

518297-LLP-2011-IT-ERASMUS-FEXI

THE RECEPTION OF JEAN-BAPTISTE SAY'S WORK IN SPAIN: DIRECT DIFFUSION BY MEANS OF TRANSLATION

JOSÉ MANUEL MENUDO
UNIVERSIDAD PABLO DE OLAVIDE
SEVILLA, SPAIN
jmmenpac@upo.es

1. INTRODUCTION

The work Jean-Baptiste Say, an author who symbolises the height of French classical economics, is the most important of the 19th century. Having produced twenty-three works, Say is considered one of the most widely- translated economists within the framework of peninsular economic literature. His writings were employed as text books during the early years of Economics as an academic discipline; they were also used as the main source material in academic competition, and therefore as a necessary, and at times ample, reference for any publication in our country related to economic science.

Although awareness of the diffusion of Say's work is extensive in Spain, knowledge of its reception is not. The primary aim of this work is to achieve a preliminary evaluation of the influence of his work in our country taking into account temporal variables such as delays or periods between translations (see Carpenter & Redlich, 1973). Within the context of the temporal, we have to bear in mind there was not such a delay regarding the appearance in Spain of Say's first work on economics, compared to other countries, for example, Germany or the United States, where his influence was also relevant¹. Although the gap between the first and last publication is some thirty years, Say's influence in Spain is especially intense during the twenty years between 1814 and the mid 1830s. However, this very zeal towards the publication of translations between 1814 and 1827 could have overwhelmed and hindered the reception of his most important work, *Cours complet* (1828). Secondly, we will carry out a comparative study of the translation with the original to highlight deviations and omissions. The quality of the translation might also have presented an obstacle, but this was mitigated during the course of the publication of different editions (Menudo, 2002). The first translations of both *Traité* and *Catéchisme* were somewhat unfaithful to the original. In them, we find the replacement of key terms with severely curtailed substitutes or, in some cases, they are avoided altogether, with no effort to propose suitable alternative concepts. In the case of *Catéchisme* (1815) two editions came out in 1816 of varying degrees of quality. Agustín Pascual is very faithful to the original, while Cesareo María Saenz makes erroneous substitutions of terms (Say [1815b]: 18). However, beyond the quality of the translation, we find a linguistic obstacle which these first Spanish translators and subsequent others did not know how to overcome. Key words in Say's work present a particular etymological barrier because of their absence from the Spanish dictionary of the 18th and early 19th centuries and the alternatives which were used in some cases differ a lot from Say's intended meaning.

This work is structured in two parts. The first presents the translations of Jean-Baptiste Say in Spain and determines their influence taking into account delays with respect to the original. In the second part we carry

¹ Few translations were brought out in England; there were only the following: *Catéchisme* (1816), one of *Traité* (1821), two of *Lettres à Malthus* (both in 1821) and two of *De l'Angleterre et des Anglais* (both in 1816).



out a comparative study of the translations of *Traité*, the most relevant work from the perspective of the issue of diffusion, and of *Catéchisme d'Economie politique*.

2. THE DIRECT DIFFUSION OF J.-B. SAY'S IDEAS

The number of his publications in Spanish is so extensive that no other nineteenth century author is comparable regarding the direct diffusion of Say's work (Cabrillo 1978: 73)². Amidst the clues to understanding Say's editorial success is the use of his works as texts for teaching. Whereas the initial emergence of Economics as an academic subject Spain (1776-1806) was noticeable because of the influence of Adam Smith, the appearance of economics as a university discipline brought with it the introduction of "the era of Say in Spain" (Martín Rodríguez 1989: 40; see López 2008). This was helped by the tight censorship which encumbered alternatives and the endorsement of Say by some economists, who were not his followers but who articulated their thoughts on his work and employed his theoretical tools (Almenear & Lluch 2000).

Say's *Traité d'Economie politique* (1803) was known in Spain even before its early translation. Juan López de Peñalver in *Mercurio de España* presented the work in two editions (15th and 31st March 1804). The press also picked up on the appearance of the first of Say's works translated into Spanish, in *Efemerides de Espana* (Friday, February 1st 1805), and reproduced the preliminary discourse in Spanish. In both cases a reference is made to the importance of the diffusion of Economic policy because of its positive character and "in order not to remain amidst the businessmen." The complete work is translated into Spanish for the first time under the title *Tratado de Economía política o exposición sencilla de cómo se forman, se distribuyen y se consumen las riquezas* (1804-7) published in Madrid in three volumes, between 1804 and 1807, and in Mexico in 1814 (2. Vol.). The second volume, which included a *Epítome de los principios fundamentales de la Economía* (1814), a translation by Manuel Antonio Rodríguez y Manuel M^a Gutiérrez, was published in 1816, with a prologue by the latter, which was republished in 1817. Apparently, there was no translation published of the third edition, while in the fourth (1819), a translation by Juan Sánchez Rivera, appeared along with the aforementioned prologue by Manuel M^a Gutiérrez which was published in 1821 in Madrid and in Burdeos with the inclusion of the *Cartas de Say a Mathus*. Of the fifth and last edition by the author during his lifetime there is a translation by Juan Sánchez Rivera with the inclusion of *La vida de Say por C. Compte*, published in Paris in 1836 and an 1838 edition published in Madrid³ was translated and commented on by José Antonio Ponzoa. In short, there were five translations and as some have been republished there are eight publications in Spanish of *Traité* over these twenty years which make up four of the five publications which appeared during the life of the author.

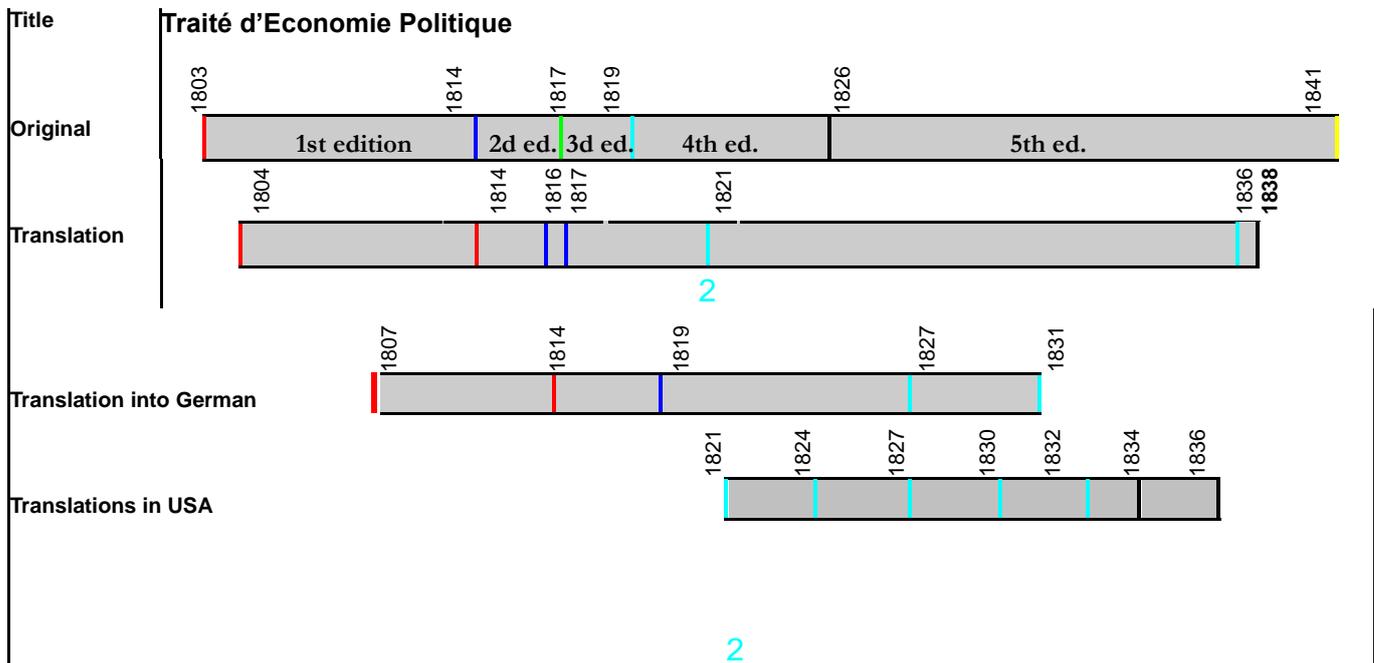
These are not the only texts by Say which were translated. An edition of *Építome des principes fondamentaux de l'Economie politique* (1814) was published as an independent text in 1816, and six editions of *Catéchisme d'économie politique ou Instruction familière qui montre de quelle façon les richesses sont produites, distribuées et consommées dans la société* (1815) with different titles: *Cartilla de economía política, o instrucción familiar en forma de dialogo, que manifiesta el modo como se producen las riquezas en la sociedad* in Madrid in 1816 and republished in 1822 in a translation by Agustín Pascual; *Principios de*

² Authors like Bastiat, with sixteen publications of various works, J. Bentham, with five, G. Filangieri with six, James Mill with four of *Elements* (Cabrillo 1978: 87-103) still appear quantitatively far from the diffusion of Say's texts.

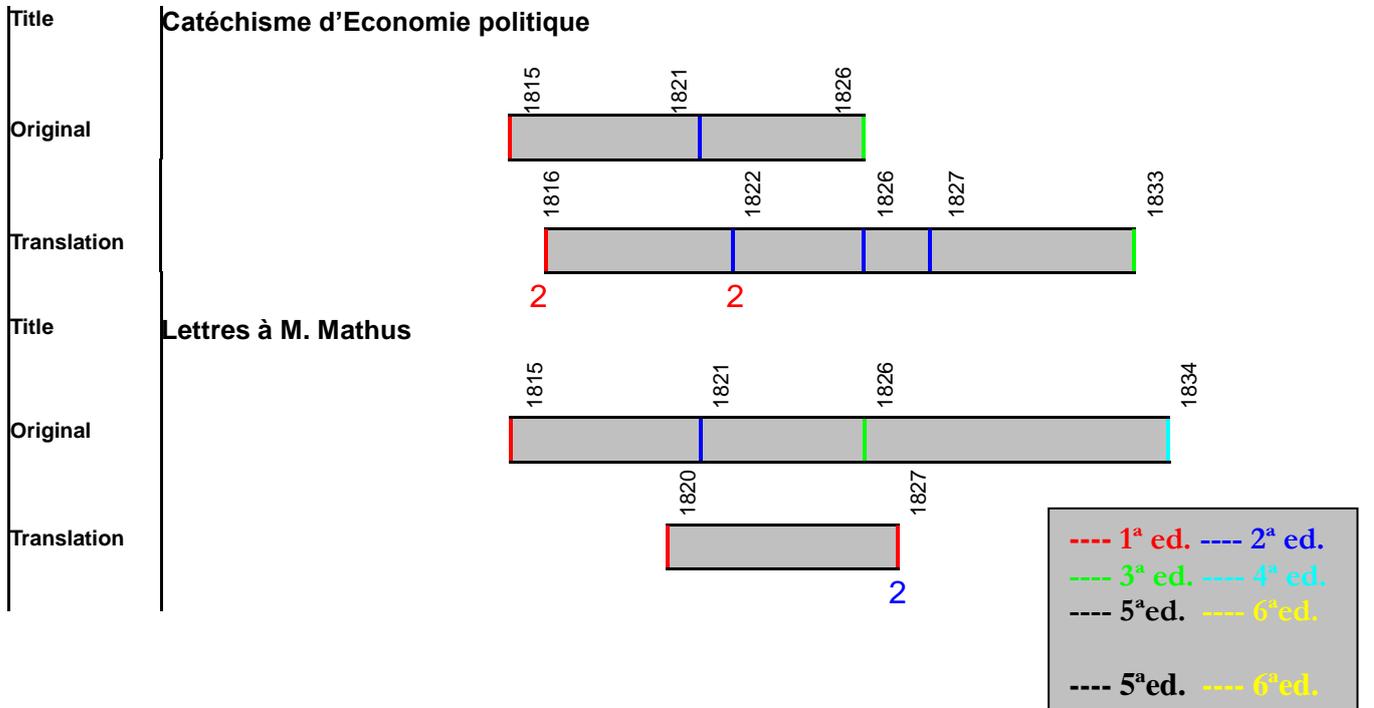
³ Recently, a new translation in Spanish of *Traité* has been published under the title *Tratado de Economía política* (México, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2001).

economía política, o instrucción familiar en forma de diálogo, que manifiesta el modo como se producen las riquezas en la sociedad in 1816 translated by Cesareo María Saenz; *Catecismo de Economía política o instrucción familiar en forma de dialogo, que manifiesta el modo como se producen las riquezas en la sociedad* in the 1822 second French edition (unsigned by the translator) and in 1833, the third (a translation by José de Soto y Barona); and like *Introducción a la economía política*, published in Paris in 1827. The following editions must be added to the list: an edition of *De L'Angleterre et de les anglais* (1816) which came out in Madrid a year later, four editions of *Cartas de Say a Malthus* (1815)⁴ and an edition of *Petit volume contenant quelques aperçus del homes et de la société* (1817) of the third French edition in 1839, in the same year. Some articles were also published in Spanish, such as “Ensayo histórico sobre el origen, progreso y resultados probables de la soberanía de los ingleses en la India” and “Disertación sobre la balanza de los consumos y las producciones”, both appeared in *Mercurio de España* in December of 1824 and in March of 1825 respectively. However, some works which weren't subject to translation remained namely, *Cours Complet d'économie politique* (1828) and *Olbie, ou Essai sur les moyens de réformer les mœurs d'une nation* (1800). This question is especially pertinent as the *Cours Complet* is seen as the most important work of political theory in general (Steiner 1998).

We can analyse the direct influence of Say's work by placing these aforementioned works in a temporal chart which can be found below:



⁴ The first was translated by the editorial department of the newspaper *el Censor* in Madrid and in the la Imprenta del Censor in 1820, which they commented on in the paper; Juan Sánchez Rivera carried out the second translation and it was included in the edition of *Traité d'Economie Politique* (1821); the third was published in Paris in 1827 by the Librería Americana and the fourth in Madrid by the Imprenta of M. Burgos in the same year.



Firstly, we can acknowledge that temporal delay does not exist in the appearance of the first of Say's economic books in Spain, in comparison to other countries – Germany and United States – where the influence was also relevant⁵. Secondly, it is noticeable that the duration of the internal influence of *Traité* in Say's native France represented by the period between editions, practically corresponds with the external influence in the Spanish case, and is greater than that which was obtained other places. Even *Catéchisme*'s impact was greater externally than internally. Finally, upon examining the above chart of his works in Spanish, we can affirm that even if the duration is of some thirty years, Say's influence in Spain is especially intense during the twenty years between 1814 and the mid 1830s.⁶

3. TRANSLATIONS AND ETYMOLOGICAL OBSTACLES

Having defined the periodification of the direct diffusion of Say's work, we will dwell on the content of it. Here, we will carry out a comparative analysis of the translations of *Traité* and of *Catéchisme d'Economie politique* to Spanish, as they are the works in use in our country. It will aim to seek out the most striking and relevant deviations.

⁵ Few translations appeared in England, just an edition of *Catéchisme* (1816), one of *Traité* (1821), two of *Lettres à Malthus* (both in 1821) and two of *De l'Angleterre et des Anglais* (both in 1816).

⁶ The system of representation was proposed by Carpenter & Redlich (1973), which interests us by allowing us to differentiate between the translated editions. We add a subscript when there are two editions in the same year.

3.1. Jean Baptiste Say's *Treatise on political economy*

The differences between the first and subsequent editions of *Traité* are so evident that some commentators have spoken of two different works (Steiner, 1998). In order to outline the implications which the two distinct works suggest for the aim of this study, we shall investigate the structure and content of the four editions of *Traité* published in Spain.

3.1.1. José Queipo de Llano's Translation

Although all three volumes came out in Madrid, the first two were published by Pedro María Caballero in 1804 and in 1805 respectively, while the third came out in 1807 and was published by Gómez Funtenebro y Compañía. The translator kept his anonymity and avoided referencing himself; however, according to José Antonio Ponzoa, the translator is José Queipo de Llano's work, and J.-B. Say acknowledged him as such. (Say [1826c]: 446).

The work includes a prologue by the translator and an introduction by the author. The prologue portrays a good knowledge of the Spanish authors of the eighteenth century, referencing the *Aprendice a la educacion popular* of Campomanes, Alvarez Osorio, Martinez Mata, Ustariz, Ulloa and Ward⁷. The problem which these texts present, for José Queipo de Llano, is the inadequate level of clarity and the limited pedagogical usefulness of Spanish authors.

The translator considers Adam Smith to be the point of departure of the discipline and, even if it was he who established principles upon solid bases, there was a lacking in method, clarity and overview which impeded the work being valued as fundamental and complete⁸. This is what was achieved by Say unlike *Abrégé élémentaire des principes de l'économie politique* (1796) de Comte-Germaine Garnier⁹ or *Principes d'Economie Politique* (1801) by Nicolas-Francois Canard¹⁰. Queipo de Llano brings to light a possible explanation for choosing Say and the rejection of other contemporary texts in favour of the author: Garner's work failed to shield itself from the physiocratic influence; Canard's text is a report about a particular, and not general, economic point and it includes algebraic formulae which taint his reading and make it "desagradable a los lectores y a los hombres con talento que no conocen los elementos del álgebra" (Say [1803b], I: 14). He goes on to criticise Lopez de Peñalver's article which presented the first edition of Say's *Traité* and was published by *Mercurio de España*, in numbers 14 and 16 of 1804. The article suggested that *Traité* was merely a work which adds new elements and with a synthetic method, compared with the critical thinking of Smith, Codillac and Condorcet. However, Queipo de Llano went further and considered the work to be

⁷ Juan Sempere y Guarinos' *Biblioteca* is also referenced.

⁸ This view of Adam Smith's text was also present in an announcement made by the SEA, with Cistué as Professor of Political Economy, to the Real Consulado de La Coruña: "... los escritos de Herrenschwand, Garnier, Canard, y el que acaba de publicar el Tribuno francés Say pueden perfeccionar el plan incompleto de Smith y suministrar bastantes principios para formar unas buenas instituciones" (Agreement of the Real Sociedad Económica Aragonesa 1804, referenced by Correa 1950: 115).

⁹ C.-G. Garnier's work was published in Spanish along with the second edition of the translation on the wealth of nations— *Investigación de la naturaleza y causa de la riqueza de las naciones* (Valladolid, 1804-5)— and independently a few years later as *Breve exposición de la doctrina de Adam Smith comparada con la de los economistas franceses* (Valladolid, 1807).

¹⁰ The translator commented that they had planned to translate Canard even before Say's *Traité* emerged (Say 1904-7: 14). This work was presented in Spanish by Juan López de Peñalver in his article "Principios de Economía política de Canard: premiado por el Instituto Nacional" (*Mercurio de España*, April, 1801), taking into account that "lleva á un punto de perfección la ciencia de la economía política, qual nunca había tenido" (citado en Lluch 1992: 57).

“fundamental”, given its non-synthetic, analytical method, his clarity and his simplicity. Ultimately, the translator of this work is a connoisseur of works in contemporary economic works, and above all of Spanish authors.

However, the translation is lacking. The index respects the chapters and the concepts, except for the case of *bienes inmateriales* (intangible property, in English), translated as *bienes momentáneos*¹¹ (momentary goods, in English), and of the chapter *Des profits de l'Entrepreneur d'industrie*, which he denominates *De las ganancias del fabricante ó director de cualquier industria* (On the earnings of the manufacturer or director of any industry, in English). When we analyse the content, we find a multitude of cases which distances the text in Spanish from the original meaning. For example, *el empresario* (the entrepreneur, in English) is replaced by the term *maestro* (master, in English) or *oficial* (official, in English)

A veces se hallan en una misma mano todas tres cosas, tierra, industria y capital. (...) el amolador, cuyo arte no necesita de la tierra para ejercerse [sic], lleva en sus hombros, y en sus dedos su capital y su industria, y es á un mismo tiempo maestro, oficial y capitalista.
(Say [1803b], III: 96)¹²

He also uses *manufactureur* as a synonym, “el trabajo del sabio, que se ocupa de escribir y hacer experiencias, es productivo; lo es también el del maestro, ó fabricante, aunque él inmediatamente no ponga mano en la obra...” (Say [1803b], III: 101; v. *ibíd.*: 107). In other cases he merely avoids using the term employed by Say without replacing it with another concept: “Este fabricante executa [sic] en este caso dos géneros de operaciones industriales; á saber, las del sabio, cuyas ventajas reserva para sí solo, y las que son propias de su arte.” (Say [1803b]: III: 92)¹³. A third example would be that he substitutes the fundamental concept of the improvement of an industry for the advancement of an industry (Say [1803b], I: 203).

3.1.2. Manuel María Gutiérrez and Manuel Antonio Rodríguez translation

Once academic normality was re-established after wartime unrest, Manuel M^a Gutiérrez y Manuel Alonso Rodríguez published a translation, this time of the second edition of the original, in the Imprenta de Collado (Madrid) in 1816 divided into three volumes. The success of the work is important, and it was re-published in 1817 by the same printing house. It contains a prologue by the translators (Say 1814, I: 5-62), Say's dedication to Alexander I of Russia, Say's introduction, an analytical table of the main subjects and the announcement of *Epítome*. However, *Epítome* did not appear in these volumes as it was sold separately¹⁴.

The translator's prologue became a sort of reference document which was included in some subsequent

¹¹ The translator does explain his use of *momentáneo* (*momentary*, in English) instead of *inmateriales* (*immaterial*, in English). Say had said in an annotation that he would prefer *momentáneo* (*momentary*, in English) or *indubable* (*indubitable*, in English) to *inmaterial* *immaterial* in order to grant this last word an air of mystery. The translator does not understand why he does not use *momentanéé* and in the end uses *inmaterial* and substitutes it for *momentáneo*.

¹² The original text of the first edition is: “Le fonds, le capital et l'industrie se trouvent quelquefois réunis dans les mêmes mains. (...) le rémouleur qui exerce une industrie pour laquelle il ne faut point de fonds de terre, porte sur son dos tout son capital, et toute son industrie dans ses doigts: il est à-la-fois, entrepreneur, capitaliste et ouvrier”.

¹³ “Ce manufacturier fait dans ce cas particulier deux genres d'opérations industrielles: celle du savant, dont il réserve pour lui seul les avantages, et celle de l' entrepreneur”.

¹⁴ At the end there is a list of books for sale in the bookshop Sojo de Madrid, and the only ones about economics are the *Cartilla* – translated by Agustín Pascual– at a price of 10 reales, and Say's *Treaty* with *Epítome* which is sold separately.

editions (namely in the case of the editions with a translation by Juan Sanchez Rivera)¹⁵. Notes by the translators did not appear in the text, but an analytical table of the main subjects of this treatise was given in chapters (Say 1814, III: 265-338) where even Say's introduction was summarised. Both the basic text as well as the summaries of didactic ends is especially faithful to the original text.

3.1.3. Juan Sánchez Rivera's translation

Juan Sánchez Rivera carried out the translation of the fourth edition in two volumes. They were to be published in 1821, in both Madrid and Burdeos, although this time in four volumes. In 1836 the fifth edition was published in five volumes, this time in Paris along with the inclusion of *La vida de Say* by Charles Comte¹⁶.

The work included a prologue by the translator, a prologue to the 1817 edition in Spanish, Say's observations on the third and fourth edition, the preliminary discourse, an analytical table of the chapters and of the main subjects, a summarised index, the *Epítome de los principios fundamentales de la Economía política y Cartas á Mr. Malthus sobre varios puntos de Economía política, y especialmente sobre las causas del entorpecimiento del comercio por Juan Bautista Say*, the latter were preceded by strictures from Say himself.

The translator reveals, in his prologue, that the numerous resolutions of the legislation of 1820 were founded on the ideas of Say, Ricardo, Steuart, Filangieri, Becaria and other celebrated writers. He says that his translation is as literal as possible (Say [1819b], I: 7), and so it seems that he respects the fundamental concepts. So much so that Juan Sanchez translates the word *profit* as *beneficio* in a novel way as the word *ganancia* had always been used in translations.

3.1.4. José Antonio Ponzoa's¹⁷ Translation

Given the evident lack of examples of Say's work together with the growth in the number of students of Economics¹⁸, the translation of the fifth edition, which was the last in the life of the French author, came out in 1838 and was divided into two volumes. In this case, the edition and the translation were faithful to the original text.

It also contains a prologue by the translator, Say's introduction, the *Epítome*, an index in alphabetical order,

¹⁵ There is no reference which deals solely with Manuel M^a Gutiérrez's prologue.

¹⁶ The full title is as follows: *Tratado de economía política o exposición sencilla de cómo se forman, se distribuyen y se consumen las riquezas. con un epítome de los principios fundamentales de esta ciencia y un índice razonado de las materias, por Juan-Bautista Say. 5a edición, enteramente refundida, aumentada y precedida de la vida del autor [por C. Comte].* Paris, Lecoigne, 1836.

¹⁷ José Antonio Ponzoa was a pupil of the second professor of Political Economy in Spain, Luis Felipe de Olive, most probably in the chair of the economic society of Murcia, as it was there that Ponzoa would obtain his Member of Parliament Act. He succeeded his master in the chair of the Sociedad matritense in 1820, and this paved the way for his appointment at the Central University, leaving in his place Eusebio M^a del Valle. It seems his that his teaching vocation kept him continuously tied to the teaching of Economics, at least until the publication of his translation of Say's *Traité* in 1838. In the same year he was elected Minister of the Navy, Trade and Overseas Govern under the presidency of the Duque de Frías in 1838.

¹⁸ In 1838 José Vicente Alonso, Head of the Department of Political Economy at Granada University, published *Resumen de preguntas y respuestas de Economía política, según el ciudadano Say arreglada provisionalmente, con indicaciones de sus principales cuestiones* (Granada, Imp. Benavides, 1838) before "la escasez de ejemplares de la obra del ciudadano Say, que es la adoptada en las escuelas por orden del gobierno desde año de 1808" (citado por Velasco 1990: 53)

and seven comments by Ponzoa about Say's work, brought about thanks to "a la experiencia de veinticinco años estudiando esta obra y quince explicándola a una juventud brillante y estudiosa, que diariamente da pruebas de sus conocimientos en las asambleas legislativas y en destinos importantes de la administración" (Say [1826c]: viii). This served to point out the obstacles which the work presented. Within these analyses, Ponzoa published his work *Meditaciones sobre la naturaleza y causa del comercio*, which was never published independently¹⁹. In the prologue the translator introduces criticisms of Say's work, above all questioning the particular relevance of the discussions surrounding the economic policy at that time; in this case he highlighted the liberal opinions which the French author presented.

Todos reconocen ya la necesidad de presentar con ciertos correctivos muchas de las opiniones del economista francés, temibles por la liberalidad seductora en que se fundan, y mas temibles todavía por la nueva fuerza que reciben de su pluma arrebatadora.

(Say [1826c]: viii)

3.2. *Catecismo, Cartilla o Principios de Economía política*

There are various titles used for the Spanish translations of J.-B. Say's *Catéchisme d'Economie politique*. It deals with a fundamentally didactic work whose narrative structure is presented in questions and answers, and aimed at beginners, who should afterward have *Traité* as a referent. However, Say was not happy with the first edition of the document²⁰. As a consequence the author tried to perfect it in every one of the subsequent editions through the introduction of new chapters and through the numerous modifications, both in the order of the chapters and in their content²¹. The most important changes were produced in the first and second edition (1815 and 1821 respectively) in which a new series of notes were added as well as a broadening of the alphabetical index of discussed topics. Therefore, the importance of the reference edition - be it the translation or in its reading by Spanish parties - becomes clear. The analysis of every one of the editions in Spanish published in our country will help us to establish the process of diffusion.

The Cartilla de Economía política (1816)

The first translation of *Catéchisme* came out in 1816, a year after the first edition of the text in French. It is a translation by Agustin Pascual and is entitled *Catecismo de Economía política, ó instrucción familiar en forma de dialogo, que manifiesta el modo como se producen las riquezas en la sociedad*. It was published in Madrid by the Imprenta de la Real Compania. The text was very well received, and as a result it was

¹⁹ This work, unknown in the historiography of economics, is a small treatise of little more than fifty pages which presents a double objective. On the one hand, it makes up for the lack of economic science, commented on by Say, generated by the inexistence of a commercial treatise adequate for the political economy. In it the effects of the exchanges of wealth are analysed, how they are fostered and their influence on the prosperity of nations. (Ponzoa [1826c]: 448).

²⁰ J.-B. Say showed his discontent with the first edition *Catéchisme* in the prologue of the third edition of the same work.

²¹ It is important to point out that Say published three editions of this work (1815, 1821 y 1826) during his lifetime, with great differences which highlighted J.-B Say's evolution of thought (Steiner 1996: 40). Between the first and second edition the differences are substantial: Say broadens his thinking on the theory of production (from five to eight chapters), making the work expand by a third through the creation of nine new chapters (6, 7, 9, 10, 17, 19, 20, 25 y 29). The following chapters were cut: "Des colonies", "Des revenus fondés sur les produits matériels", "Du prix réel et du prix nominal des choses", and their subjects were dealt with in other sections. The third edition did not differ largely from that of the second only including some extra notes (Steiner 1996: 40). For a greater understanding of Say's evolution of thought throughout his work consult Steiner (1998).

republished in 1822.

The work included a translator's prologue, which presented the *Cartilla* as a fundamental piece – along with *Epítome* – of the diffusion project of the new science projected by Say. The *Epítome* was intended to be a dictionary which defines the concepts and *Cartilla* as a link between this work and *Traité*. The translator seems to have economic knowledge since he mentions Tracy's *Destutt* and Adam Smith. It is a good translation even if it overlooks Say's scant footnotes.

3.2.1. The *Principios de Economía política* (1816)

Cesareo María Saenz's work entitled *Principios de Economía política, o instrucción familiar en forma de dialogo, que manifiesta el modo como se producen las riquezas en la sociedad* contrasts negatively with respect to Agustín Pascual's text. It was also published in 1816 in Madrid but by la Imprenta Real and with a dedication to the Compañía de Filipinas. It contains a prologue by the translator, where he only comments on his working relationship with the Compañía de Filipinas, Say's observations, a chapter index, and an index of terms at the end of the book.

On the one hand, the translation makes unfortunate adaptations of some terms. For example, the *entrepreneur* disappears and in its place we find the director of a manufacturing industry in some cases, a manufacturer in others: "Ponedme un ejemplo en que un fabricante ó director de industria consulte las leyes del mundo moral" (Say [1815a]: 18). In other cases the translator decides that the concepts appear in the index of terms.

3.2.2. The *Catecismo de Economía política* (1822)

This deals with the translation of the second edition of *Catéchisme* (1821), which appeared in 1822 and therefore only one year after the original. It was published under the title *Catecismo de Economía política, ó instrucción familiar en forma de dialogo, que manifiesta el modo como se producen las riquezas en la sociedad*²², in Madrid by the Imprenta de Alban. This work did not mention the translator, nor did it contain an index of terms at the end, nor any type of prologue.

In this case, the translation of the full text is as faithful to the original as is its title, incorporating the various changes which this second edition proposes. His second edition includes 54 added notes by Say which aim to anticipate and support questions which could arise amongst readers well versed in economics. This is a good translation, as the work with which it would compete in the bookshops (that of Agustín Pascual), but with the added bonus which a text improved by Say poses and in which the concept of the entrepreneur takes more importance.

3.2.3. The *Catecismo de Economía política* (1833)

The last translation was carried out by José de Soto y Barona under the title *Catecismo de Economía política, ó instrucción familiar en forma de dialogo, que manifiesta el modo como se producen las riquezas en la sociedad*. It was published in Zaragoza, by la Imprenta de Polo y Monje, and includes the author's prologue, Say's warning, a short summary of the sixty notes which appear at the end of the text, the footnotes and an alphabetic index of issues which were dealt with in greater detail in previous editions.

José de Soto y Barona was a trained lawyer and a disciple of Agustín Alcaide in the Real Sociedad

²² The subtitle was kept in all the translations but the title would always change, in one case it would be *Principios* and in another *Catecismo*.

Economica Aragonesa, where he came to be the Head of the Economics Department from 1828 until 1838. His economic expertise was broad²³, and can be seen in his prologue in which he differentiates between the old Economics and the new social Economics which began with Say's work. Many Spanish authors are mentioned, Comomanes, Jovellanos, Mon, Sempere and Guarinos, but above all his comments display a good knowledge of Say's work, proof of which is the quote he makes about the general considerations of *Cours Complet d'Economie politique*. The translation is respectful with regard to the original terms and is above all complete in every sense: (i) he translates Say's definitive text (it being the last), and (ii) he includes all of the work without leaving out notes or indexes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ALMENAR, SALVADOR & LLUCH, ERNEST (2000): *Difusión e influencia de los economistas clásicos en España*, en E. Fuentes Quintana (dir.), *Economía y Economistas españoles. La economía clásica*. Madrid: *Galaxia Gutenberg*, vol. 4, pp. 93-170.
- BLANCO, LUIS M. (2002): La economía política en el tránsito entre el autoritarismo y el liberalismo: José Soto y Barona. Salamanca, *Congreso internacional Orígenes del liberalismo*.
- CABRILLO, FRANCISCO (1978): *Traducciones al español de libros de economía (1800-1880)*. Moneda y Crédito 147, pp. 187-191.
- CARPENTER, KENNETH E. & REDLICH, FRITZ (1973): Research Possibilities in the History of Political Economy Though: a Bibliography of Translations. *History of Political Economy* 5(1), pp. 268-283.
- CORREA, FELIX. (1950): La cátedra de Economía y Comercio de la Real Sociedad Económica Aragonesa de Amigos del País durante el siglo XVIII, en J. Infante (ed.) *La Cátedra de Economía y Comercio de Zaragoza fundada y sostenida por la Real Sociedad Económica Aragonesa de Amigos del País (1784-1846)*. Zaragoza, *Diputación General de Aragón*, 1984.
- LOPEZ, FERNANDO (2008). La obra de Jean-Baptiste Say como modelo en la primera etapa de la institucionalización de la enseñanza de la economía en España (1807-1856). *Investigaciones de Economía de la Educación* 3, pp. 479-487.
- LLUCH, ERNEST (1992): Juan López de Peñalver en los orígenes de la economía matemática, en J. López de Peñalver, *Escritos de López de Peñalver*. Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Fiscales.
- MARTÍN RODRÍGUEZ, MANUEL (1989): La institucionalización de la Economía política en la Universidad Española (1784-1857), en E. Valle Santoro, *Elementos de Economía política con aplicación particular a España*. Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Fiscales, pp. IX-CCXXXVII.
- MENUDO, JOSÉ M. (2002) *La tradición francesa de la teoría económica del empresario y su influencia en los autores españoles decimonónicos*. Sevilla: *Universidad Pablo de Olavide, Tesis Doctoral*.
- SAY, JEAN.-BAPTISTE [1803a]: *Traité d'économie politique ou simple exposition de la manière dont se forment, se distribuent, et se consomment les richesses*. 1^{er} ed. París, Crapelet, 1803.

²³ José Soto y Barona the author of *Discursos económico* (1834), a work addressed to the new Government who came to power after the death Fernando VII y al objeto de “inclinarse en cuando alcancen mis débiles fuerzas, á dictar algunas leyes” (Soto y Barona 1834: v). The work is structured around the five themes which the author considers necessary to modify (Economic societies, guilds, domestic grain trade and external trade). It's a work of “de escaso rigor analítico” which encouraged the author to put himself in the age illustrated by these aspects –prohibitionism– which did not coincide with Say, not without employing contemporaries such as Ganilh (Blanco 2002: 16). In all of the others, Say's *Traité* and *Cours complet*, there are the references in which his policies on the abolition of guilds and the liberation of the grain market were established. Finally, he develops his general considerations which attempt to show young people the danger of absolute liberty with four examples: patents, currency, mail, and gunpowder.

- [1803b]: Tratado de economía política ó exposición sencilla de como se forman, se distribuyen y se consumen las riquezas. *Traducción e introducción anónima. Madrid, Pedro María Caballero-Gómez Fuentenebro, 1804-1807.*
 - (1814): Tratado de economía política ó exposición sencilla de como se forman, se distribuyen y se consumen las riquezas. *Traducción e introducción de Manuel María Gutiérrez y Manuel Antonio Rodríguez. 1ª ed. Madrid, Collado, 1816, 2ª ed., Madrid, Imprenta de Collado, 1817.*
 - [1815a]: Principios de economía política, o instrucción familiar en forma de dialogo, que manifiesta el modo como se producen las riquezas en la sociedad. *Traducción y prólogo de Cesareo María Saenz. Madrid, Imprenta Real, 1816.*
 - [1815b]: Cartilla de economía política, o instrucción familiar en forma de dialogo, que manifiesta el modo como se producen las riquezas en la sociedad. *Traducción y prólogo de Agustín Pascual. 1ª ed., Madrid, Real Compañía, 1816, 2ª ed. Madrid, Fermín Villalpando, 1822.*
 - [1819b]: Tratado de economía política ó exposición sencilla de como se forman, se distribuyen y se consumen las riquezas. *Traducción de Juan Sánchez Rivera. 1ª ed. Madrid, Fermín Villalpanso, Madrid, 1821; 2ª ed. Burdeos, Lavalle, 1821.*
 - [1821b]: Catecismo de Economía política o instrucción familiar en forma de dialogo, que manifiesta el modo como se producen las riquezas en la sociedad. *Traducción anónima. Madrid, Imprenta de Albán, 1822.*
 - [1826a]: *Catecismo de Economía política o instrucción familiar en forma de dialogo, que manifiesta el modo como se producen las riquezas en la sociedad.* Traducción y prólogo de José de Soto y Barona. Zaragoza, Polo y Monge Hermanos, 1833.
 - [1826b]: Tratado de economía política ó exposición sencilla de como se forman, se distribuyen y se consumen las riquezas. *Traducción de Juan Sánchez Rivera. París, Lecointe, 1836.*
 - [1826c]: Tratado de economía política ó exposición sencilla de como se forman, se distribuyen y se consumen las riquezas. *Traducción, introducción y comentarios de J.A. Ponzoa. Madrid, Fuentenebro, 1838.*
- STEINER, PHILIPPE (1996): L'Économie politique comme science de la modernité, en P. Steiner (ed.), *Cours d'économie politique et autres essais*. París: Flammarion, pp. 9-46.
- (1998): *The structure of Say's economic writings*, The European Journal of the History of Economic Thought 5(2), pp. 227-49.