CHAPTER EIGHT

Body and Soul

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In a treatise titled *The Anatomy of Belial* (1602), Robert Burton compares proper order to a body:

> God hath distinguished diverse members in one body: one from another, & set one aboue another, & placed them all in wonderfull maner. The head as a tower, the eies in the same as watchmen... the toung as a porter to cal for that which is needfull, & to examine that which is doubtful, the eares as spies to harken & to listen, the hands as servitours & soulditers, the feet as messengers and porters to carry and recarry, the teeth as grinders of natures provision, the pallate as taster, the stomach as a cook-roome, wherin all things are prepared againe for the benefit of nature, & the whole body so to be preserued for the benefit of the soule.[1]

Similar to Burton's conception of the body, and how it relates to the soul, is Edmund Spenser's description of the House of Alma from his epic poem *The Faerie Queene* (1590). Lady Alma, who represents the soul, leads her guests through her "house," the body:

> And through the Hall there walked to and fro
> A iolly yeoman, Marshall of the same,

Whose name was *Appetite*; he did bestow
Both guestes and meate, when euer in they came,
And knew them how to order without blame,
As him the Steward bad. They both attone
Did dewty to their Lady, as became;
Who passing by, forth led her guestes anone
Into the kitchin rowme, ne spard for nicenesse none.[2]

Both texts suggest the care that ought to be taken with the preparation, mastication, and digestion of food, and in both texts hierarchy is emphasized: in Burton the body is "preserued for the benefit of the soule" and in Spenser due deference is shown to Lady Alma.

The notion that what you put into your mouth for sustenance had spiritual and psychological significance was generally accepted in the early modern period. Although not all writings about food emphasized the moral dimension of feeding, in many writings there was a distinct sense that what one ate and drank, how much one ate and drank, and the manner in which one ate and drank were indicative of moral standing. In dietary literature, so-called regimens of health (or, health manuals), writers offered advice on what to consume and why. These popular prose texts (most were reprinted many times in the period) played an important part in the cultural life of the early moderns. Crucially, they demonstrate how theories of food and drink, and choices about eating and drinking, encoded moral self-worth as well as physical health. In the dietaries, food and drink are not mere necessities, fuel for the body, but function as indices of one's position in relation to ideas about spiritual well-being; careful consumption might correct moral as well as physical shortcomings. The relationship between bodily and spiritual health that was the focus of dietary literature was also evident in religious texts such as the *Homily Against Gluttony and Drunkenness*; while literary and dramatic texts, though less clearly didactic, also engaged with current ideas regarding the relationship between bodily health and moral integrity.

DIET: SICKNESS AND SIN

Galenic theory argued that disease was a consequence of humoral disruption. Nicholas Culpepper's translation of, and commentary upon, *Galen's*

Art of Physick outlined the specific characteristics of each complexion, characteristics broadly typical of those outlined in the dietaries. Sanguine persons are described as "merry cheerful Creatures... given much to the games of *Venus*" who "need not be very scrupulous in the quality of their Diet, provided they exceed not in quantity, because the Digestive Vertue is so strong," and are particularly warned against excessive consumption of alcohol.[3] The choleric man is described as "naturally quick-witted," "quarrelsome," and "much given to jesting, mocking, and lying." He is advised to avoid fasting: "let such eat meates hard of Digestion, as Beef, Pork, &c. and leave Danties for weaker Stomachs."[4] Moderate consumption of small (weak) beer "cools the fiery heat of his Nature" but such a person should avoid wine and strong beer "for they inflame the liver and breed burning and hectick feavers, Choller and hot Dropsies, and bring a man to his Grave in the prime of his Age." The melancholy are considered "naturally Covetous, Self-lovers, Cowards," they are "unsociable," "envious" and "retain Anger long." They are also advised to avoid excessive food and drink, especially "meats hard of digestion" and "strong liquor." The phlegmatic person is "dull, heavy and slothful"; they tend to be fat because, although their appetite is weak, so is their digestion, a consequence of their slothfulness. They are advised "to use a very slender diet" so that their body might be cleansed of gross humors.[5] In each instance there is also a focus on exercise: the sanguine and choleric types are advised to avoid "violent exercise," but it is recommended for those who are melancholy and phlegmatic. Also outlined in Galen is what is termed the "commixture" of the humors. Eight are listed: chollerick-melancholy, melancholy-chollerick, melancholy-sanguine, sanguine-melancholy, sanguine-flegmatick, flegmatick-sanguine, flegmatick-chollerick, and chollerick-flegmatick.[6]

So, the consumption of specific food and drink was deemed capable of modifying one's type. The ability to avoid certain foods was crucial, and the ability to avoid excess, if inclined toward it, was also of utmost importance to health. In all cases, physiological health as well as bodily health is at stake. The consequences of a bad diet will lead to sin as well as physical harm: gluttony or fasting will result in lust, wrath, envy, or sloth. In traditional representations of the seven deadly sins, lust especially was deemed a natural consequence of gluttony. In Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, the seven deadly sins parade through the court of Lucifera, the demonic queen who

resides in the House of Pride and who herself embodies pride. The first sin to appear is Idlenesse, of whom we are told:

> His life he led in lawlesse riotise;
> By which he grew to grieuous malady;
> For in his lustlesse limbs through euill guise
> A shaking feuer raignd continually[7]

After Idlenesse comes Gluttony:

> Deformed creature, on a filthie swyne,
> His belly was vp-blowne with luxury,
> And eke with fatnesse swollen were his eyne,
> And like a Crane his necke was long and fyne,
> With which he swallowd vp excessiue feast,
> For want whereof poore people oft did pyne;
> And all the way, most like a brutish beast,
> He spued vp his gorge, that all did him deteast.[8]

Sloth and gluttony were considered related sins: as Thomas Elyot points out, sloth was one of the signs of repletion, which resulted from overeating.[9] Gluttony is followed by Lechery, "Who rough, and blacke, and filthy did appeare, / Vnseemely man to please faire Ladies eye"; it seems that, for Spenser at least, women were especially prone to lust.[10]

According to Gregory the Great, the sixth-century saint and Pope, the sin of gluttony might be committed in various ways: not merely by eating too much, but by eating too soon, too expensively, too eagerly, and too daintily.[11] Gluttony resulted in negative effects upon physical health. The sin of gluttony, which harmed the soul, was regularly condemned from the pulpit in the early modern period. In the *Epistle to the Romans* Saint Paul warns: "For they that are such serve not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly; and by good words and fair speeches deceive the hearts of the simple."[12] Similarly Proverbs advises "Be not among winebibbers: among riotous eaters of flesh: / For the drunkard and the glutton shall come to poverty: and drowsiness shall clothe a man with rags."[13] Ecclesiastes states "Blessed art thou, O land, when thy king is the son of nobles, and thy

princes eat in due season, for strength, and not for drunkenness!"[14] The message was that one should guard against any inclination to overindulgence. In the Elizabethan *Homily Against Gluttony and Drunkenness* the consequences of gluttony are clearly outlined:

> Had not the ryche glutton ben so greedely geuen to the pamperyng of his belly, he woulde neuer haue ben so vnmercyfull to the poore Lazarus, neyther had he felt the tormentes of the vnquenchable fyre. What was the cause that GOD so horriblye punyshed Sodome and Gomorra? was it not theyr proude banquettyng and continuall idlenesse, which caused them to bee so lewde of lyfe, and so vnmercyfull towards the poore? What shall we now thynke of the horrible excesse, whereby so manye haue peryshed, and ben brought to destruction?[15]

There is a focus on the physical effects of gluttony: "Oft commeth sodayne death by banquettyng, sometyme the membres are dissolued, and so the whole body is brought into a miserable state,"[16] but also on the harm it does to the soul of the Christian man. It "brynges men to whoredome and lewdenesse of harte, with daungers vnspeakable."[17]

The dietaries similarly warn against the physical effects of gluttony and its impact upon the Christian soul. In their discussion of the major food groups, they offer advice on the impact a specific food is likely to have upon a specific temperament. Discussion tends to be informed by a distinct moral code: control over one's diet indicates the health—or otherwise—of the soul. In William Bullein's dietary *The Gouernment of Health*, the reader is presented with a dialogue between the blissfully ignorant John-the-gourmand and Humphrey-the-moderate who warns John against "all lustie reuellers, and continual banket makers." Giving as an example the Roman Emperor Varius Heliogabalus, "which was dayly fedde with many hundred fishes and foules, and was accompanied with manie brothels, baudes, harlots and gluttons," Humphrey tells John, "and thus it doeth appeare by your abhorring vertue, that of right you might haue claimed a great office in *Haeliogabalus* court, if you had beene in those daies."[18] Excess food indicates abuse of the body. Sexual excess, evident in the bawds and harlots who frequent the court, indicates that Varius's diet leads to lust, which harms the body and the soul. A sense

of moral harm is also suggested by Andrew Boorde's assertion in his dietary that any man of leisure who eats more than two meals a day, or any laborer more than three, "lyueth a beestly lyfe."[19] This suggests that the man who overeats becomes like the beast, who does not possess a soul. Similarly, Henry Wingfield introduces his dietary by lamenting that "by suche reuell, gourmandise, and daily surfetyng, many cruellye are putte to deathe, oftentimes in floryshynge youth, in the most pleasaunt tyme of their lyfe"[20]; the phrase "putte to deathe" implying divine intervention and punishment.

Overeating was condemned, but so too excessive abstinence was considered harmful. Advent and Lent were traditionally times for fasting; all Fridays and Saturdays were also fast days, but fasting was less restrictive than during Lent, since on Fridays outside Lent only animal flesh was forbidden. The *Homily of Good Workes: And Fyrst of Fastyng* outlines the "three endes, whereunto if our fast bee directed, it is then a worke profitable to us, and accepted of GOD." The first end is "to chastise the flesh, that it be not too wanton, but tamed and brought in subiection to the spirit"; the second "that the spirit may be more earnest and feruent to prayer"; and the third

> that our fast bee a testimonie and witnesse with us before GOD, of our humble submission to his high maiesty, when we confesse and acknowledge our sinnes unto him, and are inwardly touched with sorrowfulnesse of heart, bewayling the same in the affliction of our bodies.[21]

The purpose of depriving the body of sustenance was to bring physical desire under the spirit's control, to allow the soul its correct dominion over the body; but it was essential that fasting be done only in moderation. Christ, whose disciples did not fast, admonished the Pharisees "because they put a religion in theyr doynges and ascribed holynes to the outwarde worke wrought, not regardyng to what ende fastyng is ordeyned."[22] The *Homily Against Gluttony and Drunkenness* refers to the prophet Isaiah, who warned that fasting as well as banqueting "maketh men forgetfull of theyr duetie towardes God, when they geue them selues to all kyndes of pleasure, not consideryng nor regardyng

the workes of the Lorde, who hath created meates and drinkes, as Saint Paule sayeth, to be receaued thankfully of them that beleue & know the trueth."[23] The seemingly masochistic pleasure to be had in depriving the body of sustenance must, it seems, be avoided as much as the pleasure to be had by gorging on food and drink or savoring its taste. For Protestant authorities fasting was distinctly Catholic, suggesting as it did the fasting that had commonly taken place in Catholic monasteries before their dissolution and its continued practice by the Catholic laity. Moderation in all things was a recurring focus, although it must be noted that this was an unnecessary admonition for the many who experienced prolonged periods of hunger and fear of famine during the early modern period.

SPECIFIC FOODS: BENEFITS AND DANGERS

Eating too much or too little of any food put physical health in danger and endangered the soul; but some foods were deemed more dangerous for body and soul than others. The dietaries tend to share a distinct suspicion of fruit and vegetables, repeatedly warning that such foods should be consumed with caution, especially when raw. On the other hand, the consumption of animal flesh was broadly encouraged, although certain humoral types were advised to avoid the flesh of specific animals. In the early modern period it was generally believed that God had ordained animal flesh as fit for human consumption only after the flood.[24] The dietary author Thomas Moffett claims that the main reason for man later consuming animal flesh, rather than fruit and vegetables alone, was a change in man's physical makeup as well as the food typically consumed:

> before the flood men were of stronger constitution, and vegetable fruits grew void of superfluous moisture: so by the flood these were endued with weaker nourishment and men made more subject to violent diseases and infirmities. Whereupon it was requisite or rather necessary, such meat to be appointed for human nourishment, as was in substance and essence most like our own, and might with less loss and labour of natural heat be converted and transubstantiated into our flesh.[25]

The notion that fruit was full of water, and could cause a harmful imbalance in the body if consumed in excess or at the wrong time, comes up repeatedly in the dietaries. William Vaughan gives a detailed explanation of this view of fruit:

> All fruit for the most part are taken more for wantonnesse then for any nutritiue or necessary good, which they bring unto vs. To verifie this, let vs but examine with the eye of reason what profit they cause, when they are eaten after meales. Surely we must needs confesse, that such eating, which the French call *desert*, is vnnaturall, being contrary to Physicke or Dyet: for commonly fruits are of a moist facultie, and therefore fitter to be taken afore meals (but corrected with Suger or comfits) then after meales: and then also but very sparingly, least their effects appear to our bodily repentance, which in women grow to be the greene sicknesse, in men the morphew, or els some flatuous windy humor.[26]

Thomas Cogan observes that "al herbs and fruits generally are noyfull to man and doe engender ill humors, and be oft-times the cause of putrified Fevers, if they be much and continually eaten."[27] He notes that apples, the fruit "most used amongst us in England," should not be consumed raw; and yet "unruly people through wanton appetite will not refrain [from] them, and chiefly in youth when (as it were) by a naturall affection they greedily covet them."[28] Cogan also warns against the consumption of parsnips and carrots, which "provoke Carnall lust."[29]

In a seventeenth-century treatise on education, the philosopher John Locke argues that fruit should not be given to children because it is unwholesome.[30] That fruit was denounced by the dietaries does not mean that it was not regularly consumed: the poor would have eaten fruit growing wild on bushes and in hedgerows, and fruit was regularly served in banquets.[31] But the over-consumption of fruit was thought to indicate a moral lack. In Ben Jonson's comedy *Bartholomew Fair*, the idiotic Coke, who will buy anything presented to him at the Fair, is said to be especially fond of fruit:

> If a leg or an arm on him did not grow on, he would lose it i' th press. Pray heaven I bring him off with one stone! And then he is such a ravener after fruit! You will not believe what a coil I had, t'other day,

> to compound a business between a Cather'ne-pear-woman and him, about snatching! 'Tis intolerable, gentlemen![32]

As Erica Fudge noted, the eating of animal flesh "held a more powerful position in theological terms than any attempt to regain the vegetarian innocence of Eden," since such a diet signified human dominion over animals. A vegetarian diet "would take away a point of humiliation for humans that was vital to their understanding of their place in [a] universe" where the eating of animal flesh "represents both death (human mortality) and power (human dominion)."[33]

As mentioned above, William Vaughan considered fruit to be a cause of flatulence, an ailment commonly attributed also to other foods consumed by the poor, such as beans and chestnuts. As Ken Albala pointed out, "Medical opinion was united in condemning beans as gross, difficult to digest and flatulence-promoting. Only laborers were thought to have stomachs strong enough to digest them."[34] Thomas Elyot notes the following of beans:

> They make winde, howsoeuer they bee ordered: the substance which they do make is spungie, and not firme, albeit they be abstersiue, or cleansing the bodie, they tarie long ere they bee digested, and make grosse iuyce in the bodie: but if onyons bee sodden with them, they be lesse noyfull.[35]

William Bullein and Thomas Cogan also thought them hard to digest.[36] Beans were also thought to provoke lust, a sin commonly associated with flatulence. Andrew Boorde considers beans to be less worthy of praise than peas because "althought [sic] the skynnes or huskes be ablated or caste away, yet they be stronge meate, and dothe prouoke venerious actes."[37] Albala claimed that the notion of beans as aphrodisiacal probably stems from the belief that they were highly nutritious: "According to theory any food which is nutritious, after having replaced the blood, flesh and spirits, is then converted into sperm, both the male and female variety," and this "signals the urge to procreate."[38] In Ben Jonson's *Volpone*, Androgino, pretending to embody the soul of Pythagoras, is questioned by Nano about the "forbid meats" he has consumed; one of which, when he has taken the shape of "A good dull mule," is beans.[39] As Gordon Campbell noted, the

eating of beans was "forbidden by Pythagoreans because flatulence was thought to allow the breath of life to escape from the body."[40] This connection with "the breath of life" also explains the common association between flatulence and lust: the male orgasm was considered an "evacuation," a term used by Richard Burton, and it signified loss.[41] Indeed, it was common for the moment of sexual climax to be termed a "death."[42] William Bullein claims that chestnuts "healpe the coughe, if they be eaten rawe," but warns that "althoughe they greatelye nourryshe the boedy, yet they be hurtful for the splene and filleth the bellyful of winde."[43] So too Phillip Barrough notes that chestnuts "doe ingender a flatuous vapour,"[44] and Henry Butts warns that when eaten raw chestnuts are "hard of digestion" and that chestnuts "Being flatulent incite Venus."[45] Certain foods were considered capable of cooling lust; amongst them was cucumber, which both Thomas Elyot and Thomas Cogan claim "abate[s] carnall lust."[46] John Gerard observes that lettuce cooleth the heate of the stomacke" and also that "The seed taken in drinke... hindreth generation of seed and venereous imaginations."[47]

Although the consumption of animal flesh was commonly considered healthy, meat was considered likely to provoke melancholy and, as we have seen, the melancholy type was thought especially prone to the sins of envy and wrath. Since melancholy was considered cold and dry, foods also classified as such should be avoided by the melancholic. Thomas Elyot advises against the daily consumption of a range of foods—among them old beef, mutton, hare, boar, and venison—by those likely to suffer "dolour or heuynesse [heaviness] of mynd."[48] William Bullein notes that although "cholericke men may as lightly digest beefe, bacon, veneson, &c. With as much speede and litle hurt as the fleugmatike man may eate, rabit chicken, and partridge, &c.," the melancholic man "through the coldnesse of the stomacke hath not that strength in the stomacke as hee hath promtpnes in wil: to eat things warm and moyst be good for him."[49] So too Thomas Cogan notes that "Venison, whether it be of red deer or fallow, maketh ill iuice, engendereth melancholy, and is hard of digestion, as Galen witnesseth. Wherefore it is no wholesome meat for students."[50] In a treatise on melancholy Timothy Bright advises against "porke, except it be yong, and a litle corned with salt, beefe, ramme mutton, goate, bores flesh, & veneson."[51] Similarly Robert Burton, citing Galen's admonition against beef that was followed by subsequent authorities, also warns against the consumption of venison and hare.[52]

Fish was generally considered inferior to animal flesh, specifically red meat, because it was believed to be less nutritious: Thomas Moffett considers "all fish (compared with flesh)... cold and moist, of little nourishment, engendring watrish and thinn blood,"[53] and William Bullein, citing Galen, claims "the nourishments of flesh is better than the nourishments of fish."[54] But there was also a moral dimension to the consumption of fish. The fish was an early Christian symbol. The connection between fish-eating and Christ, especially via the biblical story of Christ's miraculous multiplying of loaves and fishes,[55] was used by some Catholics to suggest that eating fish was superior to eating animal flesh. In the monasteries, meat was only eaten occasionally: the Benedictine rule stated "let the use of fleshmeat be granted to the sick who are very weak, for the restoration of their strength; but, as soon as they are better, let all abstain from fleshmeat as usual."[56] Discussing the relative merits of flesh and fish, Moffett criticizes those "filthy Friars" who think fish superior to meat because Christ fed upon it, arguing that Christ himself adhered to the laws of Moses and forbade the Israelites to eat fish with neither scales nor fins.[57] In a prose tract promoting the eating of fish as a means of supporting the fishing industry, Edward Jeninges indicates that many Protestants balked at laws advocating abstinence from the eating of meat, which they found reminiscent of those "made and used in the time of Papistrie, and by ancient authoritie of the Pope, who we should not in anything imitate, but rather in all thinges by contrarie."[58] But, argues Jeninges, the policy is, nevertheless, a sound one:

> many good lawes and ordinances in the time of papistrie was by them made and ordained, but the same is not therfore to be contemned or neglected, for that their deuise in many things for the benefite of a common welth cannot be amended.[59]

The policy of promoting fish over meat for economic reasons was also endorsed by The *Homily of Good Workes: And Fyrst of Fastyng:*

> If the Prince requested our obedience to for beare one day from flesh more then we doe, and to bee contented with one meale in the same day, should not our owne commodity thereby perswade vs to subiection?"[60]

Since the subject was duty-bound to obey the monarch, the eating of fish became a moral obligation.

POSSESSED WITH THE SPIRIT OF THE BUTTERY

It was not merely what was eaten or how much, but the circumstances in which food was consumed that threatened the integrity of body and soul. As Hazel Forsyth pointed out, documentary and archaeological evidence suggests that "very few Londoners had an oven or kitchen and even those with access to a hearth mostly lacked the elaborate equipment needed for roasting and basting." These Londoners would buy their food from alehouses or from cookshops, the latter being establishments that were open day and night to cook and sell food.[61] They would also buy their food from the many street vendors selling pies, nuts, oranges and other foods.[62] Alehouses, which provided cheap and basic food such as bread and cheese, were considered especially dubious establishments.[63] In his study of the early modern alehouse, Peter Clark identified it as

> a new and increasingly dangerous force in popular society... they were run by the poor for the poor, victualling and harbouring the destitute and vagrant, breeding crime, disorder, and drunkenness, fostering promiscuity and other breaches of orthodox morality; and... they served as the stronghold of popular opposition to the established religious and political order.[64]

Phillip Stubbes complained about public drunkenness amongst the English, noting that:

> Euery countrey, citie, towne, villaged & other, hath abundance of alehouses, tauernss & Innes, which are so fraughted with mault-wormes night & day, that you would wunder to se them. You shal haue them there sitting at the wine, and good ale all the day long, yea all the night too, peraduenture a whole week togither, so long as any money is left, swilling, gulling & carowsing from one to an other, til neuer a one can speak a redy woord. Then when with the spirit of the buttery they are thus possessed, a world it is to consider their gestures &

> demeanors, how they stut and stammer, stagger & reele too & fro, like madmen, some vomiting spewing & disgorging their filthie stomacks, other some *(Honor sit auribus)* pissing vnder the boord as they sit, & which is most horrible, some fall to swering, cursing . . . interlacing their speeches with curious tearms of blasphemie to the great dishonour of God and offence of the godly eares present.[65]

For Stubbes, the logical consequence of abusing the body with alcohol is blasphemy, which abuses God and the soul. According to Clark, the alehouse was "an under-world populated by gulls and vagabonds, robbers and whores, a world which though parasitical is also a mirror image of the moral sham, the trickery and hypocrisy of respectable society."[66] It was a world often depicted in early modern drama, and which Charlotte McBride related specifically to Shakespeare's plays: the Boar's Head tavern in *Henry IV Part 2* and the brothel that functions as an alehouse in *Measure for Measure*.[67]

The reputation of English cooks that worked in alehouses and other establishments selling food in the early modern period was somewhat mixed. Andrew Boorde claims that "A good coke is halfe a physycyon."[68] Thomas Cogan praises cooks' ability to transform ordinary ingredients into something special, noting that "a good Cooke can make you good meat of a whetstone. . . . Therefore a good Cooke is a good jewell and to bee much made of."[69] While good cooks were praised, those who prepared and sold food for public consumption were often considered of dubious reputation: morally ambiguous figures who indulged in risky culinary practices. In the days before refrigeration and a reliable and well-trained medical profession, food poisoning from professional cooks who cut corners was a real hazard. The reputation of the cook as a scoundrel went as far back as Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, where the cook, Roger of Ware, is accused by Harry Bailey, the innkeeper, of shoddy practices; namely of draining the gravy from pasties and selling food that has been heated up and allowed to go cold.[70]

CANNIBALISM AND INVERSION: COOKING AND EATING FLESH IN EARLY MODERN DRAMA

In early modern culture the cook was considered an ambivalent character; in Shakespeare the reputation of the cook is generally negative. In *Titus*

Andronicus and *Timon of Athens* the cook exacts revenge: Titus, having killed Chiron and Demetrius and announced his intention to bake them in a pie, states "I'll play the cook / And see them ready against their mother comes."[71] Timon prepares to present his false friends with a meal of steaming water and stones, announcing "My cook and I'll provide."[72] Both Titus and Timon apparently demean themselves by taking on the role of cook, but their serving of others is a means by which to assert power. In *Romeo and Juliet*, Capulet's serving-man assures him that he will hire only the best cooks to prepare Juliet's wedding feast. He has a test for them: "Marry, sir, 'tis an ill cook that cannot lick his own fingers, therefore he that cannot lick his fingers goes not with me."[73] In *The Taming of the Shrew*, Grumio and Petruchio complain about the cook's absence: the former asks "Where's the cook? Is supper ready,"[74] and is echoed by his master "Where is the rascal cook?"[75] In *Henry IV Part II*, Sir John Oldcastle (or Falstaff), taking no responsibility for his indulgences, claims that the fault lies with cooks and whores: "If the cook help to make the gluttony, you help to make the diseases, Doll."[76] Of course the audience, familiar with Sir John's prodigious appetite for sack and capons, knows differently; but the suggestion that cooks were harmful was clearly a familiar one for Shakespeare, and none of his plays portray cooks in a favorable light.

Titus Andronicus prepares a cannibalistic banquet for Tamora after chopping off his own hand, and is assisted in his culinary endeavors by his daughter, the more severely disabled Lavinia, who has had both hands chopped off and her tongue cut out. Moments before, Titus, urged on by Aaron, wields his knife upon himself, referring to his own hands as a foodstuff: "Such withered herbs as these / Are meet for plucking up."[77] Katherine A. Rowe recognized the allusion to Psalm 137 ("If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, may my hand wither and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth") but acknowledged that this only "perhaps partly explains . . . Titus's peculiar description of his hands."[78] It is not the hand Titus chops off that is destined for the pot, but Tamora's sons, Chiron and Demetrius. Yet Aaron perceives a culinary dimension to the severed hand that is his joke at the expense of the Andronici: "O, how this villainy / Doth fat me with the very thoughts of it!"[79] At the end of 3.1, Titus instructs Lavinia: "Bear thou my hand, sweet wench, between thine arms,"[80] an emendation first used by Edward Capell in his eighteenth-century edition of Shakespeare's works[81]

and intermittently adopted by editors ever since. The only substantive text, the quarto of 1594, has "Beare thou my hand sweet wench betweene thy teeth"[82] and the Folio (derived from Q) has the same reading[83]; the emendation arises from a conjecture about "armes" in Q's previous line. The unemended reading is very much in keeping with the notion of the body, or bits of it, as edible. These hints at cannibalism prefigure the feast with which Titus gets his revenge, and here we can glance back to Chaucer's cook. Tamora consumes human flesh, and Chaucer hints that so too do the customers of Roger of Ware; although in Chaucer the consumption is less horrific than revolting. It seems that those who consume Roger's blancmange also consume bits of Roger, either the pus or the flaky skin that comes from his sore: the body of the cook forms one of the ingredients going into his blancmange.

In the early modern period human flesh was consumed in the form of mummia, or mummy: the remains of an embalmed corpse used as medicine. Louise Noble described this practice as part of "a well-established therapeutic model, which subscribes to the pharmacological superiority of the human body, both living and dead, and valorizes medicinal cannibalism—the ingestion of medicinally-prepared human flesh, as well as blood, fat, bone, and bodily excretions for therapeutic purposes." She found this process comparable with Titus's treatment of his victims.[84] As Wendy Wall pointed out, there was a distinct link between butchery and medicine in the period, and housewifery generally involved "a world of interchangeable, absorbable, and consumable body parts, extracted from live and dead beings."[85] In Shakespeare's *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, Falstaff proclaims that, had he drowned in the Thames into which he has been thrown, he would have been transformed into "a mountain of mummy!"[86]

Human flesh was also consumed in the celebration of the Eucharist, at least for Catholics who believed in transubstantiation. Michael Schoenfeldt noted that for George Herbert consumption of the Eucharist was the ultimate nutritive act,[87] but Keith Thomas highlighted how the sacrament was generally considered by non-Catholics to be "a spurious piece of legerdemain... the pretence of a power plainly magical, of changing the elements in such a sort as all the magicians of Pharaoh could never do."[88] For non-Catholics, the communion wafer was merely a piece of food; indeed it was sometimes referred to by mocking Protestants as a "cake idol."[89] Moreover,

as Carlos Jáuregui indicated, there was a disturbing proximity between the realism of Eucharistic theophagy (eating of god) and ritualized cannibalism in the New World, and "while Catholic universalism defined itself in Europe by defending the realism of Eucharistic theophagy . . . in America it nonetheless raged against what it perceived as a similar order of materiality in the communion of Amerindian religions."[90] *Titus Andronicus* presents an interesting inversion of the Catholic process: in Catholic doctrine a food, the wafer, becomes a body, whereas in Shakespeare's play a body—two bodies, actually—becomes food. What Shakespeare might be suggesting is unclear, but the transformation that Titus effects (body into food) taps into deep-seated fears of a consumption that is out of control, a feeding that is anathema to the oft-urged moderation.

The balance of Titus's mind is affected by Aaron's brutality and the rape and mutilation of Lavinia. The early moderns would likely read the body as a physical manifestation of mental anguish. Since for them the body and mind were not distinct, a body that was perceived as lacking in some way indicated an emotional and spiritual lack, whereby men became less than human. Francis Bacon notes the following in his essay on deformity:

> Deformed persons are commonly even with Nature; for as Nature hath done ill by them; so doe they by nature: Being for the most part (as the Scripture saith) *void of natural affection*; And so they have their Revenge of Natures, Certainly there is a consent between the Body & the Mind; And where nature erreth in the One, she ventureth in the other.[91]

Although it seems that Bacon specifically refers to those born with some kind of deformity, he includes eunuchs (that is, those made bodily imperfect after birth) among those he considers deformed. He also notes the positive influence of deformity:

> they will, if they be of Spirit, seek to free themselves from Scorn; Which must be either by Vertue, or Malice: And therefore let it not be Marvelled, if sometimes they prove Excellent Persons.[92]

Titus becomes monstrous when, seeking to free himself from scorn (as Bacon put it), he becomes implicated in cannibalism, but is redeemed at

the play's end in a eulogy delivered by Marcus: "Now judge what cause had Titus to revenge / These wrongs unspeakable, past patience, / Or more than any living man could bear."[93] He is furthermore allowed an honorable burial in the Andronici family monument.[94] It is Aaron and Tamora who are now judged beastly and their bodies treated as though not human: Tamora's body will be abandoned for birds of prey to feed upon[95] and a more horrible fate awaits Aaron:

> Set him breast-deep in earth and famish him.
> There let him stand, and rave, and cry for food.
> If anyone relieves or pities him,
> For the offence he dies. This is our doom.
> Some stay to see him fastened in the earth.[96]

The punishment by starvation of Aaron's appetite for lust and murder constitutes an inversion of Tamora's cannibalistic feast and the pernicious consumption of her body by birds of prey after her death.[97] In his appeal for Roman unity, Marcus identifies the imperfect body that must be healed: "O, let me teach you how to knit again / This scattered corn into one mutual sheaf, / These broken limbs again into one body."[98] The reference to corn in the context of the body echoes Titus's reference to his hands as herbs and the cannibalistic feast whereby the bodies of Chiron and Demetrius have provided food for Tamora.

Where Titus plays the cook, Ursula in Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* cooks for a living. Ursula is guilty of shady practices: adulterating tobacco with the herb coltsfoot, selling as much froth as beer, and taking the customer's drink away before they are finished so she might sell it back to them.[99] Not all cooks that feature in Jonson's plays are nefarious characters. For example, the master cook who appears in the masque *Neptune's Triumph for the Return of Albion*, a figure re-worked as Lick-finger in Jonson's *The Staple of News*, argues that the cook is equal to the poet since "Either's art is the wisdom of the mind."[100] Lick-finger claims the master cook is "the man o'men / For a professor. He designs, he draws, / He paints, he carves, he builds, he fortifies."[101] Ursula is not an intellectual but a visceral figure. Her nickname stems from the fact that she prepares and sells pork, but also indicates that her obesity makes her almost less than human: a pig woman. Constant

references are made to her large size, and in this she recalls Shakespeare's Sir John Oldcastle. Like Sir John, Ursula is teased for being fat:

Quarlous: Body o' the Fair! what's this? Mother o' the bawds?
Knockem: No, she's the mother o' the pigs, sir, mother of the pigs!
Winwife: Mother o' the Furies, I think, by her firebrand.
Quarlous: Nay, she is too fat to be a Fury, sure some walking sow of tallow!
Winwife: An inspir'd vessel of Kitchen stuff! *She drinkes this while.*
Quarlous: She'll make excellent gear for the coach-makers, here in Smithfield, to anoint wheeles and axle-trees with.
Ursula: Aye, aye, gamesters, mock a plain plump soft wench o' the suburbs, do, because she's juicy and wholesome: you must ha' your thin pinch'd ware, pent up i'the compasse of a dog-collar (or 'twill not do), that looks like a long lac'd conger, set upright, and a green feather, like fennel, i' the jowl on't.[102]

When we first meet Ursula, she complains about the discomfort she endures: "Fie upon't: who would wear out their youth and prime thus, in roasting of pigs, that had any cooler vocation? Hell's a kind of cold cellar to't, a very fine vault, o'my conscience!"[103] The heat of the booth in which she prepares the pork, which here provokes the traditional association between kitchens and hell, makes Ursula sweat:

> I am all fire, and fat Nightingale; I shall e'en melt away to the first woman, a rib, again, I am afraid. I do water the ground in knots as I go, like a great garden-pot; you may follow me by the S's I make.

The hot weather also makes Ursula sweat, as Knockem observes: "Troth I do make conscience of vexing thee now i' the dog-days, this hot weather, for fear of found'ring thee i' the body; and melting down a pillar of the Fair."[104] Gail Kern Paster traced the significance of related female bodily evacuations in *Bartholomew Fair*, specifically the urinating that occurs in Ursula's booth. As Paster pointed out, women were thought to produce more urine than men because their bodies were considered more liquid[105]; leaking was "the normal punitive condition for women." Ursula is the

"melting mother," the representation archetype" of the leaking female.[106] The focus on Ursula's huge, sweaty body is undoubtedly meant to be funny, but also suggests her gluttony: for an early modern audience her gross body signals the sinful state of her soul, although this moralistic interpretation sits uneasily alongside Ursula's self-defense and description of women of fashion, which would provoke audience sympathy.

The fact that Ursula sweats profusely also suggests that part of her body is going into the food she prepares, dripping onto the meat that she bastes and then serves.[107] It is a kind of cannibalism that the woman termed "mother of the pigs" serves up part of herself in the pork her customers will consume. Ursula reinforces this sense that she is fit for consumption when, in the quotation above, she refers to herself as "juicy and wholesome," as though she were indeed the animal flesh she sells. At one point in the play Ursula enters with a scalding-pan and falls:

> Curse of hell, that euer I saw these fiends, oh! I ha' scalded my leg, my leg, my leg, my leg. I have lost a limb in the service! Run for some cream and salad oil, quickly![108]

The sense that Ursula is herself consumed is here reinforced, since she calls for "cream and salad oil" to put upon the wound, suggesting that it might be eaten. Jonson also flirts with cannibalism in *Neptune's Triumph for the Return of Albion*, when the master-cook arranges an antimasque by having certain persons represent specific foods. For example, bacon is "Hogrel the butcher and the sow his wife,"[109] who present a dance in "*coming out of the pot.*"[110] Later in the masque the cook presents the poet with "a dish of pickled sailors, fine salt sea-boys, shall relish like anchovies or caviar."[111] Ursula, the "pig woman," similarly blurs the boundary between animal and human, between the beasts God deemed fit for food after the flood, and the beings created in God's image. Crucially, she blurs the boundary between the animal, which does not possess a soul, and the human, who does. Here too, as in *Titus Andronicus*, we get an interesting inversion of the Catholic process of transubstantiation, in that a body becomes food rather than food being transformed into a body. Again, this appears to suggest consumption that is out of control and immoderate in the extreme.

Ursula bastes herself into the pork she sells, and Titus serves human flesh, both of which blur the boundary between animal and human and suggest the cannibalistic. Human flesh ought not to be eaten; but there were important exceptions in the consumption of mummy and, for Catholics, the body of Christ. Without wishing to draw any forced comparisons between two very different plays, written just over twenty years apart, both *Titus Andronicus* and *Bartholomew Fair* present us with cooks who provide human flesh for consumption: in the former case the flesh of others, and in the latter their own. In both cases the cook is physically and morally imperfect, and we are presented with an inversion of the usual process that occurs in the Catholic sacrament of transubstantiation. Both playwrights are apparently engaging with the contradictions and complexities surrounding the consumption of flesh in the period, and the distinction between man and beast, between body and soul. For the early moderns, an imperfect soul was likely to manifest itself in an imperfect body and, likewise, an imperfect body indicated a soul that was not pure. By obeying specific rules about what to eat, and practicing moderation in the consumption of all foods, it was considered possible to control a tendency toward physical and spiritual impairment, which suggested that those who suffered from such an impairment were considered not to have practiced sufficient control over their sinful urges. The body ought to be preserved for the benefit of the soul; and early modern authorities, as evidenced in the dietaries and sermons, were keen to emphasize that the choices made about what to eat and drink indicated moral status as well as physical health. A bad diet, eating the wrong foods, and eating too much or too little would inevitably lead to disease and sin.

25. Morrall 2002, 263.
26. Castiglione 2002.
27. Guazzo 1993, book IV.

Chapter 8

1. Burton 1602, Q1r.
2. Spenser 2001, 2.9.28.1–9.
3. Galen and Culpepper 1653, F2v–F3r.
4. Galen and Culpepper 1653, F3v.
5. Ibid., F4v–F5r.
6. Ibid., F5v.
7. Spenser 2001, 1.4.20.5–8.
8. Ibid., 1.4.21.2–9.
9. Elyot 1595, M1r.
10. Spenser 2001, 1.4.24.5–6.
11. Delany 1909.
12. Epistle to the Romans 16:18.
13. Proverbs 23:20–1.
14. Ecclesiastes 10:17.
15. Church of England 1563, Oo5v.
16. Ibid., Oo6v.
17. Ibid., Oo7v.
18. Bullein 1595, B1r–B1v.
19. Boorde 1547, C3r.
20. Wingfield 1551, A6r.
21. Church of England 1563, Nn1v.
22. Ibid., Mm6v.
23. Ibid., Oo2v–Oo3r.
24. Genesis 9:3.
25. Moffett 1655, E4r.
26. Vaughan 1612, E4v.
27. Cogan 1589, N2r.
28. Ibid., N2v.
29. Ibid., I4r.
30. Critchley 2008, 155.
31. Albala 2007b, 73–89.
32. Jonson 1960, 1.5.111–17.
33. Fudge 2004, 75.
34. Albala 2003, 27.
35. Elyot 1595, F3r.
36. Bullein 1595, H6r; Cogan 1589, D4r.
37. Boorde 1547, G4v.

38. Albala 2007a, 58.
39. Jonson 1968, 1.2.33; 1.2.39.
40. Jonson 1995, 442n40.
41. Breitenberg 1996, 50–51.
42. See Starks 2004, 245.
43. Bullein 1595, L6r.
44. Barrough 1583, X6r.
45. Butts 1599, E2v.
46. Elyot 1595, E2v, Cogan 1589, N1v.
47. Gerard and Johnson 1633, L3r.
48. Elyot 1595, O4r.
49. Bullein 1595, E3r.
50. Cogan 1589, S1r.
51. Bright 1586, B6v.
52. Burton 1621, F4r–F4v.
53. Moffett 1655, U1v.
54. Bullein 1595, K5v.
55. Mark 6:35–42
56. Benedict 1952, 91, ch. 36.
57. Moffett 1655, H3r.
58. Jeninges 1590, D3r.
59. Ibid., D3v.
60. Church of England 1563, Nn4r.
61. Forsyth 1999a, 14.
62. Forsyth 1999a, 17; Forsyth 1999b, 28.
63. Forsyth 1999a, 17–18.
64. Clark 1978, 48.
65. Stubbes 1583, I3v–I4r.
66. Clark 1978, 48.
67. McBride 2004, 187–88.
68. Boorde 1547, G1v.
69. Cogan 1589, Y2v.
70. Chaucer 1988, 84, lines 4346–48.
71. *Titus Andronicus* 5.2.203–4.
72. *Timon of Athens* 3.5.14.
73. *Romeo and Juliet* 4.2.6–8.
74. *The Taming of the Shrew* 4.1.40.
75. Ibid., 4.1.148.
76. *Henry IV Part II* 2.4.43–44.
77. *Titus Andronicus* 3.1.177–178.
78. Rowe 1994, 290n22.
79. *Titus Andronicus* 3.1.201–2.
80. Ibid., 3.1.281.

81. Shakespeare 1768–83.
82. Shakespeare 1594, F2r.
83. Shakespeare 1623, dd3v.
84. Noble 2003, 677.
85. Wall 2002, 197.
86. *The Merry Wives of Windsor* 3.5.16–17
87. Schoenfeldt 1999, 99.
88. Thomas 1971, 53.
89. Aston 1988, 7–8.
90. Jauregui 2009, 73.
91. Bacon 1639, R7v.
92. Ibid., R8v.
93. *Titus Andronicus* 5.3.124–26.
94. Ibid., 5.3.192–93.
95. Ibid., 5.3.195–99.
96. Ibid., 5.3.178–82.
97. Fitzpatrick 2002, 140.
98. *Titus Andronicus* 5.3.69–71.
99. Jonson 1960, 2.2.90–106.
100. Jonson 1969, 410, lines 25–26.
101. Jonson 1988, 4.2.19–21. This description of the sweating cook recalls Lick-finger who also describes himself as sweating after running to reach his master's house: "You might haue followed me like a watering pot / And seen the knots I made along the street" (2.3.15–16).
102. Jonson 1960, 2.2.49–53.
103. Jonson 1960, 2.2.42–45.
104. Jonson 1960, 2.3.52–55.
105. Paster 1993, 39–41.
106. Paster 1993, 50.
107. This is an important difference between Ursula and the sweating Lick-finger (above), since Lick-finger does not apparently sweat into the food he prepares.
108. Jonson 1960, 2.5.150–3.
109. Jonson 1969, *Neptune's Triumph for the Return of Albion* line 218.
110. Ibid., line 224.
111. Ibid., lines 349–35.0

Chapter 9

1. Arano et al. 1992.
2. Martino 2005.
3. Tolkowsky 1938.
4. Scappi 1570.

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