Serrano, the protagonist of a short shipwrecking-story, *El naufragio de Pedro Serrano*, passed on to us by Inca Garcilaso de la Vega in his *Historia general del Perú* published in 1617. Others start their 'Robinsonade' by living in a paradisiac state where they are constantly provided with what they need, until they, too, see themselves relegated to a social context in which they are forced to work: This is true for a small group of French Huguenots who, by the end of the seventeenth

century, are leaving Holland on board of a ship, only to end up first on the island Rodrigues and then on the island Mauritius. The fortune of one of them has been chronicled by François Leguat under the title *Voyage et aventures de François Leguat et de ses compagnons en deux îles désertes des Indes orientales*, published in 1707. (The telling title of the German version published in 1723 is, by the way, *Der französische Robinson – The French Robinson*). My contribution focuses on these two texts and on what they tell us about the working men. We will look at how they do it, and how they can be put into relation to the future genre of the 'Robinsonades' and to the discourse of economy of which it forms part. According to Joseph Vogl, this kind of discourse is characterized by the documentation of knowledge about the (economic) acting of ordinary men, the (police) administration of this acting, and its specific biopolitical dressing.

Jan-Henrik Witthaus (Kassel): Entrepreneurship in Eighteenth Century Spain. The Case of Juan de Goyeneche y Gastón

Juan de Goyeneche can be considered as one of the early protagonists of Bourbon Reformism. However, he seems to have been rather forgotten compared to other figures of the Spanish eighteenth century – intellectuals and politicians such as Francisco Cabarrús, Pablo de Olavide or Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos. If we thumb through the manual of Eugenio Torres Villanueva, who offers a collection of portraits of one hundred Spanish businessmen, Goyeneche is even the first one to be mentioned. Not only did he pursue several publication projects, he also was one of the principal supporters of the early Bourbon Regime and provided the Crown with financial and material resources. He built manufactures and colonies for workers, for instance the settlement of Nueva Baztán, which is located near Alcalá de Henares. In this contribution the focus will be on several portraits of Goyeneche taken from the literature of the epoch. The historical role he played in the context of 18th Century Enlightenment will be reflected, and the new appreciation of business and industry will be visualized.