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A Norman Paradigm?

Scholastic Reasoning, Jesuit Pedagogy, and the Emergence of Political Economy

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Due to Normandy's peculiar local and environmental characteristics, it was an ideal microcosm and an original laboratory, in which the multiform mediation of late scholasticism generated an unexpected intellectual vitality in a context of encounter and clash with the theological-philosophical disputes of the Reformation. The Norman exceptionality as a focal point and natural multiplier in the evolutionary process of political economy deserves its due attention, as well as the thread from Oresme to Montchrétien, William Petty, and Boisguilbert, as well as their connection to the Jesuit pedagogy.

Synopsis

The purpose of this article is to show how some historical and philosophical interactions between the Norman legal tradition, scholastic reasoning, the growing importance of commercial communities in a transatlantic perspective, and subsequently, Jesuit pedagogy have been the prerequisites for the emergence of the first expressions of political economy as an independent discipline. Issues of an economic nature were by no means marginal in Jesuit reflection. The frequent mobility of members of the Society of Jesus made the dissemination of ideas and their hybridization even more lively based on an articulated science of conjecture and a deep knowledge of *raison d'État*.[1] In this framework, Jesuit pedagogy was not, in fact, alien to a careful connection to the anthropology of the territory and its social expressions. Moreover, it was not at all detached from contemporary theories both in term of critical analysis and in a form of moderate

integration and prudent assimilation. Three surprising Norman connections led to their pedagogical legacy and to the very first epistemological framework of political economy: Antoine de Montchrestien, William Petty, and Pierre Le Pesant de Boisguilbert.

Historical Introduction

From the Benedictine Abbey of St. Vigor in Cerisy to Mont Saint Michel and the chalk cliffs of Étretat, Normandy has an original history. The anthropological, religious, and legal bonding agents are even more evident before the 1790 territorial subdivision. From the Middle Ages to the French Revolution, the territories ranging from the lower valley of the Seine (Upper Normandy) to the Cotentin peninsula (Lower Normandy) are not only one of the historic provinces of France but home to an independent process of cultural (re)structuring.[2] A series of historical events, multilateral cross-pollination, and legal procedures make this region extremely profitable from the political, social, economic, and philosophical point of view, so much so that it can be considered a laboratory of innovative ideas and a kaleidoscope of novelty.[3] The geographical aspect is by no means secondary. Normandy was often the subject of contention between France and England in the late Middle Ages: from the Norman Conquest led by the future king William the Conqueror (1066) to the devastating warlike techniques during the Hundred Years' War (1339–1453).[4]

England held Normandy at various times until the decisive French reconquest by Charles VII after the Battle of Formigny (1450). The English Channel is witness to this interchange with deep psychological impact on local populations. Even Shakespeare was convinced that its silver mirror sea "… serves it in the office of a wall/ Or as a moat defensive to a house, / Against the envy of less happier lands."[5] Certainly, Normandy was the scene of historical events of epochal and tragic magnitude as the naval battles culminated with the traumatic defeat of the *Armada Invencible* (1588)[6] in Grevelines during the Anglo-Spanish War (1585–1604),[7] in the most articulated temporal frame of the geostrategic alignment of the Eighty Years' War (1568–1648).[8] Normandy housed a flourishing *medietas* between two distinct visions: the Continental and the British, taking on peculiar characteristics.[9]

Between Legal Traditions and Scholastic Reasoning

In the central-northern part of France, customary laws were in force; in the southern and Mediterranean part, Roman law was in effect.[10] The so-called *droit écrit* was supplemented by the *droit coutumier* in those matters and disputes lacking adequate answers or in the presence of a legal vacuum.[11] In the case of Normandy, moreover, the Atlantic maritime trade profoundly shaped its mindset and social architecture.[12] Although some distinct periods may be noted, the common denominator remained the firm anchor to the legal tradition of the *consuetudo* as it expressed itself also through the dynamic variety of the *lex mercatoria*[13] and the luxuriant floridity of a local *droit coutumier*.[14]

A remarkable manifestation of this is a unified system, expressed through the collection of the *Très ancien coutumier* (1200–1245) and the *Summa de legibus Normanniae in curia laicali* (1235–1258). To these are added a series of judgments known as *Arresta communia de Scacario* (1276–1279). William the Conqueror eventually brought this tradition to England, creating the basis for an original flowering of English jurisprudence.[15] In the geographical and institutional scope of the Atlantic coast, maritime merchant law was not at all secondary. The *Roles d'Oleron* were indisputably essential in the evolution of a shared international law and played a fundamental role in the construction of a legal common sense. It was especially based on trade in wine and other food products from Normandy and Brittany to England, Scotland, and the Flanders. Also known as *Judgments of the Sea*, they were a sort of the meeting point of a vibrant season in European legal history.

They inspired the *Black Book of Admiralty* (c. 1360), the first part of which was formed, in addition to the presence of admiralty laws, by customs, decisions, ordinances, instructions, and acts concerning the law of the sea; the second part in Latin focused on the casuistry of legal proceedings with a clear reference to the *Liber Judiciorum* by Bartolus de Saxoferrato (1355).

From a political point of view, the thought of Marsilius of Padua was the driving force of a series of speculations in the midst of the Ockhamist movements. From the scientific point of view, in turn, the nominalist ferment, positively provoked by the discoveries of the Oxonian scholars of the Merton College, reached the frontiers of mathematics, physics, astronomy, and mechanics.[16] Those ideas found their methodological substrate in the Franciscan school, which, in addition to a strong scientific dynamism, was characterized by a psychological approach expressed through subtle arguments in the different areas of human relations.[17] In the Augustinian wake, a thorough study focused on will, reason, and senses with a series of metaphysical declinations, designed to define the behavioral structures[18] and circumscribe the limits of personal will.[19]

The Scotist doctrines and the diffusion of the principle of individuation were at the center of a dynamic vitality especially at the University of Paris.[20] Its "school of physicists" was headed by Jean Buridan, who, in addition to his masterful studies on the theory of impetus, was by no means unrelated to economic analysis.[21] Reflecting on needs as a price measure, he analyzed the structural discrepancy between needs' disparity and prices' uniformity. On defining the relationship between labor and production, he focused on the interrelations among (personal) time and (general) costs. In such a framework, he depicted an embryonic definition of purchasing power related to working time.[22]

Oresme as Foundational Ancestor and Pivotal Forerunner

Nicholas Oresme was a disciple of Buridan and fed on that fervent intellectual environment, going even further. Born in Allemagnes, the ancient name of Fleury-sur-Orne, not far from Caen and in the diocese of Bayeux (Normandy), around 1320, Oresme was a fellow at the College of Navarre and later a professor at the University of Paris. Considered a precursor of modern physics for his treatises on terrestrial motion and stars, his studies on speed, accompanied by detailed graphic representations, were fundamental in the development of kinematics.

Oresme experienced the violence caused by popular discontent against high taxation and culminated in the tragic *jacquerie* led by Etienne Marcel.[23] This historical event testified to the process of building the modern state with the consequent administrative centralization and a huge demand for military expenditures. Faced with the political instability of a state entity not yet well defined and in a process of structuring, Oresme displayed acumen and prudence by firmly anchoring his thought to natural law and the fathers of the Church as well as a deep-rooted anthropology of praxis.

In the glosses to the Aristotelian translations of *Nicomachean Ethics* and *Economics*, Oresme depicted political corruption with his ruthless analysis. He traced the origin of sedition precisely in embezzlement and unjust management of resources so as to take into account the removal of the prince in cases of extreme gravity, corruption, and negligence. With a georgic emphasis, he focused on the traditional manners of those who work the land as the fulcrum of the civil order and indispensable for the common good.[24] Oresme's monetary treatise played a major role in the evolution of economic theories as it took its cue from the serious social crisis of the fourteenth century, characterized by inflation, stagnation, and narrowing of markets. Demonstrating an innovative scientific methodology, he examined the origins and effects of monetary absolutism and pointed it out as

one of the main causes of societal catastrophe. With a classical image borrowed from the Greco-Roman tradition and scholastic literature, Oresme traced with a disarming analogy his stark contrast to the despotism and concentration of powers:

> As, therefore, the body is disordered when the humours flow too freely into one member of it, so that that member is often thus inflamed and overgrown while the others are withered and shrunken and the body's due proportions are destroyed and its life shortened; so also is a commonwealth or a kingdom when riches are unduly attracted by one part of it. For a commonwealth or kingdom whose princes, as compared with their subjects, increase beyond measure in wealth, power and position, is as it were a monster, like a man whose head is so large and heavy that the rest of his body is too weak to support it. And just as such a man has no pleasure in life and cannot live long; neither can a kingdom survive whose prince draws to himself riches in excess as is done by altering the coinage.[25]

By developing an integrated analysis of monetary relations and an economic information theory, Oresme offered a well-argued definition of the so-called Gresham Law, affirming that bad currency drives out good. It appears, in fact, that coins with less intrinsic value than their face value were used in the market, while good coins were retained and stored. This not only created a sort of parallel market but also generated an inflationary spiral with lethal consequences. Oresme's *Treatise on Money* was drawn up in two versions in both Latin and French.

This pedagogical solicitude—already supported by previous Aristotelian translations—was proof of a modern educational vision. Additionally, it lays the foundations of a disciplinary terminology that in those translations demonstrated a fundamental reference and an epistemological independence.[26]

His thought, moreover, was not at all unfamiliar to a deep psychological connotation. His theory of cognition—certainly influenced by exponents of the Franciscan tradition—was developed extensively in *De causis mirabilium*, where he analyzed through the prism of the senses the psychophysical processes and related alterations.[27] Oresme's academic merits and exemplary life go hand in hand with prestigious positions that find their greatest expression in his Normandy. In 1362 Oresme became canon of the Cathedral of Rouen. Two years later, he became dean until his appointment in 1377 as bishop of Lisieux where he died in 1382. He is buried in the local Cathedral of Saint Peter. His fame did not soon end in the Norman lands both for the prestige he gained his family dynasty and as a cultural point of reference.[28] His philosophical and scientific legacy underpins not only the subsequent scholastic reflection but also the terminology applied to the study of political and economic contingency.

Commercial Vibrancy and International Communities

The harbors of Normandy were the scene of fervent commercial activities. During the passage between the fourteenth and fifteenth century, Normandy saw an increase in the normative role of the local parliament that filtered and integrated the national decisions, forming and enriching an already well-structured jurisprudence as it emerged in the historical commentaries of Henri Basnage on the *Coutume de Normandie.*[29]

At that time, Rouen was the second city of France from which Giovanni da Verrazzano sailed in 1523. It had a large community of foreign merchants, especially Spaniards and Italians. From Spain—the center of an intercontinental empire—came, moreover, a series of extremely modern assessments on political authority, fiscal injustice, and monetary instability[30] with a teaching of bitter taste according to which, in the words of M. Grace-Hutchison, “the value of money is fickle and that gold and silver are not synonymous with wealth.… The dream of *El Dorado* had been followed by a harsh awakening.”[31] Italian merchants’ communities stood out with their already developed transnational network of commercial and banking activities in the routes between the Mediterranean and London.[32] They were by no means insensitive to the first manifestations of Renaissance humanism, which found incubation and flowering in their homelands. Queen Catherine de’ Medici also attracted a large group of Tuscans to the French court. Because of this, the presence of many Italian clerics in France and especially in Normandy should not have come as a surprise.[33]

Furthermore, during those years of monetary conflicts and in an attempt to circumvent local constraints, a Flemish *écu de marc* circulated as a means of transnational and more stable mercantile (virtual) payment than national currencies. It was “equal to 100/101 gold *écus* of five Coinages (Castille, Genoa, Venice, Florence, Naples).”[34] The maritime geopolitics dictated to the French sovereign Charles V the creation of an *écu de marc* in Besançon. The so-called *cambium bisuntinum* was at the center of moral speculation, engaging the most eminent theologians like Domingo de Soto. These considerations gave rise to more specific definitions of banking and insurance risk as well as explicit considerations on share capital and profit management. As demonstrated, these monetary interferences generated a local and interregional *domino effect* that undermined the real value of any transaction.[35] Social reflection and moral theology were tinged with completely original nuances in the convergence between law and economics.[36]

The Reformation

In this context, the demands of humanism were grafted into political and religious life. They were made even more robust by the influences of the Circle of Meaux with the will of a non-traumatic reform of Catholicism.[37] Such an attempt at evangelical renewal found in the spiritual movements (*devotio moderna*)—in the period before and after the Council of Trent—a current not at all of a second order. This climate of intense reflection in the confluence between the scholastic tradition and the *via moderna* is particularly fervent in that vibrant network of merchant cities that from Brittany reaches the German coasts.

In this geographical and temporal context one understands why it was not at all a strange circumstance if in Normandy the message of Luther found fertile ground. The expressions—even violent—of the Counter-Reformation were put into effect under the aegis of the parliament of Rouen, which in 1532 ordered that the writings of the German reformer be burned. Yet, his theses were affixed to Caen for the first time in 1533. Between social tensions and cultural liveliness, press activities flourished. The spread of Protestantism was both urban and rural with an impressive speed so that in some Norman towns—such as Condé-sur-Noireau—almost the majority of the population was converted. A similar process can be seen in Elbeuf, Lisieux, Havre, and Pont-Audemer but also in large cities with the active presence of Protestant pastors from Switzerland. The Calvinist message made its way through both the ecclesiastics and the upper classes, entering fully into the regional parliament. The tragic parenthesis of the wars of religion began.

The consequences of the massacres of Vassy (March 1, 1562) and Saint Bartholomew (August 23–24, 1572) in Normandy were no less bloody, with the relative emigration of a part of the Huguenot population. With the *Edict of Beaulieu* (1576) a period of relative tranquility returns. It was signed by Francis Duke of Alençon—son of King Henry III and Catherine de' Medici—who had joined the Protestant rebels. But true peace was far from being won with a succession of cruel battles between 1589 and 1590. The *Edict of Nantes* (1598)—ratified by the parliament of Rouen on September 23, 1599—puts an end to tensions by promulgating freedom of worship and equal rights. These historical events profoundly mark the social substratum and form its anthropological and cultural framework.[38]

The Society of Jesus and Its Pedagogy

The Society of Jesus was founded in this historical setting. Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556) arrived in Paris on February 2, 1528, to complete his formation after studies at the University of Salamanca. Peter Favre and a group of students joined him at the College de Sante Barbe to form the first Jesuit community. Among them were Alfonso Salmerón, Simão Rodrigues, Nicolás Bobadilla, Francis Xavier, and Diego Laínez, who—together with Favre—was the first to devote himself to teaching in 1537.[39]

The educational mission was a characteristic feature of the Society of Jesus. After the embryonic experience in Gandia (1544) in which students—not intended to belong to the order—were also admitted, the establishment of the first college in Messina (Sicily) in 1548—according to a well-articulated structure—starts the process of foundation of a network of colleges, first in Italy and then throughout Europe.[40]

The pedagogy of the Colleges was based on the *Ratio atque institutio studiorum Societatis Iesu*.[41] It is the educational expression of Ignatian spirituality in which discernment plays an essential role. In a life marked by daily exercise, the North Star is the *imitation of Christ*[42] in a constant tension of change and renewal. This approach was the mature fruit of a commission established by the Superior General Claudio Acquaviva—initially formed by twelve Jesuits and later replaced in 1584 by a leaner committee of six priests from different geographical regions.[43] The final version of the *Ratio* is dated 1591 after a series of revisions and *labor limae*.[44]

It was immediately a pedagogical novelty with a meticulously detailed educational method, composed of 463 rules, and based—according to the canons of scholastic philosophy—on the teaching of Latin and classics. The approach was accompanied by an emphasis on rhetoric and oral expression, based on repetition, mnemonic exercise, and dramatic art. The theatre is in fact a constant in Jesuit education. In addition to improving the ability of expression, language and diction are essential—through exercise, character knowledge and psychological introspection—for the comparative investigation of emotions in order to have a deeper knowledge of oneself.[45]

Cicero's prose and Greek poetry were placed at the center of the educational enterprise. A healthy competition among students through the ancient art of *disputationes* developed. Human letters were accompanied by an in-depth study of Aristotelian philosophy: first, logic, physics, and metaphysics, and then the moral works. The teaching of mathematics built mainly on the *Elements* of Euclid as well as solid foundations of astronomy and cosmology was of equal importance.[46]

Jesuit teaching was at the heart of the Counter-Reformation. The centrality of Thomism is expressed in disciplines of a theological nature. In this framework, courses in Sacred Scripture and Hebrew aimed at the solid religious preparation in which the *Summa* of Thomas Aquinas appears as the main point of reference. In the wake of the medieval canonical tradition, moral theology is also nourished by the analysis of concrete and hypothetical cases, giving rise to a flourishing casuistic literature. It is the basis of a fervent debate on probable opinions and the ethics applied to contingent cases through extensive reasoning.[47]

The Jesuit Network in Normandy

The success of Jesuit institutions in the French regions was extraordinary and their presence was much more widespread than in other continental contexts. From 1558 to 1634, the Jesuits founded eighty-seven schools in France. Among these, six were in the Norman cities of Rouen (1565), Eu (1581), Rennes (1604), Caen (1609), Alençon (1623), and Dieppe (1634). This record is shared with other cities on the northern Atlantic coast from Quimper (1620) and Rennes (1604) to Bergues-Saint Winoc (1600).[48]

Those coasts, with their rich maritime tradition, filtered not only the transatlantic trades but also the American instances of New France. In the Jesuit colleges of Normandy, at the same time outpost of the Counter-Reformation and melting pot of religious tolerance, philosophical reflection was not closed in itself and is structured on a threefold line. First, their pedagogy placed its pillars in the Society's internal provisions and in the dissemination of the Jesuit authors. Second, it did not reject local cultural expressions, especially if in line with scholastic methodology and Catholic tradition. Third, it fed—with a wise organic screening and the characteristic visionary capacity—on the novelties coming both from the scientific and academic sectors and from the social changes that were taking place in their territories.

The analysis of society was based on the Ignatian model of experience, discernment, and action, starting precisely from within contingent facts.[49] This allowed not only real but also strategic understanding. According to Gian Giacomo Rotelli, it was a praxeological method and contrary to the excesses of pure abstraction: "only after an adequate reflection on experience and after an inner appropriation of the meaning and implications of what is studied can one proceed freely"[50] without getting lost in the streams of an empty speculation and far from reality. This approach, corroborated on Fulvio Cardulo's ideas of civic promotion, had the objective of "molding political men useful for cities," according to Paul F. Grendler.[51]

This attention to administrative training and the high offices of the state was the result of a skillful dosage of humanistic and scientific disciplines, keeping in the right balance the subjects without "devoting too much attention to teaching philosophy and theology."[52] This all-encompassing and pragmatic view of pedagogy was clearly expressed in theatrical performances in which, writes Grendler, "the Jesuits often celebrated historical events and individuals of the city or state in which the school was located."[53] The characteristics of the territory, its *genius loci*, its original cultural manifestations became the kaleidoscope for social reflection and juridical-economic speculation.

This positive philosophical method opened the doors to completely unexplored areas with the careful and measured use of evidence and probability.[54] It also evolved through an epistemological vision and a gnoseological attitude in which mathematical sciences and the study of mental processes played a primary role. The emphasis on dramatic art and the theory of state evolved simultaneously. Theater, as in the case of the different versions of plays on the life of Mary, Queen of Scots, is a constant in Jesuit pedagogy.

The Emergence of Political Economy

This cultural approach was particularly evident in Normandy where—as we will see—indirectly and directly key figures for the development of the political economy had to do with scholastic and Jesuit tradition.[55] Thus, some parallels emerge between the way Jesuits thought and taught and what appears in the thinking of the economic philosophers who had to do with them or were educated in their colleges.

Montchrestien (1575–1621)

Antoine de Montchrestien (or Montchrétien) owed his fame to the famous *Traictié de l'Oeconomique politique*, published in 1615. Conceived in the evolution of mercantilist theories in the pre-Colbertian era on the basis of the solicitations of Laffemas, this work allowed him to earn—perhaps not unjustly—the name of founder of the homonymous discipline, although, in reality, he was not really the first to use it. Born in Falaise (Normandy) in 1575, Montchrestien studied at the College of Caen at that time under the authority of the Abbot of Mont Saint Michel. The same college would go into the hands of the Jesuits in 1609.

Montchrestien's life is marked by tragic and adventurous episodes, such as the loss of his parents at an early age and the accusations of murder during his frequent duels. For this reason, he fled in 1605 to England and then to Holland where he certainly observed the different economic systems and was interested

in the comparative study of those dynamic models. Known above all for his theatrical production, this leads to some clues.

Three (not properly indirect) aspects are interesting to understand his cultural heritage. First, the familiarity with some typical themes of the theatrical renewal of his time occurred in a rich season of translations and valuable commentaries both on the *Poetics* of Aristotle and the *Art Poétique* of Horace. They are part of an ongoing process of replenishment of letters and are not at all avulse—as Martine Grindberg points out noting a certain continuity—from the mediation of the Jesuits who, according to Blair Hoxby, "integrate the theatre in Latin in their colleges,"[56] where they "also had a robust theory of tragedy as a school of liberty."[57] The theme of freedom of conscience is especially evident in the tragedy *L'Escossoise, ou le Desastre* (1601) which became *La Reine d'Escosse* in 1604, devoted to Mary Stuart.

The second aspect is the close relationship with his protector Claude Groulard, president of the Parliament of Rouen and an institutional reference point in years of bitter controversies.[58] A fine jurist and scholar, Groulard maintained a long friendship and correspondence with the humanist Joseph Justus Scaliger,[59] who—having studied in the famous lay college of Guyenne[60]—transmitted the cultural issues based on the teachings of George Buchanan[61] and the Portuguese André de Gouveia,[62] former rector at the University of Paris and then a lecturer in Coimbra. In that context, not without differences of views and disagreements, the links with the Lusitanian tradition and the very first nucleus of the Society of Jesus are very close.[63]

Not surprisingly, the *Societas Jesu* suffered a setback in Rouen after the failed attempt on King Henry IV by Jean Chastel, a student of a Jesuit college, on December 27, 1594. The Jesuits were expelled from the kingdom and the college of Rouen closed in 1595. Also due to the mediation of Groulard in September 1603, with the edict of Rouen, Henry IV removed the serious sanction imposed on the Society of Jesus, allowing the reopening of their school in Rouen with such success as to make it the first college of France in terms of pupils.

The third aspect is strictly philosophical. Gianfranco Brazzini had already traced in his valuable monograph on Montchrestien the transition from Aristotelian economics to a modern conception of economic relations,[64] disproving, in any case, that the Norman author would have brought "no original conceptual formulation" in the wake of the scholastic moral tradition, as Jean-Yves Grenier affirms in his review of Brazzini's work.[65] Rather, he was able to "use the contributions of late Renaissance philosophical culture to define the status of political economy."[66] The merit would be that of having, finally, created a disciplinary framework on which others would have inserted an independent science aimed at investigating

the indissoluble interconnections between production, exchange and consumption as well as the role of agriculture and manufacturing in a competitive rule. All these interconnections fit into and differ from the traditional *Staatswirtschaft*.

Montchrestien seems to start from German proto-cameralism and then distanced his ideas from the Bodin's monolithic conception of the state in the face of the expansion of increasingly open and international markets. Here it is appropriate to point out the subsequent research of Nicola Panichi. Beginning with what we have just described, Panichi highlights two further points.[67] The first focuses on a comparative analysis that starts from Machiavelli and reaches the Jesuit Giovanni Botero with his *reason of state* and the *a priori* primacy of the institution itself. The second point insists on the relationship between "useful and honorable" in which the Stoic and Ciceronian legacy—according to which they cannot be separable—is evident. Montchrestien clearly develops his theories in the scholastic framework of classical dichotomies: "command-obedience, theoretical reasoning-practical reasoning, theory-praxis, ethics-politics, dialectic of the universal and the particular, war-peace, simulation-dissimulation, governors-governed, useful-honest, rationality-reasonability."[68]

Montchrestien's work, in fact, focuses on manufacturing, commerce, navigation, and the responsibilities of the prince in the wake of a long philosophical and legal tradition as well as reformulating accepted ideas of the *consuetudo loci et regni* through a "creative exploitation of existing terminology."[69] As a part of a structured theory of sovereignty, the Montchrestien's *oeconomique politique* is based on the coupling natural body/political body, on which Oresme had repeatedly dwelt both in the glosses to the Aristotelian translations and in the monetary treatises. In these terms, *oeconomique* has broadly to do with "law, good government, the common good, war, trade, money, production and the exchange of goods, the nation as economic space and national interest"[70] and justifies the original title *Traictié économique du traffic*.

Politique takes on a more pregnant and metapolitical value (some would say metaphysical or theological), which emphasizes an ethical predisposition to the need for pacification, social stability, and the general well-being of the nation.[71] As David McNally affirms, "the central idea underlying the *Traictié* is that of economic self-sufficiency. Moral renewal and economic reform could restore France to full power."[72] Such a self-sufficiency is reached by a favorable balance of trade, the construction of a national industry, its dynamic externalities, the consequent commercial areas, and a well-structured agricultural sector, considered "the most necessary and fundamental sphere of the economy."[73] In his economic thought and in real life, Montchrestien reflects the crisis and the epochal changes

of his time.[74] Certainly a Catholic until 1615, he joined the Huguenots in 1620 and the following year he was killed during a revolt not far from his native city.

If the commonalities to the Jesuit tradition can be considered indirect in Montchrestien, this is not the case at all for William Petty, for whom the influence is direct. The only non-Norman in this chain, he also studied in Caen at the local Jesuit *College du Mont*.

William Petty (1623–1687)

At the age of fourteen Petty was accepted into this prestigious Jesuit school after having embarked as a cabin boy in 1637 and having broken his leg on board. This unpleasant episode allowed him to radically change the direction of his life. Thanks to his vivid intelligence and curiosity, he studied in depth—surrounded by learned masters—not only the classical languages and French but also the scientific disciplines, according to the precepts of the *Ratio* and its local evolutions.

In a not well-known passage from his will, Petty wrote—referring to his period at Caen—that at the age of fifteen he had obtained "*the whole body of common arithmetick, the practical geometry and astronomy, conducing to navigation, dialling, etc. with the knowledge of several mathematical trades*."[75] This *forma mentis* would also remain in subsequent works and would form the basis of the logical structure of his socioeconomic research. Most scholarship has not paid attention to these aspects, marking the definitive overcoming of scholasticism in the early modern age.

There is no doubt on the influence of Hobbes on Petty—who served as the former's personal secretary—as well as of the scientific perspective of Francis Bacon and Descartes. The study of medicine enriched and completed his multisectoral interests. In any case, the *metaphors of the body* applied to social dynamics remain unchanged, and in the hands of a physician it is tinged with peculiar nuances. As with Montchrestien, the adjective "political" takes on an organic and ethical value aimed at understanding the integral flourishing of the national community. The choice of the titles of the works appears very interesting. Both in the *Political Anatomy of Ireland* (written 1672, published 1691) and in the famous *Political arithmetick* (written 1676, published 1690) the argument is unraveled on the basis of a civil and interconnected economy, in which every single part is indispensable (even in its freedom) to the well-being of the whole society.

Petty did not hesitate to list, in the subtitle, as in an integrated principle of communicating vessels, the relationships between "*the Extent and Value of Lands, People, Buildings: Husbandry, Manufacture, Commerce, Fishery, Artizans, Seamen, Soldiers; Publick Revenues, Interest, Taxes, Superlucration, Registries,*

Banks, Valuation of Men, Increasing of Seamen, of Militia's, Harbours, Situation, Shipping, Power at Sea, etc."[76] Although still in the process of being defined, demography and economic anthropology, statistics and social psychology, the division of labor and its specialization meet in Petty's construction and contribute to a more complete disciplinary form.[77]

It is structured, as stated in the *Verbum Sapienti* (1665), on the survey applied to national income and the calculation of wealth, whose weight is no longer centered on gold and silver reserves. By demonstrating his awareness of previous and contemporary literature, precious metals appear to be insufficient conditions for the solidity of an economic system. On the other hand, it is influenced by the theories on the speed of the circulation of money. In the wake of Bodin's quantitative theory, Petty shifted the axis to the primacy of productive activities and the surplus of the trade balance with foreign countries.

This speed can be facilitated by banking but above all by a state that leaves room for autonomy. Central to the reflection appears the (inner) surplus considered as the difference in national production between the stocks of the means of production net of what is necessary for subsistence. In the tax case, Petty was more inclined to a tax on consumption and not to the tax per head, applied by census and in a nonprogressive manner. He is also opposed to duties on certain products—especially food and high-consumption goods—which disproportionately affect the less well-off classes.

Any import taxes should, however, not exceed the physiological limit necessary to encourage the choice of local products on the national market. In the preface to the *Treatise on Taxes and Contribution*—explaining his approach and demonstrating a deep link with Stoic philosophy—he uses the expression "vadere sicut vult" (*let things go as they will*), which, according to Antoin E. Murphy, is the "Latin equivalent of laissez-faire."[78] Consequently, an interventionist government would be like that doctor who applies too many treatments and, in the end, gets results contrary to its aims. Petty eloquently explained his ideas in this way: "We must consider in general, that as wiser physicians tamper not excessively with their patients, rather observing and complying with the motions of nature, than contradicting it with vehement administrations of their own; so in politicks and oeconomicks the same must be used."[79] This use of biological metaphors is not only a constant, but it affected entire generations of economists. Blood circulation, in fact, can be used as an example of a complex system of vital and economic interrelations. In this context, the theme of money is taken extensively into consideration in the *Quantulumcumque Concerning Money* (1682). Not only the (partially) Latin title but its style deserves attention: precise questions followed by concise answers with further insights when necessary. This is the classic

scholastic methodology of *quaestiones disputatae*, which Petty demonstrates he knows very well and how to use it perfectly.

In his reflection, he noted that neither the growth of monetary resources nor its decline had been sufficient to create conditions of healthy stability. They are also made even more difficult by the presence of monopolies, the control of monetary movements and restrictions on the trading of commodities. To the contrary, this can be made more fluid through greater productive specialization and consequent labor differentiation with the increase of sectorial economies of scale. In this context, the market is the sum of interrelationships between economic actors operating together. Although considered in an implicit manner, Petty structures his investigation of the conceptual triad land, labor, and capital, which is also present in the works of Locke and Cantillon but is explicitly made central by Adam Smith.

Petty's economic thinking has a profoundly interdisciplinary connotation. Typical of the time is a holistic approach to social dynamics but two specific points deserve to be highlighted. First, the centrality of education: in the famous debate between Milton and Hartlib, Petty contributed with a small treatise entitled *Advice to Hartlib for the Advancement of Particular Parts of Learning*, in which he explain his theory of education, especially based on "*Mathematicks, Mechanicks, Physick, and concerning the History of Art and Nature*."[80] The reference to Francis Bacon and his *New Atlantis* is central as well as the need for an education that is not only intellectual. Analysing pedagogically Petty's essay, Bevan states in a historical publication that "education should begin by training the powers of observation and strengthening the memory, by directing both to the objects of sense."[81]

The emphasis on vocational training is evidenced by the detailed proposal of a culture that is able—on the basis of solid mathematical and arithmetic knowledge—to give space to manual intelligence through the construction of

> Making Mathematicall Instruments, Dialls, and how to use them in Astronomicall Observations.
>
> Making Watches and other Trochilick motions.
>
> Limning and Painting on Glasse or in Oyle Colours.
>
> Graving, Etching, Carving, Embossing and Molding in sundry matters.
>
> The Lapidaries Art of knowing, cutting and setting Iewells.
>
> Grinding of Glasses Dioptricall and Catoptricall.
>
> Botanicks and Gardening.
>
> Making Musicall Instruments.

Navarchy and making Modells for buildings and rigging of Ships.
Architecture and making Modells for houses.
The Confectioners, Perfumers or Diers Arts.
Chymistry, refining Metalls and Counterfeiting Iewells.
Anatomy making Sceletons and excarnating bowells.
Making Mariners Compasses, Globes, and other Magnetick Devices.[82]

To top it off, Petty's wish is to erect a *Gymnasium Mechanicum* or a *Colledge of Tradesmen*, whose main task is to innovate, spread commerce, and make people independent.

In this pedagogical design—in which the classical themes of the future economy of education are anticipated—it is not at all controversial to trace the legacy of his experience in the college of Caen. Petty confirmed it by stating—with some nostalgic hope—that it is desirable "*that a Society of Men might be instituted as carefull to advance Arts as the Iesuites are to Propagate their Religion for the government and mannaging of it*."[83]

This not-at-all veiled appreciation emerges on other occasions. In a letter to Southwell—dated September 21, 1685—deepening the theme of the *curriculum studiorum* and appropriate readings listed "the most sagacious men"[84] to be followed in order to build a sound education and erudition based on some main readings. This "list of sixteen" is divided into "the ancients" and "the moderns."

In the first group, perfectly divided between Greek and Roman, Petty names Archimedes, Aristotle, Hippocrates, Homer, Julius Caesar, Cicero, Varro, and Tacitus. In the modern group, he names Molière, Suárez, Galileo, Thomas More, Francis Bacon, John Donne, Thomas Hobbes, and René Descartes. The choice of classical as well as modern authors confirms the pedagogical line of the *Ratio*, in whose colleges both Descartes and Molière had studied. But even more convincing is the presence of Francisco Suárez. So in agreement with Ted McCormick, one can say that "Petty's awareness of 'new learning' has Jesuit origins. Despite their formal commitment to Aristotle, many Jesuit professors brought newer material into the classroom—or else read Aristotle, who often canvassed rival philosophies before presenting his own views, against the grain, drawing out the alternatives."[85]

Boisguilbert (1646–1714)

Alternative views are present in the thought of another distinguished student of the Jesuit College of Rouen. Pierre Le Pesant de Boisguilbert summarizes—as did Montchrestien—the religious tensions of an entire era and will finish his

studies in Port-Royal with the Jansenists and then embarks on a legal career. The first pedagogical approach—based on the fruitful encounter between dramatic art and natural philosophy—is nevertheless evident in his production. His work *Marie Stuart, reyne d'Escosse, Nouvelle historique* (1675) clashes with Caussin's theories in the midst of political controversies with Richelieu and the supposed "relaxed" moral.

With such tension, Boisguilbert dealt with economic and social issues. In the evolution of an original and countercurrent thought, there is a deep reference—in logical argumentation and language—taken from the French works of Oresme and most likely through the scholastic mediation of the Jesuits, in which manufacturing production, currency, trade, and agriculture are the four pillars of an intimately interconnected social structure. Boisguilbert develops a doctrine in which he shows as the basis of the social system a correlated set of interdependent economic magnitudes, in which violent frictions and bitter contrasts are intrinsically present and predominant. The topic of *pax socialis* is the leitmotif of his philosophical construction.

Society, in Boisguilbert's opinion, is thus divided into two classes at the antipodes: the first characterized by production and laboriousness, the second greedy and intent to treasure money. Acting like the second forfeits value to true wealth and disturbs the flow of economic life.[86] His scholastic formation is, moreover, testified by that general vision in which the arrogance of the state, the unjust division of goods and property, inequality, and depression grow as a result of human corruption.

For Boisguilbert, though all of these (opaque) interrelationships would be made legal "through those institutions which form civil society or were made lawful through consent and agreement of men, they are none the less tainted with sin."[87] In a way surprisingly similar to Oresme's glosses on Aristotelian translations, the call to prudence becomes urgent in the attempt of a general empowerment and in the promotion of social concord: "A proportion of interest is therefore necessary between all kinds of Traders, and that one does not derive a double utility, by seizing the part of the other; otherwise all the harmony on which the maintenance of the state runs is completely destroyed."[88] Boisguilbert is convinced that the state, therefore, is the guarantor of the natural order and of the related equilibrium. Otherwise, it would disperse or hand over the enormous national wealth into the hands of a few usurpers, causing the disorder that undermines its very institution. The analysis becomes even more precise in affirming that true wealth lies in the production of goods and their marketing but not in the greedy and sterile accumulation of money or precious metals. Not surprisingly, money is mainly a means for satisfying needs through a more rapid circulation of goods

(necessary and indispensable for survival) and to avoid widespread misery. The natural speed of monetary and commercial transactions must therefore be ensured so that the circuit is constantly self-generating, producing and increasing the availability of wealth.

Because Boisguilbert thought that it was precisely in the nature of money to be exchanged continuously, long-term hoarding is an unproductive drawback that blocks the propensity to consume and hinders natural economic process at its root.[89] With a noteworthy argumentation and a disciplinary narrative full of apocalyptic tones, Boisguilbert speaks, not surprisingly—with critical acumen and moral tension—of *argent criminel* ("criminal money") which, replacing the will of the community, rises to a negative divinity, which plots wisely and directs the national economy toward tyranny, paradoxically diverting internal capital into foreign hands.[90]

The memory of the so-called Gersham's law—already foreseen by Aristophanes, Oresme, and Copernicus—became current again. The constant monetary alteration—as the Jesuit Juan de Mariana and other early modern scholars had already demonstrated—Boisguilbert warns is the first and inexorable step toward a general uncertainty "*which is the principle of all evils*"[91] and from which a dark and rancorous feeling of revolt often comes to light.[92] In a crescendo of fear and debasement, the psychological aversion to losses becomes the compass for every decision. It is also preferable—according to Boisguilbert—to "lose interest rather than lose capital."[93] In this way, moreover, expenses are reduced to a minimum, helping to disperse, with such behavior, the entire national wealth and impoverishing the real country. With a deeply anti-Colbertian spirit, Boisguilbert therefore calls for the reform of the *taille*—the direct land tax imposed on French peasants and non-nobles—starting that process of legal, economic, and cultural unhinging of the *Ancien Régime*.[94] This critical analysis is also based on the abolition of internal customs duties that were countered by a more widespread freedom of trade.[95]

Both for the emphasis on corruption and for the predisposition to promote agriculture, the similarity with Oresme's thinking is surprising and, in some parts, irrefutable.[96] If in the opinion of Eugène Daire, in the preface of his valuable collection of the works of the main economists of the eighteenth century,[97] Boisguilbert appears as the first link in a "learned chain," his work, despite its exceptional originality, is also partly the result of a complex and articulated reworking of ideas that had already been expressed in an admirable way and to which modern economic thought is indebted.[98]

Conclusion

At the end of this historical excursus, the continuity of the scholastic tradition found in Normandy—due to its peculiar local and environmental characteristics—serves as an ideal microcosm and an original laboratory that gives an unexpected vitality to the encounter and clash with the theological and philosophical disputes of the Reformation.[99] In addition, the modern didactics of Jesuit colleges find expression and correspondence in their students, influenced by innovative pedagogical strategies as well as scholastic teaching, with a range of interests in political, monetary, and economic thought. For all these reasons, the Norman exceptionality deserves due attention as a focal point and natural multiplier in the evolutionary process of political economy. In one of his famous—now classic—texts, R. H. Tawney tried to trace a line of development of economic reflection by making it clear that for centuries "the architectonics of the system had been worked out in the *Summae* of the Schoolmen."[100] Undoubtedly, scholasticism—in this case its Jesuit expression—was a point of reference in that process of emancipation that would have led—with the contribution of modern sciences and their independent codes—to a disciplinary emancipation.

It appears evident, though, that this process was long, articulated, and osmotic. And as Raymond de Roover argued, "despite many currents and cross currents, continuity is perhaps the most impressive phenomenon in the history of economic doctrines."[101] Paradoxically, this link is also demonstrated by the fact that the more years pass (and historical investigation increases), the more the supposed dating of the origin of political economy goes back. Alessandro Roncaglia, in fact, from a neo-Ricardian and Sraffian point of view, places its starting point precisely in William Petty,[102] on the basis of what was already argued by Karl Marx.[103] Certainly, Petty's role is not secondary in the evolution of European (in general) and English (in particular) economic thought, so much so that McNally affirms that Locke "employs numerous terms and arguments which appear to have been borrowed from Petty."[104]

If Montchrestien had already argued, in the wake of the Oresme, that agriculture is the first and most excellent of all occupations and the paradigm of an austere and honest life,[105] Boisguilbert is rightly regarded as a legitimate precursor of the Physiocrats. Boisguilbert was also convinced that *laisser-faire la nature et la liberté* is needed as a remedy to disorder and poverty,[106] granting the productive (but also moral) primacy to the rural world. In-depth studies have also shown that the French tradition,[107] as W. L. Taylor put it, "formally entered the Scottish Universities, and before very long, the British political economy."[108]

These studies show that much work awaits historians. They are called not to stop at the surface or get bogged down on some "major" texts but to discover the unsuspected links, the elective affinities, the cultural debts, the admired references in the "minor" works, in bibliographical choices and in private correspondences. Other connections, both historical and epistemological, are waiting to emerge as well as many authors to be discovered and reconsidered—deepening our understanding of their thoughts.

Notes

1. See Paola Vismara, "Moral Economy and the Jesuits," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 5 (2018): 610–30.
2. See Térèse Leguay and Jean-Pierre Leguay, *Histoire de la Normandie* (Rennes: Ouest France, 1997).
3. See Benoît Malbranque, "Les économistes normands, pionniers de la science économique," *Laissons Faire* 23 (2016): 30–42.
4. See Juliet Barker, *Conquest: The English Kingdom of France 1417–1450* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012). See also Jean Favier, *La Guerre de Cent Ans* (Paris: Ouest France, 1980).
5. William Sheakespeare, *Richard II*, Act 2. SC. 1, 52–54.
6. See Garrett Mattingly, *The Defeat of the Spanish Armada* (London: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1959).
7. See Paul E. J. Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars: War, Government and Society in Tudor England, 1544–1604* (London: Bloomsbury, 2003).
8. Jan Glete, *War and the State in Early Modern Europe: Spain, the Dutch Republic and Sweden as Fiscal-Military States, 1500–1660* (London: Routledge, 2002).
9. See Guy Bois, *The Crisis of Feudalism and Society in Eastern Normandy, c. 1300–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Anthony Musson, *Medieval Law in Context: The Growth of Legal Consciousness from Magna Carta to the Peasants' Revolt* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001).
10. See Olivier Guillot and Yves Sassier, *Pouvoirs et institutions dans la France médiévale*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Armand Colin, 2003).
11. See Jean Yver, *Le Caractère normand à travers l'évolution de la coutume de Normandie* (Le Havre: Impr. de M. Etaix, 1948); idem, *Les Caractères originaux de la coutume de Normandie* (Caen: Impr. de C. Le Tendre, 1952).

12. See Daniel Power, *The Norman Frontier in the Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

13. See Francesco Galgano, *Lex Mercatoria: Storia del diritto commerciale* (Bologna: Il Mulno, 2001).

14. See François Neveux, "Le contexte historique de la rédaction des coutumiers normands," *Annales de Normandie* 61 (2011–2012): 11–22.

15. See Eugène de Rozière, "De l'histoire du droit en général. Du Grand Coutumier de Normandie et des rapports du droit anglais avec le droit normand," *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 13 (1867): 63–78.

16. See Edward Grant, *The Foundations of Modern Science in the Middle Ages: Their Religious, Institutional and Intellectual Contexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univserity Press, 1996).

17. "Nevertheless, in the course of the following century [after Saint Francis] the Franciscans made a remarkable contribution to Scholastic thought." Odd Langholm, *Economics in the Medieval Schools: Wealth, Exchange, Value, Money, and Usury According to the Paris Theological Tradition, 1200–1350* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 117.

18. See Giacomo Todeschini, *Franciscan Wealth: From Voluntary Poverty to Market Society* (St. Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute, 2009), esp. chap. 3: "The Market as a Form of Society: From Barcelona to Siena," 151–96.

19. See José Antonio Merino, *Historia de la Filosofia Franciscana* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1993).

20. See Antonie Vos, *The Philosophy of John Duns Scotus* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006). See also Alexander Broadie, *The Shadow of Scotus: Philosophy and Faith in Pre-Reformation Scotland* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1995); idem, "John Duns Scotus and the Idea of Independence," in Edward J. Cowan, ed., *The Wallace Book* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2007), 77–115.

21. "In his commentary on Aristotle's *Ethics*, Buridan argued that profit and loss occur commonly in buying and selling without being contra iustitiam. The quest for personal advantage is the natural condition of the just exchange." Joel Kaye, *Economy and Nature in the Fourteenth Century: Money, Market Exchange, and the Emergence of Scientific Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 132.

22. See Buridan, *Quaestiones in Decem Libros Ethicorum ad Nichomachum*, L. V, q. 16, d. 1.

23. See Sylvain Piron, "Nicole Oresme: Violence, Langage et Raison Politique," Working Paper (HEC n° 97/1) (Florence: Institut Universitaire Européen, 1997).

24. See Nicole Oresme, *Le Livre de l'Ethique d'Aristote*, ed. Albert Douglas Menut (New York: G. E. Stechert & Co., 1940); idem, *Le livre de la politique d'Aristote*, ed. Albert Douglas Menut, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 60 (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1960).

25. *The* De Moneta *of Nicholas Oresme and English Mint Documents*, trans. Charles Johnson (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1956), 43–44.

26. See Ulrich Taschow, *Nicole Oresme und der Frühling der Moderne: Die Ursprünge unserer modernen quantitativ-metrischen Weltaneignungsstrategien und neuzeitlichen Bewusstseins- und Wissenschaftskultur* (Halle: Avox, 2003).

27. See Bert Hansen, ed., *Nicole Oresme and the Marvels of Nature: A Study of His* De Causis Mirabilium *with Critical Edition, Translation, and Commentary* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medeival Studies, 1985).

28. See François Neveux, "Nicole Oresme et les siens: une famille de clercs normands du XIVe siècle," *Annales de Normandie* 38, no. 4 (1988): 336–38.

29. See Henri Basnage, *Les Oeuvres, Contenant ses Commentaires sur la Coutume de Normandie et Son Traité des Hipotèques*, vol. 2, 3rd ed. (Rouen: Maurry, 1709). See also: Wim Decock, *Theologians and Contract Law: The Moral Transformation of the Ius Commune* (ca. 1500–1650) (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

30. See Wim Decock, "Spanish Scholastics on Money and Credit: Economic, Legal and Political Aspects," in *Money in the Western Legal Tradition,* ed. David Fox and Wolfgang Ernst (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 267–83.

31. Marjorie Grice-Hutchison, *The School of Salamanca* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952), 1.

32. See Jean-François Dubost, "La Normandie italienne à l'époque modern, XVIe et XVIIesiècles," *Cahier des Annales de Normandie* 29 (2000): 163–77.

33. See Isabelle Chave, "La Normandie au XVe siècle: art et histoire, actes du colloque organisé par les Archives départementales de la Manche," in *Bibliothèque de l'*École *des Chartes* 159, no. 2 (2001): 699.

34. Marie-Thérèse Boyer-Xambeau, Ghislain Deleplace, and Lucien Gillard, *Private Money and Public Currencies: The 16th Century Challenge*, trans. Azizeh Azodi (London: Routledge, 2015), 82.

35. "From Medieval times on, coins were issued for specific territories, yet have always—in different degrees—circulated beyond the boundaries of the territories of origin. The topic thus has an inevitable international law aspect, both private and public." David Fox, François R. Velde, and Wolfgang Ernst, "Monetary History between Law and Economics," in Fox and Ernst, *Money in the Western Legal Tradition*, 6.

36. See Georges Jarlot, "Dominique de Soto devant les problèmes moraux de la conquête americaine," *Gregorianum* 45, no. 1 (1963): 80–87.

37. See Jonathan A. Reid, "The Meaux Experiment I: From Clerical Reform To Evangelical Renewal, 1518–1523," in idem, *King's Sister—Queen of Dissent: Marguerite of Navarre (1492–1549) and her Evangelical Network*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions, vol. 139 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 151–80.

38. See David Nicholls, "Social Change and Early Protestantism in France: Normandy, 1520–62," *European History Quarterly* 10, no. 3 (July 1980): 279–308.

39. See John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993).

40. See F. Mattei - C. Casalini, *Jesuitica Institutio. Figure e temi di una modernità pedagogica* (Roma, 2014).

41. See *The Ratio Studiorum: The Official Plan for Jesuit Education*, trans. Claude Nicholas Pavur, SJ, (Saint Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2006).

42. See Maximilian von Habsburg, *Catholic and Protestant Translations of the Imitatio Christi, 1425–1650: From Late Medieval Classic to Early Modern Bestseller* (London: Routledge, 2011).

43. See Silvia Mostaccio, *Early Modern Jesuits between Obedience and Conscience during the Generalate of Claudio Acquaviva (1581–1615)*, trans. Clare Copeland (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014).

44. See Manfred Hinz, Danilo Zardin, and Roberto Righi, eds., *I Gesuiti e la Ratio Studiorum* (Rome: Bulzoni, 2004).

45. See Ninz, Zardin, and Righi, *I Gesuiti e la Ratio Studiorum*; Moshe Sluhovsky, "Loyola's Spiritual Exercises and the Modern Self," in Robert Aleksander Maryks, ed., *A Companion to Ignatius of Loyola: Life, Writings, Spirituality, Influence* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 216–31.

46. See Jesús Luis Paradinas Fuentes, "Las matemáticas en la 'Ratio Studiorum' de los Jesuitas," *Llull: Revista de la Sociedad Española de Historia de la Ciencia y de la Técnicas* 35, no. 75 (2012): 129–62. See also Guiseppe Cosentino, "Mathematics in the Jesuit Ratio Studiorum," in Frederick A. Homann, Ladislaus Lúkacs, and Guiseppe Cosentino, eds., *Church, Culture and Curriculum* (Philadelphia: St. Joseph's University Press, 1999), 47–79.

47. See R. Schüssler, *The Debate on Probable Opinion in Scholastic Tradition* (Leiden: Brill, 2019); Alejandro Chafuen, *Faith and Liberty: The Economic Thought of the Late Scholastics* (Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2003).

48. See Paul F. Grendler, *Jesuit Schools and Universities in Europe 1548–1773*, Brill's Research Perspectives in Jesuit Studies (Leiden: Brill, 2019).

49. See Luce Giard, ed., *Les jésuites à la Renaissance: Système éducatif et production du savoir* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1995).

50. Gian Giacomo Rotelli, SJ, *Pedagogia Ignazian: Introduzione alla pratica* (Napoli: Centro Ignaziano di Spiritualità, 1994), 10, http://www.sjweb.info/documents/educa tion/pedagogy_it.pdf.

51. Grendler, "Jesuit Schools and Universities," 21.

52. Grendler, "Jesuit Schools and Universities," 21. See also n. 41 with reference to Ladislaus Lukács, ed., *Monumenta paedagogica Societatis Iesu. Nova editio ex integro refecta*, vol. 7, Apud Monumenta Historica Soc. Iesu (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu via Dei Penitenzieri, 1965–92), 7:129–31; and to Cristiano Casalini and Claude Pavur, eds., *Jesuit Pedagogy, 1540–1616: A Reader* (Chestnut Hill, MA: Institute of Jesuit Studies, Boston College, 2016), 218–21.

53. Grendler, "Jesuit Schools and Universities," 21.

54. See James Franklin, *The Science of Conjecture: Evidence and Probability Before Pascal* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).

55. See Joël Félix, *Économie et finances sous l'Ancien Régime: Guide du chercheur, 1523–1789* (Vincennes: Institut de la gestion publique et du développement c 1994).

56. Martine Grindberg, "De la tragedie au theatre de la vie civile: Montchrestien" in Alain Guéry, ed., *Montchrestien et Cantillon. Le commerce et l'émergence d'une pensée* économique (Lyon: ENS Éditions, 2017), 61.

57. Blair Hoxby, *What Was Tragedy? Theory and the Early Modern Canon* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 252.

58. See Amable Floquet, « Notice sur les tombeaux de Claude Groulart, premier président du Parlement de Normandie de 1585 à 1607, de Barbe Guiffard, sa seconde femme, et autres personnes de la famille Groulart, découverts à Saint-Aubin-le-Cauf » (communication à l'Académie royale des Sciences, Belles-Lettres et Arts de Rouen, 14 mai 1841), *Revue de Rouen et de Normandie* 9 (1841): 292–302.

59. See Anthony Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger: A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship*, vol. 2: *Historical Chronology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

60. See Marjorie Irene Hopkins, *Humanism as Civic Project: The Collège de Guyenne (1533–1583)* (PhD Thesis, University of Guelph, 2016).

61. See Donald Macmillan, *George Buchanan: A Biography* (Edinburgh: George A. Morton; London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co., 1906); Geroge Buchanan, *The Trial of*

George Buchanan before the Lisbon Inquisition, trans. James M. Aitken (Edinburgh; London: Oliver and Boyd, 1939).

62. See André de Gouveia, *Schola Aquitanica* (Bourdeaux: E. Vinet, 1583); see also William Harrison Woodward, *Studies in Education during the Age of the Renaissance, 1400–1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1906), 139.

63. See Cristiano Casalini, *Benet Perera and Eary Jesuit Pedagogy: Human Knowledge, Freedom, Superstition* (Rome: Anicia, 2016).

64. See Gianfranco Brazzini, *Dall'economia aristotelica all'economia politica. Saggio sul "Traicté" di Montchrétien* (Pisa: Ets Editrice, 1988).

65. French: *aucune formulation conceptuelle originale*. Jean-Yves Grenier, "Review: G. Brazzini, Dall'economia aristotelica all'economia politica. Saggio sul « Traicté » di Montchrétien," *Annales. Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 45, no. 5 (1990): 101.

66. French: *utiliser les apports de la culture philosophique de la Renaissance tardive pour définir le statut de économie politique*. Grenier, "Review," 101.

67. See Nicola Panichi, "Useful and Honourable: Notes towards a Philosophy of Political Economy in the Traicté," *History of Economic Thought and Policy* 1 (2017): 115–27.

68. Panichi, "Useful and Honourable," 115.

69. Christopher J. Berry, "Out of the Coffee House or How Political Economy Pretended to Be a Science from Montchrétien to Steuart," *Social Philosophy and Policy* 37, no. 1 (2020): 13.

70. Panichi, "Useful and Honourable," 115.

71. See Philippe Bonolas, "Les fondements historiques et moraux de la pensée politique de Montchrétien," *Cahiers de la littérature du XVIIe siècle* 9 (1987): 29–49.

72. David McNally, *Political Economy and the Rise of Capitalism: A Reinterpretation*, (Berkeley, 1988), 71.

73. McNally, *Political Economy*, 71.

74. See Marc Laudet, *Aux origines de l'économie politique: Antoine de Montchrétien et son "Traicté de l'*Œ*conomie Politique"* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2016).

75. Ted McCormick, *William Petty: And the Ambitions of Political Arithmetic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 20n20.

76. The original title is William Petty, *Political Arithmetick, or a Discourse Concerning, the Extent and Value of Lands, People, Buildings: Husbandry, Manufacture, Commerce, Fishery, Artizans, Seamen, Soldiers; Publick Revenues, Interest, Taxes, Superlucration, Registries, Banks, Valuation of Men, Increasing of Seamen, of Militia's,*

Harbours, Situation, Shipping, Power at Sea, &c. As the Same Relates to Every Country in General, but More Particularly to the Territories of His Majesty of Great Britain, and his Neighbours of Holland, Zealand, and France (London: Robert Clavel and Hen. Mortlock, 1690).

77. See Tony Aspromourgos, "Political Economy and the Social Division of Labour: The Economics of Sir William Petty," *Scottish Journal of Political Economy* 33, no. 1 (1986): 28–45.

78. Antoin E. Murphy, "Introduction," in Antoin E. Murphy and Chūhei Sugiyama, eds., *Monetary Theory: 1601–1758* (London; New York: Routledge, 1996), 34.

79. William Petty, *The Economic Writings of Sir William Petty*, vol. 1, ed., Charles Henry Hull (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1662), 60.

80. William Petty, *Advice of William Petty to Samuel Hartlib for the Advancement of Particular Parts of Learning* (London: n.p., 1648), vi.

81. Wilson Lloyd Bevan, "Sir William Petty: A Study in English Economic Literature," *Publications of the American Economic Association* 9, no. 4 (August 1894), 41.

82. Petty, *Advice of William Petty to Samuel Hartlib*, 6.

83. Petty, *Advice of William Petty to Samuel Hartlib*, 8.

84. William Petty and Robert Southwell, *The Petty-Southwell Correspondence, 1676–1687*, ed., Marquis of Lansdowne (New York: August M. Kelley Publishers, 1967), 158.

85. McCormick, *William Petty*, 24.

86. See Pierre Le Pesant de Boisguilbert, *Dissertation de la nature des richesses, de l'argent et des tributs, où l'on découvre la fauste idée qui le règne dans le monde à l'égard de ces troi articles* (1707), in Eugène Daire, ed., *Économiste Financiers du Dix-Huitième Siècle* (Paris: Guillaumin, 1843), 398: *En voilà plus qu'il n'en faut pour montrer que la quantité plus ou moins considérable d'or et d'argent, surtout dans un pays rempli de denrées nécessaires et commodes à la vie, est absolument indifférente pour en faire jouir abondamment les habitants; mais ce n'est que lorsque ces métaux demeurent dans leurs limites naturelles, car du moment qu'ils en sortent, comme l'on n'a que trop fait l'expérience en plus d'un endroit, ils deviennent nécessaires, parce qu'ils s'érigent en tyrans, ne voulant point souffrir qu'autres qu'eux s'appellent richesses; et c'est ce qu'on va voir dans les chapitres suivants, où l'on montrera les deux issues par où l'argent a quitté son ministère; dont la première est l'ambition, le luxe, l'avarice, l'oisiveté et la paresse; et l'autre, le crime formel, tant celui qui est puni par les lois, qu'un autre genre que l'ignorance fait couronner tous les jours.*

87. Max Beer, *An Inquiry into Physiocracy* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1966), 66.

88. French: *proportion d'interêt est donc necessaire entre toutes sortes de Commerçans, et que l'on ne tire pas une double utilité, en s'emparant de la part de l'autre; autrement toute l'harmonie sur laquelle route le mantien de l'Etat est entierement detruite.* Pierre Le Pesant de Boisguilbert, *Testament politique de Monsieur Vauban, Maréchal de France*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1707), 376.

89. See Boisguilbert, *Testament politique de Monsieur Vauban*, 264: *Si son Fermier ne l'avoit pas assuré qu'il ne lui peut bailler d'argent à l'écheance du terme qui aproche, les garde bien secretemene, afin de le faire filer pour le simple necessaire, & cette trop longue garde maintien l'argent dans un trop long repos contre sa nature, qui est de tujours marcher, & de produir du revenu à chaque pas qu'il fait.*

90. See Boisguilbert, *Dissertation de la nature des richesses*, 417–18: *Mais il y a de l'argent criminel, parce qu'il a voulou être un dieu au lieu d'un esclave, qui, après avoir déclaré la guerre aux particuliers, ou plutôt à tout le genre humain, s'adresse enfin au trône et ne lui fait pas plus de quartier qu'à tout le reste, en lui refusant une partie des besoins dont il met tous les jours une quantité effroyable en poudre, étant même impossible que les choses soient autrement. Et le cruel est que, comme l'ignorance a fait admettre et souffrir sa tyrannie, elle redouble ses efforts pour empêcher toute sorte de fin à ces désordres, et fait chercher dans le redoublement du mal le remède de ceux qu'il a causés. Cet argent criminel, ou plutôt ses fauteurs, ont la hardiesse et leffronterie d'alléguer , lorsque la désolation publique est dans son dernier période, qui est leur unique ouvrage, que c'est qu'il n'y a plus d'espèces, et qu'elles ont passé dans le pays étrangers*.

91. Boisguilbert, *Dissertation de la nature des richesses*, 417–18.

92. See Boisguilbert, *Testament politique de Monsieur Vauban*, 375.

93. French: *Ainsi ils aiment mieux perdre l'interêt que de hazarder à perdre le capital....* Boisguilbert, *Testament politique de Monsieur Vauban*, 100. He continues: … *se reduisant à faire moins de depense, ce qui est un surcroit de mal pour le corps de la Republique. De façon, que tous les revenus d'industrie cessent tout fait, et l'argent qui forme pour autant de revenu qu'il fait de pas, ne sortant point des fortes mainsm arrêre intierement son cours ordinaire; ce qui met le pais dans une paralisie de tout ses membres, et fait qu'un Etat est miserable.*

94. See Jean-Yves Grenier, *L'Economie d'Ancien Régime, Un monde de l'échange et de l'incertitude* (Paris: L'Evolution de l'Humanité, 1994), 294: *A l'interior du terme du bail, les frais de culture sont décidés de telle manière qu'ils soyet rentables rapidement. Létude de rendements l'a suggéré, l'emploi des avances suit des temporalités très variables.*

95. See Paul Cheney, *Revolutionary Commerce: Globalization and the French Monarchy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010); Olivier Le Gouic, *Lyon et la mer au XVIIIe siècle: connexions atlantiques et commerce colonial* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2011).

96. See Giovanni Patriarca, "Boisguilbert: un pré-physiocrate et un post-oresmien? Un parcours comparé d'histoire de la pensée economique française," *Procesos de mercado: revista europea de economía polític* 10, no. 1 (2013): 289–302.

97. See Daire, ed., *Économistes Financiers du Dix-Huitiéme Siécle.*

98. See Gilbert Faccarello, *The Foundations of Laissez-Faire: The Economics of Pierre de Boisguilbert* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1999).

99. See Charly Coleman, *The Spirit of French Capitalism: Economic Theology in the Age of Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2021).

100. R. H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism: A Historical Study* (London: John Murray, 1936), 16.

101. Raymond de Roover, "Survival and Lasting Influence from the Sixteenth Century to Adam Smith," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 69, no. 2 (1955): 190.

102. Alessandro Roncaglia, *Petty: The Origins of Political Economy* (Armock: University College Cardiff Press, 1985).

103. "According to Marx, Petty expresses the theory of population better than Malthus (pp. 170ff.), and also his theory of differential rent is more complete than that of Smith (p. 172–6). Petty 'first asks himself: what is value?' (p. 172), and he answers that it is the 'natural price' of all products or commodities produced within a 'short time.' Then, what was produced within the 'same time' (p. 172) has the same value. In this way, the 'value of labour' is measured by the 'necessary means of subsistence' (p. 172). Pages later, in Notebook XXII, Marx returns to the same subject (p. 247) and compares Petty with Dudley North (1641–91)—of whom he studies *Discourses upon Trade*, London, 1691—and with John Locke—in this case he refers to his work *Some Considerations of the Consequences of the Lowering of Interest* (1691; London, 1851). Nor this right more than Locke regarding the issue of the nature of interest. Petty, on the other hand, is right on many other issues, e.g. identifying 'labour [...] as the source of value' (p. 248), and, in addition, 'value as the form of social labour' (p. 248). He analyses two more works of Petty (*An Essay Concerning the Multiplication of Mankind*, 1682, already commented on in the *Contribution* (1859), and Political Anatomy of Ireland (London, 1691)." Enrique Dussel, *Towards an Unknown Marx: A Commentary on the Manuscripts of 1861–63* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2001), 179–80. See also Mark McGovern, "William Petty: An Unlikely Influence on Karl Marx," *Student Economic Review* 21 (2007): 3-10.

104. McNally, *Political Economy and the Rise of Capitalism*, 59.

105. See Antoyne de Montchrétien, *Traicté de l'Œconomie Politique, avec introduction et notes par Th. Funck-Brentano*, (Paris: Plon, 1889), 40–41: *Ainsi ne pouvons nous vivre sans alimens, et nous ne pouvons avoir ces alimens sans labourer la terre, et d'elle les prennent les hommes, d'autant que tous vivent naturellement de leur mère. De là ceste laborieuse agriculture qui, continuellement, lutte contre sa sterilité et la force, en luy bien faisant, de rendre quelque récompense à tant de labeurs et de payer l'usure de tant de prests…. C'est principalement en ces choses qu'est occupée la vie rustique, dont l'agriculture est le travail et la science. S'il faut tenir ceste maxime qui dit que ce qui est le plus antique est le meilleur, certes l'art d'agriculture est l'excellent sur tous.*

106. See Ragip Ege and Sylvie Rivot, "Le Libéralisme de Boisguilbert (un Pourfendeur de la Contre-Productivité)," *Cahiers d'Économie Politique* 74, no. 1 (2018): 7–33. See also Jean Molinier, *Les Métamorphoses d'une théorie économique: le revenue national chez Boisguilbert, Quesnay et J.-B. Say*, Étude et Documents du Centre d'Études économiques, vol. 4 (Paris: Armand Colin, 1958); Albert Talbot, *Les Théories de Boisguilbert et Leur Place dans l'Histoire des Doctrines Économiques* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1971).

107. See especially Quesnay, Turgot, and the Physiocrats.

108. W. L. Taylor, "Gershom Carmichael: A Neglected Figure in British Political Economy," *South African Journal of Economics* 23, no. 3 (1955): 255.