

Dictionaries and Encyclopaedias on Political Economy in the Iberian Peninsula (18th, 19th and 20th Centuries)

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*To Ernest Lluch, pioneer of the research on the
History of the Iberian economic thought*

1. Introduction

During the last three decades, significant progress has been made in the study of the history of Spanish and Portuguese economic thought. Nevertheless, several features of the institutionalisation of economic science in these countries remain somewhat uncertain. This obviously affects our knowledge of a wide range of issues, namely those related to the spread of economics ideas through secondary economic literature. As a rule, the analysis of the transmission of economic ideas is mainly focused on the contents of original works and their translations, but other channels of diffusion of economic thought, such as journals, newspaper or the information contained in dictionaries and encyclopaedias are considerably less known. Indeed, with regard to encyclopaedias and dictionaries, there is an almost complete absence of any relevant studies. Consequently, it could be said that a true assessment of the spread of economic ideas through dictionaries and encyclopaedias still requires a number of studies on particular issues, such as the characteristics of the publishing market or the specific contents of the many different types of economic entries there were in dictionaries and encyclopaedias. That is to say, we still have to evaluate not only their intrinsic features, but also their relative positions within the overall demand (literacy, potential customers, purchasing power) and the supply (the interests of the different

groups in spreading their ideas, the structure of the market, the censorship, the cost of books and so on) for economic literature.

Although there are undeniable similarities between the two Iberian Peninsula countries, there are also important differences between Portugal and Spain, which has also influenced the spread of political economy through dictionaries and encyclopaedias. The geographic, demographic, economic and institutional differences are well known, but the little-known differences in the specific development of economic thought in either country are also of remarkable importance. The liveliness of the debate in Spain (i.e., free trade against protectionism or agrarianism versus industrialism) contrasts with the relatively widespread unresponsiveness displayed in Portugal. This difference, therefore, calls for two different approaches to the matter. Regarding Portugal, the analysis should be focused on the difficulties experienced in publishing dictionaries and encyclopaedias that contained economic entries of the sort that were published in most other European economic publications. In the case of Spain, we have tried to reflect the main entries published in dictionaries and encyclopaedias¹: to study their nature, their ideological basis, their analytical content, and to evaluate their importance in the context of the economic thought of the time. In both cases, such approaches have been preferred to conducting a lexicographical analysis based on a comparative study of the main entries of these works, which would have enabled us to follow their individual developments over a period of time².

2. Spanish Dictionaries and Encyclopaedias (1760-1930)

The study of the Spanish case contains four chronologically arranged sections: 1) The paradox of the Enlightenment. 2) The golden era of economic dictionaries. 3) Krausism, Piernas Hurtado and economic dictionaries. 4) The Espasa-Calpe encyclopaedia.

2.1. The paradox of the Enlightenment

¹ There are several catalogues on Spanish dictionaries and encyclopaedias: Instituto nacional del libro español (1931-52 and 1980); Sánchez – Baig (1944); Palau (1948-77); Malkiel (1954); *International Bibliography...* (1979); and, especially, Fabbri (1979). Throughout this essay, entries from dictionaries and encyclopaedias will appear in brackets.

² Guidi (1994), however, has readily demonstrated the enormous potential of this technique. Also, J. Ugarte (1996) on the situation in Spain.

The period from 1760 to 1795 was a relatively brilliant one for economic science in Spain, with a significant upsurge being seen in Spanish economic literature. There were more Spanish authors publishing treatises and many more foreign texts on political economy being translated, and the readership of Spanish publications on economy increased significantly (Llombart 2000). Commercial dictionaries and encyclopaedias, however, did not truly reflect the splendour of the Spanish Enlightenment, and there are no original works published on Commerce and none of the French (Savary and Morellet) or British (Postlethwayt, Rolt and Mortimer) commercial dictionaries were ever translated into Spanish, as they were in many other European countries (McCulloch 1847[1832], pp. 19-21; Perrot 1992)³. Nevertheless, the original French and English versions were quite well-known in Spain. Particularly during the 18th century, the *Dictionnaire universel de commerce* by Savary was constantly consulted by the main Spanish economists of the Enlightenment – Uztáriz, Campomanes, Arriquíbar, Arteta and many others – in writing their own treatises. Something similar occurred with the *Encyclopédie* by Diderot-D'Alembert and the *Encyclopédie méthodique* by Panckoucke, which were frequently consulted by the members of the Enlightenment and specialised circles, although they were not translated (Anes 1970 and 1978). The severe censorship of the time, however, hampered their circulation. Indeed, the censorship that was imposed on the *Encyclopédie méthodique* was particularly harsh. In 1788, the Spanish Inquisition revoked the permission that had previously been granted to the publication by the Council of Castilla and its sale and distribution in Spain was explicitly prohibited⁴.

In 1789, the *Tratado* by T. A. de Marién was published. It is the only Spanish dictionary on commerce that was edited throughout the 18th century. Marién was a Spanish merchant and, in 1781, supervised the re-printing of S. Ricard's *Traité général du commerce* (1781), in French, which he claimed to have expanded considerably.

³ The agricultural dictionaries had better luck. Between 1797 and 1803, the French dictionary by Rozier was translated by Juan Álvarez Guerra, a member of the *sociedad matritense* (Argemí 1985, p. 21).

⁴ From 1788 onwards A. Sancha edited the translations into Spanish of ten volumes of the work – their religious and political content had been previously carefully censored. In any case, the volumes on *Commerce* and *Économie politique and diplomatique* were not translated. The eminent economist Jovellanos made the censorship's report on these unpublished volumes; it was highly positive (Anes 1978).

This was, indeed, an important publishing event: two years later, extended extracts from the *Traité* were included in the three volumes of *Commerce* (1783-84) which, in turn, was a part of the comprehensive and widely read *Encyclopédie méthodique*. In 1789, Marien embarked on another ambitious project: a five treatise work in which he undertook to provide the reader with the «sum total of the merchant's knowledge». As he himself was only too willing to acknowledge, he based his treatises squarely on the works of Savary, Postlethwayt, Ricard and Morellet (Marien 1789, p. VII). The project, however, was never completed. In fact, just one tiny portion was ever published: the section on currencies, weights, measures and foreign exchange. Since the aim of the section was to facilitate monetary transactions within the commercial sector, it included no economic content. The *Tratado*, therefore, did not arouse the interest of the economists of the following generations. The significant development that economic science experienced during the Enlightenment in Spain contrasts paradoxically with the fact that no trade dictionaries were compiled in the same period.

2.2. *The golden era of economics dictionaries*

The dearth of economic dictionaries during the Enlightenment contrasts acutely with their abundance from 1816 onwards. This radical change is not unrelated to the consolidation of political economy as a serious discipline through the foundation of academic chairs, the publication of textbooks and the appearance of journals devoted to the subject along with a significant increase in the number of institutions where it could be studied. During this period, condensed versions of other books, question-and-answer-type publications, elementary treatises, dictionaries and pocket encyclopaedias all contributed to the dissemination of economics and the training of certain professional groups (Martín 1989; Almenar 2000, pp. 29-32).

The first works on economics to be published in dictionaries, in Spain, appeared in the wake of the «rapid, widespread and enduring» dissemination of the writings of J.B. Say and his disciples. This was particularly the case from 1815 onwards (Lluch – Almenar 1992). The first of these works was Say's *Epítome*, which was translated twice: first in 1816, when it was published independently of Say's *Tratado*, and then in 1838, in a single volume that included the

Tratado (Say 1838). The editor of the second translation was J.A. Ponzón, Professor of Political economy and Statistics. A translation of Ganilh's *Diccionario* was also published twice, in 1827, by Mariano José Sicilia (Smith 1968), and in 1834 (Ganilh 1834). Blanqui's *Tratado* followed in 1843, and included a short «analytical dictionary of the principal terms of Political Economy» and was an integral part of the larger *Enciclopedia portátil* (1843).

Both Say's *Epítome* and Ganilh's *Diccionario* begin with lengthy forewords on the advantages of using an alphabetical listing of the different texts on the basic concepts of economics as a means of speeding-up its dissemination and development (Say 1838, pp. 316-317; Ganilh 1834[1827], p. 21). Although the idea had been introduced by a foreign author, it was seen as genuinely innovative in 19th-century Spain and continued to inspire Spanish economists right up to the end of the century⁵.

José Canga Argüelles, a liberal economist and the then Minister of public finance, was the first Spanish economist to embrace the concept. In 1818, in the middle of the Absolutist period, he had been refused permission to publish his *Diccionario económico, estadístico y de hacienda* (Alfaya 1924, p. 78), but finally the project saw the light of day under the title of *Diccionario de hacienda para el uso de los encargados de la suprema dirección de ella* (1826-27). He followed this up with the *Diccionario de hacienda, con aplicación a España* (1968[1833-34], 1980[1840])⁶. There is no doubt that these two dictionaries contained the most worthwhile articles on economics written by a Spanish economist during the first half of the 19th century. Both works, which were based on Say's concepts, were intended for use in training senior civil servants in the Spanish Department of public finance (Canga Argüelles, 1826-27, p. IV); they employed a broad approach that was basically Neckerian. He linked the study of the Treasury to «history, statistics, arithmetic and to general, civil, criminal and canonic law, as well as to the citizen's rights, economic science, diplomacy and the intelligent management of profit» (Canga Argüelles 1968[1833-34], I, p. 12). It comes as no surprise, therefore, that the majority of the articles had a financial flavour

⁵ Right up to the end of the 19th century, Piernas Hurtado insisted on the importance of Say as a pioneer in compiling dictionaries on economics.

⁶ Years later J. Alcalde published a new dictionary of public finance, heavily based on those published by Canga Argüelles (Ballesteros 1940, p. 75).

and included numerous memoranda and reports of a legal, administrative or statistical nature and related to the Spanish Ministry of public finance. Indeed, its statistical and historical depth, along with its realistic outlook, are the most outstanding features of his work (Fonseca 1995). The statistical content reveals the influence of Peuchet and Gioia.

Although its articles on political economy were devoted to the training of civil servants in the Ministry of public finance, they are fairly general in nature; the idea was to introduce the reader to the «basic principles of Political Economy» (Canga Argüelles 1826-27, p. VI). As a result, the articles provide us with an exposé of Canga Argüelles' basic approach to political economy and his personal vision of the economic ailments of Spain at the beginning of the 19th century. Nevertheless, he uses economic arguments in an attempt to justify the reduction of public expenditure to stimulate “private interests”. Indeed, Canga Argüelles believed that the State's role was «to remove any obstacles to the spread of learning [and] to stimulate private interests». He refers to this concept repeatedly throughout his dictionaries, suggesting that the realization of his dream would be a minimum of State intervention, upholding the principles of classical liberal public finance (Comín 2000, pp. 419-422).

Despite its considerably greater economic content, only fifty of the eight hundred articles in the *Diccionario de hacienda, con aplicación a España* are related to political economy. They nevertheless hold a prominent position in his work. The underlying philosophy is the freeing-up of the internal market, through the deregulation of business, industry and employment, and the gradual and bilateral introduction of a free-trade approach to foreign commerce (“Free Trade”, “Prohibitions”, in Canga Argüelles 1968[1833-34]) (Smith 1968, p. 319). Primary industry is given priority in Spanish economic development. This is evident from the long article on “Agriculture” and the absence of any entry on “Industry”. This ties the *Diccionario* in with the influential liberal Spanish agrarian stream at the beginning of the 19th century (Almenar 1976).

The articles that form the analytical basis of the work have their ideological roots in classical British and French economics. Smith appears as a fairly distant point of reference whose ideas are, at times, accepted (“Balance of trade”, “Internal trade”), at other

times brought up-to-date and, on yet other occasions, disputed (“Productive and unproductive classes”, “Division of labour”). Say, on the other hand, has a more immediate presence and it is his economic ideas that provide the back-bone of the various analytical articles published in the *Diccionario* (“Depopulation”, “Currency extraction”, “Free trade”, “Luxury”, “Mechanization”, “Currency”, “Price”, “Production”). To a lesser degree, the work also reveals the influence of Destutt de Tracy, Ganilh, Garnier, Sismondi and Chaptal, especially in its articles on money and population.

When we move outside the strictly analytical realm, we realize that the *Diccionario* draws on a far broader variety of sources. Canga Argüelles also invokes the authority of Enlightened thinkers like Verri, Necker and Filangieri, and uses Verri’s ideas as a basis for his gradualist approach to the reforming of the Ministry of public finances (“The latest developments in public finance”, “Minister of treasury”) and those of both Verri and Filangeri to vindicate his support for free trade (“Free trade”) while he draws on Necker to demonstrate the need to decentralise the administration of Spain’s financial affairs (“Provincial administrative boards”, Astigarraga 2000, p. 133).

One of the dictionaries’ most serious failings is the lack of articles on basic theoretical concepts like “Profit”, “Income”, “Salaries”, “Value” or “Distribution” and especially the brevity of the definition given for civil economics. Verri coined this term and Canga Argüelles uses it as a synonym for political economy. As well, there is a inconsistency underlying the way he relates economic, historical and statistical concepts that only accentuates even more the lack of organization that plagues the works (Smith 1957). Another of its most obvious pitfalls is Canga Argüelles’ insistence on identifying precedents for classical economists’ ideas amongst Spanish authors of the 16th and 17th centuries. Nevertheless, this did revive interest in Spanish economists in an intellectual environment dominated by foreign theorists. The exhaustive bibliography that appears under the heading of “Spanish economists” is indicative of the author’s interest.

There was a considerable increase in the publication of subject specific dictionaries that incorporated important economic concepts during the middle decades of the century. They fall into four main categories: trade, politics, technology and agriculture.

The three trade dictionaries (Boy 1839-40; *Diccionario universal...* 1845-46; Mantilla 1849), all published in the Forties, share the same didactic purpose: the training of «businessmen and entrepreneurs» and, less specifically, civil servants in the Ministries of public finance and public administration. For that reason the most widely used terms in commerce and commercial law, commercial geography and bookkeeping tend to receive preferential treatment whilst purely economic concepts get relegated to positions of lesser importance. The compilation of trade dictionaries experienced an advance in France (Levan-Lemesle 1985) and this, in turn, meant that more were written in Spain as well. The extensive use of French sources as well as the similar structure employed in the Spanish dictionaries is indicative of this. Nevertheless, there was an overwhelming desire to adapt the terms to local economic conditions.

The *Tesoro del comercio...* (1836-38) was an ambitious undertaking that aspired to bring together all the skills and know how useful in business. The work was published by an economic institution of fundamental importance for Catalonia, the Barcelona Board of Trade, and coincided with the revival of the chair of Political economy maintained by the Board and taken up by an influential industrial economist and prohibitionist, E. Jaumeandreu (Luch 1973, pp. 259-332). Although the work already included a short commercial dictionary, J. Boy was commissioned by the Board to compile the comprehensive *Diccionario teórico...* (Boy 1839-40). Underlying its contents is a trade model much closer to the neomercantalism of the 18th century than to 19th century classicism and a vigorous defence of protectionist policy. This is in line with the agenda of Catalan industrialism which, at that time, was led by the Board of Trade (“Customs”)⁷. The *Diccionario* contains very few economic articles and there are no entries for balance of trade, free trade, economic protectionism or value, amongst others. What few articles there are on the subject have little economic content. (“Agriculture”, “Trade”, “Competition”, “Money”, “Political economy”, “Interest”). Boy seems to have drawn mainly on Savary, Buisson and Peuchet, the statistician (“Prologue”, in Boy 1839-40,

⁷ In general, the *Diccionario* was a reflection of mainstream economic thought in Catalonia: up to 1840, prohibitionism was dominant, and from 1840 onwards, protectionism. Either strategy met with the opposition of the Spanish free trade group, increasingly better organised and more powerful (Luch 1973; Artal 1991).

I), although exercising some independence of thought where historical or geographical points were concerned.

The *Diccionario universal...* (1845-46), the second of the three publications, has a more up to date feel about it. Although the work is anonymous, its author was almost certainly from Malaga; the book was published there and the city was home to an influential group of protectionist economists, lead by Manuel N. Gutiérrez (Grice-Hutchinson 1982; Velasco 1990, pp. 107-139). Indeed, one of the work's principal features is its stance halfway between prohibitionism and the complete deregulation of foreign trade. Its author advocates a mild and actively discriminant protectionism which he claims is essential for the health of the «emerging but still faltering and vulnerable manufacturing industry» in Spain and especially for the development of the cotton industry, the author's principal preoccupation ("Customs", "Balance of trade", "Cotton"). Nevertheless, this industrial protectionism is not antiagrarian: the *Diccionario* devotes considerable space to agriculture and proposes sweeping reforms including mechanization, high rotation cultivation, greater use of irrigation and the opening of rural banks ("Agriculture", "Manufacturing").

Although we have demonstrated that the *Diccionario* includes entries from McCulloch's *Dictionary*, many of them are from similar French sources. Proof of this is that some of the articles ("Capital", "Trade", "Linen", "Prohibitions") appear with their authors' names – writers such as A. Blanqui, J. Garnier and H. Dussard. It seems fairly likely that the *Diccionario* drew primarily on two sources: *Dictionnaire universel du commerce, de la banque et des manufactures* (1837-40) and *Dictionnaire du commerce et des marchandises* (1837); numerous articles from the latter work appear in the *Diccionario*.

The *Diccionario de comercio, industria y navegación* concludes the trio of trade dictionaries. As in the previous case, it draws mainly on French's and McCulloch's dictionaries and supplemented by material from three other sources: the dictionaries by Canga Argüelles, by Boy and the important *Diccionario geográfico-estadístico-histórico de España, y sus posesiones de ultramar* by Pascual Madoz (1845-50). The author of the *Diccionario de comercio...* was José Mantilla (1849). He was linked to the Mercantile Society of Madrid and the Spanish Mercantile Federation, both of which were meeting places for liberals in Madrid.

He supported free trade but conceived economic development from an agrarist standpoint. Thus we see that the agrarianism of the first third of the century still has a presence in this work.

There are two political dictionaries that include economic articles: the *Diccionario político...* (1845) and another by E. Chao (Chao –Romero – Ruiz de Quevedo 1849). The underlying purpose of both was the dissemination of political ideas amongst civil servants, diplomats and journalists as well as career politicians. They were both translations of the same French dictionary of politics: Eugène Duclerc's *Dictionnaire politique* (1842); the articles on economics in the original were written by authors like Jean Gustave Courcelle-Seneuil, Elias Regnault and Hipolito Dussard. Nevertheless, the Spanish dictionaries' economic content was adapted to local conditions: new articles were included and the old ones were expanded. This adaptation affected the first of the dictionaries in two areas: customs duties and public debt (the articles "Customs duties" and "Public debt" were written by Carlos Romey and Pedro Serra y Rull). The changes made to the second of the dictionaries were more radical and affected three areas: credit and the banking system, customs duties and, most of all, public finance. Although the authors borrowed ideas from Bastiat, Thompson and Fourier, the principal sources for the additions are Canga Argüelles' *Diccionarios* ("Customs duties", "Savings banks", "Official registration of rural property", "Public debt in Spain", "Taxation", etc.).

The two Spanish dictionaries share severe ideological differences with the French original. Whilst accepting Coucelle-Seneuil's line of argument⁸, they reject what they perceive as moderate protectionism and adopt a position more openly in favour of free trade. A good example of these adaptations is to be found in the *Diccionario político...* (1845); it uses arguments formulated by one of the first generation of Spanish economists to support free trade, J.M. Vadillo, in defence of «the importation of foreign merchandise with as few restrictions as possible» ("Customs duties").

⁸ According to the classification proposed by Breton and Luftalla (1991), Courcelle-Seneuil's radical liberalism appears in these dictionaries in a rather diluted form. This can be seen in the articles that advocate a substantial increase in state intervention in industrial development, support the continued existence of some monopolies and the improvement of the living conditions of the working class ("Industry", "Customs duties", "Monopoly", "Monopolist", "Pauperism").

Finally, amongst the dictionaries of crafts, trades and farming, we find three that include some references to economics issues: the *Diccionario tecnológico...* (1833-35) and the *Enciclopedia tecnológica...* (1856-57) and a dictionary of practical farming by Collantes and Alfaro (1852-54). The few economics articles that this last dictionary contains give more weight to social rather than political economy and devote special attention to social issues and rural poverty (“Rural economics”). Another recurrent theme is the importance of introducing a customs duty system that would provide a solution for Spanish agricultural surpluses (“Cotton”, “Grains”).

The dictionaries of crafts and trade became vehicles for the propagation of an “industrial” type economic vision, the roots of which are to be found in France. F. de P. Mellado’s *Enciclopedia tecnológica...* (1856-57) was a translation adapted for Spanish conditions of the *Dictionnaire des arts et manufactures* (1847) by the industrialist C. Laboulaye. The *Diccionario tecnológico...* (1833-35) was also a translation of a French work and seems to draw on the industrialist arguments of Say and perhaps of the disciples of Saint-Simon⁹. The influence of the great French economist is present in most of the articles. Special emphasis is given to the importance of encouraging scientific research; it is seen as absolutely essential for the development of the applied arts and the introduction of mechanization in an industrially deregulated climate and as a key to the expansion of the manufacturing sector. This sector is perceived to be the very cornerstone of a nation’s economic strength.

The *Enciclopedia moderna* put out by F. de P. Mellado finishes the prolific publishing cycle of encyclopaedia and dictionaries. This work marks a highpoint of enormous importance in Spanish intellectual life of the 19th century. Mellado was a distinguished Madrid publisher, bookseller and businessman and was a key figure in the translation of French books and encyclopaedias, especially ones on geography, history, arts and trades. He formed part of an aggressive bourgeoisie, which included people like Pascual Madoz, Boix, Gaspar and Roig, and that was able to exploit the growing

⁹ The first eight volumes were published. They got no further than “Co”. Much the same thing happened to the *Enciclopedia española...*(1845). This was an ambitious publishing project and included José Morales Santisteban, Girvasio Gironella and Nicomedes Pastor Díaz among its contributors of economic articles. Everything indicates that its publication was suspended at its twelfth volume (“Ar”). We should point out, however, that its entries would not be of much interest to the reader (“Customs duties”, “Apprenticeship”).

market for literature to consolidate and modernize the publishing sector without compromising or questioning the ruling monarchical order; Mellado rose to be secretary to the Queen in 1847 (Zavala 1989, pp. 47, 101, 112, 115).

Without doubt, the *Enciclopedia moderna* was the most important publication of the time. Despite the high quality of the economics entries throughout the work, it has been entirely overlooked by historians of this discipline in Spain. It is quite probable that a detailed examination of its contents could substantially change our current understanding of the dissemination of ideas during the second half of the 19th century in this country; it was an extremely widely read book and it can be found in the majority of Spanish libraries with historical archives.

The *Enciclopedia moderna* was the first general work of the genre. Its thirty-five volumes were available by subscription, an usual system for works like this in the Spain of the times. The articles were arranged alphabetically and classified according to their subject nature and it also included a carefully compiled bibliography. These features set it apart from the dictionaries and encyclopaedias published in Spain up to that time and imbued it with an air of modernity. The articles had a similar feel and it seems credible that the *Encyclopédie moderne. Dictionnaire abrégé des sciences, des lettres, des arts, de l'industrie, de l'agriculture et du commerce* (1846-51) edited by the Didot company was in some way responsible. After examining comparable works, Mellado judged this encyclopaedia to be the best of its kind at the time. In fact he maintained commercial relations with the French publishing company and they supplied him with the illustrations from the section on geography for inclusion in the *Enciclopedia moderna*. Although some of the terms used in the encyclopaedia came from the Didot company's publication, Mellado himself believed that «the laws of science are universal» and that only «their application varied according to the country». He went on to point out the necessity of compiling a work based on Spanish conditions.

There are more than a hundred definitions of economic terms. They were generally extremely lengthy and some could even be considered small monographic treatises (“Political economy”, “Trade”, “Spain”). For the most part they were articles written

especially for the work by Spanish authors who for the moment remain unknown; further research may reveal their identity¹⁰.

As far as the economic content is concerned, the most interesting feature of the encyclopaedia is that for the first time there are articles specifically devoted to economists (“Bentham”) and schools of economics (“Liberalism”, “Socialism”, “Saint-Simonism”). Most of the articles are lengthy and offer a convincing analysis of their subject matter. The analytical aspect of the articles was not merely abstract but was readily applicable to the Spanish economy. This balance between theory and practice was achieved in conjunction with a much more organised and logical approach than we find in Canga Argüelles’ dictionaries (“Capital”, “Balance of trade”).

The economic articles in the encyclopaedia are right up to date and clearly reflect the plural intellectual environment in Spain during the middle decades of the 19th century and document the foreign ideas circulating within the country (Lluch – Almenar 1992). On one hand it is true that French economics literature, from Say to Bastiat, was responsible for the introduction of the greater part of these foreign ideas; Storch, Sismondi and the Saint-Simonians also made a significant contribution. On the other, given the intellectual climate of the times, the enormous importance of economic literature of post Smithian Britain (McCulloch, Torrens, West, Destutt de Tracy, etc.) must be emphasized; the ominous absence of the Italians is also significant, although fairly standard for the times. As for the Spanish economists of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries, the authors of the *Enciclopedia moderna* persevered with Canga Argüelles’ endeavours to revive their importance, although somewhat less enthusiastically. Finally, the articles’ authors made use of dictionaries by Didot, Guillaumin and McCulloch and we must therefore add these to the list of sources consulted.

Everything leads us to believe that this ambitious publishing project was linked to a much broader reformist agenda. A great number of the entries in the dictionary commented on the

¹⁰ J.M. Antequera (“Legislation”, “Public finance”, “Administration”), Facundo Goñi (“Socialism”) and Augusto de Burgos (“Agriculture”) are said to have been amongst the contributors. Our belief is that, besides them, the most important Spanish economists of the times were involved. The contribution of the free-trader economist José Joaquín Mora to the *Enciclopedia* is well known (Schwartz 1970).

consequences of the introduction of a system of “universal freedom” in Spain; this was based on the principle of free competition (“Circulation”, “Trade”, “Competition”) and the desire to move gradually towards free trade system (“Customs”).

The most logical hypothesis seems to be that the economic content of the *Enciclopedia moderna* was compiled by members of the Spanish free-trade group, which has only become more consolidated over the years. Previously, the different free-trader circles were scattered all over the country – Madrid, Sevilla, Cádiz, Málaga, Valencia and Barcelona. Two factors contributed to bringing them together: Cobden’s tour around Spain in 1846 and the wide-spread reach of the works of Bastiat and the French “economists” school throughout the 1840’s (Almenar – Velasco 1987; Luch 1988). Therefore, these circumstances made it more likely that the strategy of development defended by the free-trade group would become more realistic to be able implement it in Spain. The free-trade position, traditionally upheld by Flórez Estrada and a number of other Spanish economists, and which continued increasing throughout the 1840’s (Pebrer, Marliani, Vadillo or Mora), became an alternative to the protectionism that prevailed in mid-19th-century Spain (Luch – Almenar 1992)¹¹. Such a position was new to the country at that time, since it associated the defence of free trade with industrial interests (Costas 2000).

These features of the *Enciclopedia moderna* let us to draw a parallel with foreign works. Indeed, it could be say that the *Enciclopedia moderna* and the *Dictionnaire d’économie politique* by Coquelin and Guillaumin share similar ideas over free-trade and antistatalism (Levan-Lemesle 1985), and during the 1850’s and 1860’s both works were which best exemplifies the period among the collective works on economics in Spain and France, respectively. The wide spread reached by the *Enciclopedia moderna* and by the works of the main authors of the terms of the *Dictionnaire* (Garnier, Chevalier, Molinari, etc.) contribute to explain the absence of the Spanish translation of the latter. However, the *Dictionnaire* proves to be very influential in Spain and

¹¹ In this sense, the *Enciclopedia moderna* was just a forerunner to the many other publishing achievements by the free-trade group during the subsequent years, such as the edition of certain periodical publications – “El Economista” (1856-57), “La Tribuna del economista” (1857-58), and “La gaceta economista” (1861-63) (Almenar 1996) – or the foundation of the *Sociedad de economía política* and the *Asociación para la reforma de los aranceles de aduanas*.

significant extracts were translated and inserted within the treatises by Benigno Carballo (1855-56) and Mariano Carreras (1865). These works were used as text-book in the political economy chairs in the Spanish University (Almenar 2000).

2.3. Krausism Piernas Hurtado and economic dictionaries

A new chapter in the history of Spanish political economy dictionaries began in the last quarter of the 19th century. This period was dominated, though not entirely, by the Krausist economists and, in particular, by one person, J.M. Piernas Hurtado. The Krausists were disciples of the German philosopher Krause (Díaz 1983; Menéndez 2001). His influence over certain Spanish liberal economists of mid-19th-century Spain was evident (Cacho Víu 1962, p. 10; Cabrillo 1991, p. XXXIX). From 1870 onwards, however, and as a direct result of the well-known *Lessons* given by Francisco Giner de los Ríos at the University of Madrid, the Krausist broke-away from liberalism and forged a peculiar form of Krausism that had its own identity. The attack on his *Lessons* was just the first of many launched against the “optimism” of Spanish liberalism (Serrano 1997, p. 25; Díaz 1983)¹².

Piernas Hurtado was a Professor of Political economy and Public finance and author of the fundamental text on Krausist economics, *Tratado de hacienda pública* (1884) (Malo 1998)¹³. He wrote the *Vocabulario de la economía* of which three editions were published¹⁴. Rather than an encyclopaedia, it was a small dictionary

¹² Giner de los Ríos and his disciples Gumersindo de Azcárate and Piernas Hurtado himself formed the main group of Krausist economists. They were all close comrades of the *Institución libre de enseñanza*, founded under the leadership of the first (Malo 2001, p. 416; Jiménez-Landi 1996). Lluch and Argemí discovered another channel for the introduction of Krausism into Spanish economics. They particularly defend the belief that public finance treatises such as *Public Finance* by Toledano and later *Tratado de hacienda pública* by Piernas Hurtado received the German influence directly, without the intermediation of the *Institución libre de enseñanza* (Lluch – Argemí 2000).

¹³ We explicitly ignore the existence of several other dictionaries and encyclopaedias during the period, as they offer very little information of interest, such as a dictionary on the arts, translated from French (Camps 1892), one on agriculture (López – Hidalgo – Prieto 1885-89) and the three most important ones on commercial technique (Guilló 1879; Torrents y Monner 1885; Esteban 1894).

¹⁴ The first edition, in 1877, was a series of re-written articles, which had been published earlier on in the same year, under the title of *Vocabulario de la economía* in the “*Revista europea*” (vol. IX, pp. 365, 398, 439, 500, 522, 558, 598, 633, 658 and 684). The second edition came out in 1882 and the third, possibly, in 1900.

of economic concepts, written in line with the principles of Say's *Epítome* and avoiding the «great developments [and their] applications» (Piernas 1877, p. 6). It was aimed at the classroom and provided students a detailed alphabetical catalogue of terms that attempted to re-define economic science in Krausists' terms. In 1874, Piernas Hurtado himself wrote the "Epilogue" to the second edition of *Filosofía del interés personal. Tratado didáctico de economía política* (1874) by Mariano Carreras. The "Epilogue" summarised Giner de los Ríos' *Lessons*, given at the University of Madrid, as previously mentioned, and promoted criticism to Carreras' "optimism". The *Vocabulario de la economía*, edited three years later, continued the attack on liberalism's "optimism". The dictionary should therefore be interpreted within the framework of the breach between the two schools, the Krausists and the "liberal economists". The latter dominated economics during the mid-19th-century and their members played a decisive role in editing the economic entries in the *Enciclopedia moderna*. The publication of *Philosophie de la science économique* (1881) by Carreras, who declared that the main aim of the work was to refute the arguments included in the "Epilogue", and in *Vocabulario* seems to prove so (Malo 2001, p. 405). Social problems and the inability of the individualist school to solve them underlay the entire debate. Thus, the debate continued. The second edition of the *Vocabulario*, just as its foreword indicated, contained the Krausists' response, by Piernas, and presented a clearly defined alternative to the movement (Piernas ed. 1882, pp. 5-18). In fact, Piernas added more than thirty new definitions to the ninety published in the first edition. Some of them were actually included to demonstrate the differences between the Krausists and other Spanish schools of economics. Others tried to define the bounds of economic Krausism. The differences between Krausism's and chair socialism's economics were particularly highlighted ("Chair socialism")¹⁵.

As far as economic theory is concerned, the dictionary is virtually of no importance. There are very few articles on the theoretical aspects of economics ("Capital", "Money", "Capital interest", "Supply and demand", "Utility"). Even the entries on public finance are disappointing in this regard, although Piernas was

¹⁵ There is no agreement as to the links that might have existed between chair socialism or historicism and Spanish economics (Velarde 1986 and 2001a; Malo 1998 and 2001). The *Vocabulario de la economía* kept its distance from such foreign economic streams.

well-versed in this field (“Taxation”, “Public debt”). But this is not unusual for the Spain of the end of the 19th century, as contemporaries and more recent historians point-out: «a poor theoretical level characterises the period» (Estapé 1971; Algarra 1976; Velarde 1974; Serrano – Sánchez – Malo 2001). On the other hand, the *Vocabulario* is interesting for another reason: Although it borders, at times, on propaganda, it does provide the reader with a clear guide to the Krausist doctrine. The dictionary positions the Krausists mid-way between the socialists and the individualists. The latter group’s existence was due to the enduring influence of Bastiat and the “French economists” school in Spain. The Krausists accepted the existence of natural laws in economic science and believed that free competition should form the basis of the economic system. However, they remained unconvinced that competition alone would produce “harmony” and reproached the individualist economists for the sectarian and orthodox nature of their natural laws; they made no attempt to address the ethical aspect of economics. As a result, they advocated intervention by the State, not only to improve the economy’s efficiency but also to achieve social justice (“Economic systems”, “Socialism”, “The State”, “Competition”).

Thus, Piernas’ “harmonism” sat midway between liberal individualism and socialism; he accused the chair socialists of being tainted by the evils of socialism (“Chair socialism”). In actual fact, there was a socio-political agenda underlying the entire work; not only was reference made to academic issues but also to the terrible social conditions created by industrialization. A number of articles in the dictionary are indicative of this (“Pauperism”, “Misery”, “Poverty”). Last of all, the pointed nature of the *Vocabulario* explains the limited use made of foreign intellectual sources. Piernas’ principal sources were Spanish authors of the individualist school like Carreras and González or Krausists like Azcárate and Giner.

The contribution of the Krausist to the preparation of the socio-economic entries of the *Diccionario enciclopédico hispano-americano* (1887-98) was of fundamental importance. This work marked a second highpoint in the 19th century after Mellado’s *Enciclopedia moderna*. It was a popular encyclopaedia and was well put together both in terms of the layout and the didactic nature of the contents. All the articles were related to one or more subject

areas and usually included extracts from texts by authorities on the matter at hand to illustrate and clarify the meanings of the terms listed. As the title itself indicates, the *Diccionario* placed special emphasis on terms relevant to the Latin America; it must have enjoyed wide circulation because it can be found in most Spanish libraries. The project was clearly important as the leading intellectuals of the end of the 19th century were all involved. As far as the social sciences were concerned, the Krausists' influence was quite evident. Although Piernas Hurtado prepared the entries on economics himself, Gumersindo de Azcárate, author of the influential *Estudios económicos y sociales* (1876), the most important Krausist work on economics, together with *Tratado de hacienda pública* (1884) by Piernas Hurtado (Velarde 1976), compiled the articles on sociology and politics and Giner de los Ríos, the ones on aesthetics. Therefore, the three principal authors of Economic Krausism had decisive roles in the compiling of the *Diccionario*. The economics articles initially fell into two categories: "Principles of economic science" and "Political economy, public treasury and statistics". Manuel Pedregal was responsible for the first category; he was an author who, although not belonging to the Krausist group, had moved from liberal orthodoxy towards acceptance of State intervention. Piernas Hurtado took care of the second category. Later on, other contributors became involved¹⁶.

From a theoretical point of view the articles are somewhat out-of-date. On one hand, there was no reference to the neoclassical school and nothing at all about marginalist economics; this reflected the general absence of "new economics" in 19th century Spain (Almenar 2000, pp. 74-84). On the other hand, the articles drew heavily on the classical and the French "economist" schools. S.D. de Madrazo was a disciple of the latter group (*ibid.*, p. 78); of all the Spanish works consulted it was his treatise *Lecciones de economía política* (1874-76) that was the most extensively employed to write the economics articles ("Value", "Utility", "Society"). This fact does not contradict the Krausist bias of the *Diccionario*, however,

¹⁶ Years later, Enrique Corrales y Sánchez took-over the articles on political economy and statistics, among others; Piernas Hurtado was left with those on public finance alone. In vol. XVII (1895), Pedregal stopped writing for the publication and the articles on the laws on political economy disappeared entirely. In vol. XIX (1896) Piernas Hurtado dropped-out and Corrales took-over all editing of the articles on economics and public finance until the work went out of publishing.

since, as was previously mentioned, there was a general consensus on the theoretical issues among Spanish economists at the end of the 19th century. Differences only were meaningful with regard to specific matters on Spanish economy (Serrano 2001). Furthermore, this proves the poor level of analytical content in economics in Spain at the time. The references to the German historicists, including Schmoller and Wagner, are interesting as are the highly critical mentions given to the various socialist movements. An interesting feature of the economic entries in the *Diccionario* is the use of historical analyses and, whenever appropriate, statistics and economic geography (“Customs”, “Agriculture”, “Balance of trade”).

The *Diccionario*'s Krausist bias becomes particularly apparent in articles like “The State”, “Competition”, “Individualism” and “Society”; these are the terms that lay at the heart of the Krausists' reforms. Ahrens was Krause's main disciple and the principal proponent of his ideas; his theory on the role of the State was a consistent point of reference in the greater part of these articles (“State”). The articles also presented the Krausist doctrine as an alternative both to the liberal individualist and socialist schools (“Competition”, “Individualism”). They put forward an almost propagandistic programme of reforms that adhered faithfully to the tenets of Krausism (Malo 1998) and included the following features: the moralization of the economic agents – company paternalism and worker education; the promotion of associationism, especially amongst the working class; the right to strike and the creation of mixed juries to settle industrial disputes; the promotion of co-operativism; worker profit-sharing; the introduction of social welfare (“Capital”, “Competition”, “Society”). It is apparent that this social reformism was severely limited in its conception and based on the liberal idea of property and the Krausists' economic relations. It rejected the drastic changes to economic and social structures that the socialists proposed and their ideas were subjected to constant condemnation throughout the *Diccionario*. Finally, it is remarkable that meaningful matters in the Spanish economy at the end of the century, such as monetary problems or the change toward protectionism (Serrano 1997; 2001), were pushed into the background as a result of the priority given to social matters in Krausist thought.

The Krausists defended a modification of the legal system and the reform of the individual through education as a way of solving the problems that arose from industrialisation (Menéndez 2001, pp. 302-303). In this sense, the *Institución libre de enseñanza* was the most important achievement of the pedagogic program of Spanish Krausism (Gómez 1966, p. 420; Jiménez-Landi 1996). The importance of the *Diccionario* and the decisive contribution of the Krausists calls for further research to be able to verify the hypothesis that the *Diccionario* was another powerful instrument used in the spreading of the Krausist doctrine.

2.4. *The Espasa Calpe Encyclopaedia*

Espasa-Calpe published the last of the seventy volumes of the *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada europeo-americana* in 1930; they had begun the series in 1903. To this day it is still considered the most comprehensive of Spanish encyclopaedias. Espasa-Calpe involved the leading Spanish intellectuals of the era in its compilation and its lay out was based on a German encyclopaedia by Brockhaus (Esteve *et al.* 1993, p. 516). Its all embracing approach and the huge time span covered by its compilation presented enormous problems for its editors.

The encyclopaedia includes a comprehensive range of articles on economic concepts and economists; it covers Hispano-American authors and most foreign ones even up to Keynes. However, because the dictionary was written over such a long period of time, the articles seem to lack a common vision. A number of different authors were involved; the most credible hypothesis is that the economic articles were initially written by Krausists. This implies a certain continuity with the *Diccionario enciclopédico hispano-americano*, a successful publication that was still relatively contemporaneous. Just as in this work, the articles are presented in a modern format. They include bibliographies and are grouped together according to their subject matter. However, it is apparent that non-Krausist economists became involved in the production of the encyclopaedia at a later date. They were from the University of Barcelona: Jaime Algarra, Professor of Political economy and Public finance in the Faculty of Law, and Bartolomé Amengual and José Busquets, both from the School of Business (*Diccionario*

enciclopédico... 1887-98, LXX, pp. VII-XVI). Algarra and Amengual belonged to the circle of Flores de Lemus, an historicist and the leading of Spanish economist of the first half of the century (Velarde 1974; 2001b, p. 270). Nevertheless, as stated in the prologue, wherever there are adaptations or extensions to articles taken from important foreign encyclopaedias, and especially from the German ones (Brockhaus, Meyer and Herder) (*Diccionario enciclopédico...* 1887-98, I, p. IX), clear acknowledgement is made of the fact.

As previously mentioned, the articles on political economy in the *Enciclopedia* are anonymous, but we suspect that in the opening phases of the encyclopaedia's production, they were written by Krausists; indeed, biographies of distinguished Krausists, like Azcárate, Piernas and Giner de los Ríos, have been conscientiously included in the work. Bit by bit though, we begin to notice an increasingly critical attitude in the articles towards German historicism, both for its methodology and its identification with socialist ideology ("Political economy"). In the same way, these articles show that, although Krausist reformism maintained differences with social Catholicism and socialism at the close of the 19th century, it ended up merging with them to form the broad social economics movement that would provide the dominant criteria in the writing of the articles in the first stage of the *Enciclopedia* ("Social economics", "Social issues", "Pauperism", "Associationism", "Competition")¹⁷.

At the end of the second decade of the century, the *Enciclopedia* appears to adopt a more favourable attitude towards historicism and positivism, especially the German school. J. Algarra was probably responsible for this change in attitude. In addition, for the first time a Spanish encyclopaedia offered comprehensive and detailed information on marginalism and its various schools, the Austrian, the British and the Lausanne. The use of graphs and mathematical language as a means of expression to present this movement was completely novel ("Mathematical school", "Price"). Nevertheless, in keeping with the dominance of historicist theory during this stage of the encyclopaedia, the authors refute the marginalists contentions. An illustrative example of this is the article on value which uses arguments contained in the treatise by

¹⁷ The social reform was carried-out by a wide range of groups, despite the discrepancies over doctrine that existed among them (Montero 2001, p. 490).

the German historicist Kleinwächter; it had already been translated into Spanish. These historicist tendencies were preserved right up to the completion of the work in 1930 (“Value”), and can also be seen in the inclusion of some full biographies on the members of the “new” historical school (“Schmoller”, “Wagner”); they contrast remarkably with the more concise entries on the neo-classical economists like Marshall, Jevons, Menger and Böhm-Bawerk or the complete omission of others like Walras.

3. A preliminary survey of the Portuguese case

3.1. The market for political economy books in Portugal across the 18th and 19th centuries was rather small. Illiteracy¹⁸ was of course one of the main flaws affecting that market – and certainly one of the critical reasons why publishers were inevitably cautious about printing those books that, as far as one could tell, could only be of interest for a very little group of learned, politically engaged people¹⁹. Besides, as the minority of enlightened potential customers was able to buy and read foreign editions, and the vast majority of the population was in fact quite indifferent to political economy literature, there was also no promising market for translations.

As a rule, sizeable publishing streams on political economy were therefore closely related to exceptional situations within overall environment – like major social and political upheavals or some key changes in the political agenda that were to be conveyed to the general public. In both cases, as a result of the emergence of a background that was likely to engender animated debates, the quest for public support would lead at once to a visible investment in the production of memoirs, pamphlets, newspaper articles, and other prompt (and passing) means of communication. Conversely, if the crisis would refuse to go away, the continuous flood of writings

¹⁸ Some figures may be of help: in 1878, 83% of the Portuguese population was illiterate. In 1900, this number falls down to a nevertheless expressive 75,1% (Domingos 1985, p. 151) This implies that potential readers would fluctuate between 670 thousand in 1878 and a little more than 1million in 1900. The scarceness of actual readers may also be confirmed by the fact that total number of readers in all the public libraries between 1883 and 1910 amounts to 1.972.245 (Tengarrinha 1983, p. 203).

¹⁹ According to the data published by Tengarrinha (1983, p. 227), those who attended public libraries had a marked preference for literature and belles lettres.

would eventually allow some space either for the reprint of some long forgotten texts, or the publishing of some new, more articulated works.

From the 18th up to the 20th century, Portugal came across several of these distinctive situations. In the transition from 18th to the 19th century, a widespread frustration with Ancien Régime regulations provided the necessary stimulus for the emergence of a number of economic memoirs, then of some major economic writings. This initial trend was followed by a publishing outburst across the 1820's, now as direct consequence of the political action of some opinion makers that were trying to establish a new liberal political agenda. Finally, across the 20th century, we may find three moments of political and intellectual turmoil: the 1910 abolishment of the monarchy, the 1930's attempt to establish corporatism as a potential way out of the alleged moral and material crisis meet by the western world, and the 1974 democratic revolution. Once again, within each of these moments, quite a few books on economic issues – and above all on economic doctrines and systems – were published.

3.2. Within a small and fluctuating market, the actual demand for more massive and expensive works like dictionaries and encyclopaedias was inevitably faint, and both publishers and booksellers were therefore to think twice before embarking on such a risky venture. If Portuguese, their production and release would involve larger costs – and a longer investment – than those required for publishing an average single volume book. If foreign, the importation of these works would require the previous recruitment of a minimum of reliable subscriptions.

Notwithstanding a few successful ventures like Silva Lisboa's 1801 *Princípios de Direito Mercantil e Leis da marinha para uso da mocidade portuguesa destinada ao comércio*, Barbosa's 1822 *ABC e compêndio de ciência da riqueza* and Borges' 1939 *Dicionário jurídico-comercial*, the fact is that there was really no room for a growing number of such type of works. As a consequence, some surrogate publishing initiatives emerged, expressing the same overall instructive goal of major encyclopaedia projects.

A number of literate journals – like the “Correio braziliense ou armazém literário” (1808-22), the “Annaes das sciencias das artes e das letras” (1818-22), or the “Armazém dos conhecimentos úteis” (1838) – were edited by an élite of political émigrés in England and

in France. Alongside with articles on political issues, they also presented the readers with notices on several different scientific subjects, and some major works on political economy were taken into account and accurately reviewed. Within Portugal, a few other 19th century periodicals like the “Panorama” (1837-68) and the “Revista universal lisbonense” (1841-53), acted as a feasible substitute to full-fledged encyclopaedias by trying to convey «a little science to all» (França 1993, p. 168). As a result of the very characteristics of the Portuguese market for printed matters, almanacs and other weekly reviews also acted as a meaningful surrogate for more expensive and comprehensive works.

Pretty much the same happened with other sort of publications, namely the so-called «books for the common people». Series like the “Biblioteca do povo e das escolas” published by David Corazzi²⁰ managed to publish around 200 small volumes and to survive for a considerable period of time (1881-1913). Its overall action was therefore important as it provided the readers with encyclopaedic-like information on issues belonging to a considerable number of areas of interest – such as law, philosophy, mathematics, natural sciences, agronomy, hygiene, literature, history, geography, and political economy.

3.3. From the 18th century up to the end of the 19th century, the flow of economic literature in Portugal – be it originals or translations – was therefore confined within relatively narrow limits. The educated few went along with their routine of reading French authors or French translations²¹. As a result of their demand, several famous chief works – like the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, the *Cyclopaedia*, the *Encyclopédie méthodique*, and Diderot’s and D’Alembert’s *Encyclopédie* – did circulate within Portugal²², and booksellers managed to sell some copies of major French dictionaries – like the *Dictionnaire universel, théorique et pratique, du commerce et de la navigation* (1859), or the *Dictionnaire du*

²⁰ On the overall role displayed by David Corazzi, see Domingos (1985). According to this author, the contemporaries of David Corazzi saw this series as «the less expensive of all encyclopaedias» (*ibid.*, p. 57).

²¹ Their purchasing habits allow us to locate copies of many influential books not only in several different public and private libraries, but also in several Portuguese rare book dealers.

²² Not only some booksellers did advertise foreign dictionaries and encyclopaedias in 18th and 19th century’s Portuguese newspapers, but also we may find some copies in public and private libraries (Lisboa 1984, p. 99).

commerce, de l'industrie et de la banque (1900). Naturally, this élite, also had a high regard for journals like the “Revue des deux mondes”, the “Annuaire de l'économie politique et de la statistique”, the “Revue étrangère et française de législation, de jurisprudence et d'économie politique”, and the “Journal des économistes”, not to mention Guillaumin's celebrated *Dictionnaire de l'économie politique* (1852).

Since most of the standardised textbooks available in Portugal for the specific uses of several different instruction levels (from grammar school up to the university) were produced by this élite, it is no surprise to find that these dictionaries and encyclopaedias were gradually acknowledged as appropriate references for the use of both teachers and students.

The same does not apply to the all-purpose instructive books aiming at the informal elementary training of adult economic agents where only some scant notions of political economy can be found²³. Due to the very elementary purpose of this type of literature, and to the very lack of expertise of its authors, it was only natural that the concern with the choice of reliable, updated references to political economy literature was significantly lessened if not purely dismissed. This is why they are not to be counted as significant sources for the spread of economic ideas, only as a testimony of the considerable lag between scholarly and basic 19th century approaches to economic education.

3.4. As far as economic dictionaries and encyclopaedias are concerned, the advent of the 20th century didn't give rise to a substantial alteration. Before the establishment of the *Estado novo*, sociology may be said to have captured nearly all of the attention of Portuguese educated élite, thus causing a concomitant decline of the reflection on political economy subjects. Then followed a long period of political and cultural isolation, where new – and even old – ideas and doctrines were to be scrutinised by official censorship before being published. As a consequence, the prompt

²³ The need to upgrade some routines within the Portuguese business community led to the emergence of a number of wide-ranging useful books, some of which – such as trader's encyclopaedias like Maria's (1784) or Bessa's (1912) – were designed for the everyday instruction of adult economic agents. But the economic substance of this type of works is in reality quite flimsy, namely because they were still aimed at more straightforward and useful aspects of business daily practices.

acknowledgement of foreign literature on economics was in some sense delayed and the publishing initiatives scarce and discreet.

In spite of these shortcomings, mention should be made of three translations. The first, published in 1950-51 under the title *Panorama da ciência económica*, was in fact a translation of two works of «authors well-known even in Portugal», Bertrand Nogaro's *Cours d'économie politique* and Eric Roll's *History of Economic Thought*. Interesting enough, the publication of these books as a single work was considered by the editors as «possessing the advantages of an encyclopaedia without conveying its shortcomings». As for Jean Romeuf's (1967) and Alain Cotta's (1973) *Dictionaries of Economics*, they express two cautious attempts to probe the university circles as a potential market for this kind of books.

The 1974 democratic revolution allowed the emergence of a new market for books on economic systems and doctrines. Aiming at the general public, several translations and adaptations were made – ranging from 1975-78 Sérgio Ribeiro's *Pequeno dicionário de economia* up to 1975 Birou's *Dicionário popular de economia*. Finally, the controversial neo-liberal atmosphere of the 1980's made room for a growing public awareness regarding economic matters – triggering a new wave of publishing initiatives like the 1988 translations of Brémond and of Capul, the 1998 translation of Rutherford, or the 2001 adapted translation of Henderson's *Fortune Encyclopaedia of Economics*.

4. Conclusions

This work has contributed to demonstrate the fruitfulness of the study of political economy through dictionaries and encyclopaedias. Until now, the absolute ignorance on this matter had concealed their potential to improve the understanding of the Iberian economic thought of the last three centuries. However, the marked differences between the Portuguese and Spanish cases, pointed out in the “Introduction”, have been clearly confirmed.

From the point of view of dictionaries and encyclopaedias with economic content, the period 1820-1930 was a very fertile period for Spain. Some of these works are truly remarkable: Canga Argüelles (1826-27; 1968[1833-34]; 1980[1840]), *Enciclopedia*

moderna (Mellado 1851-55), *Diccionario enciclopédico hispano-americano* (1887-98) and *Enciclopedia Espasa-Calpe* (1908-30). The economic entries were specially written for them and did not come from any existing contemporary treatises or other works on economics. As such, dictionaries and encyclopaedias represent a different sphere of production of economic thought and an autonomous channel of introduction, adaptation and circulation of foreign economic ideas. These works are remarkable since they seem to be aimed at training professional groups – experts on public finance, civil servants and *entrepreneurs* – and to popularise economic ideas, not only in Spain, but in the Latin American countries as well. Likewise, the study of dictionaries and encyclopaedias allow us to evaluate the pace at which political economy achieved acknowledgement as an autonomous discipline. In the course of the period under consideration, political economy shared common areas with politics, commerce and arts, but significant progress was clearly noticeable in the twenty-five years between the first publication by Canga Argüelles's dictionary and the appearance of the *Enciclopedia moderna*. From then on, not only did the economic entries in general encyclopaedias enjoy more autonomy, but there were also entries written by some of Spanish most important economists. The independence of the entries implies that political economy was gradually gaining recognition as an autonomous discipline. Furthermore, the involvement of well-known economists in the entries is a clear sign of the increasing professionalism of economics during that period. Nevertheless, as a result of the constraints inherent in these processes in Spain at that time, there were no specialists dictionaries like Guillaumin-Coquelin or Say in France or Boccardo in Italy.

The Spanish dictionaries are more interesting for their applied economics than for their theoretical content. In fact, none of the Spanish dictionaries, no even the four most important ones referred to above, ever contributed to the analytical progress; they merely reflected the general climate of the period. But the main debates on economic policy at the time (1820-70: the debate on the degree of liberalisation of the domestic market and the protectionism-free trade disputes; 1870-1900: the "Social issue"; 1900-30: the "Social issue" and the requirements for "National development") were included in dictionaries and encyclopaedias. These works, therefore, became a means for spreading propaganda in defence of the

different forms of reformism supported by the emerging social and ideological groups in Spain (Liberals, Free-Traders or Krausists), who promoted a wide range of initiatives to institutionalise economics – University chairs, text-books, treatises and economic and educational institutions. Furthermore, dictionaries and encyclopaedias often seemed to go beyond the Spanish framework, since they were mainly translations of other foreign works (mainly French ones) and were merely adapted to the current Spanish circumstances, although they were presented in Spanish market as original works.

In Portugal, on the other hand, the scene is different. As the previous brief survey suggests, except for brief periods of time, economics can't be considered as a major scientific or educational concern either for Portuguese authors or Portuguese publishers. Since the educated strata with an interest on economic subjects could easily gain access to foreign editions, they didn't experience any strong need for a more active publishing activity. Moreover, given that they thought that the basic educational needs of the common people were still not fulfilled, it was only natural that their instructive efforts aiming at the general public were to be mainly focussed upon the spread of other more elementary and practical themes. Consequently, most of the dictionaries and encyclopaedia-like projects that arose in Portugal were aimed at other targets – ranging from the acquisition of a minimum level of knowledge of languages, geography and history, and even agricultural techniques, hygiene and elementary book-keeping.

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