

THE BRAZILIAN TRANSLATION OF LUIGI COSSA'S PRIMI ELEMENTI DI ECONOMIA POLITICA (1888)

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ABSTRACT

This paper studies the Brazilian translation of Luigi Cossa's Primi elementi di economia politica (1888) as a case of circulation of economic ideas that goes hand in hand with the circulation of foreign languages. The success of Cossa's textbook is explained by institutional factors (the institutionalisation of political economy in Brazilian universities), and by social and linguistic factors (the spread of tools for learning and conversing in Italian). A 'market for political economy' and a 'market for foreign languages' appear to be parallel phenomena, possibly connected to the growing circulation of labourers and goods between two countries.

1. Introduction

This paper aims to provide a study of the Brazilian translation of Luigi Cossa's Primi elementi di economia politica (1875), made on the 6th edition of 1883 by Carlos Soares Guimaraes, and published in Rio de Janeiro in 1888. The aim of this case study is to examine how the translation of a popular textbook of political economy is connected not only to the processes of transnational dissemination and academic institutionalization of this science, but also to a process of spread and consolidation of the study and teaching of foreign languages – in our case the Italian language – as it is mirrored in the publications of grammars, manuals of conversation and dictionaries. This process, in turn may be connected to flows of emigration and to the establishment of commercial relations between countries.

2. Luigi Cossa as an author of textbooks

The whole career of the Italian economist Luigi Cossa can be considered exemplary of the processes of institutionalisation of political economy (Augello and Bientinesi 2007; Faucci 1984; Faucci 2000). Born in 1831, Cossa graduated in Law at the University of Pavia. After graduation, he studied in Leipzig under the supervision of Wilhelm Roscher, and in Vienna with Lorenz von Stein. One of his earlier intellectual ventures was the translation of Otto Hubner's *Der kleine Volkswirth* (1852), published in *Annali Universali di Statistica* in 1854-55, and soon after as a separate pamphlet (Cossa 1855). This essential and elementary textbook was addressed to schoolchildren and aimed to instil the economic truths in the minds of all social classes as an antidote to socialism and communism. The formula of this book was probably inspiring for Cossa's further steps into the academic career. After he obtained a professorship of Political economy at the University of Pavia in 1858, he devoted his life to the consolidation of political economy in his university and in the Italian academic environment (Mosca 2001), and to the publication of very popular textbooks, which were adopted as a basis for the courses of political economy and public finance in various Italian universities and even in secondary schools, and were translated into an impressive number of languages. As their German model, these textbooks were truly educational tools, and became international hits in their genre. Differently from his main contemporaries, Cossa was never engaged in politics, neither as a local administrator, nor as a member of parliament and government: his whole life was devoted to the academia. Luigi Cossa died in 1896. Cossa lived at a time in which the institutionalisation of political economy reached its maturity in Italy. After the unification of the country in 1861, Chairs of Political economy were created in all Law faculties, while the new university

regulations of 1876 add the teaching of Statistics. Public finance was established as a mandatory course in Law degree programmes in the academic year 1885-86, following a period in which it had already existed in various universities as an optional subject. The panorama of the institutionalisation of economics was completed with the creation of the Higher Schools of Commerce. The first of these institutions was opened in Venice in 1868, followed by those of Genoa (1884) and Bari (1889). Cossa was also one of the protagonists of the so-called Italian *Methodenstreit*. In 1874 he was one of the four co-signatories of the 'Circolare di Padova' a letter inviting economists who believed in a more interventionist and 'social' approach to political economy to attend a Conference in Milan and to become members of the *Associazione pel progresso degli studi economici*, an economic society which was for some years the rival of the *Società Adamo Smith*, led by Francesco Ferrara and promoter of a more orthodox classical and *laissez-fairist* approach. A quick look at Cossa's triptych of textbooks offers a striking impression of their popularity:

1. The *Primi elementi di economia politica* were published in Milan in 1875. They went through 15 editions and various reprints until 1924. The textbook was translated into German in 1879, 1893, 1896, and 1903 into French in 1889, 1902; and 1922; into Japanese in 1891 and 1901; into Spanish in 1878, 1884, and 1891; into Polish in 1883; into Portuguese in 1888; into Russian in 1886.

2. The *Guida allo studio dell'economia politica*, published in Milan in 1876 was intended as a complement to the above textbook. It offered a systematic bibliography on various aspects of the economic science. A 2nd edition was published in 1878. This book was translated into German in 1880; into English in 1880 (a new edition has been offered in 2000!); and into Spanish in 1878, 1884, and 1887. The 3rd enlarged edition was published under a new title: *Introduzione allo studio dell'economia politica* (1892). This version was translated into Spanish in 1882; into English in 1893 (new edition, 1980); into German in 1893; into French in 1899 (new edition, 2002); into Japanese in 1887 and 1931; into Russian in 1900 and 1912.

3. A third textbook was *Primi elementi di scienza delle finanze* (Milan 1876), devoted to public finance. This work went through 12 editions and various reprints until 1924. It was translated into German in 1882, 1888, 1891, and 1895; into French in 1891, 1899, 1908, and 1920; into Japanese in 1889 and 1892; into Spanish in 1878, 1884, 1891, 1908, and 1959; into Swedish in 1882; into English in 1888, 1891, and 1893; and into Polish in 1884 (new edition in 2011).

It is clear from these data that Cossa's textbooks answered a demand arising from a network of institutions comprising not only universities and higher schools of commerce, but also secondary schools and organisations for popular education (Augello and Bientinesi 2007: 209-12). However, they would not have been such a success without the contribution of a modern publisher like Ulrich Hoepli. This Swiss entrepreneur had moved some years earlier (1870) to Milan, where he created a publishing house specialised in technical and scientific manuals for various professions. Ulrich Hoepli italianised his first name (Ulrico) and in 1875 he created a series entitled "Manuali" devoted to the popularization of science and technology (Decleva 1997). There is a legend that maintains that he introduced the term "manuale" into the Italian language, adapting the German "Handbuch". A quick look at the SBN catalogue shows that this legend has no basis, although it proves the specific vocation of this publisher. In a few years, the series hosted a large number of textbooks aimed at high school students, especially those attending technical institutes, and of textbooks for universities: for example, Giuseppe Colombo's *Manuale dell'ingegnere civile ed industriale* (Manual for Civil and Industrial Engineers, 1877-78) was a hit in the latter genre. The Italian edition of Jevons' *Primer of Political Economy* (1880), translated by Cossa himself, was also published in this series. And although Cossa's textbooks appeared in a separate series, they still profited from the same family feeling.

3. The structure and content of *Primi elementi di economia politica*

The structure of Cossa's *Primi elementi di economia politica* was typically Millian and Sayan: after a first section about "Preliminary notions", there were four sections respectively focusing on production, circulation, distribution, and consumption. In the third edition (1878), a lengthy appendix containing a "Bibliography of Political Economy" was added as a by-product of the *Guida*. Jevons in his "Preface" to the English edition of 1880, recommended the *Guide* to British students as an instrument to fill their gap in the knowledge of non-British economic literature (Augello and Bientinesi 2007: 212). Although *Primi elementi* did not contain original notions, the book was a novelty on their own, as it represented the first Italian example of a modern educational tool specifically designed for a large public of beginners in the science of political economy. Chapters were short and essential, and the language was simple and plain, although the content was scientifically rigorous and updated.

Theoretical notions were always applied to contemporary problems. As for the content of the book, Cossa's textbook was quite eclectic, always trying to maintain an equilibrium between laissez-faire ideas and moderate interventionism: in harmony with classical economics, Cossa paid respect to the natural laws governing the production and distribution of wealth but at the same time – inspired by Millian ideals and by the Socialism of the Chair – he recommended state interference in order to favour the 'wise reform' of artificial inequalities. The textbook contained *inter alia* interesting chapters on the nature of the enterprise, based on risk taking, in which Cossa declared his scepticism about the efficiency of state-owned companies, and on cooperatives and profit sharing. The latter were seen, in a Millian style, as means to improve the morality and civiness of workers although they were applicable only to a limited number of cases, when the level of education of workers was already high. The various editions of *Primi elementi* contained sometimes substantive changes and updates. For example, Cossa changed his opinion on immaterial products in the 6th edition. While in the first edition Cossa had argued against Ferrara that immaterial products were part and parcel of social wealth, in the 6th edition he moved back to Smithian orthodoxy. In the words of Augello and Bientinesi (2007: 217), this was "a backward battle, quite difficult to interpret". Starting from the 8th edition of 1888, the textbook on political economy and that on public finance were merged into a single *opus* entitled *Primi elementi di economia sociale*, whose Volume 1 were the *Primi elementi di economia politica*, and Volume 2 the *Primi elementi di scienza delle finanze*. Cossa announced a third volume on economic policy that was never published.

4. The Brazilian Translation of 1888

The *Primeiros Elementos de Economia Política*, translated by Carlos S. Guimaraes were published in Rio de Janeiro by Laemmert & C. in 1888. They were based on the 6th Italian edition of 1883. An analysis of the content reveals that it was a complete translation without omissions. The translation includes both the main body of chapters and the appendix containing the bibliography. Notably, the original did not include any section or reference to Spanish and Portuguese literature, despite the addition of a chapter on Spain and Portugal in the 2nd edition of the *Guide* (1878).

The only addition to the Brazilian edition was a brief foreword ("Advertencia", p. 3), which provides some information on the context of translation. We learn that the translator, Carlos Soares Guimaraes, discovered the existence of *Primi elementi* from his professor of Political economy at the Faculty of Law of the University of S. Paulo, Joaquim Jose Vieira de Carvalho. Cossa was defined a "wise and erudite professor at the University of Pavia", and the *Primi elementi* a "brilliant synthesis" on the subject of political economy. As for the translation, its aim was "to spread it among those who, not knowing the Italian language, are interested in economic studies" (Cossa 1888: 3, *our translation*).

The publisher of the Brazilian edition, Laemmert & C., revealed striking parallelisms with its Italian counterpart. Like Ulrich Hoepli, the Laemmersts had moved to Brazil from the Grand-Duchy of Baden, in south-western Germany, in search of new markets. In 1838 they inaugurated a series entitled *Livraria Universal*, specialised in translations of German literature. Another specialisation of Laemmert were scientific and educational textbooks. Their top series was the *Guias de bolso*, containing short manuals on various scientific and technological subjects. Laemmert also published an *Almanaque administrativo, mercantil ... do Rio*. The identity of the translator, Carlos Soares Guimaraes, is quite obscure. He was born in Rio de Janeiro, and graduated in Law at the University of S. Paulo, probably in 1883. After graduation, Guimaraes became a lawyer. He does not seem to have had an academic appointment, although he tried to cultivate some scientific interests. We know that he took part in the 3rd meeting of the Congresso Cientifico Latino-americano, held in Rio de Janeiro on 6-16 August 1905 (Freitas 1906: 80). However, if we except the translation of Cossa, no other publication of his own is recorded in today's library catalogues. A more interesting personage is the mentor who inspired the translation of Cossa's textbook, Joaquim Jose Vieira de Carvalho (Santos 1842-1899). Graduated in Law at the University of Sao Paulo in 1863 with a dissertation in criminology (Carvalho 1863; see Silva 1884: 99), he became a lawyer in 1865 (*Revista* 1870: 195) and municipal judge in Campinas. In 1874 he was appointed 'lente substituto' in business law at the Faculty of Law of the University of Sao Paulo. On 19th November 1881 he was appointed Professor of Political Economy at the same university. He published various articles in the *Revista Juridica* (Rio de Janeiro) (Silva 1884: 99). In 1887 Carvalho became a member of the Comissao Central de Estatistica (Central Board of Statistics) (Nogueira 1998: 47, n. 10). After the proclamation of the Republic in 1889 he became a member of the Constituent Assembly and a Senator. Politically he was a monarchist, and a member of

the Conselho Consultativo (Advisory Board) of the Partido Monarquista de Sao Paulo (Figueiredo 1896: 324, 346). The records of the Biblioteca Nacional do Brasil reveal a limited number of publications, mainly related to Carvalho's academic career: a dissertation presented for obtaining a lectureship in business law (Carvalho 1872); a second, and this time successful, dissertation on the same subject presented two years later (Carvalho 1874); an academic historical memoir on the Faculty of Law presented at an official meeting of the University in 1875, and finally the syllabus of the chair of political economy for the academic year 1894. A careful analysis of these documents is still to be done. The interest especially of the last document is evident in order to reconstruct the context of the translation. In this paper we can offer some evidence on the broad framework of the translation under examination. The main question we should try to answer is why the choice of Carvalho and Guimaraes fell on Cossa's textbook. This question has many sides. Preliminarily, we need some justification about the choice to translate an *Italian* textbook. As a matter of fact, the Italian language was a strong presence in 19th-century Brazil. The widespread knowledge of Italian was connected both to Italian immigration and maritime and to a substantive flow of commercial exchanges. A consequence of this presence is the circulation of tools that facilitated the learning of Italian. The first complete Portuguese-Italian / Italian-Portuguese dictionary was published in Brazil by Antonio Bordo in 1853-54. This dictionary was aimed at use, not a normative *opus*. A similar practical aim lay behind two Italian grammars published in Brazil, and three others published in Portugal but aimed at both Portuguese and Brazilian readers. These were Gregorio Lipparoni's *Instituições Grammaticaes da Lingua Italiana* (1880), Francisco Ahn's *Novo Methodo Pratico e Facil para Aprender a Lingua Italiana com Muita Rapidez. Adaptado ao Uso dos Brasileiros* (1896), Giovanni Carciatto's *Grammatica da Lingua Italiana para Uso dos Portuguezes et Brasileiros* (1880); Jose Cervaens e Rodriguez's *Grammatica Italiana para Uso dos Portuguezes e Brasileiros em 19 lições* (1895), and Emilio Augusto Vecchi's *Grammatica da Lingua Italiana para Uso dos Portugueses e Brasileiros* (1901). Finally, the need for practical tools aimed at the cultural and economic interchange with the Italian community was answered by handbooks for conversation focused on Brazilian business and everyday life. The most known is Michele Nabantino and A. Monteiro's *Guida di conversazione in Italiano e in Portoghese* (1889). A quick overview of the Brazilian edition of Cossa's textbook reveals that Guimaraes was able to profit from this background. The translation is faithful, concise, and clear. The orthography corresponds to the typical etymological writing used at least until 1911, including double consonants (*distincção, commum*), digraphs (*phenomenos, philosophico*), vocalic oscillations ($e \rightarrow i$, like in "*sciencias sociaes*"), irregularity in use of accents (*pratica, seculo*), and no fixed distinction between *s* and *z* (*Portuguezes, Brasileiros*). A second aspect of our question consists in looking for reasons to translate a foreign textbook. It is true that even in European countries with an abundant production of indigenous treatises and textbook of economics, the practice of translating and adapting foreign textbooks was widespread. France, Italy, Spain are typical examples of this phenomenon. However, as translators' and editors' prefaces very often reveal, the choice to import a foreign textbook responds to some kind of uneasiness *vis-à-vis* the local production. Uneasiness may be related to ideological content, lack of rigour, consistency and systematisation, lack of conciseness, linguistic register, etc. But there are cases in which import of foreign textbooks is an absolute need, because there is an institutional or informal demand for this genre and supply is scanty or totally non-existent. Therefore a "market for political economy" approach (Kadish and Tribe 1993) may be useful in this case, and an overview of what Brazil demanded and what it offered in terms of textbooks and treatises on political economy may help to answer this question.

First and foremost, was there a demand for textbooks of political economy? It is known that Brazil in a way preceded Portugal in the spread and institutionalisation of political economy. A decree of 23rd February, soon after the transfer of Dom Pedro's court to Rio de Janeiro, instituted a course of Political economy, that was conferred to Jose da Silva Lisboa, author of *Princípios de Economia Política*, 1804. The course was never opened, and Lisboa was employed in the Imprensa Regia (the governmental publisher) as member of the managing board and censor. However, in this capacity he promoted various publications on political economy (Almodovar and Cardoso 2012). At Carvalho's and Guimaraes's times, however, the academic institutionalisation of political economy was already a fact in various Brazilian universities. The Universities of Olinda and Recife, in the northeast of the country had a chair of political economy in the Faculty of Law at least since the late 1820s.

Here Pedro Aufran da Matta e Albuquerque (1805-1881) was appointed professor of political economy in 1829. His father was of French origins, which may explain why Pedro made his higher studies at the

Faculty of Law of Aix-en-Provence, where he graduated in 1827. and soon after obtained the doctorate. After his return to Brazil, he became member of the faculty of law of the University of Olinda, where he taught various disciplines, including political economy. After 1853-54 his course of political economy was transferred to Recife (Gremaud 2000: 9). In order to provide his students with a textbook, Albuquerque started by translating James Mill's *Elements of Political Economy* (*Elementos de Economia Política*. Bahia, 1833), together with a work on private law (Nobre Zeillen 1840) (Blake 1883: VII: 21-23). One decade later, however, he started authoring 'original' textbooks, which were actually little more than syntheses of the main ideas of Mill and the other classical Anglo-French economists. These were the *Elementos de Economia Política* (1844: same title as Mill's treatise), the *Novos Elementos de Economia Política* (1851), the *Preleções de Economia Política* (1859, 2nd edn, 1860). We know that these textbooks were officially approved by the government, as it was necessary at the time (*Coleção das leis do imperio do Brasil de 1848*, t. 10, p. 1, Rio de Janeiro, Na Typographia Nacional, 1849, p. 2: Decree n° 494, 15 June 1848). A later textbook, the *Manual de Economia Política* (1873; 2nd edn 1880), was aimed at his courses of Political Economy at the Instituto de Comercio da Corte in Rio de Janeiro. His last work was a *Catecismo de Economia Política para Uso das Escolas Normaes do Império* (1880) (Blake 1883: VII: 21-23; Lara 1988: 76; Veiga 1980: 287- 293). A careful analysis of these works, not available in European libraries, will be necessary to understand the evolution of Albuquerque's ideas from the original Millian approach, and the sources from which he drew inspiration.

The most known episode of Albuquerque's career is his controversy with Antonio Pedro de Figueiredo on socialism in 1852. Antonio Pedro de Figueiredo (1822-1859) was a journalist and publicist who had been the founder and editor, between July 1846 and September 1848 of a journal entitled *O Progresso*, published in Recife (Sodre 1999: 143). Figueiredo propounded radical arguments against *latifundium*, and praised the contemporary revolution in France as an example of the battle of labour against capital. He encouraged the Brazilian government to follow the footsteps of the French revolutionary administration, intervening "in the phenomena of production, distribution, and consumption" (*ibid.*). Figueiredo was soon labelled as an utopian socialist, who preached the end of the reign of "the savage maxims of Malthus and J.B. Say" (*ibid.*): In 1843 he translated Victor Cousin's *Cours d'histoire de la philosophie*, which fact gave him the nickname of "Cousin fusco" (for the colour of his skin) (Sodre 1999: 144; Strieder 2012). The controversy with Albuquerque was opened by an article published by the latter in the ultrareactionary newspaper *A União*, in which he argued that "Socialism is identified by the communion of women and goods" (*ibid.*: 144). In another column published in the same newspaper in July 1852, he accused socialism to be "impious, anti-Christian, anti-social and opposed to civilisation", and quoted the encyclical "Quanta Cura" issued by Pope Pius IX in 1849 (*ibid.*: 155). Figueiredo's reply was hosted by *A Imprensa*, where he ironically concluded that "as my opponent, in his last article, calls into question the provincial council of Paris and the venerable Pius IX, I do not want to have the same fate of Galileo, and therefore I choose to stop this quarrel". A contemporary of Albuquerque was Lourenco Trigo de Loureiro (Viseu 1793-Recife 1870). Loureiro was lecturer of French, law and political economy at the University of Recife since 1833. He obtained a professorship in 1852 (Silva 1858: vol V, pp. 199-200). In 1854 he published a textbook entitled *Elementos de Economia Política, Colligidos dos Melhores Auctores*. In the dedicatory letter which precedes the textbook Loureiro declare his disagreement with some of Albuquerque's ideas. While the latter was faithful to the tenets of *laissez-faire* political economy, Loureiro did not share the same confidence in market laws (Gremaud 2000: 15-16). However, neither the textbooks of Albuquerque nor that of Loureiro probably satisfied Carvalho and Guimaraes. It is possible that in the 1880s their ideas might appear outdated. But why translating Cossa instead of adopting a Portuguese textbook or translating another contemporary British or French textbook? Portugal offered for example the textbook that Adriaio Forjaz de Sampaio had composed for the courses of Political economy at the University of Coimbra): the *Elementos de Economia Política e Estadística*, published since 1841 and updated at various dates afterwards. Sampaio's textbook was a blend of Say and Rau, with prevalence of a German classic structure. He propounded a Christian view of economic relationships, with a peculiar mixture of *laissez-faire* and interventionism. Another possible competitor was Jose Rodrigues de Freitas' *Princípios de Economia Política* (1883), a textbook promoting radical *laissez-fairism* and an unlimited confidence in progress against socialist ideas. If these textbooks might seem out-fashioned in the final decades of the 19th century, Jose Frederico Laranjo's *Princípios de economia política* (1891) were more close to contemporary historicism and to the paternalistic ideals of the Socialism of the Chair. Anti-socialism and classical paternalistic solutions to social question.

But this textbook was not yet available when Guimaraes decided to translate Cossa. If there was no appealing Portuguese competitor to Cossa's textbook, there were certainly many other popular and more updated textbooks published in French and English: for example Joseph Garnier, *Traité d'économie politique*, whose 6th edition was issued in 1880. Its 9th edition, published in 1889, counted 803 pages. Charles Gide had just published his *Principes d'économie politique* (1884, 588 pp.), a book that counted various translations., and Charles Le Hardy de Beaulieu could offer a *Traité élémentaire d'économie politique* (1866, 357 pp.) which drew inspiration from the translation and adaptation of Otto Hubner's *Der Kleine Volkswirth*, edited by Beaulieu himself (Hubner 1861). Belgium offered Emile de Laveleye's *Eléments d'économie politique* (1882), another popular textbook translated into various languages. In Britain there were at the time some textbooks specifically adapted to educational purposes: Edwin Cannan's *Elementary Political Economy* (1888); Henry Fawcett's *Manual of Political Economy* (1863); Millicent Garrett Fawcett's *Political Economy for Beginners* (1870), W. Stanley Jevons' *Political Economy* (1878) and finally Alfred Marshall and Mary Paley Marshall's *The Economics of Industry* (1879). Also these books were translated into various languages, from Italy to Japan. So why choosing Cossa? An answer may be suggested by Jevons' Preface to the English translation of the *Guide*:

"This work presents, in a compendious form, not only a general view of the bounds, divisions, and relations of the science, marked by great impartiality and breadth of treatment" (Cossa 1880: vii).[...]

"...our economic writers [...] ignore too much the great works of the French and Italian economists, as well as the invaluable recent treatises of German writers. The survey of the foreign literature of the subject given in this Guide will enable the English student to fix the bearings of the point of knowledge which he has reached, and to estimate the fraction of the ocean of economic literature which he has been able to traverse" (*ibid.*: viii).

Cossa's textbook was a pedagogical textbook, explicitly aimed at supporting teaching and popularisation. It was elementary albeit erudite and updated. It was impartial and anti-dogmatic. Cossa was almost unanimously accused by his contemporaries to be eclectic, ambiguous and unoriginal (Augello and Bientinesi 2007). But if these were defects for a scholar, they turned to be qualities for a pedagogue! Furthermore, Cossa's textbook was complemented by a wide bibliography, open to international literature, multicultural in that it encompassed German, British, French, Italian and other contributions to economic science. And if this was not enough, this textbook contained updated notions and their application to hot contemporary issues such as the 'social question'. A final quality of this textbook, although it was not exploited by Guimaraes, was its complementarity with the other textbook on public finance and with the *Guide*. However, a further possible explanation lies in the linguistic familiarity with Italian that Guimaraes, and maybe other people at University of Sao Paulo might have thanks to the intense relationships between Brasil and Italy at that time.

5. Conclusions

This paper tried to make some conjectures on the reasons why Cossa was appreciated in Brazil and his textbook on political economy translated into Portuguese. Further research, on both published and archival sources, can reveal the role played by Cossa himself in promoting the translation of his book. Cossa was certainly an entrepreneurial promoter not only of his works, but through them and through other translations of the dissemination of political economy and of its application to educational uses.

Another result of this paper is the demonstration that the translation of economics works, and especially of textbooks, is connected to networks of intellectuals, associations, institutions that contributed to the dissemination and popularisation of the economic science. Cossa was constantly aware of this systemic dimension of the spread of economic ideas, and possibly for this reason his works became very popular in the transnational networks that promoted the circulation of economic ideas in the nineteenth century. The paper offers an interesting contrast between two types of translators of economics texts. On the one hand there was Cossa, who was himself an expert translator and entrepreneurial promoter of translations of his own textbooks and of the textbooks of other authors; On the other hand, Guimaraes appears so far to be an occasional and amateurish translator, although his work was connected to an established institutional activity. This contrast reveals the importance of the institutional dimension of the circulation and translation of economic texts: systematic and occasional activities are made possible by similar demands arising from networks of organizations in which the dissemination of political economy appears a necessity and is institutionalized.

The 'parallel lives' of Cossa and Guimaraes also reveal the importance of the 'market for political economy', which is another institutional dimension of the phenomenon of the circulation of economic ideas, both independently of translations and through translations: on the one hand there is a demand for updated texts of economics coming from institutions in which this discipline is taught, discussed, or used for policy applications. On the other hand there is a role for modern publishers like Hoepli in Italy or Lammaert in Brazil, who understand the institutional dimension of the production of textbooks and transform it into an industrial process producing constantly updated versions of textbooks adapted to specific educational purposes.

Furthermore, a key to understand the success of a textbook of political economy such as Cossa's, seems to be the spread of the language of the original in a certain context, in our case Brazil, and its connection with, once again, a 'market for languages' dimension: on the one hand, a demand for a certain language, in our case Italian, coming from substantive social phenomena such as immigration and commercial exchanges; on the other hand, a supply of tools for conversation and learning of foreign languages, specifically adapted to practical purposes. The co-existence of a 'Market for political economy' and of a 'market for foreign languages' is a phenomenon that deserves to be considered more seriously, maybe as a single phenomenon connected to the growth of market economy. As the circulation of labourers and goods increases and becomes a global phenomenon, so the need for intellectual tools that facilitate this circulation and help to *categorise* it through linguistic skills, economic notions, and relevant economic information becomes more urgent. Adam Smith had understood this connection more than two centuries ago, when he had argued that the propensity to 'truck and barter' is subordinated to the ability to persuade the butcher and the baker that what we offer them is in their own interest. Our case reveals a further dimension of this connection between language and economic information: in a world in which exchanges start to have a transnational dimension through the circulation of goods and people from two specific and distant areas, as it happened in the last decades of the 19th century, knowledge of languages and knowledge of economic notions go hand in hand and tend to be geographically specific and geographically homogeneous with real flows. The circulation of economic ideas has been a transnational phenomenon rather than, or possibly before becoming, an international and global phenomenon.

Finally, the case of the Brazilian translation of Cossa's *Primi elementi* is an episode of a larger international success of this textbook. It is possible that some of the reasons that justified the Brazilian translation may explain Cossa's success in other areas. Such a success is a phenomenon of its own, that deserves a more careful and thorough study.

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