

**The Economy of the Mysteries:
Administering Sacramental Wealth in the
Age of Lights**

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The Economy of the Mysteries: Administering Sacramental Wealth in the Age of Lights

In 1710, the Parisian parish of Saint-Benoît celebrated the establishment of a confraternity venerating the incarnation of God in the Eucharist. A commemorative print (Figure 1) publicized the spiritual riches placed at the order's disposal. A sacrificial lamb, representing the broken body of Christ, signifies the profitable loss of life enshrined in the sacrament itself. A monstrance containing the host attracts the gaze of the attending cherubs, along with the devotions of Saints Benedict and Denis. The engraving's lower half is given over to Pope Urban VIII's brief of 1641, confirmed by the archbishop of Paris in 1692, stipulating plenary indulgences to members upon entry into the association and at their deaths, as well as partial indulgences for visiting its church on feast days. The decree is reproduced in full, its contents poised to overwhelm the space allotted.¹ As an iconographic whole, the image translates the glories of the pictorial representation into the quantifiable terms of the brief and posits an apparent equivalence between these registers of meaning. Christ's simultaneous existence along various axes of the composition further reinforces the notion of his ubiquity, and indeed multiplicity, as Logos, sacrifice, sacrament, and indulgence. Each manifestation was believed to generate rewards through a miraculous, ever recurring act of mercy.

As a doctrinal performance, the image turns on a series of transubstantiations: The Word made Flesh and back again, bread and wine consecrated as the body and blood of Christ, pious acts into dispensations of temporal penalties for sin. This paper aims to make sense of these exchanges, in all their polyvalent productivity. I argue that, for French believers during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, economic and theological power converged in the sacraments. With the Eucharist in particular, the economic dimensions of spiritual life came spectacularly to the fore. The host and the chalice not only symbolized, but also projected, a vast bounty offered to fallen souls. Communion was believed to convey true wealth—infinite and everlasting, on earth as in heaven.

Emboldened by Tridentine affirmations, the Gallican Church celebrated the host as the supreme conduit of value. In response to the challenge of Protestantism, the canons and catechism of the Council of Trent codified the sacraments' productive character. The Eucharist figured as a sign, but one that brought the body and blood it signified into being. Reverence for its splendors surged not only in formal treatises, but also among members of religious and lay confraternities. Their duties encompassed devotional as well as financial matters and ranged from silent prayer to public processions. Faithful observance made one eligible to receive spiritual advantages, including plenary and partial indulgences granted by the pope and ratified by local bishops. Professional theologians, for their part, defended transubstantiation, and justified the teaching as a means of spiritual enrichment that assured consolation in this life and eternal beatitude in the next. Sermons echoed a gospel of marvels, according to which plenitude overcame scarcity, and motive was liberated from

the strictures of self-interest. The pastoral enterprise revolved around fixing the homologies between the spiritual and material domains of existence. To this end, orators made explicit reference to the “economy” of grace, which extended from the heavens to the earth, as well as to the “invisible hand” believed to guide its operations, with the Eucharist as mediator.

The relationship between religion and capitalism has long exercised historians, sociologists, and philosophers, from Max Weber’s classic formulations to more recent accounts of the emergence of the economy as an autonomous domain.² The analysis offered here is indebted to, but also seeks to cast beyond, two principal narratives advanced by *dix-huitièmistes*. On the one hand, there is a secular functionalism, expounded perhaps most prominently by R. R. Palmer and Bernard Groethuysen, which in the last instance reduces theology to a reflection of material imperatives.³ On the other, invisible hand, one encounters a logic of supersession, which depends on transfers of significance from the sacred past to a purportedly secular future, under the blind eye of a supreme being defined above all as an absent presence. This logic underwrites much of the recent work that privileges Jansenism, the strain of Catholic thought most amenable to Weber’s “worldly Protestant asceticism,” which urged rational temperance in all things.⁴ It also permeates Jonathan Sheehan and Dror Wahrman’s study of the eighteenth-century language of self-organization, in which God is reduced to a figment—rendered, in their words, a “something” or an “unknown.”⁵ Despite shifts in emphasis, these convergent historiographical strands seek the economy outside religion, whether as its *terminus a quo* or *terminus ad quem*.

My approach departs from these presumptions by asserting that Christian theology was always already economic: Its doctrinal system constituted a science of determining and distributing wealth. These tasks grew ever more urgent in the wake of the Council of Trent (1545-1563), which set the context for developments in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Catholic Renewal posited its own Christian rendition of materialism, grounded in the body and blood of Jesus himself, to be consumed as sustenance but also communed in as the essence of a deep social bond. Indeed, the religious served not only to mystify the economic, but also to demystify it—to concretize the desire of realizing enjoyment via possession without limit. The Word made flesh in the Eucharist was a mediator that, despite Weberian pronouncements to the contrary, would not merely vanish.⁶

Alongside the material economy, then, both historically and logically, there operated an *economic theology* that transcended purely human designs and desires without invalidating them altogether. To be clear, “economy” did not demarcate a specialized domain of material production in the early eighteenth century. Rather, it comprised a diverse range of activities aimed at administering objects of value, from the grace of penance and communion to stylized projections of royal power in painted portraits and on minted coins. These phenomena further qualify as theological by virtue of the decisive role clerics played in their elaboration, which involved the application of sacramental theory to financial transactions. As a historical corpus, economic theology comprises the writings of theologians on matters of wealth creation and distribution, in both the spiritual and material realms. As an interpretive framework, economic theology attends to matters of

representation or re-representation, without presuming a definitive break between the sacred and the profane. Not unlike the image with which I began, economic theology articulates (1) a *belief in the economy*, both material and spiritual, as a means of redemption and fulfillment, and (2) an *economy of belief* by which persons and objects were designated as sources of value.

Catholic economic theology departed from the axioms of classical political economy, which emerged in the middle decades of the eighteenth century with a fixation on maximizing production in a world of scarcity. Eucharistic devotion enshrined a law of surplus with moral and material inflections.⁷ The overwhelming debt of human sinfulness was not only negated by Christ's death on the cross but converted into the grounds for the proliferation of grace. Salvation called for the labor of the faithful, but nonetheless required divine largesse. Eternal life pertained to the future, yet without considerations of utility. All limits were believed to fall away in the presence of God. The Eucharist could be produced *ad infinitum*, and, through collective effort, worshipped perpetually. The creator and the created were bound together in prolific charity. From the standpoint of conventional economic theory, these activities would appear anathema to rationality itself. Yet this was not the case for the spirituality of the Catholic Renewal, least of all in France. The Church sought to formalize the Tridentine valorization of the sacraments against Protestant stipulations of lack. Likewise, theologians struggled to reconcile the ways of the world with the indubitable reality of transubstantiation.

The Re-representational Logic of Sacramental Theology

The Council of Trent galvanized a church determined to preserve unity in the face of seemingly irrevocable fragmentation.⁸ Theological as well as geopolitical factors led the Council to dwell on cardinal differences with its adversaries on the nature and function of the sacraments. According to Martin Luther and his fellow Reformers, baptism, penance, and the Eucharist passively attested to the status granted by God to the individual soul.⁹ For Catholicism, in contrast, the sacraments possessed a direct, active symbolic power. The Tridentine catechism (1566), a compendium of positive theology drawn up to negate its Lutheran counterpart, held that each served as a "visible sign of an invisible grace, instituted for our justification." Sacramental power stemmed from the signs' dual function, in serving to "represent by virtue of outward appearance in their administration, what God by his omnipotent virtue [. . .] affects within the interior of the soul." Despite Protestant resistance, they "have been established, not only to represent, but also to produce and bring about that which they represent." The Eucharist actualized the body and blood of Christ on the altar, while also inducing "the grace received by those who participate in it with purity of conscience."¹⁰

If Protestants augured the modern regime of *representation*, fixed but also freed by the inertia of the sign, Catholicism upheld the longstanding semiotic ideal of *re-representation*.¹¹ In France, this desideratum was reinforced by the political theology of the *ancien régime*. Bourbon absolutism perpetuated the myth that it was only as an image—a

portrait, a medal, a coin—that the king could attain the exalted status claimed for himself. Christ’s fateful gesture toward *Hoc est corpus meum*, then, found its analogue in the formula *l’État, c’est moi*. Like the bread and wine of the Eucharist, the image of the king was viewed as a specific embodiment of what Louis Marin termed the “mysteries of royal substance.”¹² Re-presentation called forth, projected, and augmented that which was re-presented, while also mediating between its various dimensions, visible and invisible, material and spiritual. The consecrated host, like the king’s ceremonial, immortal body, could in theory and practice appear anywhere, at any time. It was an extension of Christ’s ubiquity in time and space, but also his world-transforming Real Presence. By the same logic, communion operated at once as a discreet ritual and as the instantiation and mobilization of an entire apparatus—of grace, glory, and authority—that was omnipresent, yet otherwise hidden.

The Tridentine catechism embedded its sacramental theory within a general economy of sin and grace, mediated by the Eucharist, of which political theology was a specific application. This underlying order structured the conversion of seemingly irreparable loss into untold gratification. It found impetus in the sheer magnitude of Christ’s sacrifice, an excess necessitated by humanity’s collective depravity. The prelates explicitly referred to transgressions as “debts,” and in the same breath upheld their countervailing “authority to redeem.” The Church wielded its power first in baptism, which neutralized the effects of original sin, and then through penance, an absolution affected by the priesthood through Christ, the grantor of a “celestial gift” emanating from the “infinite virtue of God.” Once again, pastors were instructed to comprehend the redemption of sin in expressly economic terms, as the “forgiveness of a debt,” which necessarily involved the consent of the “creditor.” The transaction depended on divine charity, in keeping with the plea of the Lord’s Prayer to “forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us.”¹³

Communion symbolized, but also literally embodied, the passion and death of Christ, a holy expenditure defined by its bounty rather than loss. As a sacrament, the Eucharist was distinguished by its unique re-presentational prowess, and thus economic efficacy. Baptismal water, for instance, held its power only for the duration of the ritual; its value was consumed entirely by use. Yet the host exhibited its “perfection” as soon as the “matter is consecrated.”¹⁴ It could appear on thousands of altars at once, without losing status. Remarkably, then, it possessed the ability to be replicated as well as stored—attributes also shared by money.¹⁵ The bishops and ambassadors of Trent did not settle for an explicit financial analogue, or the reduction of the host to the minted coin. It was not so much that money fixed the meaning of the Eucharist, but that the Eucharist was the most potent means of representing value, an instrument that money merely resembled in function. Hence the catechism left no doubt that, even among the sacraments, communion “greatly surpasses the others in holiness, and in the number and profundity of the mysteries that it encompasses.”¹⁶

The Eucharist was set apart by its capacity not only to be preserved, but also to transform otherwise banal matter into sublime substance. Its primacy issued from its singularity in both quantity and quality. All sacramental rites were held to alter the

participants. Eucharistic consecration did so in a still more fundamental fashion, in that it affected not only the human soul, but also the materials employed in the ritual. The miracle took place in time, but also transcended time. Its origins stemmed from Christ's Last Supper, where he offered himself in anticipation of the Passion. It was destined as a commemoration of this sacrifice. As the catechism made clear more than once, it transmitted a "grace" serving "to nourish and to conserve spiritual life," as "a thing to come of which it is the collateral [gage], that is, the eternal glory we will possess in heaven."¹⁷

The Council of Trent affirmed the economic valence of the doctrine of the faith. For instance, it avowed the veracity of transubstantiation, the mechanics of which had long been contested among Catholic theologians, and that Lutherans and other Protestants sought to attenuate, if not eliminate altogether.¹⁸ The catechism stated unequivocally that Jesus' self-identification in the pronouncement, "This is my body," carried a literal meaning. Its consumption, the faithful were to be taught, functioned on an economic level, given that it led not to a dwindling of resources, as one might anticipate, but to the discharge of spiritual debt. This reality could be ascertained through sense experience, in the productive metabolizing of bread as nourishment. The Church saw fit to oscillate between allusions to the physical world and theological explanations that deployed the Scholastic terminology prevalent during the period. The Real Presence was to be taken as a regularly-occurring wonder. The consecrated wafer, down to its least particle, contained a "true body," with actual "bones and nerves," joined to "human nature" and the essence of "divinity." Yet Christ's appearance defied physical laws as commonly understood. For one, his body did not exist in a single point of space, but rather infused the entirety of each and every host. What is more, the "accidents" of the bread and wine seemingly remained, without adhering to any "substance" of their own. The illusion befitted the sentiments of mortals, given their instinctive aversion to eating human flesh.¹⁹

With the Eucharist, believers took part in the Logos, the speech act par excellence.²⁰ The meanings attributed to this verbal and gestural performance depended on faith in the eternal, but also posited an undeniable opulence in the present. The Catholic Church in France loomed as a repository of great wealth; no other corporate body marshalled resources to the same extent. The accumulation of edifices, offices, relics, lands, and financial holdings doubtlessly lent illocutionary force and social power to its pronouncements. Nevertheless, the catechism taught that ecclesiastical property paled in comparison to the truly boundless veins of grace on which the Church had the exclusive right to draw, and that served as justification for its worldly splendors. The key to the economy of grace could not be material without also being semiotic—or, more precisely, the semiotic underpinned a new material reality through supernatural means. Protestantism challenged the Church's monopolization of celestial as well as terrestrial goods. The Catholic response, formulated at Trent, upheld the conviction that the sacraments produced what they symbolized, and in turn symbolized what they produced. Rejecting the anthropological pessimism of Luther and especially Calvin, whose partisans the Gallican church battled at close range, Tridentine orthodoxy imagined humans in a constant struggle for justification, with the Eucharist as their most valuable asset.

Confraternities and the Spirituality of the Catholic Reformation

Trent aimed to secure the faith against the Protestant menace by extolling the sacraments. The assembled dignitaries found guidance in the light of a theological lodestar, a statement but also a state of being, the certitude of proliferation in place of paucity. Consecrated hosts became a fixture in public processions as well as during the performance of the other rites. The greater emphasis placed on mental prayer further induced more frequent participation in the Eucharist, which necessitated consultation with spiritual directors to determine whether one was in a state of mortal sin.²¹ During the century following Trent, interior and exterior manifestations of piety thus evolved in tandem rather than in opposition.

In France, the monarch served as an exemplar for his realm, attending services daily. The number of subjects emulating him rose throughout the seventeenth century, and well into the eighteenth.²² In 1645, the Assembly of the Clergy ordered Catholics to attend mass at least once a month; the majority, especially among the middling and lower reaches of society, did so every Sunday. The ideal was universal, perpetual reflection and celebration.²³ This totalizing enterprise reached its zenith during the long reign of Louis XIV (1643-1715). It was supported intellectually by an expanding corpus of devotional literature, with hundreds of guides advising readers on how to profit from penance and the Eucharist.²⁴ Materially, church and state enlisted French subjects in a collaborative campaign to elevate the Eucharist in social and religious life. Endowments made by institutions and private individuals provided for masses, as well as for every conceivable embellishment of the host. In Argentan, members of a confraternity reported expenditures of 15,000 to 20,000 livres on “vases in gold and silver,” the “decoration of the tabernacle” used in displaying communion wafers, the building of a new sacristy, and other “magnificent ornaments.”²⁵ An association in the Parisian parish of Saint-Sulpice collected contributions from dozens of benefactors during the second half of the century, for masses, processions, and acts of restitution in cases where the host had been stolen or defiled by malevolent parties.²⁶

Confraternities played a valuable and visible role in advancing the cult of Eucharistic devotion. Fervor held fast even in an age of purported “laicization.”²⁷ In 1621, there were 363 *confréries de dévotion*.²⁸ By John McManners’s count, 61 new establishments were made in Bordeaux alone between 1680 and 1728, and another 41 between 1729 and 1769, which to his mind indicated “continuing vitality.”²⁹ At the turn of the eighteenth century, a total of 1.5 million French subjects belonged to one or more of 15,000 religious societies.³⁰ A single confraternity, the Filles du Saint-Sacrement, claimed 30,000-40,000 members.³¹

Tellingly, these voluntary associations had long served a dual economic and spiritual function.³² Artisans organized themselves in the service of both religious and professional obligations. Confraternities founded independently of the guilds—and promoted by Dominicans, Ursulines, and Jesuits—tended to church buildings, oversaw the liturgy, collected and distributed charity, and ministered to the bodies and the souls of the infirm. The clergy attempted to turn such diligence to their advantage, either founding or reviving pious orders with the support of bishops and their representatives during visitations.³³ Their

acts of virtue earned fulsome recognition from Rome. Between 1650 and 1799, one in ten indulgences were granted to Eucharistic confraternities.³⁴

Eucharistic associations courted members across the social spectrum. Brothers and sisters committed themselves to the stewardship, display, and circulation of the host as a source of spiritual and physical redemption.³⁵ The order founded in the Burgundian town of Noyers typified this sense of purpose. All Catholics were explicitly welcome, so long as they resided in the city, and were capable of performing duties. Members attended mass each Thursday (the traditional day of the original Last Supper), as well as a procession and vespers the first Thursday of the month. They were obliged to commune well beyond the minimum stipulated by the Councils of the Lateran and of Trent—at Easter, Pentecost, All Saints' Day, and the feast of Corpus Christi. In keeping with Catholic Reformation orthodoxy, their prayers placed emphasis on the productive and transformative aspects of the sacrament. “O bread of life!” according to one invocation, “you enliven my spirit and fortify my heart.” The liturgy concluded with paeans in rapid succession: “O precious blood! O price of my redemption! O infinite treasure!”³⁶

The confraternity of the Saint-Barthélemy parish, in the capital, maintained especially strict standards of self-governance. Women and men could join regardless of rank, provided they espoused reverence for the “great mystery that is the archetype of all the others.” As was common, the parish priest served as perpetual director, thus assuring clerical oversight; in addition, members elected two “masters and administrators” on a biannual basis to manage social and liturgical activities. A council of local notables served in an advisory capacity. The masters guaranteed that the sanctuary was furnished with candles, six for the altar and twelve for the chandelier above the choir. They also arranged for a verger and two children to accompany the viaticum, the name for the host carried to the sick and dying, and for men to carry the dais in processions held the first Sunday of the month, at which attendance was mandatory. Deceased members were entitled to a requiem mass. According to its ordinance, the association would freely lend “necessary things,” but the bereaved would incur unspecified “customary expenses” if they wished to employ “fine trappings [*parements*].”³⁷

The regulations addressed financial matters in careful detail. Dues were set at 30 sols upon entry, and 15 sols per year thereafter; falling into arrears would result in relinquishing the right to a funeral service. Masters were prohibited from making expenditures over 50 livres without the approval of colleagues and the parish priest. If over 100 livres, the proposed charge required permission from the entire council. While in office, masters were to keep scrupulous records, and submit to an audit at the end of their terms. Their purview extended to the entirety of the association's capital, both spiritual and material, from papal bulls of indulgence issued to members, to the “bank” in which was deposited the “holy relics” left in the masters' care.³⁸

Successive popes opened the treasury of merit [*thesaurus meritorum sanctorum*] to confraternities. In Noyers, Gregory VI (r. 1621-1623) issued to new members “plenary indulgences, and remission of all their sins.” Dispensations of “seven years, and as many quarantines” (corresponding to forty days' worth of penance) were granted to those who

fulfilled one of several possible devotions, such as visiting the parish church on the feast days of Peter, Paul, Ascension, and Assumption, praying for the end of heresy, lodging the poor, settling quarrels, attending the burials of brothers and sisters, joining processions of the sacrament, or carrying the viaticum to the sick and dying. Sixty days accrued for offering religious instruction and undertaking other “pious works.”³⁹

Fallen souls could aspire to emulate divine munificence through the exercise of charity, in the love of God as well as each other. According to the *Instructions* issued by the confraternity in Rouen, theirs was to be a “society of several persons of every condition,” since Christ called the rich and poor without distinction to engage in the “commerce of piety.” Their devotions, likewise, would embrace the ideals of boundlessness. Pope Paul III established the principles of perpetual adoration in 1539, which were adapted for France in the 1640s by Gaston-Jean-Baptiste de Renty, the lay director of the *Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement*, who urged the devout in the parish of Saint-Paul to pray before the sacrament each evening for an hour.⁴⁰ New orders were founded throughout the second half of the seventeenth century. Participants strove for comprehensive devotion: “to render to Jesus Christ, present in the Most Blessed Sacrament at the altar, all the honor it is possible to give him, in attempting to fulfill every obligation toward him,” from “homage,” to “gratitude” and “love,” to “satisfaction or restitution.”⁴¹

Despite professing selflessness, the Rouen instructions stated unrepentantly that “There is a great deal of profit to be hoped for in this devotion.” It “procures [. . .] a great number of good works, [among them] the adornment of Churches, the respectability of altars, [and] the maintenance of eternal flames [*lampes ardentes*].” Given the transitive property of grace, these assets enriched individual believers even when familial and social duties prevented them from contributing directly. Each member benefited from the toil of his brethren. Taken together, their labors had a multiplying effect. The text classed the plenary indulgences enjoyed by associates among such gains. Adoration entailed frequenting the sacraments, a duty with its own reward. Those who remained observant should expect that “Jesus Christ will commit himself to lavishing a singular glory on you for all eternity,” out of proportion with the humble aid rendered by his servants. In this life, indulgences spurred members to more strenuous effort, in order to “enrich with particular graces” the “assiduous worship” of the “most precious wage of our salvation.”⁴²

The *curé* drew up an agenda for the constant adoration of the host. Members fixed appointments for a specific hour, or hours, depending on their number. Substitutions were permitted, but only with the clergy’s prior approval. In parishes lacking clocks, groups of worshippers would take longer shifts—for instance, from noon until dusk—obviating the need for punctuality. The period allotted was to be given over to mental or vocal meditation, at the conclusion of which one recited the Lord’s Prayer and the Angelic Salutation five times. One then arranged to confess and to take communion within the week. If a particular hour was oversubscribed, two or more members were allowed to worship in tandem.⁴³

Acknowledging that difficulties were bound to arise, the manual’s authors examined the question of whether perpetual attendance was sustainable. They answered in the affirmative, noting that the practice had endured without interruption for over sixty years.

It was not only possible, but necessary, given the deep indebtedness of fallen souls to God. The confraternity prepared liturgies on subjects such as Christ's Real Presence, and the execution of his venerable duties as savior, judge, sovereign, and spouse. When taught verbally, these models allowed those who could not read to participate in the order. All devotees were invited to commit various formulas to memory. If their minds wandered, they were advised to reflect on crimes of "divine *lèse-Majesté*" committed against the sacrament—stabbing it with knives, feeding it to dogs, defacing the altar, and the like.⁴⁴

At the same time, and by a supplementary logic, the Rouen manual implored members to receive the fullness of divine grace. The seemingly bottomless insolvency of sin necessitated the mobilization of spiritual wealth on a monumental scale. The faithful were invited to the table of a "holy banquet," "the wage of eternal glory." Prayers lingered over the pleasures of communion as a "magnificent feast [. . .] where one tastes spiritual delights as from their source."⁴⁵ The confraternity in the parish of Saint-Hilaire in Reims—the city where French kings were anointed, crowned, and first communed in both bread and wine—based their liturgy on a variant of the Christian materialism endorsed by their brothers and sisters in Rouen. Model prayers instructed worshippers to state that "I adore you with all my heart, [. . .] and with the joy of depending on you as your creature and your slave, redeemed by the infinite price of your blood and your death."⁴⁶ These exuberant sentiments convey, in word and deed, a thoroughly economic system of relations between God and the soul, plenitude and lack, the whole and its parts.

This rhetoric would also seem to recall a certain hedonism. The authors, as if policing themselves, maintained that the devotee should privilege celestial over worldly attractions. The confraternities' exercises instilled a love that never waned, with God, in the words of the Rouen chapter, as its "sole object."⁴⁷ Their professed desire reflected the seemingly paradoxical attributes of the Eucharistic rite. Communion took place in time; even so, it necessitated worship that transcended time. The miracle of transubstantiation called forth Christ immediately, immanently, yet promised fulfillment in the future. The consecrated host stood as the perfect artifact—wondrously whole, body and blood—but also represented Jesus's physical suffering on the cross. The sacrifice it commemorated was reserved for sacred moments, while still conducive to frequent observance.

The Rouen manual broached the subject of fulfillment in terms of the circulation of commodities, an analogue it exploited for religious instruction. As for the benefits to be negotiated in the course of one's duties, the guide answered unequivocally: "You can ask for your every spiritual need, and even your temporal needs, according to God's inclination." Eternal riches did not exclude the possession of material goods; rather, the former and the latter fell along a single continuum of necessity. Yet the imperative of exalting Christ reigned supreme. Brothers and sisters were to strive for the "augmentation of his glory in this mystery, the conversion of his enemies, and the multiplication of his true worshippers." Regarding personal advantage, one should favor "the grace to make a fitting use of this sacrament," with particular consideration shown toward "the happiness of seeing beloved Jesus."⁴⁸

The order followed its pronouncement on the qualified legitimacy of spiritual self-interest with another digression on indulgences. Associates were reminded that those “who neglect this spiritual treasure” acted as “poor stewards [*ménagers*] in the business [*affaire*] of their salvation.” The question remained, however, whether the pursuit of indulgences could serve as a “principal motive.” In the directors’ words, although one assumed duties in expectation of such a “recompense,” which held understandable “attraction,” it should not be approached as “the end” in itself. Only “mercenaries” comported themselves in so vicious a manner. The hope for indulgences promoted spiritual toil, in the form of prayers and receiving “communion with fervor.” Yet the love of God ultimately transcended self-interest narrowly conceived, to embrace an ethic of service. The text likened “perfect worshippers” to “courtiers.” Heeding the commands of their divine “sovereign,” they were to act impetuously, “without understanding” how a specific deed fulfilled a prescribed purpose. Their code was founded on a rejection of instrumentality, a breach in the correspondence between means and ends. Given the pricelessness of Christ’s sacrifice, moreover, disengagement posed the sole manner of veneration “worthy of him,” and “proportionate to his nature.” As the Gospel declared, one must “honor God” with all one’s heart and soul, “without distraction [*partage*], without interest, and without hypocrisy.”⁴⁹

As the liturgical manuals of Noyers, Rouen, and Reims make clear, the Eucharist traversed multiple divides—not only between debt and redemption, and means and ends, but also between soul and body. Its spiritual economy subsumed the physical and the pecuniary, thereby mitigating a purely venal understanding of wealth. The bare life of the divine sovereign surpassed, while also furnishing the template for, the enjoyment of lesser things.⁵⁰ The sacrament elicited a distinctly Catholic rendering of utility in value production and distribution. Associates could infer no direct relationship between effort and outcome when the minimal threshold of observance called for continual worship. The profits to be gleaned—in the form of partial and plenary indulgences, but also a cornucopia of unspeakably delightful pleasures—depended on the freely dispensed mercies of a divine master, creditor, and lord. Souls operated according to their desires, yet also came to understand that these desires must find their proper object in God alone. Brothers and sisters committed themselves to augmenting divine glory, in the knowledge of the untold advantages that followed. Yet these blessings remained, if not incidental, then secondary to God’s presence. Being exceeded having. Devotees worked for nothing yet gained everything.

Confraternities participated in, and furnished the intellectual framework for, an elaborate economic theology. Their writings, which emphasized devotional and administrative prescriptions rather than elaborate theological explication, nonetheless presumed a sophisticated model of exchange between the divine and human spheres. To extend their operative metaphors, members mobilized capital drawn from Christ and the saints, authorized by ecumenical councils and upheld by successive popes. Thereafter, brothers and sisters served as stewards for a range of financial assets. Their rules demanded substantial if intermittent labor, guided by a standard of perpetual adoration befitting its exalted object. Believers undertook their devotions out of a sense of overwhelming debt,

but also, simultaneously, in anticipation of the enjoyment of a surplus that never faced exhaustion.

Toward a General Economy of Salvation

The Council of Trent had affirmed the *re-presentational* character of the sacraments. The theologians following in its wake likewise upheld the *economic* relations governing salvation. Consider, for instance, the work of François Arnoulx, canon of the cathedral of Riez, who prepared in 1676 a literal-minded guide entitled *Merveilles de l'autre monde*. According to Arnoulx, the City of God offered weary pilgrims “the presence of every good and the absence of every evil—in a word, all that one could desire.” It was also a realm of “exquisite pleasure [*volupté*],” perfectly sensual yet also “chaste and holy.” He assured future denizens that heaven “will beckon until you are drunk on the finest wines that fall and flow from heavy torrents in every kind of delight.” At the same time, one would find the stillest peace, perfect knowledge, absolute beauty, and life without end.⁵¹

Arnoulx later turned his attention, without apparent irony, to the “money” that circulated in heaven. He demanded that his readers banish from their thoughts “the treasures of this world,” and “all its storehouses filled with silver,” to dwell on the priceless effects of Christ’s sacrifice. “The savior of the world has bought them most dearly wholesale,” Arnoulx stipulated, only to “sell them, equally dearly, in retail to his greatest friends” among the martyrs and the saints. If humans acquired salvation via grace, they found a willing participant in the “divine merchant [*Marchand Dieu*] of paradise.” Numbers could never adequately quantify a “glory [. . .] so great that it exceeds as many pleasures as have ever been.” Similarly, all the languages ever spoken lacked the words necessary to portray it. Such was the magnificence of “the salary [*salair*e] and the recompense of the blessed.”⁵²

It was on this Christian materialist base that the famed Jesuit preacher Louis Bourdaloue recommended participation in the Feast of Corpus Christi, the moment of the liturgical calendar in which the labor of Eucharistic confraternities was perhaps most visible. The preacher advanced a verbal formula: each parishioner should acknowledge in the Eucharist “the price of my salvation,” so that there was nothing one would not engage in to “glorify” it. He called on the faithful, and women in particular, to renounce the “superfluities” of “luxury” or “vanity.” They should turn their attention to “enriching the vessels containing” the host, and to honoring its most precious possession—“a God himself in his own substance, and with all the fullness of his divinity,” that members may “not only approach, but also touch, and eat.”⁵³

The wonders of the Eucharist likewise preoccupied François-Léon Réguis in a compilation of sermons published in successive eighteenth-century editions as *La Voix du pasteur*.⁵⁴ Réguis held the view that the Last Supper had been presaged by the multiplication of loaves and fishes at the feeding of the multitude, a miracle from the Gospel commemorated in his day at the blessing of the fields, during which the parish priest “commands the fruits of the earth to be reborn without ceasing, and the animals to grow and reproduce in order to satisfy all our needs.” The Eucharist pointed up the “infinite

providence,” to cite his phrase, that sustained bodies and souls within a discernable order.⁵⁵ As with the Trinity, this universal frame defied comprehension by purely rational faculties. Yet, when illuminated by the “divine torch of faith,” the “economy of providence emerges” with clarity. At first glance, he continued, “providence” appeared to work in “mysterious ways, but with a wisdom” signaling divine origins.⁵⁶ He cautioned against accepting as definitive the pronouncements of human minds, yet refused to tarry in darkness. Invoking God’s “light,” he proceeded with a sense of indebtedness, if not perfect understanding, before “all the economy of your designs,” which revealed themselves “in the redemption of men, the punishment of the wicked, and the predestination of the just.”⁵⁷ It was likewise incumbent upon the “wise man” to “exert the greatest order in his affairs,” observing “the rules of an honest and prudent economy,” with a “gratitude” toward God, and “his salvation” constantly in mind.⁵⁸

These multiple references to “economy” belonged to a lexical tradition aimed at depicting the harmonious, purposeful organization of systems, from the single household [*oikos*] to nature in its entirety. For instance, the *Encyclopédie* referred to the “animal economy,” or the “ensemble of functions and of movements that sustain the life” of organisms.⁵⁹ The work also featured competing articles on “political economy,” alternatively transposed into a monarchical register, by Nicolas Boulanger, or a republican one by Jean-Jacques Rousseau.⁶⁰ The entry “Économie,” contributed by Louis de Jaucourt, presented the term as referring to the theological distinction between the law of Moses and the soteriological regime inaugurated by Christ’s ministry, death, and resurrection.⁶¹ The passage from the old dispensation to the new turned on the management of human sin and the allocation of divine grace.

A spiritual economy, with its attending economic theology, underwrote these concepts. Even the *Encyclopédie* acknowledged this deeper genealogy, albeit in passing. To cite Réguis, who dutifully outlined its lineaments, religious truth illuminated what natural faculties alone failed to grasp. There was “an invisible hand,” as he called it, that directed created beings. From the perspective of this ubiquitous agent, the vagaries of chance fell away as an illusion. Under its auspices, the “greatest disorders” contributed to “the general order and the universal good.” In a telling instance, Réguis claimed that even poverty served a purpose, as an occasion for alms-giving. Charity paid dividends to the benefactor as well as the recipient. It did so, according to Réguis, by an “invisible and all-powerful hand, that blesses the commerce and enterprises of this merchant, the lands of this farmer, the labor of this worker, multiplying a hundredfold the profits earned by their toil,” as ordained by “Providence” itself.⁶²

The employment of the metaphor of the invisible hand to describe the workings of the economy is closely identified with Adam Smith.⁶³ Yet the author of *The Wealth of Nations* did not invent the expression. Nor did Réguis, who followed his clerical forebears in its usage. No later than the early 1680s, the Jesuit Claude de la Colombière (1641-1682)—noted orator and tutor to the children of Jean-Baptiste Colbert—counseled the faithful in the ways of “the economy” (his term), both as it “regards souls” and “regards bodies.” In particular, Christians should exhibit greater liberality in giving alms with each child born to the family,

since there were “more persons [. . .] whose sins must be redeemed.” Doing so, he averred, promoted not only spiritual wealth, but also material prosperity.⁶⁴ Another preacher of sterling reputation, Esprit Fléchier, the bishop of Nîmes, concurred with such sentiments in a sermon delivered in 1681. Alluding to the Gospel feeding of the multitude, he generalized, first, that “God is the author of all goods, even temporal ones,” and that there is a “secret and spiritual blessing that produces and multiplies them,” or “paternal and invisible hand that circulates and distributes them.”⁶⁵

The miracle of the loaves and fishes recalled the Eucharist, and, more generally, the treasures of the faith, which Réguis hailed as “the economy of redemption, the marvels of the Gospel, the spiritual riches of the Christian church, the inexhaustible source of graces and blessings that it holds.” The truth of this order, although besieged by “unbelieving philosophers,” had never shone more brightly, a source of “pure gold, refined a thousand times by fire.”⁶⁶ Réguis could only stand in awe before such “divine and immortal fecundity,” the “womb in which Jesus Christ is perpetually conceived.” Its impetus was, and would remain, the productivity of signs, the “temporal generation” of the “Word.” Réguis observed that, by virtue of an utterance—“This is my body”—the faithful “have enjoyed for eighteen centuries the infinite advantages that the Real Presence of the God-Man procures for them.”⁶⁷

Conclusion

The Tridentine catechism, the liturgical instructions of the confraternities, and the sermons of the period sought to enact, in theory and practice, the economy of the mysteries. Providence governed the distribution of spiritual wealth. Its structural force was an effect of re-presentation. The Eucharist embodied this order, in a double sense. Not only did the consecrated host come to exist as Christ’s Real Presence in the world, but it also projected its value outward, remaking in its own image all those who consumed and communed with it. In this way, endless sacrifice—on every altar, at every hour—gave rise to its apparent opposite: creative destruction around the table of a beggars’ banquet. Luxury beyond one’s most vivid imagination lay within reach. The faithful were called upon to seize it, to translate their desire for inferior, corruptible riches into wealth without end.

Catholic economic theology, as emblemized by the Eucharist, proceeded along general rather than restricted lines. This conceptual distinction—suggestively posed by Georges Bataille, an exemplar of what he sought to theorize—requires a shift in emphasis from investment to expenditure, and on the uncoupling of self-interest from the maximization of utility.⁶⁸ Yet economic theology as a historical phenomenon gives the lie to Bataille’s account of the religious origins of capitalism, which he located, following Weber, in the rise of Protestantism—and, in particular, the Calvinist desacralization of the world.⁶⁹ La Colombière and Réguis, by invoking an invisible hand, did not mean to discredit economic activity in this life, or to rend it asunder from spiritual dynamics. Their ambition gestured toward the convergence of drives for material and spiritual profit, to be gained on the same expansive plane. The confraternities, for their part, maintained that

perpetual vigilance over the host need not preclude mundane affairs. As the catechism insisted time and again, and to return to my premise, theology was always already economic, a means of organizing a diverse range of activities aimed at administering objects of value, from the sacraments to indulgences to metallic treasures cast in gold and silver. Practical devotion became a matter of abiding by the divine will that bestowed order on terrestrial endeavors. This Catholic ethic, in contrast to the counterpart made famous by Weber, privileged the marvelous over the mundane, consumption over production, abundance over scarcity, and the pleasures of enjoyment over the rigors of delayed gratification. Although the wealth of nations requires both sets of impulses, the latter continues to dominate in narratives of its origins.

Figure 1
Nicolas Henri Tardieu and F. Desbrulins, "Loué soit le très saint sacrement de l'autel"
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- 4 Weber, *Protestant Ethic*, 115. On Jansenism, see Perrot, *Une Histoire intellectuelle de l’économie politique*, 344-352; David Singh Grewal, “The Political Theology of Laissez-Faire: From Philia to Self-Love in Commercial Society,” *Political Theology* 17, 5 (September 2016): 417-433, esp. 419-428; Arnaud Orain, “The Second Jansenism and the Rise of French Eighteenth-Century Political Economy,” *History of Political Economy* 46, 3 (2014): 463-490; and Dale K. Van Kley, “Pierre Nicole, Jansenism, and the Morality of Enlightened Self-Interest,” in *Anticipations of the Enlightenment in England, France, and Germany*, ed. Alan Charles Kors and Paul J. Korshin (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), 69-85.

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- 8 My discussion of the Council of Trent is informed by Jean Delumeau, *Catholicism between Luther and Voltaire: A New View of the Counter-Reformation*, intro. by John Bossy (London: Burns & Oates; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1977); Hubert Jedin, *A History of the Council of Trent*, trans. Ernest Graf, vol. 1, *The Struggle for the Council* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1957); R. Po-chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540-1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); John W. O'Malley, *Trent: What Happened at the Council* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2013); and Alain Tallon, *La France et le Concile de Trente (1518-1563)* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1997).
- 9 On this point, see Delumeau, *Catholicism between Luther and Voltaire*, 13.
- 10 *Catéchisme du Concile de Trente*, new trans., 2 vols. (Lyon: Jean Baptiste De Ville, 1681), 1: 184-185, 187, 188, 190.
- 11 On the distinction between representation and re-presentation, see Paul Friedland, *Political Actors: Representative Bodies and Theatricality in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002), 8-9.
- 12 Louis Marin, *Le Portrait du roi* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1981), 12-21; quote on 19. See also Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957).
- 13 *Catéchisme du Concile de Trente*, 1: 78, 147, 150, 151.
- 14 *Catéchisme du Concile de Trente*, 1: 273, 274.
- 15 On the affinities between the Eucharist and money, see Marc Shell, *Money, Language, and Thought: Literary and Philosophical Economies from the Medieval to the Modern Era* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press,

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- 16 *Catéchisme du Concile de Trente*, 1: 199.
 - 17 *Catéchisme du Concile de Trente*, 1: 278-279.
 - 18 On controversies surrounding the Eucharist, see Jedin, *History of the Council of Trent*, 1: 383-391.
 - 19 *Catéchisme du Concile de Trente*, 1: 280-309; quotes on 280, 299, 308. Cf. *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, trans. H. J. Schroederer (Rockford, IL: Tan Books and Publishers, 1978), 73-75.
 - 20 On the speech act, see J. L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words*, 2nd ed., ed. J. O. Urmson and Marina Sbisa (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975), 24-37. Tellingly, Austin cites two sacraments, baptism and marriage, to exemplify his theory.
 - 21 H. Outram Evennett, *The Spirit of the Counter-Reformation*, ed. John Bossy (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968), 36-42; cf. Henri Bremond, *Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux*, 12 vols. (Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1915-1936), 2: 436-441.
 - 22 Jean de Viguierie, "La Dévotion populaire à la messe en France aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles," in *Histoire de la messe, XVII-XIX siècles* (Angers: Université d'Angers, U.E.R. des Lettres et Sciences Humaines, Centre de Recherches d'Histoire Religieuse et d'Histoire des Idées, 1980), 12-13.
 - 23 John McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 2: 98, 101-106; Viguierie, "La Dévotion populaire à la messe en France aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles," 13-14; and Joseph Bergin, *Church, Society, and Religious Change in France, 1580-1730* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), 258-267.
 - 24 See, for instance, Jacques Du Bosc, *L'Eucharistie paisible, ou la Paix des sçavans et le repos des simples, touchant l'usage de la communion et de la pénitence* (Paris: Jean Remy and Robert de Nain, 1647), and Louis Bourdaloue, *Sermons du P. Bourdaloue, de la Compagnie de Jésus, sur les mystères*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Paris: Rigaud, 1709).
 - 25 *Mémoire pour les prestres associez en la confrairie du Très-S. Sacrement de l'Autel, établie en l'église paroissiale de S. Germain de la ville d'Argentan* (n.p., n.d.), 1.
 - 26 *Fondations faites à la confrairie du Tres-Saint Sacrement, erigée en la paroisse de Saint Sulpice* (Paris: De l'Imprimerie de D. Jollet, 1706).
 - 27 On laicization, see McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France*, 2: 116-118. McManners thus positions himself against the model of "dechristianization" championed by Michel Vovelle in *Piété baroque et déchristianisation en Provence au XVIIIe siècle: Les Attitudes devant la mort d'après les*

- clauses de testaments* (Paris: Seuil, 1978). For commentary on this literature, see Dale K. Van Kley, "Christianity as Casualty and Chrysalis of Modernity: The Problem of Dechristianization in the French Revolution," *American Historical Review* 108, 4 (2003): 1081-1104.
- 28 Marie-Hélène Froeschlé-Chopard, *Dieu pour tous et Dieu pour soi: Histoire des confréries et de leurs images à l'époque moderne* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2006), 149-150.
 - 29 McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France*, 2: 157-158.
 - 30 Jean Viguerie, *Catholicisme des français dans l'ancienne France* (Paris: Nouvelles Éditions Latines, 1989), 162.
 - 31 *Occupation intérieure pour les âmes associées à l'adoration perpétuelle du Très-Saint Sacrement de l'Autel, en esprit de réparation, avec des actes & des prières sur le même sujet, new ed.* (Paris: De Hansy, 1758), 13-14.
 - 32 The overview of confraternities in this paragraph draws on McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France*; Bergin, *Church, Society, and Religious Change in France*; Froeschlé-Chopard, *Dieu pour tous et Dieu pour soi*; and Anne-Marie Gutton, *Confréries et dévotion sous l'ancien régime: Lyonnais, Forez, Beaujolais*, preface by René Taveneaux (Lyon: Éditions lyonnaises d'art et d'histoire, 1993).
 - 33 McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France*, 2: 157; Froeschlé-Chopard, *Dieu pour tous et Dieu pour soi*, 179; and Gutton, *Confréries et dévotion sous l'ancien régime*, 61-68.
 - 34 Froeschlé-Chopard, *Dieu pour tous et Dieu pour soi*, 181-185.
 - 35 On admission to and functions of French confraternities, see Froeschlé-Chopard, *Dieu pour tous et Dieu pour soi*, 188-200.
 - 36 *Institution de la confrairie du Très-Saint Sacrement, en l'église paroissiale de la ville de Noyers* (Paris: Antoine Lambin, 1693), 3-8, 64-71; quotes on 67, 69.
 - 37 *Règlements de la confrairie du S. Sacrement de l'église paroissiale de S. Barthélemy* (n.p., [1708]), 4-14; quotes on 4-5, 6, 14.
 - 38 *Règlements de la confrairie du S. Sacrement de l'église paroissiale de S. Barthélemy*, 15-22; quotes on 21.
 - 39 *Institution de la confrairie du Très-Saint Sacrement, en l'église paroissiale de la ville de Noyers*, 9-15; quotes on 12, 14.
 - 40 *Instructions touchant l'adoration perpétuelle du Très-Saint Sacrement de l'Autel, où l'on explique les fondemens de cette dévotion, avec les véritable moyens d'y satisfaire chrétiennement*, new ed. (Rouen: Jean-Baptiste Besongne, 1716), 1-16; quotes on 1, 2, 12. On the baron de Renty, and the role of the Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement in establishing the ideal of perpetual adoration, see Alain Tallon, *La Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement (1629-1667): Spiritualité et société*, preface by Marc Venard (Paris: Cerf, 1990), 74-77, 81.

- 41 *Instructions touchant l'adoration perpétuelle du Très-Saint Sacrement de l'Autel*, 17-36; quotes on 36.
- 42 *Instructions touchant l'adoration perpétuelle du Très-Saint Sacrement de l'Autel*, 68-115; quotes on 76, 99, 102, 105, 112.
- 43 *Instructions touchant l'adoration perpétuelle du Très-Saint Sacrement de l'Autel*, 117-182.
- 44 *Instructions touchant l'adoration perpétuelle du Très-Saint Sacrement de l'Autel*, 140, 213-214; quote on 213.
- 45 *Instructions touchant l'adoration perpétuelle du Très-Saint Sacrement de l'Autel*, 220.
- 46 *Statuts, réglemens et prières de la confrérie de l'adoration perpétuelle de Jésus-Christ au très-saint sacrement de l'autel, érigée en l'église paroissiale de S. Hilaire de Reims* (Reims: Nicolas Pottier, 1722), 192. On the material dimensions of Christian devotion, see also Caroline Walker Bynum, *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (New York: Zone Books, 2011), 25-36.
- 47 *Instructions touchant l'adoration perpétuelle du Très-Saint Sacrement de l'Autel*, 222.
- 48 *Instructions touchant l'adoration perpétuelle du Très-Saint Sacrement de l'Autel*, 181-182.
- 49 *Instructions touchant l'adoration perpétuelle du Très-Saint Sacrement de l'Autel*, 190, 191, 192, 193, 198, 199.
- 50 On the distinction between *zoe* and *bios*, and “bare life” as a function of sovereign power, see Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, trans. Daniel Heller-Roazen (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998).
- 51 François Arnoulx, *Merveilles de l'autre monde, contenant les horribles tormens de l'enfer, les admirables joyes de paradis, avec le moyen d'éviter l'un et acquérir l'autre, divisé en trois livres, le tout recueilly des Écritures saintes et docteurs de l'Église* (Rouen: J. Courant, 1676), 53-57; quotes on 8, 54.
- 52 Arnoulx, *Merveilles de l'autre monde*, 71, 74, 75, 79, 80.
- 53 Bourdaloue, *Sermons*, 539-540; quotes on 530, 531, 533, 535.
- 54 On Réguis's pastoral career, see Dominique Julia, “Les Sources dans *Les Origines de l'esprit bourgeois*,” *Les Cahiers du Centre de Recherches Historiques* 32 (2003), and Dominique Dinet, “Une Déchristianisation provinciale au XVIIIe siècle: Le Diocèse d'Auxerre,” *Histoire, économie et société* 10, 4 (1991): 467-489.
- 55 François-Léon Réguis, *La Voix du pasteur, discours familiers d'un curé à ses paroissiens, pour tous les dimanches de l'année*, 2 vols. (Paris: C. Bluet, 1766), 2: 361. For the miracle recorded in the Gospels, see, for instance, Matt. 14:13-21. On the blessing of the fields, see Jean Delumeau, *Rassurer et protéger: le sentiment de sécurité dans l'Occident d'autrefois* (Paris: Fayard, 1989).

- 56 François-Léon Réguis, *La Voix du pasteur, discours familiers d'un curé à ses paroissiens, pour tous les dimanches de l'année*, 4 vols. (Paris: Claude Bleuet, 1773), 1: 274, 275; 3: 343. Emphasis added.
- 57 Réguis, *La Voix du pasteur* (1773), 3: 343.
- 58 Réguis, *La Voix du pasteur* (1773), 4: 320.
- 59 *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, par une société de gens de lettres*, ed. Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond d'Alembert, 35 vols. (1751–1780; repr., Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: F. Frommann, 1966–1988), s.v. “Économie animale,” 11: 360–366; quote on 360. On the economy of nature, see Étienne Stockland, “Insects, Anthropogenic Change and Rural Environments in the Global French Enlightenment,” Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2017.
- 60 *Encyclopédie*, s.v. “Économie ou Économie (Morale & Politique),” 5: 337–349, and “Économie politique,” 11: 366–383. Diderot solicited the second article by Boulanger in response to Rousseau’s critique of his notion of general will in “Économie politique;” see Mark Hulliung, *The Autocritique of Enlightenment: Rousseau and the Philosophes* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1994), 26–31.
- 61 *Encyclopédie*, s.v. “Économie,” 11: 360.
- 62 Réguis, *La Voix du pasteur* (1773), 1: 275; 2: 189.
- 63 Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, ed. D. D. Raphael and A. L. Macfie (Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 1984), 184–185, and Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*, ed. Edwin Cannan (New York: Modern Library, 2000), 484–485. On Smith’s use of the phrase, and its significance for this thought, see Sheehan and Wahrman, *Invisible Hands*, 264–270. Emma Rothschild argues, in contrast, that Smith’s references to the term are meant to be ironic; see Emma Rothschild, *Economic Sentiments: Adam Smith, Condorcet, and the Enlightenment* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 116–124.
- 64 Claude de la Colombière, “Réflexions chrétiennes sur l’aumône,” in *Les Avocats des pauvres, ou Sermons de Bossuet, Bourdaloue, Massillon, Fléchier, La Colombière, La Rue, Neuville, Le Chapelain, Élisée et de Beauvais, Évêque de Sénez. Sur les richesses, sur l’avarice et sur l’aumône*, 2 vols. (Paris: Francart, 1814), 2: 266–267; quote on 266.
- 65 Esprit Fléchier, “Sermon sur le Précepte de l’aumône,” in *Avocats des pauvres*, 2: 152.
- 66 Réguis, *La Voix du pasteur* (1773), 1: 276, 277.
- 67 Réguis, *La Voix du pasteur* (1773), 3: 155, 156.
- 68 Bataille, *Accursed Share*, esp. 1940, 55–59.

- 69 Bataille, *Accursed Share*, 115-126. More recently, Brad S. Gregory has located the entrenchment of acquisitive desires in the Reformation, which separated consumption from moral and religious referents; see *The Unintended Reformation: How a Religious Revolution Secularized Society* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), 235-274.